MEMORY AND IDENTITY
IN ANCIENT JUDAISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

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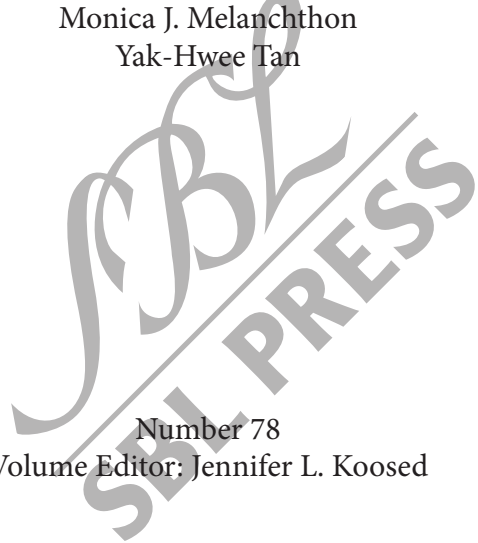

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MEMORY AND IDENTITY IN ANCIENT JUDAISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

A CONVERSATION WITH BARRY SCHWARTZ

Edited by
Tom Thatcher

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Summary: "This volume applies theoretical principles, along with related aspects of Schwartz's model and the work of other significant memory theorists, to a number of case studies from ancient Jewish and early Christian history. The contributors to the present volume ask three questions of specific research problems within their individual fields of expertise: How can one separate the actual past from commemorative dressing in the extant sources, and what difference does it make to do so?; How did ancient Jews and early Christians draw upon the past to create a durable sense of communal identity, often in the face of trauma?; and, What strategies of keying and framing are evident in the extant sources, and what can these tell us about those texts and their authors and original audiences? While the contributors to the volume answer, and nuance, these questions in different ways as they address them to their respective cases in point, together they serve as the unifying theme of this book" — Provided by publisher.

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Contents

Abbreviations vii

Preface: Keys, Frames, and the Problem of the Past
Tom Thatcher 1

Where There's Smoke, There's Fire: Memory and History
Barry Schwartz 7

Part 1: Remembering in Jewish Antiquity

Selective Recall and Ghost Memories: Two Aspects of Cultural Memory in the Hebrew Bible
Carol A. Newsom 41

Old Memories, New Identities: Traumatic Memory, Exile, and Identity Formation in the Damascus Document and Pesher Habakkuk
Tim Langille 57

Cult's Death in Scripture: The Destruction of Jerusalem's Temple Remembered by Josephus and Mark
Gabriella Gelardini 89

Memory and Loss in Early Rabbinic Text and Ritual
Steven D. Fraade 113

Part 2: Remembering in Emerging Christianity

The Memory-Tradition Nexus in the Synoptic Tradition: Memory, Media, and Symbolic Representation
Alan Kirk 131

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Prolegomena on the Textualization of Mark's Gospel: Manuscript Culture, the Extended Situation, and the Emergence of the Written Gospel
Chris Keith 161

The Memory of the Beloved Disciple: A Poetics of Johannine Memory
Jeffrey E. Brickle 187

The Shape of John's Story: Memory-Mapping the Fourth Gospel
Tom Thatcher 209

"According to the Scriptures": Suffering and the Psalms in the Speeches in Acts
Rafael Rodríguez 241

On the Difficulty of Molding a Rock: The Negotiation of Peter's Reputation in Early Christian Memory
Frederick S. Tappenden 263

Social Memory and Commemoration of the Death of "the Lord": Paul's Response to the Lord's Supper Factions at Corinth
Dennis C. Duling 289

Part 3: Reflections on a Coming Conversation

Harvest
Barry Schwartz 313

Contributors 339
Author Index 343
Subject Index 350

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Abbreviations

1QpHab	Pesher Habakkuk (Dead Sea Scrolls)
AB	Anchor Bible Commentary series
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary* (Doubleday)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament series
A.J.	Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*
b. Pesah.	Babylonian Talmud tractate Pesahim
b. Roš Haš.	Babylonian Talmud tractate Rosh Hashanah
b. Sanh.	Babylonian Talmud tractate Sanhedrin
b. Suk.	Babylonian Talmud tractate Sukkot
b. Ta'an.	Babylonian Talmud tractate Ta'anit
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
B.J.	Josephus, *Jewish War*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
C. Ap.	Josephus, *Against Apion*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CD	The Damascus Document ("Cairo Damascus," also 4QD, 5QD, 6QD; Dead Sea Scrolls)
Comm. Gal.	Jerome, *Commentary on Galatians*
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
Did.	Didache

