

## **Collective Memory and Collective Identity**

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# Collective Memory and Collective Identity

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Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History  
in Their Context

Edited by  
Johannes Unsok Ro and Diana Edelman

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Dedicated to my teacher, professor emeritus Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann  
who turns 80 years old in January of 2021 in remembrance of his significant  
and distinguished scholarship in the Hebrew Bible Studies.



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# List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ABRL	The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AJSR	<i>Association for Jewish Studies Review</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOT	The Apocryphal Old Testament
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
APP	<i>Asia Pacific Perspectives</i>
AR	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATM	Altes Testament und Moderne
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BK	Biblischer Kommentar
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BLS	Bible and Literature Series
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BTS	Biblich-Theologische Studien
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte

## XII — List of Abbreviations

BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
<i>Chiron</i>	<i>Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CTJ	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
CurBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CW	<i>Classical World</i>
DBAT	<i>Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament und seiner Rezeption in der Alten Kirche</i>
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DDD	<i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i>
DNP	<i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i>
EABS	European Association of Biblical Studies
EBR	<i>Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception</i>
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EM	<i>Encyclopaedia Miqra'it</i>
ETL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
ETS	Erfurter theologische Studien
<i>ExpTim</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FZPhTh	<i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i>
GHKAT	Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>Gn</i>	<i>Gnomon</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBAI	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>HistTh</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
HLS	<i>Holy Land Studies</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HS	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JAJ	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
JANEH	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History</i>
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JHebS</i>	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>Klio</i>	<i>Klio: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte</i>
<i>KUSATU</i>	<i>Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
LBS	The Library of Biblical Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic
<i>LTQ</i>	<i>Lexington Theological Quarterly</i>
<i>Mnemosyne</i>	<i>Mnemosyne: A Journal of Classical Studies</i>
NCB	New Century Bible
<i>NEA</i>	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEchtB	Neue Echter Bibel
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>Numen</i>	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>R&amp;T</i>	<i>Religion and Theology</i>
<i>RC</i>	<i>Religion Compass</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Greco-Roman World
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
<i>SAAB</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
SAC	Studies in Antiquity and Christianity
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and Its Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series

## XIV — List of Abbreviations

SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SJ	Studia Judaica
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
<i>TA</i>	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
<i>TAPNS</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series</i>
TBC	Torch Bible Commentaries
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
ThB	Theologische Bücherei
<i>ThWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
<i>TP</i>	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
<i>Transeu</i>	<i>Transeuphratene</i>
TRIP	Theology and Religion in Interdisciplinary Perspective Series
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
<i>VF</i>	<i>Verkündigung und Forschung</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WANEM	Worlds of the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZABR</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBKAT	Zürcher Bibelkommentare, Altes Testament
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

Johannes Unsok Ro (International Christian University)  
**Memory and History: An Introduction**

“Collective memory” is one of the issues that has attracted the attention and discussion of scholars internationally across academic disciplines over the past five decades.<sup>1</sup> The origin of its theoretical frameworks derives from pioneering works of great thinkers in the 19th century. Despite the fact that Émile Durkheim never utilized the expression “collective memory,” he is regarded as the one who gave the foundation to the idea, specifying the social importance of remembrance in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*.

Durkheim characterizes society as an objective reality that maintains “collective consciousness.” For him, “collective consciousness” has an impact on individual consciousness.<sup>2</sup> “Collective consciousness” is the supreme form of the psychological life, because it is “the consciousness of the consciousnesses.”<sup>3</sup> Durkheim asserts that being located outside of or above individual and local contingencies, the “collective consciousness” sees things through their perpetual and essential nature, which it shapes into transmittable ideas.

On the other hand, Henri Bergson accentuates the subjective facets of time, perception, reality and memory when he writes:

Memory actualized in an image differs, then, profoundly from pure memory. The image is a present state, and its sole share in the past is the memory from which it arose. Memory, on the contrary, powerless as long as it remains without utility, is pure from all admixture of sensation, is without attachment to the present, and is, consequently, unextended.<sup>4</sup>

One generation later, Maurice Halbwachs, who was a student of both Durkheim and Bergson, presented the term “collective memory” in a sociological context, employing it not only to allude to collective portrayals but also to indicate the

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1 The literature that discusses “collective memory” is extensive. A few selected monographs should suffice to get a glimpse of the general situation in current scholarship: Connerton 1989; Halbwachs 1992 [1925]; Nora and Kritzman 1996; J. Assmann 1997; 2002; 2006; 2008; A. Assmann 1999; Jelin 2003; Misztal 2003; Olick 2003; 2007; Olick and Vinitzky-Seroussi 2011; Zerubavel 2006; Schwartz 2008; Erll 2011; Corning and Schuman 2015.

2 Durkheim 1964 [1912], 223: “they [religious forces] do not translate the manner in which physical things affect our senses, but the way in which the collective consciousness acts upon individual consciousnesses.”

3 Durkheim 1964 [1912], 444.

4 Bergson 1991 [1896], 140–41.

social structures molding all recollections.<sup>5</sup> In this sense, Halbwachs's analysis of memory can be regarded as closer to Bergson's than to Durkheim's.<sup>6</sup> Lavabre summarizes Halbwachs's unique assertions as follows:

Firstly, the past cannot be preserved, but is reshaped from the vantage point of the present. Secondly, because the isolated individual is a fictional being, the past can only be remembered within the social frameworks of memory where conversely, individual memory only attains reality as a constituent part of collective memory. Finally, memory has a social function.<sup>7</sup>

It is worth noting that Halbwachs was not the only one who created the theoretical framework for the concept of "collective memory"; various other early sociologists and philosophers gave significant hypothetical inspirations to the concepts that are circulated and communicated in various disciplines today.<sup>8</sup>

However, it was very rare until the mid-1970s that an article or a book in historiography contained the term "collective memory."<sup>9</sup> In France, the historiographic study of collective memory started to appear at the end of the 1970's. Pierre Nora and Jacques Le Goff soon became the leading figures of this new direction in French historiography, in which "collective memory" was at the center of the investigation.<sup>10</sup> Pierre Nora presented a new method for doing historiography in his next collaborative volume, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*. Despite the fact that the first volumes of *Realms of Memory* involved a certain recognition of the past, Nora was clearly critical of collective memory.<sup>11</sup> Barry Schwartz criticizes Nora and his likeminded colleagues, who "exaggerate the difference between social memory and history, underestimate their interdependence, misunderstand memory's nature, and vastly understate its validity."<sup>12</sup>

In the United States, various studies of collective memory accumulated throughout the 1980's and 1990's, after Barry Schwartz reawakened academic interest in Durkheim's concept of remembrance and Halbwachs's notion for how the past is reformed and reshaped in the present. Schwartz distinguished four dimensions of memory as follows:

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5 Halbwachs 1992 [1925], 41–42.

6 Schwartz 2014, 19.

7 Lavabre 2009, 368.

8 To name a few, Marx 1978 [1852]; Nietzsche 1997 [1874]; Freud 1967 [1939]; Mead 1932; and Mannheim 1952.

9 Lavabre 2009, 364.

10 Nora and Kritzman 1996, 1–20; Lavabre 2009, 364.

11 Nora and Kritzman 1996, 205–39, 499–531; Lavabre 2009, 365.

12 Schwartz 2014, 17.



- 1) the past as it actually was;
- 2) “history,” which refers to linear representations of the past that take the form of oral and written narratives;
- 3) “commemoration,” whose symbols lift from the historical narrative those parts that best express society’s ideals;
- 4) social memory – how individuals, in the aggregate, think and feel about the past.<sup>13</sup>

In sharp contrast to Pierre Nora’s approach, his is explicitly optimistic regarding the validity and reliability of collective memory, since “in many situations, including challenges that transcend day-to-day experience, people have a powerful interest in remembering accurately.”<sup>14</sup> According to Schwartz, memory regularly warps reality to a certain extent; however, it is confined within limits so that these limits establish the restriction of reality despite of the inaccuracy of perception.<sup>15</sup>

It can be said that Schwartz’s assumption that in many situations people have a strong interest in remembering the past accurately should be critically questioned. It is unsurprising, then, that the articles collected here do not fall neatly within the four categories mentioned above. The dimension of memory defined as “the past as it actually was” is not present in the current volume; the remaining three are to varying degrees.

In Germany, Jan Assmann made a distinction between “cultural memory” and “communicative memory.”<sup>16</sup> Recognizing various sorts of collective memory, he introduced the idea of “cultural memory” as a reasonable apparatus for how to evaluate historiography as well as other forms of remembrance. Furthermore, Assmann developed the concept of “communicative memory” in order to depict the contrast between Halbwachs’s idea of “collective memory,” on the one hand, and his own understanding of “cultural memory,” on the other.<sup>17</sup> He writes:

Cultural memory is a form of collective memory, in the sense that it is shared by a number of people and that it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural, identity. Halbwachs, however, the inventor of the term “collective memory,” was careful to keep his concept of collective memory apart from the realm of traditions, transmissions, and transferences which we propose to subsume under the term “cultural memory.” We preserve Halbwachs’s distinction by breaking up his concept of collective memory into “communicative” and “cultural memory,” but we insist on including the cultural sphere, which he excluded, in

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<sup>13</sup> Schwartz 2014, 10–11.

