SIEGE-MENTALITY AND THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that the book of Deuteronomy contains indicators of siege mentality and its author(s) inevitably fostered siege mentality in the community for whom it was written. Recognition and analyses of siege indicators is facilitated by the application of social scientific theory; specifically, the model of siege mentality established by Daniel Bar-Tal and Dikla Antebi, combined with the theories that inform Memory Studies. The original contribution of this thesis is located in the application of these two fields of study to the book of Deuteronomy. A critical analysis of the text thus prioritizes the social and political dynamics of the text, looking closely at themes such as centralization, authority, leadership, collective identity, collective memory and conformity. This involves an interdisciplinary approach which utilizes the fields of psychology, particularly memory and identity studies, sociology which takes into account group dynamics, and political studies, seeking to demonstrate how these disciplines interface. Case studies of Egypt and Mauritius as well as Albania were used to establish the conditions necessary for siege beliefs to develop.

SIEGE MENTALITY AND THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

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CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SCOPE OF THIS PROJECT

1.1   Introduction: Factors that Influenced this Thesis

Growing up in the latter half of the 20th and into the 21st century CE has enabled me to witness some of the phenomenal advances that humanity has made in very short periods of time. This period has also offered me the opportunity to be an eye witness, through the advancement of communication and technology, to some very heinous examples of humanity against itself.

One such experience which has had a profound effect on my outlook on life and humanity, was the bombing of the World Trade Center (Twin Towers) in New York on September 11th 2001, by Al Qaeda.[1]   The effect of the images portrayed in the media at that time, with the ability to see the events unfold in real time, led me on a path of strong condemnation of those acts and their perpetrators, as I rightly should have. However, my condemnation also led me to question the very biblical texts which would have formed my faith and fuelled my justification for the condemnation of the 9/11 attack. A question that later came to mind is; 'What makes what Joshua and his troops did to Jericho any different from what Al Qaeda did to New York?' After all, they both believed to be acting under the guidance of the god they served. What gave Joshua the right to believe that this was the right thing to do? These questions have driven a quest that led me to the book of Deuteronomy. I immediately recognized that the text is peculiar and seems to promulgate some beliefs that,

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[1] This is a movement believed to be headquartered in Afghanistan and led at the time by Osama Bin Laden, which claimed responsibility for the bombings

when read in a 21st century context, would not render it that distinguishable from the teachings of groups like Al Qaeda and ISIS.[2]

In this study, I aim to demonstrate that the behaviour and ideologies of groups like Al Qaeda and ISIS are not solely 21st century phenomena, but traits of human behaviour and psychological coping mechanisms employed by groups when presented with a given set of circumstances. I argue that the late eighth to seventh century BCE provided a likely historical scenario and social setting for the siege-related instruction found in the book of Deuteronomy. I achieve this aim by first utilizing as my model a pioneering study by Daniel Bar Tal and Dikla Antebi (1992a), as well as ideas drawn from the fields of sociology and collective memory studies, to establish the distinguishing features of siege mentality. Such features would include; (i) the conditions that can give rise to siege beliefs, (ii) the ideology that perpetuates them, and (iii) the behaviour that fosters and entrenches them. These findings are used to demonstrate that the book of Deuteronomy contains siege beliefs and could well have been a part of a project to influence the community to which it was written to develop a siege mentality. Secondly, to establish the late eighth to seventh century as a plausible setting in which the book of Deuteronomy is located, I employ a number of case studies with varied social settings to determine what combination of social factors give rise to siege mentality, and which ones make it difficult for the ideology to take root.

1.2　Methodology: The Independent Book of Deuteronomy and Its Function

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[2] ISIS is an extremist movement which deems itself the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.

Any study of Deuteronomy, as a result of the development of biblical studies in this area, has proven difficult to conduct without some allusion to the possible existence of a 'Deuteronomistic History', and thus, by compulsion, must take into account the complexity of these works on several levels. It is therefore important to draw parameters around the scope of my study. This thesis addresses the book of Deuteronomy specifically without any assumptions about its connections to, or integral belonging within, a Deuteronomistic History.[3] Many existing studies of Deuteronomy have, contrarily, linked the text with a longer Deuteronomistic History that ends at 2 Kings, making it difficult to address its authorship, date, genre and purpose without reference to the authorship, date and context of the wider history.

Thus, we could ask whether Deuteronomy should be viewed as liberation literature emerging from a community seeking to assert itself as a key entity in the tapestry of 'world affairs' of its time, or whether it is a conservative text composed by a group seeking to maintain the *status quo* within the community from which it emerged. At what period in history would the ideology of such a text have been relevant? Was it produced in response to an actual historical context or is its setting "mytho-history"? Who was/were the author(s) and to whom was he writing?[4] Indeed, these are not novel questions. But the different answers that have been provided have often been inextricably linked to the Deuteronomistic History. In my view, this compromises the study of Deuteronomy and is out of step with more recent trends to read the individual books of the Former Prophets outside the context of the Deuteronomistic

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[3] The Deuteronomistic History is a term coined by Noth in his seminal work *Übelieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (1943) the English version of which was published in 1981. Noth postulated that the book of Deuteronomy is the beginning of a body of material that runs from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings.

[4] Note that the 3rd person singular here to refer to the author of the book of Deuteronomy is being used just for ease of referencing and not an attempt to dispel the various redaction theories that have been posited by scholars over the past eight decades.

History.[5] It should be noted that within the last two decades a growing number of scholars have sought to read the Former Prophets outside the context of a 'Deuteronomistic History'.

While scholars like Noll have convincingly questioned the linkage of the book of Deuteronomy to a Deuteronomistic History, the questions posed can only be answered when one gains an understanding of the social, economic, political and ideological perspectives of the community, and those impacting upon the community, in which the text would have emerged. Studies have been conducted by scholars that take into account various approaches to the study of Deuteronomy, however, far too many have had the 'Deuteronomistic History' either as their starting point or a study guide.[6]

In essence, the study of Deuteronomy became tied to the study of the books Joshua through to 2 Kings. Attempts of the past eighty years, though noble in their respective rights, have still not yielded a consensus on a date for Deuteronomy nor have they led to a consensus on the authorship, or genre of the text. One reason for this state of inertia could be that, as Whitelam rightly noted; "the tendency has been to study the text as a literary artifact as though it were independent and autonomous of social and political process" (1991:65).

My thesis is specifically attentive to the fact that texts do not emerge in a social and political vacuum and I employ a model that can investigate the book of Deuteronomy

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[5] For a critical review of Noth's theory and a shift to interpreting books individually see Noll (2007) and Crouch (2014).

[6] Within the last few decades there have been exceptions to this approach. There have been scholars such as Wesselius (2002), Noll (2007) and Crouch (2014) who have used approaches which have looked at Deuteronomy as a text separate and distinct from the Deuteronomistic History.

independent of the Deuteronomistic History, in an effort to discover the ideological interests of the text and thus gain insight about the community from which it would have emerged or the setting which its author(s) had in mind. As Rogerson rightly noted, "it is now necessary to consider the implications of Norman Gottwald's view that Israel's religious ideology was created by its social conditions rather than *vice versa*" (1991:31).

1.3 A Synopsis Pointing to Key Developments in the Study of the Book of Deuteronomy

The main periods that have been posited by scholars for the emergence of the book of Deuteronomy have been the pre-exilic period between the late eighth to seventh centuries BCE, the exilic period between 587 and 538 BCE, the post-exilic (Persian) period around the late sixth to fifth centuries BCE and the Hellenistic period during the fifth century BCE. Given the limitations in terms of the length of this thesis as well as the fact that my approach requires in depth analysis in the fields of sociology and political-psychology upon which my arguments will be premised, it is therefore impractical to do a comprehensive literature review of Deuteronomic studies. However, I do deem it necessary to make honorary mention of some key developments over the last century, following de Wette's postulation that the law book found in the temple during the restoration project undertaken by Josiah as reported in 2 Kings 22, was an early version of the book of Deuteronomy.[7]

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[7] Wilhelm de Wette was a German biblical scholar who in 1805 in the footnotes of his dissertation posited the view that the law book found in Josiah's time according to 2 Kings 22-23, was an early form of the Book of Deuteronomy. This would establish the starting point for much research in the Book of Deuteronomy in the ensuing centuries.

1.3.1   The Nothian Impact

Following de Wette's postulation, another watershed moment in Deuteronomic studies would come in 1943 with the publication of Martin Noth's ground-breaking work (1943/1981), *The Deuteronomistic History*. Since Noth's publication it has been widely accepted that the Book of Deuteronomy forms a part of a continuous body of work referred to as the Deuteronomistic History, which extends from the book of Deuteronomy through to Kings.[8] What has been questioned is when this body of work was actually written and who would have written it. Noth postulated that it is the work of an exilic historian whom he called the Deuteronomistic Historian, who would have composed the body of work from Deuteronomy to Kings utilizing earlier written sources (1981:6). The author has been referred to as the Deuteronomistic Historian (DtrH) because he points to the work's seeming reliance on the religion and ideology of the book of Deuteronomy. Noth's findings at the time were revolutionary and would prove to be the foundation for future approaches to the study of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

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[8] Noll (2007) challenges Noth's views not only of an exilic source but also the link between Deuteronomy and a Deuteronomistic History. In total opposition to Noth's view Noll asserts that his study "offers an abstract for a new hypothesis, one that does not attempt to adjust Noth's thesis, but to abandon it" (2007:316-317). This is a rather bold statement regarding a theory that has been the standard bearer in this field for almost three quarters of a century. In light of this, Noll points out three arguments that favor Noth's hypothesis, then explains why they are not valid.

i)   Noth had argued that the end of summary speeches indicate unity and are used to pull the various strands of material together.
ii)   The overlapping chronological systems in Judges and Kings are evidence of a unified history.
iii) Prophetic predictions followed by fulfillment are testimony of Deuteronomistic teaching about prophecy and divine intervention.

