

MEMORY AND TRADITION IN THE BOOK OF NUMBERS

In *Memory and Tradition in the Book of Numbers*, Adriane Leveen offers an imaginative rereading of the fourth book of Moses. Leveen examines how the editors of Numbers crafted a narrative of the forty-year journey through the wilderness in order to shape Israelite understanding of the past and influence the world-view of future generations. Leveen's book explores religious politics, the complexities of collective memory, and the literary strategies used by the editors of Numbers to convince the children of Israel to accept priestly rule. Leveen considers how this process took place in the face of the horrifying memory at the heart of the Book of Numbers: the death of an entire generation of Israelites in the wilderness, struck down before their children's eyes by divine decree.

Adriane Leveen joined the faculty of Hebrew Union College in 2007 after three years as a senior lecturer in Hebrew Bible in the Department of Religious Studies at Stanford University. She has published in the *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* and *Prooftexts*, and she is a contributor to the forthcoming volumes: *Women Remaking American Judaism* (2007), *Healing in the Jewish Imagination* (2007), and *The Torah: A Women's Commentary* (2007).



Memory and Tradition in the Book of Numbers

Adriane Leveen





> CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521878692

© Adriane B. Leveen 2008

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2008

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Leveen, Adriane (Adriane B.)

Memory and tradition in the book of Numbers / Adriane Leveen.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-87869-2 (hardback)

1. Bible. O.T. Numbers – Criticism, Redaction. 2. Memory – Biblical teaching.

3. Tradition (Judaism). I. Title.

BS1265.2.L48 2008

222'.14066 – dc22 2007006726

ISBN 978-0-521-87869-2 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To Three Generations:

Pauline and Seymour Leveen

Arnold Eisen, Shulamit and Nathaniel Eisen





We have found a way to transcend the limitations of our individual minds and brief life spans through our scribbles and inscriptions, our runes and hieroglyphs, our palimpsests, holographs, and multiple printings, our *furor scribendi*.

Tony Eprile, *The Persistence of Memory* (2004)



Contents

	Acknowledgments	page ix
ONE	Desert Bound	1
TWO	Weaving by Design	25
THREE	Priestly Purposes	47
FOUR	Variations on a Theme: Shaping Memory in the Wilderness	65
FIVE	Crisis and Commemoration: The Use of Ritual Objects	97
SIX	Falling in the Wilderness: The Politics of Death and Burial	140
SEVEN	Inheriting the Land	166
APPENDIX A	The Priestly Sphere of Activity in the Book of Numbers	183
APPENDIX B	The Use and Variation of God's Address to Moses and to Aaron	185
APPENDIX C	Death Reports	187

vii



		Contents
APPENDIX D	Proper and Improper Treatment of the Dead	189
	Notes	193
	Bibliography	227
	Index	235
	Scriptural Index	241
	Selected Hebrew Index	245

viii



Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Robert Alter, who has consistently encouraged my teaching and scholarship from my days as a graduate student. More than anyone else, Uri has taught me how to closely read and elucidate the text. Through his teaching, writing, and commentaries he has memorably brought the biblical text alive in its richness and nuance to a growing audience. Israel Knohl taught me how to hear the "Divine Symphony" that is Torah, allowing me to appreciate the text in its multivocality. My first professor of Bible, Edward Greenstein, taught me how to value my own insights into the text and encouraged me to pursue the study of bible as a vocation. Benjamin Sommer encouraged my work in the wilderness and along the way offered useful advice and insight. His own work remains a model. Steve Weizman carefully read and critiqued the entire manuscript. His comments were invaluable. At a crucial moment in the process Steve was extraordinarily generous with his time. I hope to repay his kindness by following his example with others.

Three texts guided my reading of Numbers. Hayyim Nahman Bialik's search for the buried generation resulted in *The Dead of the Desert* and my entry into the wilderness. Stephen Owen's reflections on the cultural persistence of memory in *Remembrances* informed almost every aspect of my own analysis of memory. I thank Lee Yearley for sending Owen my way. Finally, the recently published *Dominion of the Dead* by Robert Pogue Harrison allowed me to complete my own work, knowing that my instinct to reflect on the meaning of the deaths of an entire generation would eventually lead me out of the wilderness.

I would like to thank the following people who over the years read some version of the text or listened patiently to my ideas: Isa Aron, Daniel Boyarin,



Acknowledgments

Bill Cutter, Tamara Eskenazi, Charlotte Fonrobert, Sharon Gillerman, David Kaufman, Robert Kawashima, Chana Kronfeld, Sarah Luria, Ilana Pardes, Barbara Pitkin, Amy Sapowith, George Savran, Bill Schniedewind, Tom Schwarz, Vered Shemtov, and David Stewart. I would also like to thank my students whose reactions to the biblical text offer their own satisfactions.

I would like to thank the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture for a fellowship to complete the early stages of the present work as a dissertation in 2000. A version of chapter 4 was published as "Variations on a Theme: Differing Conceptions of Memory in the Book of Numbers," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 27, no. 2 (2002): 201–221, and is reprinted by permission of Sage Publications. A version of chapter 6 was published as "Falling in the Wilderness: Death Reports in the Book of Numbers," *Prooftexts* 22, no. 3 (2002): 245–272, and is reprinted by permission of Indiana University Press.

I dedicate this work to three generations. I am grateful not only for my parents' continued faith in me but for my mother's passion for ideas and my father's creative joy. My husband Arnie Eisen has always loved Torah. His seeking after its wisdom has buoyed my own pursuit. I thank him for his love, unceasing support, and, especially, his exuberant partnership in parenting and in everything else. My children Shulie and Nathaniel carry me forward into the future with a purpose and hope without which I would never have completed this book.