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DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
Ep.	Augustine, *Epistles*
ESCO	European Studies in Christian Origins
ExpT	*Expository Times*
Flaccus	Philo, *Against Flaccus*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Haer.	Irenaeus's *Against Heresies*
Hist. eccl.	Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*
Hom. Luc.	Origen, *Homily on Luke*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
Inst.	Quintillian, *Institutes of Rhertoric*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JFBT	Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie
JSHJ	*Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods Supplements
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHJS	Library of Historical Jesus Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
m. 'Avot	Mishnah tractate 'Avot
m. B. Bat.	Mishnah tractate Bava Batra
m. Mid.	Mishnah tractate Middot
m. Pesah.	Mishnah tractate Pesahim
m. Roš Haš	Mishnah tractate Rosh Hashanah
m. Suk.	Mishnah tractate Sukkot
Mem. rem.	Aristotle, *Memory and Reminiscence*
Midr. Pss	Midrash on Psalms

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NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents
Orat.	Cicero, *On the Orator*
Phil.	Polycarp, *To the Philippians*
Praescr.	Tertullian, *Prescription against Heretics*
Ps.-Clem.	*Pseudo-Clementine Writings*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBL	*Review of Biblical Literature*
Rhet. Her.	*Rhetoric ad Herennium*
SacPag	Sacra Pagina series
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Studies
SBLSBL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
Sir	Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach/Ecclesiasticus
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia post-biblica
STW	Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch Wissenschaft
t. B. Bat.	Tosefta tractate Bava Batra
t. Ta'an.	Tosefta tractate Ta'anit
t. Yoma	Tosefta tractate Yoma
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
Vita	Josephus, *Life*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testamentum
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

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ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

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Preface:
Keys, Frames, and the Problem of the Past

Tom Thatcher

Traditionally, volumes of this kind, dedicated to applications of theoretical principles developed by a leading voice in another field, require lengthy introductions that summarize the contribution of the scholar under consideration. In the present case, however, no such introduction is needed, because the individual whose work serves as the platform for these studies on ancient Jewish and Christian collective memory, Barry Schwartz, has himself written an extensive methodological introduction for the book and has also provided a thoughtful response to the remaining studies. Schwartz's contributions here extend a warm and fruitful running dialogue with biblical scholarship that has included participation in several meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature and a number of recent articles on problems in Christian origins (Schwartz 2005a, 2005b, 2011). In the process, Schwartz has become a mentor to many in applications of social/collective/cultural memory theories to issues in biblical studies, and the present book seeks to continue this conversation through focused reflection on several foundational premises of his theoretical model.

At the risk of overgeneralization, even a cursory review of Schwartz's extensive list of publications on collective memory will reveal that he is an applied theorist: rather than articulating abstract principles and then seeking illustrations to validate his claims, he moves from detailed analyses of historical and contemporary figures and social trends to theoretical reflections on the ways that, and reasons why, groups utilize the past. This approach is readily evident in Schwartz's many detailed studies of iconic figures and events from American history, which typically move from a broad outline of the scholarly consensus on "what actually happened" to close review of the evolving commemoration of individuals and events over time and in different media (art, architecture, literature, holidays, rituals, news outlets, film, etc.). Yet while Schwartz presents himself as a

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careful social historian, his research is grounded in a number of theoretical assumptions about the relationship between the actual past and collective memory. Several of these assumptions, which together form a solid theoretical foundation, are outlined by Schwartz himself in the introduction to this book, but they may be briefly summarized here by way of preview and to establish a broad conceptual framework for all the chapters to follow.

First, Schwartz's work is characterized by a fierce commitment to the principle that the actual past and its subsequent commemorations are interfluential—interfluential to such an extent that one is never eclipsed by the other in any specific act of memory. While present circumstances determine the form of collective memory, the actual past provides memory's foundational content—memory's limits are fixed, to some degree, by its point of origin. This is not to say, of course, that collective memory can be taken at face value as historical record, nor that the past is immune to manipulation, nor that individuals and societies do not remember and forget selectively. At the same time, Schwartz adamantly rejects constructionist approaches that view memory merely as a mirror of present power relations and instead insists that "the way things are" is a product of "the way things were" and that the actual past is always present, to some degree and in a determinative way, in its subsequent commemorations. This aspect of Schwartz's research puts a fine point on the question of "historicity": When ancient documents are viewed as "sources" for the past, how can one differentiate commemorative dressing from raw historical content, and how would that difference impact the interpretation of those texts?

