

DOREN G. SNOEK

# Chronicles and Social Memory

*Forschungen  
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164*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

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Herausgegeben von

Corinna Körting (Hamburg) · Konrad Schmid (Zürich)  
Mark S. Smith (Princeton) · Andrew Teeter (Harvard)

164





Doren G. Snoek

# Chronicles and Social Memory

How Scribes and Media Shaped a Biblical History

Mohr Siebeck

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for Amber



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## Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
AcBib	Academia Biblica
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of ASOR</i>
BDB	Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, <i>The New Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic</i> (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1979)
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibInt	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BJSUCSD	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BTZ	<i>Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CBQ	<i>Catholic Bible Quarterly</i>
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
CurBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
DCH	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i>
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DtrH	Deuteronomistic History
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EC	<i>Early Christianity</i>
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature

<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
GKC	Wilhelm Gesenius, <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> , ed. E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, 2nd English ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910)
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
<i>HALOT</i>	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
<i>HBAI</i>	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
<i>HistTh</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JANEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History</i>
<i>JANER</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JbT</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie</i>
<i>JHebS</i>	<i>Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism 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
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
LAI	Library of Ancient Israel
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies
<i>MG</i>	<i>Materia Guidaica</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
<i>NEA</i>	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NCB	New Century Bible
n	note(s)
OTL	Old Testament Library
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia (Nova Series)</i>
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PN	personal name
PHSC	Perspectives on Hebrew Scripture and Its Contexts
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>RPBI</i>	<i>Research Perspectives in Biblical Interpretation</i>
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>

<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semitica</i>
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
LXX	Septuagint
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TN	toponym
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WO	Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, <i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i> (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990)
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>



## Introduction

The biblical book דברי הימים (Chronicles) is an extensive narrative of the national history of Judah, especially, and Israel.<sup>1</sup> It begins with the primeval ancestor (1 Chr 1:1) and extends to a decree by Cyrus II that any person living in exile from Yehud may return there to rebuild the temple of YHWH in Jerusalem (2 Chr 36:22–23). As a literary work, Chronicles is a paradox: derivative, inasmuch as it reproduces the text of its sources, many times letter-for-letter, yet highly original, inasmuch as these texts were in reuse inexorably transmuted into a new whole. In comparing it with other texts in the Hebrew Bible, especially its sources in the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Samuel-Kings, one finds evidence of a whole range of compositional and stylistic techniques; this, in turn, suggests masterful and highly creative scribal work.

This monograph addresses two related sets of questions, one set preliminary and theoretical and the other set narrowly concerned with Chronicles. The first set of questions begins like this: what is the relationship between social memory and the phenomenon of scribalism? Further, in the production and revision of histories, how might scribal practices, including copying, interpolation, revision, glosses, and free composition, be understood to interact with the ongoing process by which a society constructs and relates to its own past? The second set begins like this: how might we understand and articulate the relationships between social memory, scribes or writers, and Chronicles? Further, does understanding Chronicles and its writer or writers (commonly, the “Chronicler”) as participating in or shaping social memory illuminate the work? If so, how?

In response to the first set of questions, this book argues that where social memory theory and biblical studies are joined, this is accomplished well by contemplating scribes and their products. Scribes mediated shared knowledge of the past; arguably, for antiquity, the process of writing is the most impactful process in social memory for which we have any evidence. It seems wise to be

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<sup>1</sup> I am sympathetic to Tobolowsky’s suggestions in Andrew Tobolowsky, “Redescribing, But Really, Finally Moving on From Israelite Origins,” *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 35 (2023): 434–44, at 441.

cautious in appeals to orality,<sup>2</sup> and so observations about scribes and scribal practices are central.

In response to the second set of questions, this book argues that Chronicles shows highly variable scribal approaches to other texts. Consequently, this variegated approach allowed for a whole range of new possibilities in social memory, which are illumined by combining the unique theoretical approach taken here with a close reading of the text and its sources. Put simply, Chronicles is not just another representation of the same past presented in its sources. I will argue that its writing created new possibilities for social inclusion, recovered and promulgated little-known stories about grief, loss, and ancient wars, and even created new events. And, where it was convenient, the writer's work also allowed parts of Israel's and Judah's past to be "forgotten." Finally, regardless of whether it was created for this purpose or not, and regardless of its reception in the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament right alongside its major sources, Chronicles would have allowed readers to contemplate the past without almost any knowledge of those sources. It is a common position that the Chronicler intended his work to be a kind of complement or commentary to Samuel-Kings. I contest claims of this nature, both at the level of their theoretical and conceptual underpinnings and by describing the literary features of Chronicles. Even in the case that its first readers knew the source texts, even if they very likely did, the Chronicler created a coherent historical narrative that can stand independently.