<sup>14</sup> Schwartz 2014, 24.

<sup>15</sup> Schwartz 2014, 25.

<sup>16</sup> Assmann 2008, 109–18.

<sup>17</sup> Assmann 2008, 110.

the study of memory. We are, therefore, not arguing for replacing his idea of “collective memory” with “cultural memory”; rather, we distinguish between both forms as two different *modi memorandi*, ways of remembering.<sup>18</sup>

As the above brief sketch demonstrates, the foci of the international and interdisciplinary concept “collective memory” are various and diverse, depending on nationality and academic tradition. However, the relationship between collective memory and history is almost always one of the main themes in the research and analysis concerning memory across nations and the disciplines.<sup>19</sup> The concept of “collective memory” has been associated with broad discussions on collective identity, national identity, the hierarchy of power, and the relation of political as well as social structure to history.<sup>20</sup> There are many open questions and ongoing inquiries in this field, such as: Do collective memory and history supplement or counteract each other? Is preferring collective memory to history like sinking “into the unconquerable flow of time,”<sup>21</sup> as Jacques Le Goff articulates? Le Goff warns against the trend “to identify history with memory, and even to give preference in some sense to memory, on the ground that it is more authentic, ‘truer’ than history, which is presumed to be artificial and, above all, manipulative of memory.”<sup>22</sup> Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi also makes a sharp contrast between memory and history when he says:

Memory and modern historiography stand, by their very nature, in radically different relations to the past. The latter represents, not an attempt at a restoration of memory, but a truly new kind of recollection ... The historian does not simply come in to replenish the gaps of memory. He constantly challenges even those memories that have survived intact ... Certain memories live on; the rest are winnowed out, repressed, or simply discarded by a process of natural selection which the historian, uninvited, disturbs and reverses.

For Henry Rousso also, it is necessary to differentiate between collective memory and history, since “memory is on the side of the ‘same,’ whereas history is on the side of ‘change.’”<sup>23</sup> However, there are opposite voices of scholars who regard col-

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**18** Assmann 2008, 110.

**19** Lavabre 2009, 362–67.

**20** Among others, Gillis 1994; Alexander 2004.

**21** Le Goff 1992, xi–xii.

**22** Le Goff 1992, xi. The founding father of “collective memory,” Halbwachs held that there was a strict dichotomy between “history” and “memory”. According to him, history starts only at the point where the collective memory is no longer operative (Halbwachs 1992 [1925], 182–84).

**23** Rousso 1998, 8. Rousso says that “[i]n drawing on our imaginary, memory tends to bring us closer to the past, since it retrieves a selective, reconstructed portion of this past which informs

lective memory and history as fundamentally homogeneous. For instance, Peter Burke understands history as a form of social memory, opposing Halbwachs's sharp distinction between collective memory, which is a social construct, on the one hand, and written history, which is objective, on the other hand.<sup>24</sup> Burke indicates that much recent historiographic research deals with written history, much as Halbwachs dealt with collective memory.<sup>25</sup> According to him, historians are "the guardians of the skeletons in the cupboard of the social memory,"<sup>26</sup> since "one of the most important functions of the historian is to be a remembrancer."<sup>27</sup> Patrick H. Hutton also observes an essential continuity between history and memory when he maintains that "[t]he historians' present-day investigations of the memory/history problem seem not unlike Kierkegaard's contrast between the memories of childhood and old age."<sup>28</sup> He continues to write:

One way beyond the impasse is to reconsider the mediating role that the art of memory might play in the historical inquiries of our time. The invention of the art, after all, was situated historically between orality and literacy. It provided an artificial sense of place for a world that had lost touch with the relationship between the two ... As historical thinking emerged in the modern era, the spatial model identified with the art was reconfigured as a timeline, punctuated by memorable events. These memory-filled chronologies invested the past with a new sense of linear time and, so, contributed to the emergence of modern historical thought.<sup>29</sup>

The appropriate relationship between memory and history is also an important issue for the Hebrew Bible,<sup>30</sup> since critical biblical scholarship has shed light on a widening rift between biblical portrayals of the historical reality of ancient Israel, on the one hand, and historical-critical reconstructions of the actual past, on the

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our consciousness and present acts. Memory can also be seen as a burden, as when we speak of 'the weight of the past.' It is difficult to shed this kind of burden simply by making choices between what one wishes to remember and what one wishes to forget. History, on the other hand, is supposed to bring the past into the present, but only to give us a better understanding of the distance that separates the two and an appreciation of the changes that have occurred in the interim" (Rousso 1998, 8).

**24** Burke 1997, 45.

**25** Burke 1997, 45.

**26** Burke 1997, 59.

**27** Burke 1997, 59.

**28** Hutton 1993, 161.

**29** Hutton 1993, 165–66.

**30** The research that deals with "memory" in the Hebrew Bible is quite comprehensive. For the full bibliography on this matter, see Ellman 2017.

other.<sup>31</sup> At the beginning of the 21st century, scholars started to consider stories in the Hebrew Bible a compilation of various collective memories of ancient Israel. According to Barat Ellman, research concerning the concept of memory in the Hebrew Bible can be classified into four sub-categories: 1) lexical studies; 2) discussions of biblical historiography in which memory is considered a contributive element; 3) topical explorations for which memory is an organizing concept; and 4) memory and transmission studies.<sup>32</sup>

The trend in biblical research has been to consider biblical historiography a collection of social memories and accordingly, the focal point has moved from historical accuracy in the biblical historiography to the society producing the relevant biblical historiography.<sup>33</sup> This research orientation has made an enormous contribution to a deeper understanding of the nature and essence of biblical history. The articles collected in this volume can be evaluated as a continuation of this academic direction, investigating and analyzing the elements of remembrance and commemoration in relation to collective memory and collective identity in the Hebrew Bible and its proximate context. The sixteen papers on collective memory and collective identity gathered in this volume are not grouped according to Ellman's four sub-categories, since many of them have combined the sub-categories or even reached beyond the accustomed and familiar boundaries.

The significance of the concept of "collective memory" as applied to the Hebrew Bible did not originally emerge from scholarly interest but from the contents of the Hebrew Bible itself.<sup>34</sup> The theology of covenant reflected in Deuteronomy demands that Israelites memorialize certain key group "events" of the past. This "history" had to be kept firmly in everyone's mind in the community

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**31** For theological, philosophical and/or cultural reflections regarding the historiographical narratives of ancient Israel and Judah, see Witte 2005, 53–81; Blum 2008, 107–30; Adam 2008, 131–80; Wilson 2018, 1–69; Ro 2019, 1–14.

**32** Ellman 2017.

**33** Ian D. Wilson's following statement illustrates this trend well: "It may no longer be possible to write a detailed history of David's rise to power and subsequent reign (without simply rehashing the narrative already present in the Bible's texts), but we can write histories that account for how and why the literati of Judah wrote about David the way they did, and what potential significance this writing would have in the literati's later social and cultural settings. It is, indeed, no longer possible to write a history of Israel's origins in the land that incorporates a sequence of conquests led by Joshua (or anyone for that matter), but we can write histories that detail the book of Joshua's import in later Israelite or Judean literary culture, relying on the book's multivocal narrativity to support reconstructions of literate thought patterns, and situating these apparent patterns in relation to the thinking about the past on display in comparable cultural discourses." (Wilson 2018, 58).

**34** Ellman 2017.

of Israel, without questioning whether all of it was factually accurate. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History seem to understand themselves as the aggregation of Israelite memories. The fact that the lexeme זכר indicating the act of “remembrance” or “memory” appears frequently (30 times)<sup>35</sup> in crucial passages of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History eloquently signals the theological significance of this concept. Thereupon, the memory vocabulary in Deuteronomy as well as in the Deuteronomistic History is far more comprehensive, containing words related to learning and instruction (למד); reservation (שיב); perception (בין) and remembrance/memorial (זכרון).<sup>36</sup>

Like scholars in other academic disciplines, biblical scholars have quite intensively discussed and expounded on the relationship between collective memory and collective identity.<sup>37</sup> However, just as with the term “memory”, the utilization of the particular term “identity” is a surprisingly late phenomenon in academia, and many ascribe it to the psychologist Erik Erikson’s work on psychological development in the 1960s.<sup>38</sup> Nowadays, the word has become a standard term to portray various social, political, cultural, and religious issues.

It is well known in Biblical Studies that diverse forms of collective memory such as memorialized incidents, rites, ritual performance, foundational stories and historiographical narratives are significant and powerful tools with which communities provide collective identities to individuals.<sup>39</sup> By participating in shared memory, the members of a collectivity develop consciousness of a collective identity, since collective memory “preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity.”<sup>40</sup> However, “identity” can be a more complicated and multifaceted concept than many biblical scholars presuppose. It can be an origin not only for harmony, but also for conflict. Furthermore, it can indicate both uniformity and variation, choice and obligation, integration and fragmentation, singularity and plurality, stability and dynamism. The assorted variety of ways in which this term is utilized makes it hard to characterize or to define.