Second, and building on the first principle, Schwartz consistently emphasizes the normative force of the commemorated past, exploring ways that groups look to past events and individuals as models and patterns. Established exemplars are particularly significant during times of crisis and change, periods when groups face new experiences and circumstances that threaten traditional ways of life and thinking and, sometimes, their very survival. In seasons of trauma, the remembered past provides a sense of continuity and common identity and also offers resources for making sense of present experience. This aspect of Schwartz's research highlights the adaptive nature of the past and the capacity of groups to maintain self-consciousness across generations and in dramatically different circumstances, including circumstances of deep loss and substantive change. Applied to the present discussion, How did ancient Jews and early Christians draw upon the past as a tool for survival in the face of overwhelming challenges to their faith and, in some cases, their communal existence?

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Third, and more narrowly, Schwartz has helpfully highlighted two memory techniques, "keying" and "framing," that facilitate the interaction of past and present in ways that support social cohesion. *Keying* is the act of associating, often unconsciously, a present person, event, institution, or experience to a past counterpart; once this connection has been established, the keyed entity and the values associated with it become a *frame* that provides an interpretive context for present experience. In simple terms, memory looks to the past to explain what is happening now, but Schwartz demonstrates that this complex process cannot be conceived simply in terms of drawing analogies or citing historical precedents—keying and framing are mnemonic, not merely rhetorical, strategies, and as such they are generative forces that may manifest themselves in a variety of ways on the surface of texts and other artifacts of group life. Because memory unites the remembered past and its commemorations in a reciprocal cycle of influence, keying becomes a way of drawing the past into the present, and frames become powerful norms for establishing and maintaining social identity. This aspect of Schwartz's work raises important questions about the ways that, and reasons why, ancient Israelites and early Christians remembered as they did. What keys/frames are evident in the available sources, how have these impacted the presentation of both past and present in these documents, why did Jews and Christians draw upon some elements of the past while ignoring others, and what are the interpretive and historical implications of these strategies of remembering and forgetting?

In a general sense, the present volume applies the theoretical principles outlined above, along with related aspects of Schwartz's model and the work of other significant memory theorists, to a number of case studies from ancient Jewish and early Christian history. The contributors to the present volume ask the three questions above of specific research problems within their individual fields of expertise: How can one separate the actual past from commemorative dressing in the extant sources, and what difference does it make to do so? How did ancient Jews and early Christians draw upon the past to create a durable sense of communal identity, often in the face of trauma? What strategies of keying and framing are evident in the extant sources, and what can these tell us about those texts and their authors and original audiences? While the contributors answer, and nuance, these questions in different ways as they address them to their respective cases in point, together they serve as the unifying theme of this book.

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Two narrower points relating to the structure and content of the remainder of this collection should be noted before proceeding. First, because questions of history, identity, trauma, cohesion, and mnemonic strategies such as keying/framing are intertwined both in Barry Schwartz's work and in the essays in this volume—and indeed, they must be intertwined, simply because they are inextricable in collective memory itself—the remaining chapters are not organized topically or methodologically. Reflecting the state of current research much more than the state of ancient Judaism and early Christianity, the essays in part 1 explore the works of memory in the world of ancient Israel, while the essays in part 2 focus narrowly on the emerging Christian movement. Effectively, the sequence of chapters follows canonical order, with a view to avoiding the methodological limitations that might be inherent in a more topical arrangement.

Second, and significantly, the authors of these essays have been asked to interact with Schwartz's model in a creative and dialogic fashion, assuming the reader's awareness of the content of Schwartz's introductory essay. As a result, the individual studies engage principles and problems in Schwartz's model but do not offer detailed reviews or critiques of the nuances of his research. Strategically, this approach attempts to imitate the ongoing dialogue between Barry's work and that of biblical scholarship, while at the same time reflecting the origins of the present volume. Schwartz's introduction came to life as a keynote paper in a session of the Society of Biblical Literature, in which leading biblical scholars were asked to reflect on ways that his model might or might not inform their own research. Several of the chapters included here emerged from that session, and the remaining contributors were asked to read and reflect on Barry's keynote address and apply or test his premises to/on a topic within their areas of expertise. Here as in that meeting, Schwartz rounds out the discussion by offering specific remarks in response to each contribution, and readers of the present volume may find it helpful to consult his "Harvest" entry at the end of the book after reading each individual essay to gain a sense of the running dialogue. The present volume is offered in the hope that this conversation will continue for years to come.

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