In the first chapter, I probe studies of social memory and biblical texts. I argue that, sometimes, scholars covertly resort to other theories or methodological approaches. For instance, some theologically freighted modes of interpretation are presented as studies of social memory. Additionally, studies of social memory seem to be closely associated with tradition-historical approaches. I further point out that, in the field, theorizations of writtenness or scribalism and social memory are limited. Even when scholars explicitly invoke scribal processes as having some significance in terms of social memory, the underlying theoretical frameworks are sparse and narrowly specified to a single textual case or a small set of cases. Within the field, then, a framework in which to relate writtenness or scribal practice to social memory has not been adequately articulated. This inarticulacy obtains despite the presence of some voices in the field and beyond calling for extended theoretical and methodological reflection around social memory studies.

The second chapter responds to this call by addressing theories of social memory and relating them to scribalism. I will argue that media, media reception, and scribes can be held closely together within a single theoretical

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<sup>2</sup> William M. Schniedewind "Solomon from Archival Sources to Collective Memory," in *Congress Volume Aberdeen 2019*, ed. Grant Macaskill, Christl M. Maier, and Joachim Shaper, VTSup 192 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 338–57, at 340.

framework. Doing so allows one to avoid some of the problems for other approaches to social memory and biblical texts; it also allows one to fully integrate insights of critical biblical scholarship. I offer a model in which to integrate social memory theory with the study of scribes (as historical human agents) and their products (as media) with historical and literary readings of biblical texts.

Following this theoretical chapter, three chapters approach Chronicles in an extended and multifaceted case study. Each chapter takes seriously the historical question of the media to which the writers had access – in every case, scrolls – and discusses the outcomes of incorporating parts of those media within a new national history, i.e., Chronicles. This scribal process resulted in what we will call (borrowing a term from memory studies) the “mnemonic potential”<sup>3</sup> of Chronicles. “Mnemonic potential” is a shorthand for referring to the ways in which Chronicles might reshape shared knowledge of the past, i.e., collective or social memory. This potential arises from its materiality, its literary features, and its social location, inasmuch as each of these may be characterized. Mnemonic potential can and arguably must be characterized apart from questions of authorial intent and subsequent reception.

In the third chapter, I discuss the first major section of Chronicles, a daunting nine chapters of genealogy. I argue that it is possible to discern that some embedded anecdotes were preserved in those chapters from sources now lost. By attending to fine details of how the writer treats such anecdotes and the peculiar ideological features that arise when the writer edits them, I develop some criteria that show how the writer tends to either summarize such genealogical anecdotes or copies them directly and in detail. Several anecdotes show a high level of detail but lack strong ideological fingerprints: the prayer of Jabez (1 Chr 4:9–10), the Simeonite expansions (1 Chr 4:33b–43), the first Reubenite / Hagrite battle (1 Chr 5:9–10), and the story of Beriah and Sheerah (1 Chr 7:20–25). I suggest that the story of Beriah and Sheerah was incorporated because of a perceived lacuna in social memory, which is suggested by the almost complete lack of biographical details about Ephraim in other texts. I also suggest that the story of the Simeonite expansions might be seen as responding, in part, to a particular social situation, namely, the presence of multi-ethnic populations in Idumea / Edom, south / southwest of Jerusalem. Because the Simeonite expansion is said to result in a continued Israelite population in these regions, there are several likely reasons why these stories were preserved. They might a) reflect what was already “known” by the writers about these populations, and / or b) provide a means by which to identify Israelites / Judeans beyond the current borders and, therefore, can extend the identity of Israel. Whatever the reason, the outcome of the scribal work that resulted in

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<sup>3</sup> I borrow this term from Astrid Erll. See the discussion in the second chapter below.

incorporating all these anecdotes was to resignify them as of importance for the national history of Judah.