As the essence and characteristics of “identity” are so complex, so is the correlation between “collective memory” and “collective identity”. For example,

<sup>35</sup> Deut 5:15; 7:18 (2 times); 8:2, 18; 9:7, 27; 15:15; 16:3, 12; 24:9, 18, 22; 25:17; 32:7; Josh 1:13; 23:7; Judg 8:34; 9:2; 16:28; 1 Sam 1:11, 19; 4:18; 25:31; 2 Sam 14:11; 18:18; 19:20; 1 Kgs 17:18; 2 Kgs 9:25; 20:3.

<sup>36</sup> Ellman 2017.

<sup>37</sup> To name a few, Edelman and Ben Zvi 2013; Hendel 2001, 601–22; 2005; 2015, 65–77; Brenner and Polak 2009; Gandulla 2007, 163–75; Barmash 2005, 207–36; Deeley 2000, 108–20.

<sup>38</sup> Griffiths 2015.

<sup>39</sup> Ellman 2017.

<sup>40</sup> Assmann 1995, 130.

Diana Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi pay due attention to the complexity and multiplicity of the correlation between “collective memory” and “collective identity”.<sup>41</sup> In particular, Edelman combines cognitive sociology and social anthropology with a knowledge of neuroscience to explore the community-constructing power of biblical stories.<sup>42</sup> The inquiry into how “collective memory”<sup>43</sup> relates to “collective identity” has great potential and could become a fruitful focus in Biblical Studies that could enrich and liberate traditional viewpoints on the interpretation and understanding of biblical stories.

Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic History are excellent examples of how Judean communities wove their collective identity through collective memory.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps one can say with Gaétane-Diane Forget that Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic History are amalgams of the collective memories of Judean communities crafting and protecting their collective identities in the Persian-Hellenistic periods.<sup>45</sup> Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic History also illustrate how Judean communities negotiated and arranged their collective identity through culturally and theologically selective memory. They demonstrate mastery of this capability by utilizing selected points of the memory of the past and creating a complicated trajectory of identity in the present. What prompts the collective memory of one specific arrangement of events and occasions instead of another is the structure of collectivity’s present. Thus, the national past is an aggregate of collective projections from the present. In particular, collective trauma in the past plays a significant role in constructing and revising collective identity. “Experiencing trauma” can be regarded “as a sociological process that defines a painful injury to the collectivity, establishes the victim, attributes responsibility, and distributes the ideal and material consequences.”<sup>46</sup> The way that collective traumas are experienced, imagined and represented has a huge impact on the form and shape of the collective identity,<sup>47</sup> since collective identity is something constantly built, maintained and revised by encountering collective memory, particularly collective traumas and their impacts on the present. Thus, it is no wonder that the col-

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<sup>41</sup> Edelman and Ben Zvi 2013, xi–xxiv, 3–37, 141–57, 335–83; Ben Zvi 2019, 28–79.

<sup>42</sup> Edelman and Ben Zvi 2013, xiv–xx.

<sup>43</sup> Whether and how the collective memory in ancient Israel/Judah converges with or diverges from another form of collective memory (for example, the Western type of collective memory) is itself a huge area for discussion and thus beyond the scope of this collaborative volume (for this issue and other related issues, see Jonker 1995, 4–31).

<sup>44</sup> Assmann 2006, 18–19; Forget 2010, 2.

<sup>45</sup> Forget 2010, 5–10.

<sup>46</sup> Alexander 2004, 22.

<sup>47</sup> Alexander 2004, 22–27.

lective identity of ancient Judah was amended as a result of every subsequent crisis and upheaval. The exile in 587/586 BCE was one of the most glaring crystallizers, building, changing, renegotiating and strengthening the collective identity of Judeans.<sup>48</sup> Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History as accumulations of collective memory seem to be extraordinary evidence indicating how intensively and passionately Judean literati<sup>49</sup> struggled with this collective trauma. They reveal kaleidoscopic layers of the literati's memory repertoire and cultural reservoir.

Accordingly, biblical scholars need to make detailed investigations of the contours of collective memory and collective identity that have crystallized in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, as well as their contexts. To work toward this end, the contributors to this volume were encouraged to come up with various and diverse profiles of collective memory and collective identity in the relevant biblical historiographical books on their own, as long as their chosen topics and themes involved the books from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings.

The present volume did not derive from a workshop, research cluster, or conference. It originated from my personal realization that there is a research gap in the sense that no academic volume addresses the topics of collective memory and collective identity solely in regard to Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. In 2017, I invited colleagues to write contributions for this publication project. The outcome is a volume with sixteen articles written by scholars from a wide range of academic, institutional, intellectual, religious, and ethnic backgrounds that fills a gap in memory studies in the Hebrew Bible.

After considering the nature of each paper, I and my co-editor have divided the sixteen contributions gathered for this collaborative volume into three groups: 1) The Use of Memory to Reinforce Identity Boundaries; 2) Literary Memory that Preserves and Passes on Selected Events or Details of the Past; and 3) Comparative Literary Memory in the Ancient Mediterranean. Outlines of the contributions collected here follow, in the hopes of whetting the appetite of readers.

The first section starts with a discussion of the recourse to Deut 1:22–33 in Josh 2. According to Kristin Weingart, Deut 1:22–33 and Josh 2 share a common narrative theme: the sending of scouts in order to explore the land and to assess the possible dangers the Israelites might have to face. In Deut 1–3, on the verge of a new attempt to settle the land, Moses tells the story of the scouts and their report (1:22–33) in order to remind the Israelites that their lack of faith in Yhwh resulted in failure and urges them not to repeat the same mistake again. In Josh 2,

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<sup>48</sup> On exile as collective trauma, see Markl 2020, 1–25.

<sup>49</sup> For the discussion on the Judean literati, see Ben Zvi 2009, 73–95.

the scouts meet the foreigner Rahab, who hides and rescues the Israelite scouts. Rahab is portrayed as a prostitute but at the same time is presented as a shining example of a faithful believer in Yhwh. Though stemming from differing historical backgrounds and addressing their own theological issues, both stories are highly paradigmatic in nature. The article shows how Josh 2, while being a later addition to its present literary context, is based on the deuteronomistic version of the scout story.

Diana Edelman, one of the two editors of this volume, discusses how, within the Deuteronomistic History collection, some key ideas expressed programmatically in the book of Deuteronomy are explored in more depth in succeeding books. Micah's creation of an *ʿepôd* and *ʿrāpîm* for use in his household shrine as well as the later addition of an image of Yhwh in Judg 17–18 and Saul's consultation of the dead prophet Samuel in 1 Sam 28 deal with the prohibition of consulting the dead found in Deut 18:11 and 26:14. Judges 17–18 also addresses the need for the aniconic representation of both Yhwh and other deities found in Deut 4:10–19 and 5:7–10. Both narratives are the focus of an examination of how the authors or subsequent redactors of Judges and Samuel created stories and set them in the remembered communal past in order to condemn what they no longer considered acceptable religious beliefs and practices.

Cynthia Edenburg deals with the search for a referent behind the figures cast as non-Israelites in the book of Joshua and the purpose of the depiction of the Israelites as newcomers in Canaan and their relations with an indigenous Other that ostensibly populated Canaan. Questions of method regarding the concept of ethnicity and self-identity as well as the problems surrounding the interpretation of biblical texts in the light of historical sources and archaeological data of the first millennium BCE provide a starting point for the discussion of the representation of the Other in the book of Joshua. The Israelite–Canaanite polarity found in Deuteronomy and Joshua is wholly at variance with the demographic reality during the Late Bronze–Iron I period transition. Against this background, Edenburg investigates the role of ethnicity and collective identity in biblical texts that represent the indigenous “non-Israelite” population of Canaan and shows how the figure of a “foreign” indigenous Other serves as a means to marginalize those beyond the pale of the current “in” group.

Yigal Levin examines the role assigned to the Amalekites within the Deuteronomistic History in general and the book of Samuel in particular, especially as a test that Saul fails and David passes. In 1 Sam 15 Samuel, speaking in God's name, commands Saul to attack and to annihilate totally the Amalekites, taking revenge for their attack on Israel back in the days of the Exodus (Exod 17:8–16; Deut 25:17–19), thus “closing the account” left open for centuries. Saul, for whatever reason, does not complete the job, leaving the Amalekites' sheep, cattle, and king alive.



God expresses his sorrow at Saul's failure to fulfill his commandment, cuts off all ties with Saul, and eventually sends Samuel to search for a new king. Amalekites also have a role to play in the actual rise of David as Saul's successor.

Dominik Markl considers how Martin Noth's theory of the Deuteronomistic History had highlighted the interrelatedness between Deuteronomy and the subsequent historiography from Joshua to Kings, while more recent criticism has suggested that the redactional history of both Deuteronomy and the historical books seems to be more complex than Noth had assumed. Markl's analysis demonstrates that, although some stylistic and ideological features of Deuteronomy and Kings diverge, several strong literary connections between these two books suggest that, at a late stage, they were meant to be read in light of each other. Against this background, he raises the principal question: What functions have Deuteronomy and the end of the historiography in Kings for each other?

Peter Dubovský contends that the exodus represents the cornerstone of Israelite collective memory. In this article he examines how the collective memory of the exodus developed and gradually became the main theological issue of the Israelite religion. This development of the collective memory can be illustrated by the changes in the vocabulary the scribes used to refer to the exodus. The variants are studied from the historical-critical point of view. As the result of his analysis, Dubovský proposes a possible stratification of exodus layers in the Hebrew Bible.