Noll was extremely scathing in his criticism of these three "strong" points of the Nothian hypothesis. Of the end of era summaries Noll regarded them as nothing short of a "mixed bag" bearing no distinct thought processes of an editor and very much akin to "the build-up of grime on a window pane" (2007:312). He further noted that the end of era summaries do not expound the ideology of Deuteronomy.

Noth's work has served as the point of embarkation for many Deuteronomic scholars, such that four basic approaches to the composition of the Deuteronomistic History have emerged following Noth's postulation.[9]   One approach has been that attributed to Hoffmann (1980) and Van Seters (1983) who follow the Nothian view with only one minor variation where, in as much as it ascribes to a single exilic edition, it deviates in the assertion that there may have been additions over time but not reeditions (1996:22). Helga Weippert (1972) also argued for the existence of two pre-exilic redactions followed by an exilic redaction.

Perhaps the two most influential of the four post-Nothian contributions, have been what Person (2002:2) has identified as the two 'schools' of thought that have emerged with divergent views concerning the dating of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

According to Person, there emerged "The School of Harvard"[10] headed by F.M. Cross which included predominantly American scholars like Gary Knoppers, Richard Nelson and Baruch Halpern, while on the other side of the Atlantic there emerged 'The School of Göttingen' which was made up predominantly of European scholars such as Rudolph Smend, Walter Dietrich, Ernst Würthwein, and Hermann Spiekermann (2002:3). The School of Harvard argued that the Deuteronomistic History underwent two major redactions, one pre-exilic and the other exilic. According to Schniedewind, "Cross argues that the original edition

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[9] See Schneidewind (1996) for a terse presentation of these developments.
[10] Cross (1973:274-289); Baruch Halpern (1988); Nelson (1981); and Knoppers (1993-1994).

of DtrH was written in the pre-exilic period to support the reforms of Josiah and was later updated by an exilic editor who was concerned to explain the Babylonian exile" (1996:22).

The School of Göttingen took a totally different approach, suggesting three different redactions namely: a Historical redaction by a redactor whom they called Dtr.G, a Prophetic redaction by a redactor called Dtr.P, and a Nomistic redaction by a redactor whom they called Dtr. N (Person, 2002:3).[11] Schniedewind however notes that even within the Smend/Göttingen school scholars "differ as to whether [the] process should be characterized as a series of editions (c.f. Smend (1971); Würthwein) or of scribal additions (e.g. Dietrich)" (1996:22).

Of these two schools, the one that has had the greater influence on studies of the Deuteronomistic History has been the Harvard School of Frank Moore Cross. As Schniedewind noted, apart from subtle allusions by McKenzie and Provan to aspects of the Smend/Göttingen school, it would appear as if "the assumptions of the Smend/Göttingen hypothesis are so different that German scholarship is becoming increasingly a closed circle" (1996:25).[12]

No doubt, just as this mere cursory mention of these divergent views surrounding Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History serves to give us a glimpse into the complexity

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[11]It is important to note that though these scholars and their respective perspectives have been placed together to validate the existence of such an entity as the 'School of Göttingen', their views really emerged in isolation from one another. For example, DtrP is really the concept of Dietrich and Veijola while DtrN represents the view of Smend. For further reading on this topic see Person (2002).

[12] For further reading see Schniedewind's (1996:25) discussion of Würthwein's monograph (1994).

of the texts, it also illustrates the state if inertia that has developed along the lines of redaction which compels that new approaches be pursued in the study of these texts. This is an area in which this thesis will add to the existing body of scholarship while charting a new direction for Deuteronomic and, for those who wish to pursue that line, Deuteronomistic studies.[13]

1.3.2   New Explorations in Deuteronomy: Social Scientific Approaches

Selected studies show how the various sub-disciplines in the field of Social Sciences have been utilized to widen the scope of analysis of biblical texts and in particular Deuteronomy, by seeking to answer questions not before contemplated and offer perspectives not before considered. Among the new approaches are, sociological, anthropological and psychological studies that have been undertaken relating to the book of Deuteronomy.

Sociology and Anthropology

The second half of the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth century, saw the architects of what Mayes described as the 'Golden Age' of sociological thinking, Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, bringing their varied perspectives to bear on biblical literature (1991:39). According to Mayes, during this period:

> Two major sociological traditions emerged: one, the conflict
> tradition, goes back to Marx and Weber, and, given his direct
> contribution to Old Testament study, may here be referred to also
> as the Weber tradition; the other, which has come to be referred

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[13] Here I am using the term Deuteronomic to pertain to the study of Deuteronomy solely, and Deuteronomistic to the study of the broader Deuteronomistic history as postulated by Noth.

to as the functionalist tradition, looks to Durkheim as its founding father (1991:39).[14]

The Conflict Tradition

Marx and Weber, the key proponents of the conflict tradition regarded society as consisting of groups and individuals trying to advance their own interests over those of others. Their understanding of class was somewhat nuanced. Marx viewed class in an economic, political and cultural context; Weber envisaged class only in an economic context and regarded other groups in accordance with characteristics of the groups. In his seminal work *Ancient Judaism* Weber was one of the first to apply the discipline of sociology to the biblical texts. Mayes in his analysis of that work noted that Weber believed that the most appropriate classification for the post-exilic Jewish community was that of:

> a status group and pariah community; it is not an economic class or a political party. It is, therefore, a group which has a consciousness of unity not primarily based on economic considerations. The group is bound together positively by certain common beliefs and customary practices, and negatively by restrictions in the spheres of marriage and dietary habits (1991:43).

Weber would have arrived at this assessment of the Jewish community based on what he perceived to be the historical origins of the community.[15] However, Shmueli deemed Weber's assessment as a misconception noting that, "Weber's ideas on Judaism are not based

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[14] These two theories are known as the mega-theories of sociology and will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter.
[15] See Weber *Ancient Judaism* (1952:61ff).

on an adequate body of historical data. The pariah people concept does not explain the empirical materials" (1968:182).[16]

In addition to the shortcomings of Weber's work from an historical perspective, he also made broad generalizations about human behaviour. According to Esler:

> Weber did not think that because human action was subjective it was unpredictable. He defined sociology as "a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects" (2006:5).[17]

Weber believed the laws of the Book of the Covenant and Deuteronomy to be the guiding principles that kept the community together in spite of social conditions.[18] Weber's work marked the beginning of a new area in biblical studies which would open the avenue for biblical texts to be explored via several other disciplines.

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[16] The label "pariah-people" has been criticized by several commentators. Talcott Parsons in the Introduction to *Ancient Judaism* argued against Weber's concept of a pariah-people. He opined that "the full participation of Jews in American life, the greater tolerance of Jews by gentiles and the new level of Jewish acceptance of the legitimacy of the outside world have immensely modified "the pariah status of the Jewish faith" (1952: lxii); cf. Shmueli (1968:183). Similarly, Momigliano suggests, "there remains a curious basic contradiction in Weber's analysis of Judaism" (1980:318).

[17] While as Esler suggests, Weber's work runs counter to that of Auguste Compte (1798-1857) who advocated "positive phiposophy" giving rise to the existence of what he deemed "social laws", Weber still held a view of some extent of predictability. This would have prompted Talcott Parsons to footnote a section of Weber's work with the comment: "These generalizations are, however, not methodologically equivalent to most of the laws of physics, especially of analytical mechanics" (2006:5-6). See also Esler (2000) where he argues convincingly against the notion that human beings are in a constant state of seeking to transform systems. He argues that there are instances where rather than transform, human beings reproduce its values and institutions (2000:110).

[18] According to Mayes, "What held it together as a single people, despite the social and economic antagonisms which divided its constituent elements and which the law sought to regulate, is revealed by the nature of the law as the law of Yahweh. Israel's unity is founded on a union of different groups in covenant with Yahweh" (1991:44). See also Alt (1966, 173ff; 241ff) and Noth (1943) who were both influenced by the work of Weber. Noth built his theory on the basis that "Israel was a covenant community deliberately established out of formerly independent clans and tribes" whereas "Weber saw pre-monarchic Israel as an 'oath community' constituted by its covenant relationship with Yahweh" (Mayes, 1991:47).

Anthropology then became prominent as the companion of sociology. Overholt, while issuing some caution about the inability to fully access the history or understand the nature of the Old Testament community, acknowledged anthropology as a helpful discipline in the interpretation of Old Testament texts. However, he added this qualification:

> Neither [the biblical] society nor any other was (or is) a stable and homogenous entity. Societies are composed of numerous individuals and groups, each with a potentially different way of understanding, valuing, and acting on the legacy of culture that they all in some sense share, and each of these ways is subject to change over time. Anthropological theory can offer valuable assistance by helping us understand the nature of culture and of the relationships between a given culture and the everyday lives of the individuals who live in it (1992:3).[19]

The Functional Approach

Durkheim (1915) was the key proponent of the functionalist approach which removes the responsibility from individual action to bring about cohesion and posits it in the nature of society.[20] Society then has built-in mechanisms which influence the actions and beliefs of individuals. While this may be true in some measure, it is also important to balance this with humanity's ability to choose, as Overholt asserted:

> For the most part, our everyday experiences suggest that individual human beings, though powerfully influenced by the cultural patterns of the societies in which they live, are nevertheless able to make choices and act independently (1992:5).

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[19] Barrett had a similar observation when he noted that "contradiction is a central characteristic of human behaviour" (1984:24).

[20] Mayes summarized Durkheim's views thus: "Society is the prior reality which determines the individual, materially, mentally and spiritually. The collective consciousness which imposes itself on the individual comprises those beliefs and sentiments common to members of a given society "(1991:41-42).