The topic of the fourth chapter is Solomon's accession in Chronicles. I open this chapter with a comparison of the stories of Solomon's rise to the throne in Samuel-Kings (i.e., in the "Succession Narrative") and in Chronicles. While scholars have noted these differences, it has been widely claimed that the account in Chronicles is a theological framework, a commentary, or a polemic against Samuel-Kings and was intended by its writers as such. In these claims, Chronicles assumes the characters and events of Samuel-Kings even while it undermines the story presented there. In response, I argue that the account in Chronicles achieves such a high level of coherence that it does not need to be read alongside Samuel-Kings. In keeping with the separation of intent and reception proposed in the second chapter, I suggest that Chronicles makes possible the loss of knowledge about Solomon's accession as it is presented in Samuel-Kings. Whatever the intent of its author, because this account does not emplot some of the events presented in the Succession Narrative – or even sets up its story in ways that would make those events impossible – it has formal parallels with other practices of cultural "forgetting." Chronicles thus made possible a lapse of knowledge about, for example, Absalom's and Adonijah's attempts on the throne, or David's old age – even if we cannot know whether such a lapse of knowledge ever occurred. I also suggest that the canonical preservation of Chronicles alongside Samuel-Kings obscures this mnemonic potential by predisposing us to understand Solomon's accession in Chronicles as literarily dependent upon the Succession Narrative in Samuel-Kings.

The fifth chapter, on the reign of Joash in 2 Chronicles 24, treats another kind of relationship between Chronicles and its source texts. There is much more textual overlap with the source text in this account than in the case of Solomon's accession. Despite this extensive textual reuse, the account in Chronicles achieves a high level of coherence; arguably, the divergences from the source text result in a story with an even more coherent system of internal references. When Chronicles evokes or references its source for this chapter, it does so in a manner that does not disrupt this internal referential system. The reader does not need the source text, and the reference does not need to be understood as directing the reader to a source to which they had access to or knew at all.

Throughout, this book thus attempts both to respond to the calls for more careful theoretical reflection on social memory and memory in biblical studies and to carry out the biblical scholar's most basic task: to read, carefully and well, the text. I hope that the theory has benefitted my readings, and that thinking hard about Chronicles and the challenges it poses has improved the theoretical approach. Should readers find this less than successful, I hope the volume will nonetheless make a small contribution to our field's reflection on how best to integrate memory studies; I hope, too, that the reading(s) of Chronicles

below will provoke thought on how we understand this incredibly creative work of history.



## Chapter 1

# Social Memory in Studies of the Hebrew Bible

This chapter will review approaches to social memory common in biblical studies.<sup>1</sup> I prioritize the way that these methods relate to studies of Chronicles, and yet scholars have invoked social memory in dealing with a wide range of biblical literature; because this book participates in this broad scholarly discourse, a number of these publications and approaches are brought into the discussion below. I argue that, at present, studies deploying social memory cannot sufficiently address some important research questions – especially questions associated with textual transmission and revisionary composition. In synchronic models, textual production is subordinated to reader-centered concerns and cannot be adequately addressed. I also observe a range of problems that complicate using memory to approach revisionary composition. In some cases, biblicalists seem to be relabeling other approaches under a “memory” banner. At the same time, studies evoking memory suffer from a lack of integration with historically important methodologies, for example, textual criticism or redaction criticism. Where scholars interact with such methods, the category “memory”

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<sup>1</sup> Memory is also evoked with respect to a range of phenomena other than social memory. For example, scholars have described the highly individual cognitive processes associated with oral transmission or the copying of texts, that is, “scribal memory.” This book’s primary concern is a different phenomenon, namely, the relationship between scribes and collective or social memory. On scribal memory and the text-critical problems or other phenomena that may arise, see Raymond F. Person Jr., “The Role of Memory in the Tradition Represented by the Deuteronomic History and the Book of Chronicles,” *Oral Tradition* 26 (2011): 537–50; idem, *Scribal Memory and Word Selection: Text Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Text-Critical Studies 15 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2023); John Srennock, *Traductor Scriptor*, VTSup 174 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017); idem, “Is Rewriting Translation? Chronicles and Jubilees in Light of Intralingual Translation,” *VT* 68 (2018): 475–504; William A. Tooman, “Authenticating Oral and Memory Variants in Ancient Hebrew Literature,” *JSS* 64 (2019): 91–114; Jonathan Vroom, “A Cognitive Approach to Copying Errors: Haplography and Textual Transmission of the Hebrew Bible,” *JSOT* 40 (2016): 259–79; idem, “The Role of Memory in Vorlage-Based Transmission: Evidence from Erasures and Corrections,” *Textus* 27 (2018): 258–73. Other studies extend beyond the links between scribal memory and the oral / written interface to discuss social or collective memory: see Travis B. Williams, *History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Shem Miller, “Traditional History and Cultural Memory in the Pesharim,” *JSJ* 50 (2019): 348–70; idem, *Dead Sea Media: Orality, Textuality, and Memory in the Scrolls from the Judean Desert*, STDJ 129 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