Kevin Chau notes that while many aspects of the Song of Moses, Deut 32:1–43 have been investigated, much less work has been done on how the Song's metaphors and poetry together contribute to establishing communal memory and to memorializing the Song itself. He applies advances in understanding poetry linguistically to the Song, highlighting its status as lyric poetry. By conducting a close reading of two major metaphors, teaching as rain and dew (v. 2) and God as rock (vv. 4, 13, 18, 31, 37), he explores the poem's appeal to memory as a didactic feature and its mirroring of ancient Near Eastern theologies. These readings focus on how the Song's poetry and metaphors work in tandem through linguistic descriptions and how its metaphors are expressed through the lyric features of orality, performance, and emotion.

Raymond F. Person's contribution opens the second section of this volume, where literary memory that preserves and passes on selected events or details of the past is discussed. He examines the self-referential phrases in the book of Deuteronomy – for example, “These are the words, which Moses spoke” (Deut 1:1) and “all of the words of this law, which are written in this book” (Deut 28:58). His investigation presents various possibilities of what these apparently self-referential phrases are pointing to when viewed from the perspective of scribal practice and memory. Recently, some text critics have concluded that within the tradition that valued textual fluidity and textual plurality, each manuscript functions met-

onymically; the manuscript is understood as a part of a tradition preserved in the collective memory that nevertheless represents the whole. Person goes on to apply this insight to the self-referential phrases in Deuteronomy, proposing that they do not necessarily refer exclusively to the book of Deuteronomy but to what are understood to be representative portions of a larger tradition that is preserved in scribal memory.

Rachelle Gilmour scrutinizes the role of monuments set up by kings and a claimant to be king in the book of Samuel, looking at their function within the cultural memory of the early monarchy through narrative and landscape. A *yad* ‘monument’ is set up by Saul in 1 Sam 15:12, Absalom in 2 Sam 18:18 and possibly by David or Hadadezer in 2 Sam 8:3. There are two key questions about these monuments that are explored: why are David’s rivals remembered in the landscape? And why are there monuments for kings in the book of Samuel and not the book of Kings? She begins by examining the cultural meaning of these monuments and their role in political memory. Then, drawing on contemporary memory studies of the reinterpretation of monuments, she suggests that the monuments of Saul and Absalom have been reinterpreted through the narrative in Samuel and as such, are likely to have been part of the physical landscape in Carmel and the Valley of the Kings near Jerusalem. Finally, she gives an answer to the question of why the only kings who have a monument (*yad*) are found in the narrative of Samuel and no such monuments are incorporated into the narrative of the book of Kings.

Ronald Hendel illustrates that there are several intersecting versions of the Conquest in the Deuteronomistic History. He focuses on two layers: intertextual echoes of the Conquest language in the Song of the Sea (Exod 15) and the memory of the Conquest as a victory over aboriginal giants. The latter responds to ancient features in the Israelite landscape, i. e., megalithic structures and cyclopean architecture. The cultural memory of giants in the land serves as a foil for Israelite identity. According to Hendel, it affirms several interrelated claims that clarify Israel’s ethnic boundaries. First, it claims that the Israelites were not indigenous to Canaan but came from outside. The indigenous inhabitants were people with whom Israelites had no sustained contact. Second, it claims that the indigenous Canaanites were of a different kind, huge and warlike, compared to the Israelites. This entails a contrast of monstrous barbarism with civilization. In all of these respects, the giants are foreign and primordial “others,” who are on the far side of the civilized order of things. The indigenous giants guard the boundary of Israelite ethnicity.

Wolfgang Zwickel starts from the fact that reconstructing the early history of Israel is considered highly problematic by many scholars today. The texts regarding this period which have passed down in the Hebrew Bible are mostly regarded as late, or at least later than the events they describe. Apart from the Deuterono-

mistic redaction of the books Samuel-Kings, generally dated to the sixth century BCE, we presently lack concrete arguments for regarding a story to be historically reliable, even though it was only transferred orally and written down decades later. In any case, some of these texts present site and territorial names that could be historical since they are not connected to any famous site and it is unlikely that anyone would invent those names without reason. This article discusses names from the stories about Saul, Ishbaal, and David and compares the distribution of these sites with the territory ascribed to these rulers.

Roberto Jürgensen asks how the study of personal names might prove useful for the study of the so-called Deuteronomistic History. To this end, he first surveys the state of research on this topic, especially seeking to identify overall trajectories and noting open questions. Regarding Hebrew anthroponymy, special emphasis is put on a) the *Sitz im Leben* of the act of name-giving itself and b) the difference between biblical anthroponymy and the authentic Iron Age onomasticon as preserved and transmitted in the epigraphic record. Secondly, he presents some brief considerations of how anthroponymy relates to the dimensions of collective identity and cultural memory in general. Lastly, however, Jürgensen points out the many difficulties in correlating these different aspects, thus cautioning against any oversimplified attempts to employ the study of personal names – biblical or epigraphic – directly for the purpose of dating literary units.

Aubrey Buster leads off the third section of this volume, whose focus is on comparative literary memory in the ancient Mediterranean. She reminds us that the communal practice of reciting Israel's history is an important component of public speech represented throughout the Hebrew Bible. The “great histories” of ancient Israel, the Pentateuch, DtrH, and CHR, are masterful feats of history-writing but likely would have been inaccessible to all but a select few. It is in the poetic summaries of these texts (e. g. Neh 9:6–37; Pss 78, 105, 106, 135, 136) that one sees the creation of a “functional” memory for the developing nation of Israel, a crucial piece in the dissemination and solidification of a basic level of cultural literacy. This phenomenon, the creation of long textual histories existing alongside popular abbreviated versions, also appears in the Athenian context. In this article, Buster argues for the relevance of the comparative use of abbreviated histories in the ancient Mediterranean.

Lukasz Niesiołowski-Spanò notes that the question about the origins and nature of biblical historiography has been raised frequently in recent decades. Despite the extensive debate and number of studies, however, a consensus has not been reached regarding the date of the creation of the first biblical historiography. In recent years, questions about the possible relationship between Greek and Hebrew historiography have been left aside. The classical hypothesis by Arnaldo Momigliano of a common Persian inspiration for Greek and Hebrew

historiography has not gained much acceptance. A few scholars have proposed a Greek inspiration for biblical historiography, and some others have pointed to the common literary features in the Bible and Greek literature. This article tries to offer a fresh view of the possible relationship between Greek and biblical historiography, asking why stories about the past are written.

Yoshinori Sano's article provides a comparative perspective to the discussion of the reinterpretation of tradition in the Deuteronomistic history, especially in terms of theodicy, memory, and identity. In *Prometheus Bound*, a Greek tragedy of disputed authorship, Zeus inflicts severe punishment on Prometheus, a benefactor to humankind. The fragments of *Prometheus Unbound*, the subsequent drama in the trilogy, allow us to infer that a reconciliation between Zeus and Prometheus is attained and the justice of Zeus towards Prometheus and humankind is confirmed. The difference between the two accounts highlight how the elements of theodicy, memory, and identity are manipulated through the process of the adaptation and reinterpretation of Io's journey.

Jörg Rüpke's contribution inquires about practices in the Western Mediterranean in late Republican Rome that might be comparable to Deuteronomistic developments. Processes of scripturalization and historicization are identified, above all from the third century BCE onwards. The focus is on the transformation of religious practices into a memorized past. It is argued that by the late Republic (first century BCE) such projects have become universalist rather than purely local and are reflecting contemporary politics as much as individual religious practices.

As readers will easily recognize, the current volume crisscrosses a broad landscape of materials and combines a variety of research in one volume. The sixteen contributions represent a series of studies that portray the fascinating relationship between collective memory and collective identity, on the one hand, and history within Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic historiography as well as its proximate context, on the other hand, presenting fresh and illuminating perspectives that, it is hoped, will inspire future research.<sup>50</sup>

I dedicate this volume to my teacher and friend, professor emeritus Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann who turns 80 years old on January 12th, 2021.

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<sup>50</sup> Diana Edelman, Yigal Levin, Raymond Person and Dominik Markl have kindly read an earlier version of this introduction and provided me with useful comments. I would like to express gratitude to each of them for their help.

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**Part I The Use of Memory to Reinforce Identity  
Boundaries**



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## Looking Back in Order to Move Forward: The Use of Deuteronomy 1:22–33 in Joshua 2

Deuteronomy 1:22–33 and Josh 2 have a lot in common: both are stories about the beginning of the conquest of the land; in Deuteronomy, it is led by Moses and in the book of Joshua, by his successor, Joshua. In both cases, scouts are sent out to explore the region the Israelites are about to enter and in both, the reports from the scouts are short but positive. In addition, both stories describe a paralyzing downheartedness in view of the imminent conquest – experienced by the Israelites in Deut 1:18 and by the people of the land in Josh 2:11. Both episodes are highly paradigmatic and theologically charged, but while in Deut 1 everything is played out among the Israelites, i. e. between Moses, the people of Israel, and Yhwh, in Josh 2, the main protagonist is a non-Israelite woman, the Canaanite prostitute Rahab.