A consequence of the ability of humanity's independence and ability to choose is the impact of these freedoms be it positive or negative. While Weber and Durkheim gave biblical scholars theories to work with, there has always been healthy debate about how people, their fears, their relationships, their social and political organization can be studied through the available texts. Causse (1937), who was a key adherent of the Durkheim functionalist approach, sought to rationalize what he would have recognized as the process of the development of thought in the Israelite religion from pre-logical to rational individualism.[21] As Mayes suggests;

> Causse tried to penetrate the mentality of primitive and civilized communities in order to uncover the inner development of the transition from primitive collectivism to individualism. His use of the categories of pre-logical and logical thinking went beyond what Durkheim had considered the proper task of sociology, and in any case reflected an understanding of the nature of human thinking which was quickly shown to be faulty (1991:49).[22]

In spite of some aspects of his work being deemed faulty by other scholars, Causse would have paved the way for the emergence of further social scientific exploration. Sæbø suggests that "next to M. Noth the work of A. Causse is the clearest attempt to integrate sociological and anthropological insights into the study of Israelite Society" (2015:77).[23]

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[21] According to Sæbø, Causse adopted Durkheim's conviction that "the social group was the one independent element in history and sociology. All other phenomena of society are primarily societal functions" (2015:77); See also Kimbrough (1972:197).

[22] Causse's assertion was criticised by Evans Pritchard (1965:78ff); and Rogerson (1978:53ff). Causse's view of the Deuteronomic reform was that it was to put a brake on the decline of the ancient social organisation by restating old laws, rites and institutions. In fact, he opined that the Deuteronomic reform effected the transition for primitive collectivism to individualism…[whereby] the individual could lead a holy and perfect life (See Mayes, 1991:49).

[23] Causse sought to take scholarship beyond the mere descriptive approach to Israelite Society and its myths and institutions (Causse, 1937:8). In essence, Causse would have opened the avenue for scholarship which would

I believe Esler best summed up the complexities and intrinsic limitations of the social

scientific approach when he wrote:

> The difficulties that are involved in demonstrating that sociology
> and anthropology are a genuinely scientific as, for example,
> physics and chemistry are nowhere more apparent than in the
> fact that there are no social laws yet known which apply trans-
> historically to all societies (1987:6).

Nonetheless, Esler has been a leading proponent for the social scientific approach to

biblical texts.[24] Norman Gottwald (1979; 1993) and Patricia Dutcher-Walls (1991; 2002)

have also recognized the importance of the field of sociology in biblical studies and have also

done considerable work on the Old testament community in particular.. In fact, Gottwald

(1993:4) made the salient point that the biblical community was not dissimilar from any

community within human civilization in the sense that it would have been built upon some

element of class consciousness. Dutcher-Walls (1991; 2002) has explored how a biblical text

can be studied through social-scientific lenses to see how group relations can affect decision-

making.

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focus more heavily on the ideological underpinnings of ancient texts and the ideological factors that may have
shaped ancient communities.

[24] In his review of Esler's "Sex, Wives and Warriors" H.G.M. Williamson commended Esler for introducing "an
understanding of social anthropology of the ancient Mediterranean world, with particular reference to family
issues (which stretch much wider than our nuclear families, of course); oft-cited but rarely understood pairings
such as honour and shame or patron and client; and a range of related matters such as group orientation and
limited good.." (2012:611). Esler's work followed that of Elliot who gave a comprehensive breakdown of the
dynamics of the social scientific approach to the New Testament, highlighting several important areas such as
the existence of groups and subgroups, insider versus outsider status with its focus on identity from an
ideological perspective (1993:110ff). In describing the method of the social scientific approach, Elliot identified
four key areas of engagement: "(i) cross-cultural comparison and search for pattern similarities; (ii) theoretical
models explicated and tested; (iii) emic/etic distinction (native vs. observer points of view); (iv) models used to
distinguish modern from ancient perspectives and cultural scripts" (1993:109).

Psychological Studies and Memory Studies

Similarly, developments in the area of psychological studies, particularly Janzen's (2012) work on Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and Assmann (2005) as well as Edelman and Ben Zvi's (2014) work on Memory Studies, are instrumental in identifying the traits of collective memory and the understanding of the psychological effects of certain circumstances on groups.[25] Assmann's assessment of Deuteronomy is particularly pointed and lends credence to the approach I have opted to take in this study of Deuteronomy. According to Assmann:

> [Deuteronomy] introduces into the present something distant and alien for which there is no room in everyday life, and which therefore has to be relentlessly impressed upon the community in a context that threatens disintegration and oblivion (2005:16).

Assmann here points to what he perceives to be a principal aim of the book of Deuteronomy; to establish cohesion by way of inculcation of collective memory.

An Identity Project

The work of Carly Crouch (2014) has been able to marry the sociological and psychological approaches to the study of Deuteronomy to identify it as a project in identity formation. Crouch's study is comprehensive and will be referenced at various stages in this work where some of the ideas overlap. Where my study differs from and perhaps adds to Crouch's is that it does not simply stop at identifying identity formation as a key goal of the author of Deuteronomy, but pushes the boundary of Deuteronomic studies to seek to impute motive for the identity formation.

1.4   Outline of Chapters

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[25] See also Nicholson (2012b).

Having mentioned the emerging interest in social and psychological theory for understanding Deuteronomy, I narrow the discussion in the second chapter to interest in siege mentality and its place within the discipline of social sciences. A brief overview of two meta theories of social theory is presented; the functionalist and the coercion/conflict theories. This theoretical presentation is important since it lays the foundation for the identification of the social conditions which are conducive for the development of siege mentality. In addition to the sociological aspect, I also delve into the traits manifested by a group that foster's siege beliefs.

With the sociological and psychological foundation laid, I will then review the important works of Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a; 1992b) and Bar-Tal (2004). It was in their 1992a publication "Siege Mentality in Israel", that the term 'siege mentality' was first used in the discipline of political studies. The aim of this section of the chapter is to isolate the basic traits of siege mentality as identified by Bar-Tal and Antebi, as well as to identify the methods and mechanisms used to maintain the relevance of those traits to the group and by extension reinforce their siege beliefs.

While it is recognized that the Israel of the 20th century is far removed from the 'Israels'[26] of the 8th through 5th centuries BCE, it is deemed important that other examples be provided for siege mentality amongst other peoples. The reason for this is the possibility that there may be pasts and ideologies common to the different 'Israels' which may influence their

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[26] Here I am using the term 'Israels' to distinguish the ideological, political, social and religious differences of the communities that would have identified themselves as Israel during these various epochs of time.

behaviour and beliefs. Such a phenomenon can skew the results of our investigation thus producing false conclusions.

In the third chapter therefore, two case studies are presented. The first is a comparative study of Egypt and Mauritius, based on a 2004 study by Sandbrook and Romano entitled, "Globalisation, Extremism and Violence in Poor Countries". This study was specifically chosen to analyse the development and existence of siege beliefs in two ethnically different populations which experienced similar social and economic impacts of globalisation. The findings of this analysis are juxtaposed with the previously established traits of siege mentality and the methods and mechanisms used to maintain it, as identified by Bar-Tal and Antebi. This serves as a means of crystalizing our understanding of the conditions conducive to the fomenting of siege beliefs and those in which such beliefs find it difficult to develop and thrive.

The second case study to be presented in the third chapter is the product of my own analysis of the Albanian Communist Party and its rule under Enver Hoxha. This was chosen for several reasons in the interest of the advancement of our understanding of the book of Deuteronomy and other ancient texts which may be similar to it. Four reasons for the choice of the Albanian Communist Party are:

i)   Whereas Egypt and Mauritius are in the same geographical region as Israel, Albania is in a different locale altogether, so it provides a test case to establish whether siege mentality is specific to a particular geographic region or not.

ii)   Albania can be seen as representing a Eurocentric worldview as opposed to the Near Eastern worldview of Israel, Egypt and Mauritius. In similar manner, the Albania case study would enable us to ascertain if siege mentality can be developed and maintained amongst people of different world views. This then gives us the license to journey through epochs of time, and through variant worldviews to investigate the socio-political conditions of Judah in the late eighth to seventh centuries BCE, to ascertain if they were conducive to the development of siege beliefs.

iii)   The Albanian Communist Party during its years of rule produced a comprehensive legal corpus. The book of Deuteronomy has a rather expansive legal corpus as well. The Albania case study would then enable us to compare the legal corpus of a regime that exhibited siege mentality, with the legal corpus of Deuteronomy to establish similarities or differences.

iv)   The Albanian Communist Party moved from being a resistance movement to taking control of the reins of government in Albania. The other case studies primarily deal with the actions of regimes. The Albania case study will enable us to trace the activities the Albanian Communist Party from a resistance movement to the regime. This study then provides an all- encompassing perspective from which the book of Deuteronomy may be studied.

Though the focus of the thesis was never to date the book of Deuteronomy, it is necessary to explore the possible setting that best correlates with the ideology expressed in the text. Since the word limit of this study does not permit us to investigate each of the four possibilities given

for the setting of Deuteronomy, a heuristic approach seeking to establish a socio-political and, as far as can be ascertained, a historical setting for the book, had to be taken.[27]

In the fourth chapter, I thus opt to investigate the long seventh century BCE[28] as a possible socio-political setting for ideology expounded in the book of Deuteronomy. This date has been chosen for practical purposes. Reading the text from the perspective of siege mentality against the backdrop of the socio-political environment of the long seventh century, would add another voice to the ongoing debate of whether scholarship ought to continue to view this period as a plausible option for the setting and/or emergence of the book and its ideology, or whether it is time to focus the energy elsewhere. To opt for any of the later periods proposed for the origin of the text would have contributed little or nothing to the debate because it would not have served to eliminate the preceding dates. It is really a matter of determining if the pre-exilic setting can be eliminated as the setting for the ideology expressed in the text, rather than suggesting that it is.

A synopsis of the archaeology of the period, just highlighting some of the key finds which can enable in the construction of the social environment, as well as an analysis of the historical context is carried out in an effort to determine whether the pre-exilic setting, specifically the period of Assyrian domination from the latter part of the eighth through the seventh centuries, presents the type of conditions that would have been favourable for the development of siege beliefs. It is critical to note that we may be dealing with a writer's perception of a particular

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[27] The four possible periods that have been posited for the setting of Deuteronomy have been: The pre-exilic period (Late eighth to seventh centuries), the exilic period, the Persian period, and the Hellenistic Period.
[28] This term was coined by Crouch (2014) to describe the period from the last three decades of the eighth century through to the first decade of the sixth century BCE.

period in what he would have determined to be his people's history, and not necessarily a writer of a specific period giving commentary on the events of his time.