is sometimes imported without substantial theoretical work or without due consideration of the significant evidentiary problems that biblicists encounter – that is, biblicists find themselves at a comparative disadvantage to cultural theorists who have studied collective memory for more recent periods and who have, by comparison, an abundance of archives and sources that provide a broad base of evidence. This constellation of theoretical and methodological issues may impede social memory from being a fruitful tool for diachronic studies of revisionary compositions like Chronicles. At a larger scale, the field has not yet arrived at an adequately articulated framework in which to bring together social memory and the significant diachronic issues that arise in studies of the Hebrew Bible.

Because studies of social memory have been terminologically fragmented since their inception,<sup>2</sup> I first provide some definitions to orient the discussion. Because the history of memory studies is well-rehearsed elsewhere in both a very wide-ranging manner<sup>3</sup> and in a field-specific way,<sup>4</sup> I provide this history only as it informs the account of work by biblicists. For instance, I refer to work by the Annales school only occasionally throughout this book, though it deserves to be taken up at greater length. Since this book is concerned with Chronicles, I explore scholarship on social memory and Chronicles before turning to memory discourse in the field.

### 1.1. Terminology in Memory Studies

Studies of social memory have encountered terminological problems since Halbwachs's first publications.<sup>5</sup> The rise of memory in humanistic discourse

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<sup>2</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1925).

<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 105–40, is exhaustive. Kerwin Lee Klein, *From History to Theory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), 112–37, argues that the most common accounts of the rise of memory studies are mistaken. Academic discourse about "memory" is tied to the rise of identity politics and / or constitutes a reaction to post-structuralism.

<sup>4</sup> The best early accounts are Gerdien Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance: The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) and Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, Beck'sche Reihe 1307 (München: Beck, 2000), 34–48. For New Testament and early Christian studies, see Chris Keith, "Social Memory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part One)," *EC* 6 (2015): 354–76; idem, "Social Memory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part Two)," *EC* 6 (2015): 517–42.

<sup>5</sup> Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux*; idem, *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte; étude de mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1941); idem, *La mémoire collective*, ed. Jeanne Alexandre, Bibliothèque de sociologie contemporaine (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950). See also Jack Lawrence Weinbender

compounded this problem, because it resulted in a proliferation of terminology: social memory, collective memory, cultural memory, etc.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, scientific understanding of memory has continued to develop alongside memory discourse in the humanities. I therefore provide a definition of memory, unqualified, along with a brief discussion of three qualified terms: social memory, collective memory, and cultural memory. Drawing on the work of Amos Funkenstein, I describe how one can meaningfully refer to collective memory, a perennial problem<sup>7</sup> that has import for discourse in biblical studies and for the remainder of this book.

Until recently, memory was understood as the storage and retrieval of information.<sup>8</sup> Advances in neuroscience and cognitive theory have allowed for better models that are oriented toward cognitive processes and complex neural systems, although the older paradigm has remained influential.<sup>9</sup> Memory is a cognitive process that allows conscious or unconscious representation of prior experience in varying degrees of abstraction. It is a distributed function of a complex “neuronal system” that constructs the past even though this is not the

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III, “Remembering and Rewriting: Reframing Rewritten Bible through Memory Studies” (PhD Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2019), 60–70.

<sup>6</sup> Keith, “Social Memory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part One),” 374–75; Siegfried J. Schmidt, “Memory and Remembrance: A Constructivist Approach,” in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, Media and Cultural Memory / Medien und Kulturelle Erinnerung 8 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 191–201; Sandra Huebenthal, “Social and Cultural Memory in Biblical Exegesis: The Quest for an Adequate Application,” in *Cultural Memory in Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Pernille Carstens, Trine Bjørnung Hasselbach, and Niels Peter Lemche, PHSC 17 (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2012), 177–81.