This article investigates the two stories as independent units as well as their interplay. Joshua 2 and Deut 1:22–33 are analyzed within their literary contexts and with regard to their respective composition and interpretation. The results pave the way for a more nuanced view of the literary relation between the two stories. It will be argued that Josh 2 is part of a late insertion that builds on deuteronomic (dtr) traditions, theology and ideology in order to find answers to challenges faced by post-exilic Israelites. The common ground is a shared way of turning to history as a way to understand and interpret the present as well as the future.

In this regard and although dealing with literary processes like the use of one text by another, the discussion offers a glimpse into cultural memories<sup>1</sup> and the intertwined processes of their usage and reshaping.<sup>2</sup> The interplay of texts represents only a small segment out of much more extensive and more multiform societal discourses. While their textual representation might be overrepresented in the modern exegete's work, it remains the best – in many cases – the only access to discourses of the kind in the ancient world.

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<sup>1</sup> For the concept of “cultural memory” adopted from Aleida and Jan Assmann, see the Introduction, pp. 3–4.

<sup>2</sup> See the contribution by Diana Edelman (ch. 2) in the present volume for another example of comparable processes that focus on religious practices.

## Deuteronomy 1:22–33: A Lesson in Faith

The short narrative in Deut 1:22–33 is part of a larger speech comprising Deut 1:6–30:20 in which Moses (Deut 1:1, 5) addresses the Israelites and combines recollections of history with exhortations for the future.<sup>3</sup> In Deut 1:6–3:29, Moses looks back at experiences on the way from Mount Horeb to the land of Moab. Within his presentation, the time marker in 2:16 highlights a turning point:<sup>4</sup> here, the actual conquest begins. After the death of the former generation, the path is open to the crossing of the Arnon (2:24) and for a successful conquest of the land – as exemplified by the successive victories over Sihon and Og. The earlier section leading up to this turning point (1:6–2:15) is structured by an itinerary (1:6, 19; 2:1) divided into three stages: in 1:6–18, Israel is at mount Horeb; in 1:19–49, after crossing the desert, they are in Kadesh Barnea; in 2:1–15, Israel is back in the desert, now aimlessly circling the Seir.

The itinerary already makes it obvious: Moses does not describe Israel's journey as a straightforward passage into the land; the last stage can only be a regression. In 1:19–46, Moses focuses on the reasons for this regression, tracing it back to two failed attempts (1:22–33 and 1:34–46) to conquer the land.<sup>5</sup> In 1:20, he refers back to the initial order in 1:6–8:<sup>6</sup> “you have come to the hill country of the Amorites” (באתם עד הר האמרי) takes up 1:7 and “which Yhwh our God is giving us” (אשר יהוה אלוהינו נתן לנו) echoes 1:8.<sup>7</sup> In 1:22, he recalls the initiative of the people

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<sup>3</sup> For Lothar Perlitt (2013, 88) it is the “problem” of the dtr looking back into the early history of Israel that it is neither “pure” historiography nor “pure” parenthesis but a mixture of references to the past and directions for the present (“ein Gemenge aus Hinweisen auf die ‘Geschichte’ und Wegweisungen für die Gegenwart”). Perlitt is certainly right in his description of the phenomenon but maybe not in labeling it a “problem.” The creative use of history in order to find answers to the challenges of the present (and the future) is a fascinating feature of the literature associated with the “Deuteronomists.” The integration and function of historical recollections in Deuteronomy are discussed by Christoph Hardmeier (2000 and 2005).

<sup>4</sup> See Hardmeier 2005, 8.

<sup>5</sup> While only the first attempt can be discussed here in more detail, the second failure (1:34–46) is presented as a direct result of the first. After Yhwh's reproach and verdict on the present generation, the people initiate an autonomous attempt to conquer the land and are defeated by the Amorites.

<sup>6</sup> Weinfeld 1991, 142.

<sup>7</sup> Deuteronomy 1:21 is in all likelihood a later addition (see Heckl 2004, 140–41; Otto 2012, 377–78). Like 1:20, 1:21 refers back to 1:6–8 but introduces a differentiation between the people and Moses, who talks here as if he were not included in the initial order to enter the land. Moreover, the fear mentioned in 1:21 comes too early. In the presentation of Moses, there has been no reason for fear up to now. Only the desert has some negative connotations (1:19), but the people are about to leave it behind. The fear eventually results from the way the people interpret the report

to send out scouts, which he had explicitly endorsed (1:23).<sup>8</sup> What follows seems like an unproblematic scouting story: after describing their purpose (v. 22), scouts are selected (v. 23), they explore the land (v. 24) and return with good news and fruits which symbolize the land's fertility.<sup>9</sup> The way into the land is expressed with עלה (to ascend; 1:22, 24), while the scouts descend (יָרַד in 1:25) as they return. But in Moses's presentation, the focus is not on the event itself but rather on the speeches accompanying it; the narrative sections encompass only a few short sentences, while the speeches take up decidedly more space.

– The task of the scouts and their report upon their return frame the short narrative section in vv. 23–25a:

<i>Task</i>	1:22b	<i>Report</i>	1:25b
	וישבו אתנו דבר		וישבו אתנו דבר ויאמרו
	את הדרך אשר נעלה בה		טובה הארץ אשר יהוה אלהינו נתן לנו
	ואת הערים אשר נבא אליהן		
And they shall bring us word of the way we must go up and the cities into which we shall come.		They brought us word and said: It is a good land that Yhwh, our God, is giving us.	

Although the report reproduces parts of the task *verbatim*, it obviously does not answer all the questions raised in it (i. e. providing detailed knowledge about the way and the settlements in the land). The missing elements will appear in 1:28 in the people's own rendition of the scouts' report. Nevertheless, the report resembles the initial order to conquer the land in 1:6–8 as well as Moses's recapitulation of it in 1:20. However, it contains decisive, additional information: the land is

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of the scouts (1:28). Had Moses already known this, his positive reaction to the wish of the people (1:23) would not have been plausible (Heckl 2004, 141). The problem was already noted by Gustav Hölscher (1922, 163, n. 1).

<sup>8</sup> There is a long tradition of seeing the people's request to send out scouts as a sign of disobedience (so already Steuernagel 1900, 5; see also Lohfink 1990, 23; Weinfeld 1991, 144; Rose 1994, 479; Nielsen 1995, 29; and Creach 2003, 40–41.). This view was contested by Gustav Hölscher (1922, 161), Raik Heckl (2004, 147–48), and especially by Lothar Peritt (2013, 97), who stressed that the request of the people is a reasonable one (see also Brueggeman 2001, 29) and that the author of Deut 1, knowing well what its result will be, does not want to spoil Moses's point but has him report the people's suggestion *sine ira et studio* ("without anger and passion"). The interpretation developed here supports Peritt's reading: the point of Moses's tale is that despite a favorable report by the scouts, the people refuse to enter the land due to excessive fear and a lack of trust in Yhwh. The problem lies the reaction to the report made by the scouts, not in their initial dispatch.

<sup>9</sup> Peritt 2013, 99.

described as “good” (טובה הארץ). After this report, the conquest of the land could have started without further delay but it did not, due to the refusal of the people.

In an even shorter note (1:26, 27aa), Moses then recollects the people’s refusal to act. The main drama is once again played out in the speeches. The people present their perspective in 1:27–28. Within Moses’s recollection, however, their words are introduced from the outset as an act of disobedience against Yhwh (ותמרו את פי יהוה אלהיכם).<sup>10</sup> The people’s speech is quoted after this negative assessment. It refers back to the task of the scouts and focuses on the specific details they were to observe in their reconnaissance.

<i>Speech of the People</i>	<i>Task of the Scouts</i>
אנא אנחנו עלים 1:28	וישבו אתנו דבר 1:22b
אחינו המסו את לבבנו לאמר	את הדרך אשר נעלה בה
עם גדול ורם ממנו	
ערים גדלת ובצורת בשמים	
וגם בני ענקים ראינו שם	ואת הערים אשר נבא אליהן
<p>Where are we going up to? Our brothers have made our hearts melt: The people are greater and taller than we, The cities are great and fortified up to the sky. And besides, we have seen giants there.</p>	<p>And they shall bring us word of the way we must go up  and the cities into which we shall come.</p>

The differences between Moses’s initial recollection of the scouts’ report (v. 25b, see above) and the way the people quote it (v. 28) are obvious, but the two versions do not necessarily contradict each other. While 1:25 talks about the “good land” in light of its fertility, 1:28 refers to the inhabitants of the land and possible obstacles to its conquest.<sup>11</sup> Both statements can be understood as partial quotes of a more extensive report.<sup>12</sup> Even so, they betray differing perspectives. While Moses quotes the scouts’ report directly, the people’s version appears as a quote within a quote: Moses quotes the people’s speech, who in turn quote the report of the scouts. The

<sup>10</sup> Heckl 2004, 159.

<sup>11</sup> Heckl 2004, 168. For a discussion of the “giants” mentioned in Deut 1:28 as well as an investigation into the memories connected to them, see the contribution by Ronald Hendel in Part 2 of this volume.