Having established the conditions under which siege beliefs may foment and the methods and mechanisms necessary to maintain them, chapter five proceeds to an investigation of the book of Deuteronomy for evidence of the socio-psychological inculcation and transmission of siege beliefs. This chapter focusses specifically on how the book of Deuteronomy seeks to create a collective identity by way of collective memory. Several pointer words and phrases are identified in the text. They are in turn linked to specific events, experiences or places referred to as 'sites of memory'. Sites of memory in Deuteronomy include slavery in Egypt, the wilderness, and references to covenant, among others.

The passages identified as containing sites of memory, are analysed to show how the text seeks to establish a collective memory in the community to which it was written. The chapter then moves to identify the various methods and mechanisms for transmitting memory (i.e. modes of transmission). In the book of Deuteronomy considerable emphasis is placed on liturgy and rituals as well as pedagogy, as methods and mechanisms of transmission.

The sixth chapter investigates the socio-political manifestations of siege beliefs in Deuteronomy. In our case studies, there are identified along with the socio-psychological traits, some socio-political ones as well, that can enable us to recognize siege beliefs in a group. In this chapter, portions of the legal corpus of Deuteronomy are investigated for stipulations which point to socio-political traits of siege mentality such as;

i)   centralization of key institutions

ii)   pressure for members of the group to conform to group ideals

iii)   exclusion of certain groups

iv)   othering

v)   expansionism

Aspects of the book will be analysed against the evidence of the archaeological and historical analysis of the period presented in chapter four to establish how the siege beliefs would have developed and which group/groups may have been instrumental in promulgating them.

1.5   Conclusion

This thesis establishes that siege mentality is a phenomenon that can take root in any group once the conditions conducive to the development of siege beliefs are extant. Chapter seven concludes that the book of Deuteronomy reflects siege beliefs that could well have developed in response to the socio-political climate of the late 8th through 7th centuries BCE in Judah. The results of this thesis will contribute significantly to studies in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, by adding to the body of material that has adopted a social scientific method to the study of these texts.

Where this study carves out a special niche is that it boldly suggests for the first time, that the genre of the book of Deuteronomy is best identified amongst the body of literature that is considered extremist. This has implications for those faiths which hold the text as sacred. The fact that Deuteronomy contains siege beliefs and seeks to propagate them, means that

centuries of Jewish and Christian theology and tradition must undergo a thorough revision and by necessity, a paradigm shift to align with the new reality that this study has established about the ideological underpinnings of the book. This represents a seismic shift in Deuteronomic studies and has the ability to change the way the book is studied significantly, and hopefully presents a new dimension that can be pursued by other scholars.

CHAPTER TWO

SIEGE MENTALITY: DEFINITIONS, THEORIES, DYNAMICS

2.1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is twofold: In addition to broadening the scope of social scientific approaches to biblical texts, I will also show how siege mentality compels us to adopt a more integrative and holistic approach to the study of social systems. The chapter first addresses the issue that has plagued social theory for centuries; the existence of the two seemingly antithetical meta-theories of the conflict/coercion theory[29] and the structural-functional theory/functionalism[30]. Given the parameters of the thesis I will not engage in an in-depth analysis of each theory. Rather, I will take an integrative approach to emphasize the validity of the two theories and how they both function in social systems.

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[29] The first proponent of the view that conflict and tension are necessary features holding social systems together would have been the Italian statesman Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) in his work *The Prince* (1513). There he expressed the views that good governance rested on the foundation of a strong military and brute force, since necessity as opposed to virtue was the best guide for a prince. Jean Bodin (1529-1596) the French economist and political philosopher followed the thought of conflict theory as a staunch defender of absolutism, deeming the monarchy as the only form of government approved by God. British philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) introduced the concept of the sovereignty of the state. These would give way to the conflict theorists of the classical period; Karl Marx (1818-1883) who viewed conflict in capitalist systems as a power struggle from a material perspective between the 'haves' (bourgeoisie) and the 'have nots' (proletariat), and Maximillian Weber (1864-1920) who viewed the conflict as a derivative of culture as opposed to materialism. Notable 20th century theorists who continue this debate include, Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), Gerhard Lenski (1924-2015) *Power and Privilege* (1966) and John Rex (1925-2011).

[30] French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) can be considered the founder of functionalism. He believed that the only way for social systems to truly function was through commitment of its members to their various functions, working harmoniously to achieve a common goal. Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) as well as Robert Merton (1910-2003) were heavily influenced by Durkheim and became leading proponents of functionalism in their time.

To explore this, I will utilize the innovative work of Ralf Dahrendorf (1959) *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* and (1969) 'Social Structure, Group Interests, and Conflict Groups' where he argued that far from being antithetical, the two theories are also not mutually exclusive. He recognized the validity of the two theories and sought to establish synthesis between them by showing that they both functioned simultaneously in a social system. Whilst accepting Marx's view of conflict being a basic part of social life, he recognized that conflict can only be perceived as a deviation from some position of expected consensus. On the other hand, he also found the structural functionalist school to be rather simplistic in its approach given the complexity of human social systems.

For Dahrendorf, the conflict theory is predicated on the expectation of consensus which the functionalist theory presumes, and the functionalist theory is far too utopian to presume that a social system operates harmoniously without any aspect of conflict. In essence, the two theories are held in tension maintaining stability and equilibrium within social systems. Dahrendorf's work will be supplemented by works from other sociologists particularly that of his contemporary Gerhard Lenski who, actually formulated a theory which synthesized the two meta-theories.

Lenski had a broad approach to theory building. In his work *Power and Privilege* (1966) and later *Human Societies* (1970), Lenski developed his macrosociological theory called the Ecological- Evolutionary Theory.[31] Studying human societies from the Stone Age

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[31] This theory was also referred to as the "Structural-Functional-Ecological-Evolutionary [Theory]" (Lenski, Lenski and Nolan, 1970:24-25).

to the time of his writing, he argued that, "variations in subsistence technology have been the most powerful single cause of variations in societal systems of stratification in the total universe of human societies, past and present" (1988:169). He therefore did not believe that a social theory can be built simply by studying one's own society in a particular epoch of time, but requires rather a broader perspective which encompasses what he referred to as, 'the total universe of human societies'.[32] Therefore, rather than referring to any particular historical society, Lenski would refer to types of societies.[33]   He debunked the arguments that the complexity of human systems given their cultural differences, as opposed to other biotic systems and chemical systems, renders it impossible to formulate a theory that can adequately encompass human social systems. Lenski's perspective on macrosociological theory led him to discuss human societies generally, with the variables of subsistence technology just forming the basis for sub-theories specific to the respective societies.[34] This decision by Lenski lays the foundation for my approach to use a modern theory like siege mentality to study an ancient text like Deuteronomy.

Having broadened the approach to social systems by presenting an integrative understanding of the two meta-theories of social theory, I will then seek to locate the phenomenon of siege mentality in social theory. The groundbreaking work of Daniel Bar-Tal and Dikla Antebi (1992a), "Siege Mentality in Israel", (1992b) "Beliefs about Negative

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[32] Nolan a contemporary of G. Lenski and co-author of *Human Societies* (1970), in an assessment of Lenski's work on the Ecological-evolutionary theory noted that "with its fusion of conflict and consensus theories and its shift from structural-functional to evolutionary analysis, it attempted to account for the major features of systems of distribution not just industrial or contemporary societies but also human societies" (2004:328).

[33] Lenski identified societies in accordance with their subsistence technology e.g. Hunters and gatherers societies, horticultural societies, agrarian societies, industrial societies, fishing societies, herding societies and maritime societies.

[34] See Lenski (1988:168) where he makes the point that for a macosociological theory to be falsifiable it must stand up to the scrutiny of theories in the Natural Sciences. It should be multilayered and must have constants.

Intentions of the World: A Study of Israeli Siege Mentality" and Daniel Bar-Tal (2004) "Siege Mentality in Israel" will be used to provide a working definition as well as to establish the origin and the context in which the term siege mentality is to be understood in this thesis. In addition, these studies will be used as the basic framework, to identify:

i) The factors which can give rise to siege mentality and the methods and ideological tools that may be employed to maintain it.

ii) How siege mentality functions to alter group behavior

iii) The actions which a group may take as a consequence of siege mentality.

Bar-Tal and Antebi's work will be supplemented by works from other scholars in order to present a more panoramic view of these three aspects of siege mentality.

2.2 Key Terms and Concepts for Defining Siege Mentality

There is a universal law for investigating systems in any discipline which infers that any alteration in the *status quo* gives rise to an opposite reaction in the responding system.[35]

In relation to human social systems, it was Talcott Parson's view that "people under strain are expected to deviate in some ways and to some extent" (1951:300). Sklair suggested that "deviance operates as a re-equilibrating device, to restore the system unbalanced by the strain to its former state of equilibrium or to bring it to a new stable state" (1993:143).

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[35] The use of the term law here is not to suggest concreteness in what the response will be or how the system will respond, particularly human systems. Rather, it is just used to suggest that some response will occur. In the field of Biology, one of the features of living things is 'response to stimuli'. It is reasonable to conclude that this permeates every facet of human existence, including its sociology: that sociological change will evoke a response. The unpredictability of human systems/beings with their capacity to reason and choose, makes it impossible to develop social laws beyond the assertion that a change in *status quo* will evoke a response.

It is the recognition of this equilibrating phenomenon within social systems that affords us the opportunity to investigate them within the context of the universal law which has been formulated for all disciplines. Siege mentality as a frame of mind that provokes social behaviour can thus be posited within the confines of this universal law as it relates to human social systems. However, as I embark on this investigation there are some terms that must be clearly defined.

Status quo

Status quo is derived from the latin *"in statu quo ante bellum"* (the state in which it was before war). *Status quo* in this instance would mean the state of equilibrium that a society experiences before change is imposed. A working indicator of equilibrium would be when a society is experiencing relative peace and the evidence of dissident group activity is minimal or non-existent. In essence, human systems must be assessed with the understanding that there will always be the precondition of relativism.