<sup>7</sup> See the critique of Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, “Collective Memory – What Is It?” *History and Memory* 8 (1996): 30–50, especially 47, where they conclude that “collective memory is but a myth.” Their critique of Halbwachs is helpful inasmuch as it reveals the way in which collective memory, in his formulation, limits a historiographer’s ability to construct an account of the past and minimizes the role of individual recall. The argument made by Gedi and Elam rests on the premise that “collective memories” amount to no more than stereotyped individual memories (i.e., narratives conforming to a particular *Gattung* or type scene), while at the same time they neglect that common knowledge of several such narratives is necessary for such stereotypes to be rhetorically effective.

<sup>8</sup> Until the 1900s, studies of memory were devoted to this single mental exercise. See Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 6–16. See also the discussion in Aubrey E. Buster, *Remembering the Story of Israel: Historical Summaries and Memory Formation in Second Temple Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 39–42. For a review of memory’s ontological status within European intellectual history, see Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover; London: University of Vermont, 1991), esp. 27–51.

<sup>9</sup> Schmidt, “Memory and Remembrance,” 191–92. See also Matthew M. Walsh and Marsha C. Lovett, “The Cognitive Science Approach to Learning and Memory,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Science*, ed. Susan E.F. Chipman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 211–30, at 215, “memory processes are a subset of the psychological processes engaged by learning.”

only function of such structures.<sup>10</sup> Any memory process relies on such a neural network, which is in turn entangled with other neural structures associated with perception or sensation, emotion, and muscle control; memory has to do with the “[establishment] of relevant and enduring cognition structures which serve to constitute order in the brain.”<sup>11</sup> These structures are formed by repeated experience. That is, cognition structures arise and endure as the brain again and again experiences similar sensory inputs.<sup>12</sup> Perceptions of order, value, and emotion all play a role. While the scientific and theoretical bases for understanding memory as a phenomenon of human experience have developed, early theorists of social memory, including Halbwachs, worked primarily with memory in the older paradigm, that is, as a system for information storage and retrieval.

Halbwachs’s most significant claim is that memory is socially conditioned. Halbwachs argued that a person does not, indeed cannot, remember alone; rather, individual recall is conditioned by the social frameworks within which the person is situated.<sup>13</sup> Besides socially conditioned individual memory, there is another kind of memory that is also contingent upon social conditioning and is itself a social construct: “c’est en ce sens qu’il existerait une mémoire collective et des cadres sociaux de la mémoire, et c’est dans la mesure où notre pensée individuelle se replace dans ces cadres et participe à cette mémoire qu’elle serait capable de se souvenir.”<sup>14</sup> Halbwachs’s use of these expressions (“collective memory,” “social frameworks of memory”) and related ones (“social memory”) can be confusing, even though he does show some consistency in usage. When Halbwachs uses *cadres sociaux*, he has in mind “the ways that group ideologies inform individual memories,” while “collective memory” refers to “memories shared and passed down by groups.”<sup>15</sup> The distributed and shared recollections of past events make up “collective memory” and have to do with a shared, “actively managed” construction of the past.<sup>16</sup> While

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<sup>10</sup> Paraphrasing Schmidt, “Memory and Remembrance,” 192.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> In the case of expert performance, these perceptions are generated through repeated practice. See Walsh and Lovett, “The Cognitive Science Approach to Learning and Memory.”

<sup>13</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, réédition, Archontes 5 (Paris: Mouton, 1975), XVI, “c’est dans la société que, normalement, l’homme acquiert ses souvenirs, qu’il se les rappelle, et, comme on dit, qu’il les reconnaît et les localise.”

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Anthony Le Donne, *The Historiographical Jesus: Memory, Typology, and the Son of David* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2009), 42 n8.

<sup>16</sup> See Keith, “Social Memory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part One),” 360–61. There, he further provides a useful framework: “one could theoretically conceptualize individual memory and collective memory as two poles on a spectrum. At one end, individual memory recalls and reconstructs the past on the basis of shared social frameworks but in forms that are unique to the individual; at the other end, collective memory recalls and

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