<sup>12</sup> Against Mittmann 1975, 36 (cf. Mayes 1981, 130–31), who sees both statements as diametrically opposed and accordingly, traces 1:28–33 back to a later redaction.

people's version goes through many mouths not only in its narrative presentation but also in the depicted scene (murmur in the tents). With its unrealistic imagery (giants, cities fortified up to the sky), it gives the impression of a rumor that grows more and more gruesome with every repetition.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, the people's version is not presented as a neutral account but as a report prone to cause despair: "our brothers have made our hearts melt" (אחינו המסו את לבבנו).

As a result, the people's interpretation of the scouts' report casts doubt not only on the positive outcome of their journey but also on Yhwh's aims altogether (1:27). Norbert Lohfink characterizes the people's statement as an "anti-confession,"<sup>14</sup> completely perverting Yhwh's earlier promises and salvation history and thus misconstruing Yhwh himself.<sup>15</sup>

The textual parallels to 1:27 in Deut 9:28 and 7:7–8 further highlight the depth of the people's uncertainty.

1:27 בשנאת יהוה אתנו הוציאנו מארץ מצרים ... להשמידנו

Because Yhwh hated us he has brought us out of the land of ... to destroy us.

9:28 פן יאמרו הארץ אשר הוצאתנו משם מבלי יכלת יהוה להביאם אל ארץ אשר דבר להם ומשנאתו אתם הוציאם להמיתם במדבר

Lest the land from which you brought us say: Because Yhwh was not able to bring them into the land that he promised them, and because he hated them, he has brought them out to put them to death in the wilderness.

7:7–8 לא מרבכם מעל העמים השק יהוה בכם ויבחר בכם כי אתם המעט מכל העמים כי מאהבת יהוה אתכם ומשמרו את השבעה אשר נשבע לאבותיכם הוציא יהוה אתכם ביד חזקה ויפדך מבית עבדים מיד פרעה מלך מצרים

It was not because you were more in number than any other people that Yhwh set his love on you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples, but it is because Yhwh loves you and is keeping the oath that he swore to your fathers, that Yhwh has brought you out with a mighty hand and redeemed you from the house of slavery, from the hand of Pharaoh, king of Egypt.

<sup>13</sup> In fact, the people do not quote the report of the scouts as a narrative but only as a series of nominal phrases.

<sup>14</sup> Lohfink 1990, 25; see also Perlitt 2013, 104, and Braulik 1986, 27.

<sup>15</sup> Brueggeman 2001, 30.

Deuteronomy 9:28 belongs to the fourth reminiscence of the Horeb-events in which Moses invokes a number of examples from the past to prove the notorious stubbornness of the people that almost led to Israel's annihilation.<sup>16</sup> Moses's intercession made a new beginning possible, which is recollected here, together with the demand to learn from the mistakes of the past. In 9:28, Moses puts the statements of Yhwh's hatred against Israel in the mouth of the Egyptians in order to persuade Yhwh. Here in 1:27, the very same statement appears in the mouth of the Israelites. The severity of the guilt of this first generation becomes apparent: they behaved like Egypt.

Deuteronomy 7:7–8 forms the positive counterpart. The text expands on the relationship between Yhwh and his people that is not based on the people's greatness but on Yhwh's choice. The Exodus from Egypt is grounded on Yhwh's love. Deuteronomy 1:27 transforms this insight into its opposite.

In 1:29–33, Moses reacts to the speech of the people.<sup>17</sup> He points out the actual issue behind the people's skeptical murmurs; it is a lack of faith in the promises of Yhwh. He addresses the people's fears (1:28) in his mention of the imminent battle but characterizes it as a battle of Yhwh (30א: הוא ילחם לכם) and thus includes it in the basic promise of 1:8: "See, I have set the land before you" (ראה נתתי לפניכם אתה (הארץ)). Against the people's fear, he reminds them of their earlier experiences with Yhwh, focusing on the history of a relationship from which the people can gain confidence for the future. The fundamental paradigm is the Exodus from Egypt, and the fundamental category is "faith" אמונה (Deut 1:32: "Yet in spite of this word you did not have faith in Yhwh, your God" (ובדבר הזה אינכם מאמינים ביהוה אלהיכם)).

<sup>16</sup> Similar reminiscences are found in Deut 1:6–18; 4:9–14; 5:2, 4–31; 9:7–10, 11, and 18:16–20. For a discussion of the textual pragmatics of these retrospectives, see Hardmeier 2005.

<sup>17</sup> Many commentators agree that 1:33 is a later addition that presupposes a late redactional stage of Num 13–14 and intends to harmonize the account in Deut 1 with the former; see Perlitt 2013, 111–12 and the discussion and overview provided by Otto 2012, 377–85. There are differing opinions on 1:28–32, however. Attributing the whole section of 1:28–33 to a later redactor, as do Siegfried Mittmann (1975, 36–38) and Lothar Perlitt (2013, 107), creates a number of problems. Without 1:28, the refusal of the people would remain without any justification, and their decision to "fight" in 1:41 would be hard to fathom without the knowledge of obstacles and possible adversaries in the land provided by 1:28. Eckart Otto (2012, 379) therefore sees only 1:28b–33 as secondary. His main reasons are that Moses's speech is not a fitting reaction to the refusal of the people and that the reaction of Yhwh that only is reported after Moses's speech (1:34–36) comes too late. Given the fact that Moses does not present the events in their logical sequence but uses them freely as applicable to his reasoning, Otto's argument is not as strong as it appears. Moreover, references to previous verses in 1:28–32, like the mention of Egypt in 1:30 that points back to 1:27 or בדבר הזה that refers to בעיני הדבר in 1:23, anchor the section in its context.



The scouting story in Deut 1:22–33 is highly paradigmatic. It is not intended as a straightforward account of historical events, but rather represents a recollection of stories relating to a shared history known to the addressees.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, neither Moses nor the people have to present their arguments in a logical sequence, and neither of them has to reiterate the scouts' report completely. The issue here is not what they learn from the scouts but how they deal with the information they receive. Speech and counter-speech stand for differing perspectives that result in contrary assessments of the situation: one sees the land as “good,” the others perceive themselves in mortal danger. While both perspectives may be comprehensible interpretations of the scouts' account, the greater framework in which the information is presented privileges one over the other.

The people argue out of a paralyzing fear: city walls become fortresses up to the sky, the inhabitants of the land turn into invincible giants. The land cannot be conquered, making the entire journey through the desert a vain exercise. Yhwh cannot be trusted. What remains is the despairing question: Where are we going up to? (אנה אנחנו עלים), Deut. 1:28). The alternative to put all trust in themselves is a faulty one; the arbitrary attempt of a humanly initiated conquest (1:34–46) leads to failure. The victories over Sihon and Og, however, show how trust in Yhwh leads to success. Moses diagnoses the reasons for the people's uncertainty as a lack of faith in Yhwh. He presents the whole journey from Egypt to “this place” (עד המקום הזה) as a providential act of Yhwh that was beneficial to the people. In the light of these experiences, a distrustful attitude can only be an absurd hubris.<sup>19</sup> The speech of Moses ends with a reproach (1:32–33) that almost demands to be challenged. In doing so, the people will gain the insight themselves.

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**18** This point touches on the complex issue of the (literary) relationship between Deut 1 and Num 13–14. This matter is complicated because of the much-debated literary history of Num 13–14. The current discussion involves a number of differing redaction-critical hypotheses and models of reciprocal literary influence in the development of both texts. This issue cannot be taken up here. It would require a detailed comparison and analysis of Num 13–14, which has been done elsewhere (see e. g. the studies by Rabe 1994; Otto 2000, 12–109; Schmidt 2002, and Achenbach 2003). It is clear that the text in Deut 1 presupposes in its addressees some knowledge of a tradition also attested in Num 13–14. As seen above, Deut 1:22–33 relates to a shared and well-known (hi)story and applies it in its argumentation. For the sake of the argument, a tradition-historical background suffices that allows for a familiarity with the story on the side of the author of Deut 1 and his intended readers.

**19** Cf. Brueggeman 2001, 31: “Israel is a people of faith, and so cannot be a people of fear. The immobilizing fear comes because they no longer trust Yhwh as an adequate force on their behalf.”

## Joshua 2: Rahab's Testimony of Faith

The other scouting story is no less paradigmatic than the one in Deut 1.<sup>20</sup> Once again, the basic plot of a group of scouts exploring the land before its conquest serves as a backdrop for engaging a thoroughly theological issue.

In its level of detail and theological density, Josh 2 stands out from its literary context. Moreover, the story stands in clear tension with its narrative surroundings. In current scholarship, it is therefore widely agreed that it forms a secondary insertion into an older narrative thread.<sup>21</sup> While in the past, literary-historical reconstructions have often identified several redactional layers or additions within the Rahab episode,<sup>22</sup> many recent analyses read it for the most part as a

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**20** Its paradigmatic nature has clearly been recognized in the history of its interpretation. The Canaanite prostitute Rahab is one of only five women mentioned in the genealogy of Jesus in Matt 1, where she is the great-grandmother of David. Each of the five women plays a special role in the biblical tradition and is, in the opinion of the compiler of the genealogy, an important figure within Israel's history of salvation. In later reception history, Rahab was seen as a prophet and became a role model for women within the Christian community and even a symbol of the Christian church. Instructive glimpses into Rahab's reception history are provided in the studies of Anneliese Felber, Lung-pun Common Chan, and Louise Tsui-yuk Lui in Siquans 2017 or in the more general overview in Toczyski 2018, 66–126.