Siege

According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1995:1290) siege can be viewed from two perspectives:

(i)   Military operation in which an attacking force seeks to compel the surrender of a fortified place by surrounding it and cutting off supplies etc. **or**

(ii)   A persistent attack or campaign of persuasion.

Military occupation from without can evoke an almost immediate response from the besieged entity. The response may be in the form of military retaliation or submission. Total submission may not be an indicator of surrender but an acceptance that though the imposed state of affairs is presently not desirable, the current environment is not conducive for any attempts at change. So even while besieged, an entity may still be seeking to seize some element of self-determination and identity. This scenario presents the propensity for conflict within the besieged entity, or when the conditions become conducive, revolt against the occupying forces.

Likewise, a persistent attack by way of persuasion can be met with several responses. There can be total rejection in the besieged entity or there may be relative acceptance. However, there is also the added dimension that a particular group within the besieged group may be compliant whilst another may reject. This latter dynamic presents the possibility for conflict.

In establishing a case for siege mentality in the book of Deuteronomy I utilize a social scientific approach to the universal law which demonstrates how human social systems seek to maintain equilibrium. I believe we can concur that human systems are not as monolithic or predictable as chemical systems and would by compulsion necessitate a multidimensional approach to their study. Consider these claims from three prominent social thinkers: Lenski

who posited the view that "man is a social being obliged by nature to live with others as a member of society" (1966:25)[36] and Berger who said:

> Society not only controls our movements, but shapes our identity, our thought and our emotions. The structures of society become the structures of our own consciousness. Society does not stop at the surface of our skins. Society penetrates us as much as it envelops us (1963:121).

The two preceding quotes seemingly give credence to what Durkheim had opined decades before;

> If we should withdraw from men their language, sciences, arts and moral beliefs, they should drop to the ranks of animals. So the characteristic attributes of human nature come from society (1915:47).

These sociologists more broadly suggest that society is multi-faceted and has an impact on the lives of human beings in every sphere of their existence. Hence, to truly understand human behaviour would necessitate an understanding of the society from which a person or group comes, and the sociological, historical, religious and/or ideological elements of that society that would have been instrumental in shaping that individual or group. Even then, one cannot accurately determine the outcome of every situation since human behaviour is complex, thus rendering social systems inherently predisposed to situation-specific challenges and imperfections. Lenski aptly noted this when he suggested a way forward for

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[36] I note the exclusive language of Lenski and other commentators but it should be understood that 'man' here is to be read as 'humankind'.

Social Theory is to "stop seeking to find utility in all the actions of men; recognize that some established behaviours are antisocial and contribute nothing to the common good" (1966:34). Nonetheless, acknowledging this anomaly, one can still accept that there is an element of predictability in human social systems when faced with a given combination of circumstances. This is why Lenski postulated that the only variable in human systems is the subsistence technology which determines the typology of the society.

In this chapter, I posit the view that siege mentality is one such behaviour which comes to the fore when social systems, regardless of their composition, social, historical, religious and/or ideological heritage, are faced with a particular set of circumstances. For some societies it may be more difficult to become entrenched than others, but all are capable of exhibiting it. However, to build a more detailed working model for siege mentality we must investigate further what Social Theory tells us about human systems.

2.3   Social Theory of Human Systems

As mentioned before, social theorists such as Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes, Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Gramsci and in more recent times Parsons, Rex, Merton, Lenski and others have all studied and offered opinions on the dynamics of human systems, each falling into one of the categories as either a functionalist or conflict theorist.

Ralf Dahrendorf however, was unique in the sense that, rather than being labelled as strictly a conflict theorist, he approached Social Theory in a way that sought to offer a 'both and' as opposed to an 'either or' approach to understanding the behaviour of human social systems. He was of the view that there are really two philosophical views which are seen as conflicting, but are really adherents to the two meta-theories of Sociology which are not in conflict with each other but opposite sides of the same coin. Dahrendorf identified the two conflicting philosophical views as:

> i) The Utopian view [which] suggests that social order results from a general agreement of values, a *consensus omnium* or *volanté générale* which outweighs all possible or actual differences of opinion.
>
> ii) The Rationalist view suggests that coherence and order in society are founded on force and constraint, on domination of some and subjection of others (1969:488).

The adherents of the Utopian view such as Durkheim, Parsons and Merton would be those who ascribe to what is known as the Functional or Integration theory of society. This theory conceives of social structure in terms of a "functionally integrated system held in equilibrium by certain patterned recurrent processes" (1969:488). While recognizing that the views of the adherents to the functionalist approach are nuanced from one theorist to the other, it can generally be said that functionalists tend to equate the operation of social systems with those of biological systems. Therefore, it is assumed that just as the body is made up of different organs with their specific functions, yet each working for the greater good of the whole, functionalists deem social systems to be made up of individual units performing specific tasks for the greater good of the system. The functionalists opine also that just as the body has a regulatory system which controls the concentration of chemicals and hormones in the body,

so too do social systems have mechanisms of control. Hence, for them, social equilibrium is fostered by the socialization of the members of society into the values, norms and mores of the society that are necessary for consensus. The regulatory or social control systems would be formal institutions such as schools, prisons, mental institutions and the like. Functionalist theory in its purity appears to present a system that is 'robotic' with individuals who are complicit because of the instruments of socialization.

On the other hand, those who hold to the Rationalist view, such as Machiavelli, Marx, Weber, Bodin, Hobbes, and Rex, would ascribe to the Coercion or Conflict theory of society. According to Dahrendorf, this theory views social structure as "a form of organization held together by force and constraint and reaching continuously beyond itself in the sense of producing within itself the forces that maintain it in an unending process of change" (1969:488). Therefore, the conflict or coercion model perceives society as being held together in constant tension where equilibrium is attained by a balance of suppression and negotiation.

To establish his point about the compatibility of the functionalist and conflict theories, Dahrenhorf sought to point out some of the basic tenets of each of those two meta-theories. The basic tenets of Functionalist theory he suggested, are that:

> i)   Every society is a relatively persistent, stable and well integrated structure of elements
>
> ii) Every element in a society has a function (i.e. renders a contribution to its maintenance as a system).

iii) Every functioning social structure is based on a consensus
of values among its members. (1969:490).

Lockwood in his critique of the Functionalist/Integration theory made the very pointed

observation that one of the major shortcomings of Functional theory is that, "what may be

called the substratum of social actions, especially as it conditions interests which are productive

of social conflict and instability, tends to be ignored as a general determinant of the dynamics

of social systems" (1956:136). Lenski put it more bluntly when he wrote:

There is no such thing as a perfect human social system in which
the actions of the parts are completely subordinated to the needs
of the whole. This is a theoretical construct which has no
counterpart or even remote approximation in the real world
(1966:34).

In fairness to Parsons, who was one of the leading proponents of functionalist theory in

his time, he did concede that that there is always an element of deviation. However, as

Dahrendorf would suggest, because Parsons focused mainly on the Utopian view as embedded

in the Integration theory, he was unable to see the two sides of the coin. There are contrasting

views between "stability and instability, integration and conflict, equilibrium and

disequilibrium, values and interests…" (1969:489).

To emphasize this point Dahrendorf outlined the basic tenets of Conflict/ Coercion

theory. These tenets were that;

(i)   Every society is at every point subject to processes of
        change; social change is ubiquitous.

ii)   Every society displays at every point dissensus and
        conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous.

iii)   Every element in a society renders a contribution to its
        disintegration and change.

iv)   Every society is based on the coercion of its members by
        others (1969:490).

Based on the tenets of the two theories, it is quite apparent as Dahrendorf noted that "what the integration theory regards as a consensus of values, the coercion theory may regard as conflicts of interest. Likewise, what appears on the level of the factual substratum to be integration; is seen as coercion and constraint by the coercion model" (1969:490).

Both models acknowledge some element of differentiation of roles or functions within a society. The society is therefore dependent upon members carrying out their respective roles. The question therefore remains, is the society held together by consensus as is the opinion of the functionalist, or by coercion as the conflict theorists argue?

Sumner and Keller clearly favoured the view of the conflict theory when they stated that, "men are brought into association and held there by compulsion….it is wrong to assume mutual good will as the basis of human cooperation (1927:28-29). Lenski later suggested that "compulsion of self-interests keeps human beings in association" (1966:27). However, Lenski also noted; "logically it is not possible for the interests of society to be compatible with the interests of all its members if the interest of these members are themselves incompatible to any appreciable degree" (1966:35). Lenski seems to be making the crucial point that, as long as

there is stratification in a social system there will be the natural propensity for conflict to ensue. It would seem then, that conflict is ultimately based on the existence of differing degrees of power and authority within a social system, and most importantly, how that power is used and authority exercised.

The two sides of Dahrendorf's coin are borne out since conflict really has no relevance unless there is a coherent structure from which deviance can occur. The integration/functional theory presupposes such a structure. On the other hand, the integration theory also implies the integration of different entities. Thus, it supports the coercion theory which relates conflict to different interests and values. Dahrendorf in summing up his thesis on the mutual inclusive nature of the two theories noted,

> In every social organization some positions are entrusted with a right to exercise control over other positions in order to ensure effective coercion; it means in other words, that there is a differential distribution of power and authority (1969:491).

Therein lies the potential for conflict, because the differentiation of roles and the accompanying power and authority ascribed to some roles to exercise over others create conflict groups or classes and the expectations of domination and subjection. According to Weber, "while power is merely a factual relation, authority is a legitimate relation of domination and subjection. In this sense, authority can be described as legitimate power" (1947:28). Dahrendorf would later reinforce this point when he noted that;

conflicts emerge wherever authority is exercised, because the super ordinate is always expected to control the subordinate by orders and commands, warnings and prohibitions, and because authority is legitimate power, non-compliance can be sanctioned (1969:492).