**21** The problems have long been seen; see the summary in Krause 2014, 140–45. They concern (1) the incompatible chronological structures of Josh 1:3–4. and Josh 2, and (2) the disconnected juxtaposition of the Rahab-episode and the account of the conquest of Jericho in Josh 2. According to Josh 1:11, Israel will cross the Jordan on the third day after the events reported in Josh 1 (בְּעֵד שְׁלִישׁ יָמִים). Josh 3:2 continues this chronological concept (מִקְצֵה שְׁלִישׁ יָמִים). This time span is not reconcilable with the temporal concept of the Rahab episode: here, the scouts spend a day in the house of Rahab (Josh 2:5) and three more days in the mountains (2:16, 22) before returning to Joshua (cf. already Wellhausen <sup>4</sup>1963, 117–18). While older commentators usually explained the tension as resulting from an integration of older material (so e. g. Noth<sup>3</sup> 1971, 9, and, following Noth, Fritz 1994, 5), it is now widely accepted that Josh 2 was secondarily inserted into an existing narrative thread (Van Seters 1983, 325; Nelson 1997, 41; Haarmann 2008, 108–9; Knauf 2008, 46, or Krause 2014, 141–42). Usually, scouts are sent out to reconnoiter and gather intelligence to plan an attack. Although rather vague in their formulation, this also seems to be the aim of Joshua's instructions to the scouts in 2:1. But in Josh 6, the actual account of the conquest of Jericho, the mission of the scouts plays no role. Nothing they could have learned from Rahab would have helped the Israelites. Given the (miraculous) way Jericho is conquered, the sending of scouts would not have been necessary (Van Seters 1983, 325; cf. Krause 2014, 143). Moreover, according to Josh 2, Rahab's house is connected to the city wall (2:5, 7), which totally collapses in Josh 6 (see Tov 2008, 393 and Krause, *ibid.*, who also discusses the variant reading in LXX [2014, 143–44]). In addition to the chronological discrepancies, the basic scenery in Josh 2 stands in contrast to Josh 6.

**22** Earlier commentators usually tried to trace the J or E source within Josh 2; see e. g. Kuenen 1887, 133–34, 151; Albers 1891, 34–44; Wellhausen <sup>4</sup>1963, 117–18, or Smend 1912, 279–83, though

unified story.<sup>23</sup> Only the so-called confession of Rahab (Josh 2:9–13) is still the subject of broader debate.<sup>24</sup> A closer look at the structure of the story and its pragmatics, however, suggests that Rahab’s speech is an indispensable part of the unit and cannot be eliminated from the story.

Instructive in this regard are the multiple concentric structures that constitute a notable feature in Josh. 2:<sup>25</sup>

– The exposition in 2:1–3 and the resolution in 2:22–24 resemble each other albeit in an inverted structure.

2:1a	commissioning of the scouts	report of the scouts	2:24
2:1b	arrival at Rahab’s house	return to Joshua	2:23
2:2–3	attempt to capture the scouts	escape of the scouts	2:22

The main section, 2:4–21, is structured into three scenes: 2:4–8; 2:9–14, and 2:15–21. All of them contain primarily speeches. But while in the first and third scenes the speeches are supplemented by short narrative details (2:4a, 6–8, 15, 21b), the central one foregoes these completely. A concentric structure is discernible as well in the spatial organization of the scenes; the first leads the scouts (6a) and later also Rahab (8b) up to the roof, the second is set on the roof, and the third leads back down (15).<sup>26</sup>

As is well known, the Rahab story does not end in Josh 2:24. The oath of the scouts to spare Rahab and her family (2:12–14, 17–21) demands a narrative fulfillment, which appears in Josh 6:16–24. Here it is intertwined with the account of

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they diverge considerably in their details. More recent studies that propose numerous *Fortschreibungen* or redactional layers are e.g. Otto 1975, 95–103; Floß 1982; 1986; Fritz 1994, 33–35; and Kratz 2000, 208.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. Bieberstein 1995, 105–35 for the narrative parts of Josh 2; within Rahab’s speech, he identifies a substantial post-priestly redaction; Nelson 1997, 40–41; Haarmann 2008, 11–115, and Krause 2014, 136–40.

<sup>24</sup> As John Van Seters correctly noted, the *communis opinio* in older research that Rahab’s speech results in part or in its entirety from a secondary theologization of an older primarily narrative episode creates a problem: “The old story, thus reconstructed, is a meaningless fragment” (1990, 4, n. 9). Indeed, the allocation of Josh 2:9–11 or parts thereof to one or several redactions is usually not based on clear indications in the text (see Blum 2010, 224) but on text-external presuppositions. If Josh 2 is seen as pre-dtr (see nn. 19 and 20), Rahab’s speech, with its clear dtr language and its numerous references to dtr texts, cannot be original (cf. Bieberstein 1995, 128; Krause 2014, 138–39).

<sup>25</sup> See Bieberstein 1995, 359–63; Stek 2002, 36–38; Haarmann 2008, 103–4, and Krause 2014, 139.

<sup>26</sup> Bieberstein 1995, 362.

the conquest of Jericho and the story of Achan's disobedience.<sup>27</sup> The fulfillment is narrated in 6:17a, 18–19, 21, while 6:17b, 22–23, 25 refer back to Rahab. The account of Joshua's orders and their execution once again displays a concentric structure (6:17//6:25; 6:19//6:24; 6:22//6:23).

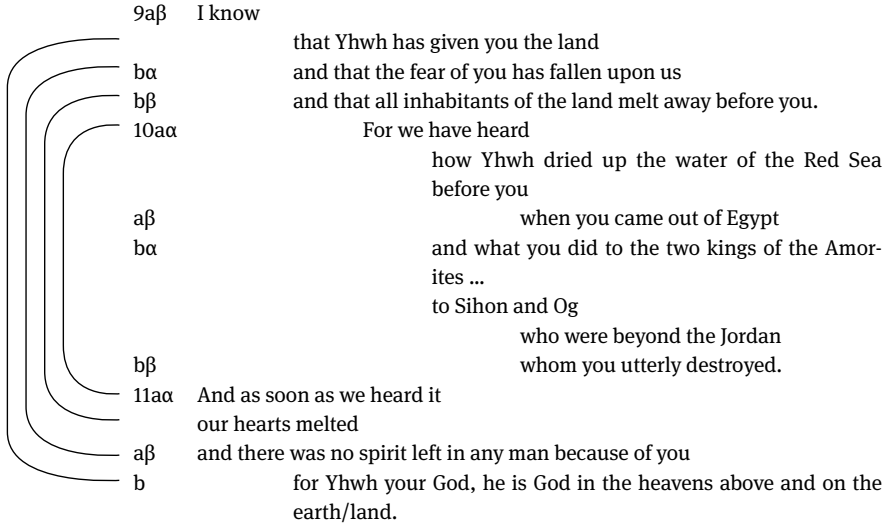
– As if to prove that concentric structures are a favorite compositional device for the author of the Rahab story, they also occur in the central speech of Rahab in 2:9–11. The speech is a rhetorical masterpiece displaying a complex structure of main and subordinated clauses.<sup>28</sup>

**Table 1:** Concentric structures in Josh 2:9–11

	ידעתי	9aβ	
כי נתן יהוה לכם את הארץ			
וכי נפלה אימתכם עלינו		bα	
וכי נמגו כל ישבי הארץ		bβ	
כי שמענו		10aα	
את אשר הוביש יהוה את מי ים סוף מפניכם			
בצאתכם ממצרים		aβ	
ואשר עשיתם לשני מלכי האמרי ... לסיחון ולעוג		bα	
אשר בעבר הירדן			
אשר חורמתם אותם		bβ	
ונשמע		11aα	
וימס לבבנו			
ולא קמה עוד רוח באיש מפניכם		aβ	
כי יהוה אלהיכם הוא אלהים בשמים ממעל ועל הארץ מתחת		b	

<sup>27</sup> See Noth 1971, 40. Klaus Bieberstein (1995, 287–89) sees in Josh 6:22–23 and 6:17–18; 25 a doublet of two pairs of orders and executions that are not compatible. But most of the differences he notes—differing designations of the scouts (הנערים המרגלים/המלאכים) and their destination (הארץ הארץ) as well as differing reasons for saving Rahab (החבאה/כי נשבעתם/כי החבאה)—simply result from the fact that Joshua at one time addresses the scouts and at the other the people. There is also no contradiction between Rahab's stay outside the Israelite camp (v. 23: מחוץ למחנה ישראל) and her settling in Israel (v. 25: בקרב ישראל). The latter refers to Rahab's descendants in the time of the addressees of the text, as the formula עד היום הזה indicates. This formula usually accompanies etiological explanations.

<sup>28</sup> For similar analyses of the structure with slight differences in detail, see e. g. Stek 2002, 37, 41; Haarmann 2008, 104, and Krause 2014, 159.