What we have discovered of Social Theory thus far, suggests that human systems are in a constant state of tension where equilibrium can be affected by the slightest change in the *status quo*. It is therefore essential to seek to maintain equilibrium by use of social mechanism as the functionalists believe or satisfy the interests of the individual units of the system as a means of avoiding conflict, as the conflict theorists believe. It is for this purpose that Lenski had postulated that one of the ways forward for Social Theory is to "think of distributive systems simultaneously reflecting system needs and unit needs, with each often subverting the other" (1966:34).

Lenski noted that;

There are two goals of societal actions: (i) they are [either] directed toward the maintenance of the political *status quo* within the group; [And] since perfect stability or equilibrium is impossible, this goal might better be described as the minimalization of the rate of internal political change; or (ii) they may be directed towards maximizing production (1966:41-42).

These goals relate to societies on opposite ends of the spectrum of the construct of social systems. As Lenski elucidated,

> The goal of maximizing production has priority in relatively unstratified societies and the goal of minimizing political change has priority in societies in which power and privilege are monopolized by a few (1966:42).

In situations where power and privilege is the monopoly of the few, the challenge for the minority who have power at their disposal would be to maintain the *status quo* by presenting their interests in a way that they appear to be the interests of the entire society as well, in order to minimalize the rate of internal political change. Moreover, history has taught us the sobering lesson that the class which controls the material wealth in a society is usually the class which determines the norms and values of the society. Mosca rationalized that concept in this way;

> Ruling classes do not justify their power exclusively by *de facto* possession of it, but try to find a moral and legal basis for it, representing it as the logical and necessary consequences of doctrines and beliefs that are generally recognized and accepted (1939:70).

There are several ways in which the *status quo* can be maintained by the minority which has power and authority. The two key ways however, are by (i) use of force or (ii) constructing ideologies which support the *status quo*. Other forms are combinations in varying degrees of these two methods. These methods can be seen to be serving as validation for the integrated approach adopted by Dahrendorf. Both force and ideology, though tools of the coercion or conflict theory, are really agents to either create or entrench the stratification expected in the functionalist theory.

Though his integrated approach has served to broaden the discussion on Social theory, it has not been without criticism. The fact that Dahrendorf stopped short of actually formulating a single comprehensive theory that would merge the conflict and functionalist theories has led some to view his work as merely a slight alteration of the two theories, thus rendering it superficial. Ritzer is of the opinion that "[Dahrendorf's] theory fails to address much of social life as it takes only a macro-sociological perspective" (2008:269). Similarly, Turner argues that' "absent from Dahrendorf's theory were any significant discussions of culture, and therefore citizenship and identity" (2010:241).

While these criticisms are well founded, we must be ever cognizant of context. Indeed, it was in response to his context that Dahrendorf departed from Marx's view that class formation was a consequence of property ownership, to embrace what he perceived as the reality of his time that, class formation was actually based on authority as Weber had opined. Social classes for Dahrendorf were therefore, "conflict groups arising out of the authority structure of imperatively coordinated associations" (1959:206). Likewise, his lack of focus on culture would affect his views on citizenship and identity for the modern reader, as highlighted by Turner. Perhaps it was his leaning toward Weberian sociology that influenced Dahrendorf's perception of culture. It was Weber who opined:

> There is no absolutely "objective" scientific analysis of
> culture…all knowledge of cultural reality…is always
> knowledge from particular points of view…an "objective"
> analysis of cultural events, which proceeds according to the
> thesis that the idea of science in the reduction of empirical
> reality to "laws" is meaningless…[because]…the knowledge of
> social laws is not knowledge of social reality but is rather one

of the various aids used by our minds to attain this end (*Max Weber, Sociological Writings*. http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works /ge/weber.htm. Retrieved October 2, 2017).

Culture for Dahrendorf, as it was for Weber, may have differed from situation to situation; however, what remained paramount was the effect of authority. Any system, regardless of culture, that was stratified with positions of authority of some over others, intrinsically possessed the potential for conflict.

Though labelled as a theoretical "in-betweener" who developed a synthetic theory of conflict which, though insightful, never established itself as an enduring theoretical formulation in social sciences (Smelser, 2011:466), Dahrendorf contributed significantly in broadening the scope of social theory in the recognition of the interdependency of the basic tenets of the conflict and functionalist theories.

2.4   Ideology as a Means of Minimalizing the Rate of Political Change

Ideology can be one of the most powerful tools, if used carefully, that those who control power within a society can use to secure and legitimize their power. Indeed, this is one of the inherent flaws of the functionalist theory, because it perceives norms, values and mores as being independent of the interests of the units in the system; in essence it is somewhat utopian. Sears in commenting on ideology wrote,

> Consensus is a euphemism for ideology. Genuine consensus is not achieved, rather the more powerful in societies are able to impose their conceptions on others and have them accept their discourses. Consensus does not preserve social order, it entrenches stratification (2008:35).

The ideology of the of the minority who control power in a society can be infused into the societal structure as Lenski opined;

> particularly in the development of the machinery of state and other agencies of social control, in the great concern for law and order which every society's leaders express, and in the cultivation of political ideologies which justify the *status quo*. It is also seen in the universal concern of societies and their leaders with defense against foreign aggression (1966:42).

Here Lenski is highlighting the power that the manipulation of ideology can have on not only the way the society sees itself, but also the way the society sees the world in general and just as important, the way its leaders want the society to see itself and the world. Some of the machinery of state of which Lenski speaks, when one considers many societies, can be intellectuals who are respected by the general populace for their knowledge, and generally the ruling class who have access to the mass media. Indeed, the ruling class may very well own or control the mass media, hence they can select the necessary messages to be promulgated to entrench their positions and maintain the *status quo*. Mass media has played a significant role in the propagation of the ideology of many regimes, and even in societies which purport freedom of speech, there is usually maintained a media house that is state controlled.

One of the fundamental areas upon which most social scientists agree is the role that religion and religious institutions can play in the maintenance of the *status quo*. Durkheim was of the opinion that "religion played a valuable role in providing cohesion and norms in a society" (1915:47). The functionalists tend to see religion and religious institutions as important organs in the social system which contribute towards the maintenance of equilibrium, while conflict theorists deem them to be tools of the ruling class which support and maintain the *status quo*. Perhaps it was precisely the latter observation that led Touraine to conclude that, "religion is never just the opium of the people" (1981:97).

Religion can be a very powerful agent in a social system serving either to reinforce the *status quo* or at another time challenging it. In noting the role that religion can play, Lenski presented a rather profound observation that;

> Where men recognize the existence of a system of supernatural sanctions, their actions may be deflected from the course they would follow if that element were not in the picture....many religions provide strong supernatural sanction for the existing system of power and privilege, and their chief effect is likely to be a reinforcement of the *status quo* (1966:38-39).

Lenski's argument here is very insightful. However, for the same reason, religion with its supernatural sanctions can also be the foundation of rebellion against the *status quo* depending upon who is interpreting what the religion actually sanctions. Touraine used the term 'Religion of the Lower Orders' to describe activist millenarian movements among the populations of colonial countries, discontented peasants, and the 'jetsam of the towns and cities of feudal civilizations' (1981:360-361).

Such groups can perceive religion as something that sanctions rebellion especially if their religion appears to encourage an 'oppressed' self-identification.

Stark, however, suggested that:

> religion is seen as the pillar of the *status quo*, and religious movements are treated as withdrawals from, rather than encounters with, social change. Religion, it is claimed, bids the deprived to accept their lot while radicalism urges them to question it (1964:701).

Lenski noted that there were exceptions, for example, "Judaism and Christianity, provide a basis for an ethical criticism of the existing order and hence sometimes encourage attacks on the *status quo*" (1966:39). I think it is important to note here that to assume that religion is a homogenous, monolithic construct would be a rather simplistic perspective. Rather, religions are complex and multidimensional structures within a social system such that, even as a unit of society where those who control power may be seeking to utilize it as a source of maintaining the *status quo*, a religion may have its own conflict taking place within it.

Later in this thesis a case study will be presented of Communist Albania where a long history of Byzantine and later Ottoman rule left strong Christian and Muslim roots, respectively. This history made it impossible for religion to be a united front in Albania.

Yet, in spite of its tendency not to be cohesive at times, religion can be a powerful tool in unifying a society because it appeals beyond the rational to the emotional. In the end, recognizing the danger posed by religion, the Communist Party banned religion, thus making Albania the world's first atheist country.   Perhaps this is what Weber was reflecting upon when he pointed out the value of what he called the 'emotional aspect' of conflicts which may be taking place simultaneously in the same system. Hence, if there is some feature that even the conflicting groups in the society shared in common, religion, because of its appeal to the emotions, can still play a unifying role. The entry attributed to Weber, "Weber and Conflict Theory", in the New World Encyclopedia states:

> It is these [emotional aspects of conflict] that underlie the power of religion and make it an important ally of the state; that transform classes into status groups, and do the same to territorial communities under particular circumstances (ethnicity); and that makes 'legitimacy' a crucial focus for efforts at domination (accessed June 2013).

Lenski however, noted that there was another means by which the minority which control power can minimalize the rate of political change. This second method he opined, is force (1966:36).

2.5   Force as a Means of Minimalizing the Rate of Political Change

In rationalizing the use of force as means of conflict resolution, Lenski pointed out that human survival seems to be a high priority and "since survival is assumed to be the chief

goal of the great majority of men…then it follows that the ability to take life is the most

effective form of power" (1966:50). Hence, he further opined;

> [survival] causes might or force to be the most effective deterrent and
> also the supreme sanction in human affairs. It is no coincidence that
> violence is the last court of appeal in human conflicts (1966:37).

Lenski however highlighted the danger of force, in that it must be controlled.

He referred to force as the;

> Foundation of Sovereignty [hence], every sovereign state
> restricts, and where possible prohibits, the independent exercise
> of force by its subjects…any government which cannot
> suppress each and every challenge to its authority is
> overthrown (1966:50).

In essence, Lenski was making the point that force, carefully managed, is an essential

element of minimalizing the rate of political change.

Effective leadership is thus hinged upon a careful balance of ideology and force.