The three כִּי-clauses in 2:9 depend on ידעתי in v. 9a, but the subject changes from singular to plural in v. 9b. Rahab’s knowledge, therefore, is not based on an individual but on a collective experience.<sup>29</sup> Accordingly, the pronoun “you” refers not only to the scouts but to the people of Israel as a whole. Verses 2:9bα and 9bβ name the reasons for Rahab’s initial statement in 9aβ; the fear and terror on the side of the Canaanites prove that Yhwh has given the land to the Israelites. This means that the speech begins with a conclusion and then develops step by step the reasoning leading to it. Verse 2:10b goes back another step along the causal chain: the insights in 9b are based on the news of two events, the crossing of the sea and the ban on the two Amorite kings, Sihon and Og. The three short sentences in 2:11a summarize the effect on the Canaanite inhabitants of the land and reapply key words and concepts of 2:9–10 in an inverted order. Two confessional statements (vv. 9aβ and 11b) form an outer *inclusio* using the key words יהוה and ארץ: Yhwh has given the land to Israel, because he is the God of heaven and earth/land.

This concentric composition achieves two aims: (1) It moves statements (v. 9b) that are initially dependent on Rahab’s ידעתי up front (v. 11a). As a result, they no longer appear as Rahab’s private opinion but rather as generally accepted. (2) The argument of the speech leads from a given situation (v. 9aβ) to its symptoms (v. 9b) and their causes (v. 10) and then back via the consequences of the causes

<sup>29</sup> Blum 2010, 224–25.

mentioned (v. 11). The consequences match the symptoms and confirm them. The whole sequence creates the impression of a self-contained argument that allows for no other conclusion than the one reached by Rahab: the fate of the land is decided; all the more so because the decisive statement in v. 9a $\beta$  uses נתן *gal.* perf. and presents the matter as already accomplished.

In addition to the consistent use of concentric structures, other characteristics of the story cast doubt on any attempt to make it work without Rahab's prominent confession. Commentators stressing the literary qualities of the story have often pointed to its irony.<sup>30</sup> A good example of ironic deception is Rahab's speech to the messengers of the king who demand the surrender of the scouts (2:3–5).

<i>Messengers</i>		<i>Rahab</i>	
	הוציאי האנשים 2:3b		כן באו אלי האנשים 2:4b
	הבאים אליך		ולא ידעתי מעין המה
	כי לחפר את כל הארץ באו	ויהי השער לסגור בחשך והאנשים יצאו 5	לא ידעתי אנה הלכו האנשים
			רדפו מהר אחריהם כי תשיגון
Bring out the men who have come to you, for they have come to search out all the land.		Yes, the men came to me, but I did not know where they came from. And when the gate was about to be closed at dark the men went out. I do not know where the men went.	

Rahab reproduces *verbatim* two elements from the demand of the messengers, affirming one and implicitly denying the other: ‘Yes, the men came to me, but I cannot surrender them, because they already left.’ Twice, she asserts her unknowingness and appears naïve and clueless, eager to declare her solidarity with the messengers. For the reader, who learns in 2:4a that Rahab is hiding the scouts, Rahab's eagerness in 2:5 can only make him/her smile.<sup>31</sup> The narration plays again with the superior knowledge of the reader in 2:7; this time, the reader knows that the messengers have nothing to find.<sup>32</sup> The spatial relations of the protagonists mirror Rahab's deception: the messengers go down to the Jordan (2:7) while the

<sup>30</sup> See e. g. Moran 1967; Bird 1989, and Creach 2003, 38–41.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Moran 1967, 281: “At any rate, her speech is a gem, sincere in tone, plausible in its denials, persuasive in its counsel, and absolutely untrue.”

<sup>32</sup> See Weiss 1963, 463.

scouts and Rahab go up to the roof (2:6, 8). Similarly, in 2:22 the scouts wait up in the mountains while their pursuers search the streets without success.<sup>33</sup>

Even more striking is the story's artful playing with sexual connotations.<sup>34</sup> The local point of departure is Shittim, a site (in)famous for Israel's unfaithfulness due to sexual intercourse with Moabite women (cf. Num 25:1 *ויחל העם לזנות* (אל בנות מואב)).<sup>35</sup> As will be discussed below, Josh 2 displays a wide knowledge of Pentateuchal traditions. The mention of Shittim and the information that the scouts come to the house of a prostitute (Josh 2:1 *ויבאו בית אישה זונה*) should alarm the listeners. The exposition evokes the danger that the scouts might fall into the same trap as the Israelites in Shittim.<sup>36</sup>

The sexual allusions become even more pronounced in the following account. Rahab not only is introduced as a prostitute even before her name is mentioned, but the verb *שכב* also is applied to describe the scouts' stay at her house (2:1b). The semantic range of *שכב* includes, besides "to lie/sleep" or "to die," also the meaning, "to have sexual intercourse."<sup>37</sup> The same is true for *בא אל*,<sup>38</sup> which is used to describe Rahab's dealings with the scouts (2:3, 4). With its ambiguous expressions, Josh 2 raises expectations in the reader that are unfulfilled again and again in the course of the narrative but kept alive until the climax in 2:9. In the evening, the scouts go to the prostitute Rahab in order to lie with her. They are disturbed by the messengers of the king. While Rahab sends the messengers away and tells them that two clients had been with her earlier, the scouts wait on the roof. They had not yet lain with her (8a: *והמה טרם ישכבון*) when she finally goes up to them. What follows, however, is a theological speech, in which Rahab explains her motives and shows herself a model of faith in Yhwh. Thus, she totally contradicts all expectations connected to her role as a prostitute,<sup>39</sup> especially with regards to her being a danger to the Israelites' faith in Yhwh. All in all, the story remains ambiguous; the allusions are subtle, but they may lead the reader down a wrong track that renders the turning point in 2:9–11 even more surprising.

<sup>33</sup> Moran 1967, 281.

<sup>34</sup> See e. g. Bird, 1989; Creach 2003, 36–37.

<sup>35</sup> On the relation of Josh 2 to Num 25:1–5, see esp. Krause 2015, 422–25.

<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, Krause talks of a "counter-narrative" (2015, 422).

<sup>37</sup> Beuken 1993. Examples of this usage of *שכב* are Gen 30:15; 2 Sam 11:11; 12:24 and in legal texts, Exod 22:15, 18; Lev 15:18–20; 20:11–13; and Deut 22:22–24.

<sup>38</sup> See e. g. Gen 38:3, 8, 9, 16, 18; Judg 16:1; and Ezek 23:44.

<sup>39</sup> According to Phyllis Bird (1989, 130), "The prostitute's low social status and low reputation are essential, and related features. The reader does not expect anything from her, or at least not anything of moral strength, courage, or insight."

This undoubtedly artful presentation and play with the expectations of the readers would be utterly pointless without Rahab's confession. Besides the concentric structure applied in the narrative as a whole as well as in Rahab's speech in 2:9–14, the narrative design of the story also indicates that the confession is an indispensable and therefore original part of the Rahab story.

This conclusion must have a bearing on the understanding of the story as a whole. Traditionally, the Rahab-story was seen as a rather straightforward scouting story<sup>40</sup> or as an etiology trying to explain the existence of a certain clan,<sup>41</sup> festival,<sup>42</sup> or sanctuary,<sup>43</sup> though none of the suggestions, which usually also regarded Rahab's confession as a later addition, was able to convince a majority of scholars.<sup>44</sup> The debate has made considerable progress thanks to the analysis of Erhard Blum, who stresses the connection between Josh 2 and Josh 7. He regards both texts as belonging to a common redactional layer.<sup>45</sup> According to Blum, the stories about Rahab and the Achan are “two paradigmatic and complementary episodes.”<sup>46</sup> In both, scouts are sent out (Josh 2:1; 7:2); statements from Rahab's confession recur in Josh 7:5–7, albeit in reverse; both stories focus on the ban, with Josh 2 showing a way for Canaanites to be spared while Josh 7 stresses the lasting validity of the ban regulations (even tightening them, cf. Deut 13:13–15). Building on the older insights pertaining to the narrative tension between Josh 2 and its narrative context (see above, note 21) and the obvious inclusion and adaptation of numerous priestly and non-priestly Pentateuchal traditions (see below, p. 35–37), Blum concludes that the identified layer represents a literary stratum that presupposes a very advanced stage in the formation of the Pentateuch but is itself rooted in Deuteronomistic theology and ideology.<sup>47</sup>

Understood in this way, there is some truth in the etiological reading of the Rahab-story, but its point of departure in the time of the addressees is not a specific clan and certainly not a sanctuary in Jericho. The key figure is Rahab herself. She is and remains a Canaanite, but at the same time, she is presented as the

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<sup>40</sup> See many older commentators like Gunkel 1913, or Windisch 1917/1918.

<sup>41</sup> See e. g. Noth<sup>3</sup> 1971, 23; cf. Creach 2003, 41.

<sup>42</sup> Otto 1975, 167–69.

<sup>43</sup> See e. g. Hölscher 1919/1920.

<sup>44</sup> Ed Noort (1998, 230–38) and Klaus Bieberstein (1995, 58–63) argue, for example, against Noth's etiological reading by attributing the etiological formulas to later redactions.

<sup>45</sup> Blum 2010, 221–27. In this regard, Blum is followed by Haarmann (2008, 125–27) and Krause (2014, 181–84).

<sup>46</sup> Blum 2010, 223.

<sup>47</sup> Blum 2010, 226.