Where either one of these entities becomes overemphasized at the expense of the other,

the regime is vulnerable to being removed. To emphasize this point with regard to

balancing the use of force with ideology, Lenski referenced a statement attributed to

Edmund Burke who said:

> The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again: and a nation is not governed, which is perpetually to be conquered (1966:51).[37]

It is therefore imperative that if leadership of a community is procured by force, to maintain the position of ascendency, the leadership must then formulate a convincing ideology to justify its remaining in that position. Lenski noted that there may be two types of what he referred to as new elites.[38] He opined that materialistic new elites are often concerned about image and materialism thus they shift from force for those reasons. Their materialism cannot be satisfied if there is a large military, since that has the propensity to deplete resources, and since honor ranks highly on the scale of human values, to rule by fear brings no honor (1966:51). The other type of new elites, whom Lenski called ideologically motivated elites, are even more compelled to shift their focus from force, as he explained:

> If the visions and ideals which led them to undertake the terrible risks and hardships of revolution are to be fulfilled, the voluntary cooperation of the population is essential, and this cannot be obtained by force. Force is, at best, the means to an end. That end, the establishment of a new social order, can never be fully attained until most members of the society freely accept it as their own. The purpose of the revolution is to destroy the old elite and their institutions, which prevent the fulfillment of this dream. Once they are destroyed, an ideological elite strives to rule by persuasion. Thus, those who seize power by force find it advantageous to legitimize their rule once effective organized opposition is eliminated (1966:52)

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[37] Edmund Burke was a famed English Conservative who made this statement in his "Second Speech on Conciliation with America" (1775).

[38] Lenski uses this term to describe the new leadership of a community that may have gained its position by force. He does not identify specifically any particular community because his ecological-evolutionary theory deems that the only variable that differentiates one community from another is subsistence technology. Therefore, the observation is intended to be universal and applicable to any community.

I believe this particular assertion by Lenski was worth quoting in its entirety because it really highlights how interests can determine the course of the actions taken by human systems. In order to make the shift from force towards ideology two very effective avenues can be employed; Laws and Institutions.

2.5.1 Laws

Laws have the ability to be impersonal and can be written in such a way that they are beneficial to the new elite without opposition from the masses. Lenski employed the wit of Anatole France in making this point when he said, "the law in all its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the street, and to steal bread" (1966:52). I believe that quote highlights the impersonal nature of laws and how they can be utilized to control the masses, while not causing any unrest for the elite, who are hardly affected by them anyway.

2.5.2 Institutions

New elites can utilize the existing institutions of the society, as well as create new ones that can promulgate opinions and ideologies which legitimize their power. Of course, this requires that all important balance of ideology with force. To utilize existing systems, one would acknowledge that there are likely to be residual elements of the old regime which would have to be subdued or coerced. As Lenski noted:

> Through the use of a combination of inducements and threats,
> educational and religious institutions, together with mass media,
> and other molders of public opinion, can usually be transformed
> into instruments of propaganda for the new regime (1966:52).

The essentiality of shifting from might to right not only favors the new elites but it can bring about greater integration of the society as compliant persons are embraced into the system and thus themselves are transformed, oft times unwittingly, into new elites and by extension defenders of the *status quo.* Ransome in his reflection upon the work of renowned sociologist Antonio Gramsci, highlighted Gramsci's opinion on how religion can be used by new elites as a transformative element. According to Ransome;

> Gramsci acknowledged that the institutions of civil society are
> able to exercise repression, albeit in a different way. In
> religious practice for example, coercive authority operates
> along a spiritual dimension and is not therefore 'physically
> violent'. To a dissenting individual, however, the threat of
> excommunication or social exclusion may *in effect* be just as
> debilitating as physical punishment (1992:143).

Of course, one would recognize that this is a generalization where religion is concerned because there are some religions that do order harsher penalties and even death for dissidents.

This brief overview of social theory gives us a glimpse into the complex world of human social systems and the many disciplines that are interacting with each other all at once. We have been able to explore briefly how economic and ideology (interests), sociology, and religion (values), can all exist and interact in human systems to guide human

behavior in varying circumstances. It is precisely this interdisciplinary interface that I wish

to employ in my investigation of the book of Deuteronomy in an effort to reveal a new way

of looking at this particular ancient text.

2.6   The Origins of the term Siege Mentality

        Within the past three decades, the term siege mentality has emerged particularly in the

fields of psychology, political studies and sociology as a description of a specific type of group

behavior. In the field of sociology, the term has been used by Sklair as a description of the

built-in element of the Functionalist Theory that seeks to explain how balance is maintained in

a system. According to Sklair:

> The siege mentality entails the view that social systems are always potentially vulnerable to attack, no less from inside than from outside. Approval and reward for behavior which supports the system, disapproval and punishment for behavior which threatens it, must be maintained to ensure the persistence of the system: adaptation and change of system properties must be possible where the defiance proves to be too strong for the system to resist; accommodation where neither the system nor the deviance is clearly more powerful… (1993:143).

In the field of political studies, the term has also been employed by Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a, 1992b)[39], Zerubavel (1995), Ben- Yehuda (1995), Bar-Tal (2004) and more recently, Tanja Müller (2012), and Gavriely-Nuri (2014).[40]

Since Sklair gave no reference for the origin of the term siege mentality one is left to conclude that he deemed it an original phrase or he perceived it to have been sufficiently known in his field not to merit any special reference. However, I suspect it was a term he was using in this context for the first time as he noted, "the Parsonian theory of social control, notwithstanding the imputed normalcy of the processes involved, demonstrates most completely the strength of the theoretical logic and what I shall label the siege mentality of the functionalist doctrine" (1993:143). It is evident that it might have been a term not known in his field and he was personally using it to speak to the inherent tension in the functionalist doctrine.

Siege Mentality as a model for studying human behaviour, however, appears to have had its genesis in the field of political studies in the pioneering works of the political psychologists Daniel Bar-Tal and Dikla Antebi entitled, 'Siege Mentality in Israel' (1992a) and

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[39] Bar-Tal and Antebi were actually political-psychologists. Their work will be explored in detail in the ensuing discussion.

[40] While suggesting that Eritrea was beginning to return to a semblance of normalcy, Müller used the term in this way; "…this represents a considerable advance compared with 2006, and can almost be returned to the time before the 1998-2000 war with Ethiopia, in the aftermath of which the siege mentality took hold" (2012:456). Likewise, in an even more recent article by Gavriely-Nuri, the writer posits the view that "expectations of threat and danger, the evil intent of an external enemy, are part and parcel of the Israeli Collective Memory, never to be forgotten and needing mention at each public occasion, whether joyous or sad. Such images of the past promote what researchers call a "siege mentality" "(2014:54).

'Beliefs about Negative Intentions of the World: A Study of Israeli Siege Mentality' (1992b). The phenomenon that it describes is a human condition which predated this terminology and may have been called by several other names in other disciplines and cultures. In fact, in the case of Bar-Tal and Antebi, siege mentality did emerge as a development of previous terms. According to Ben-Yehuda, Stewart Alsop, a Newsweek columnist in a press conference with the then Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, noted that a high official in Washington had accused her as having a 'Masada Complex'; to which she responded: "And you Mr. Alsop, you say we have a Masada Complex…it is true. We do have a Masada Complex. We have a Pogrom complex. We have a Hitler Complex" (1995:246).

Bar-Tal had worked on the topic of the 'Masada Complex', in his earlier work, "Stress and Coping in Time of War" (1986). In that study he changed the name of the condition from 'Masada Complex' and introduced a new term 'Masada Syndrome' which he defined as, "a mental state in which members of a group hold a central belief that the rest of the world has highly negative behavioural intentions toward them" (1986:34). Bar-Tal and Antebi would later introduce a new nomenclature which they called 'Siege Mentality' (1992a:251). This Bar-Tal would later define as:

> [A] social-political-psychological phenomenon which can be observed in different societies [and] pertains to the experience of being under siege, i.e., feeling as if the rest of the world has highly negative intentions towards one's own society or that one's own society is surrounded by a hostile world. The focus is on 'negative intentions' and 'the rest of the world' (2004).

The description 'Masada Syndrome' dealt specifically with Israel's experience so the name change was really to remove the specificity of the phenomenon from one group, since it

has been observed to be extant in several different groups throughout history (Bar-Tal and Antebi, 1992a:252)[41]. The basic belief however, is identified as the deep feeling of being alone in a hostile world. While it is normal for countries to have allies and perhaps one or two enemies in the world, siege mentality speaks to a more extreme situation in which the society stands alone and operates with the mindset as Bar-Tal and Antebi described, that 'no-one will help us in time of need' (1992a:251).[42] It is that central belief that the world is against them that foments other beliefs such as loneliness, being under constant threat, the tendency to resort to extreme forms of security and the aversion to seeking outside help from nations it deems are not trustworthy. As a result, Bar-Tal and Antebi are of the opinion that siege mentality pushes group members to be as independent of the world community as possible, thus fostering self-reliance and freedom from the world community which the group deems hostile toward it (1992a:269).

2.7   The Dynamics of Siege Mentality

Bar-Tal (2004) categorized the various aspects of siege mentality into (i) possible causes, (ii) functions, and (iii) consequences. For this thesis I have kept the three categories with just a slight amendment to the first. I have expanded the category in recognition that the possible causes of siege mentality are also the means by which it can be maintained and perpetuated.

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[41] Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a:252) identified several groups such as, the Albanians, Iranians, Afrikaners, Japanese in the 1930's and Russians in the 1920's as groups which in recent times have exhibited siege mentality.
[42] This does not mean that the society does not have allies but in situations of extreme pressure, it tends to lump the allies with the rest of the world.

2.7.1 Possible Causes and Maintenance of Siege Mentality

1a.   Siege Mentality-Prone Leadership: From the Perspective of A Regime

As a means to isolate the society and consolidate power, a leader or the leadership of a society or a group, may amplify some perceived siege experience of the past. Hence, the nurturing of siege mentality may be a deliberate strategy of governance.[43] Bar-Tal highlighted North Korea as an example of self-initiated siege mentality where, "following the changes that took place in Europe, [it] isolated itself from the rest of the world, attributing especially negative intentions to capitalist countries" (2004). Of course, the maintenance of siege mentality in such a case is dependent upon the structure of governance and the charisma of the leadership along with the immediate needs of the society. The leadership would have to be one based on a centralized authority with the needs of the society being such as to justify the leadership's portrayal of the world (Bar-Tal, 2004). Centralization would also ensure that the messages being transmitted by the leadership to the community are carefully crafted and disseminated. The leader or leadership of such a community would have to portray the world as being negative or even antagonize the world to act negatively against it, so that the siege beliefs it promotes can be further entrenched.

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[43] Bar-Tal (2004) cited Albania and North Korea as examples of this phenomenon.

Since leadership can be such an integrally causative factor of siege mentality, "it may end with the change of leadership, or of internal needs, as it happened in the case of Albania" (Bar-Tal, 2004). On the other hand, if leadership remains in the same hands for a long period of time, the siege mentality persists and becomes even more entrenched. An example of this, as Bar-Tal noted, is North Korea under the Kim family, which deems capitalism and capitalist countries as the enemy (2004).   The leadership has remained in the same family for decades, and in this particular instance, the siege beliefs are reinforced.[44] According to Lee et al., the former leader of North Korea, Kim Jong II expressed the siege mentality of his country thus:

> [Preventing] imperialist ideology and culture from infiltrating into our country remains the key to protecting our socialism and guaranteeing the development of socialist culture.   The imperialists are attempting to infiltrate bourgeois culture into the socialist world, thus to paralyze the revolutionary spirit of the people here (cited in Bar-Tal, 2004).

Here, those countries that are perceived to be imperialists are portrayed by the leadership as a threat to North Korea's way of life. It has implications for culture and even more pointedly identity. When a people's very existence is under threat there is cause to fight to maintain it.

Nations such as North Korea whose leaders hold and disseminate siege views are usually skeptical of international institutions as well. They are seldom involved in United Nations regulations and treaties. These siege behaviours create a tension between the international community and the siege nation which when the former responds with measures such as

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[44] According to Yoo in an article published in the South China Morning Post on August 13, 2013, the ruling Workers' Party in North Korea rewrote its rules to legitimise the hereditary succession of the current leader Kim Jong-un and his family. The new rules stipulate that North Korea and the Workers' Party will be kept alive forever by the Baekdu bloodline which is a reference to the Kim family. http://m.scmp.com/news/asia/article/1296394/democratic-peoples-monarchy-korea-north-korea-changes-ruling-principles. Retrieved June 14, 2016.

sanctions, embargoes or even military action, they serve only to reinforce and validate the siege views purported by the leadership.

1b.   From the Perspective of a Resistance Movement: Extending the Model

For the purpose of this study, though it has been recognized that the leadership causing and maintaining siege mentality, as has been presented Bar-Tal and Antebi, is investigated and so identified from the perspective of a regime and its ability to foment siege beliefs in the wider society, I wish to assert that the same or similar causes and effects which foster siege mentality are those which give rise to resistance movements.   The same concept of the world having negative intentions and the need to preserve tradition and identity as well as to avoid foreign infiltration seem to be some of the driving forces of resistance movements, some of which may even tend towards violent extremism. The concept of siege mentality prone leadership must therefore extend to leaders of resistance movements within a society.

I make this assertion against the background of the findings presented earlier in social theory. The individuals or groups which engage in resistance activities are all actors in the same social system, and therefore are subject to the same stimuli that regimes experience. However, as Dahrendorf and Lenski's understanding of human social systems being subject to the tenets of the coercive and functionalist theories simultaneously suggest, the stratification of a society may lead different groups to respond differently to the same stimulus.

Perhaps, the only difference is that resistance movements can be perceived to be fringe groups within a society where the regime is seen to have no perception of a hostile world, and may even be beneficiaries of the very things that are negatively affecting groups within the same social system. Resistance movements can therefore be regarded as exhibiting a form of siege mentality which is from within a social system. A particular group or groups within the system may be affected by the actions or inactions of the regime and may perceive their existence or normative way of life to be under threat. Hence, resistance movements may be regarded as exhibiting siege mentality from the 'bottom up', whereas a regime can be regarded as exhibiting siege mentality from the 'top down'. I have highlighted this phenomenon because it will be necessary to investigate the book of Deuteronomy from both perspectives.

2.   Perceived Maltreatment of the Society/Group

Siege mentality may also be exhibited by societies or groups that may have had past experiences of persecution. A seemingly indelible mark may be left by the traumatic experiences of the past which may lead the society to hold on to the memory of those experiences even when the circumstances may have changed. Perhaps some Jewish communities serve as the best example for this type of siege beliefs where the trauma of the past experiences may provide the impetus for the persistence of siege beliefs which are passed from generation to generation. This has the effect of influencing a group's perception of the world no matter how far removed the current circumstances may be from the actual events of the past which fostered the siege mentality.

In such instances, as Bar-Tal noted, the siege mentality is often supported by societal channels, cultural institutions and the educational system, thus rendering the mindset very difficult to alter. The siege beliefs then become the "master symbols and chosen traumas of the society [such that] even under new circumstances, society members search for evidence to validate their societal beliefs about siege and continue to maintain them" (Bar-Tal, 2004). For example, an opinion poll taken in Israel on September 24-26, 1978, following the broadcasting of a TV series *Holocaust,* showed that 41% of the adults believed that "what happened then, can happen again," and 72% believed that "There is still a hatred of Jews in the world" (Levinson 1979, cited in Bar-Tal and Antebi, 1992a:254).

Bar-Tal and Antebi attribute the Jewish siege mentality to;

> a long history of persecutions, libel, special taxation, restrictions, forced conversions, expulsions and pogroms. From the Roman period through the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and the Industrial Revolution, until today, Jews consistently and continually have been subjects of anti-Semitism in almost every place they have lived (1992a:255).[45]

Liebman asserted that, "Jewish tradition finds anti-Semitism to be the norm, the natural response of the non-Jew… The term 'Esau hates Jacob' symbolizes the world, which Jews experience. It is deeply embedded in the Jewish folk tradition" (1978:45). Highlighting the impact of the trauma of the holocaust as a 'master symbol', Elon probably summed up the extent of Jewish siege mentality when he opined:

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[45] Grosser and Halperin (1979), as well as Poliakov (1974), share this view.

The Holocaust remains a basic trauma of Israeli Society. It is impossible to exaggerate its effect on the process of nation-building… There is a latent hysteria in Israeli life that stems directly from this source.

It accounts for the prevailing sense of loneliness, a main characteristic of the Israeli temper since Independence. It explains the obsessive suspicions, the towering urge for self-reliance at all cost in a world which permitted the disaster to happen. It explains the fears and prejudices, passions, pains and prides that spin the plot of public life and will likely affect the nation for a long time to come…

The trauma of the Holocaust leaves an indelible mark on the national psychology, the tenor and content of public life, the conduct of foreign affairs, on politics, education, literature and the arts (1971:198-199).

A more detailed analysis of the types of trauma that can cause groups to exhibit siege mentality as well as why some groups exhibit it and others don't in spite of experiencing the same or similar traumas will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.   *The Appeal to Collective Memory*

Following on from the impact of past maltreatment of the society or group, those experiences can become the means by which the society or group can create a collective memory. The same is also true for heroic events or what are perceived as transformational events in the group's history.

Maurice Halbwachs in his formative work *On Collective Memory* deemed it a means of utilizing the past to make sense of the present. He was heavily influenced by Emile Durkheim's work on rituals and monuments in memory. Consequently, one of Halbwachs' greater contributions to the development of his theory would be in the recognition of the importance of what he termed "localization". Halbwachs was making the very important observation that concrete structures, particularly places, can give greater meaning and 'tangibility' to memories, thus enabling them to be perpetuated. Gilmour paraphrased it this way:

> Localization is the placement of memory in a group's conceptual framework. The conceptual framework is the totality of memories belonging to that group, and it is often embodied spatially, for example in geography. This gives the memories coherence with one another and connects them to the group's present (2015:410).

Nora would push the concept of localization further to suggest that the conceptual framework of Halbwachs need not be limited to geography but can include a wide variety of what he called "sites of memory" which may be 'celebrations, emblems, monuments, and commemorations, but also speeches, archives, dictionaries, and museums' (1984:11).[46] Halbwachs concept of collective memory though useful would prove limited since as Gilmour noted, "[it] reflects only the needs of a group's present and so does not span past a few generations" (2015:410).

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[46] Yerushalami in an independent study coined the term "vessels and vehicles of memory" (1996:27ff); Benveniśtî would refer to them as "signposts of memory" (2000:229).

The term cultural memory was coined by one who can be considered an expert in the field of memory studies; renowned Egyptologist, Jan Assmann. Recognizing that there were limitations in Halbwachs theory of collective memory, Assmann sought to further classify collective memory by identifying two categories. These he named 'communicative memory' and 'cultural memory'. Communicative memory he defined as a "memory community's" unofficial "everyday memory" in which the entire community can participate in a personal and unstructured manner, thus altering its shape in time and space. This would correlate with Halbwachs' understanding of collective memory somewhat, in that it is limited to a time span of only a few generations, because its communicative element is verbal and unstructured.

Cultural memory however, is a much more structured method of group participation which Kofoed described in this way:

> Not all members of a given memory community can influence
> the memory to the same extent, because the power to interpret
> and define the past is unevenly spread within the collective.
> The cultural memory is a group's official memory and is
> intrinsically related to power and tradition. Since tradition is
> the central category of this memory, it covers a much longer
> period of time. The cultural memory also serves as a "memory
> reservoir," containing several collective memories and
> identities (2011:126).

This suggests that the official memory of a community is determined by those who control the reins of power and which aspects of the tradition they wish to be remembered.

According to Kofoed,

> [Assman] saw cultural memory as a conceptual tool for
> understanding how not only historiography but a variety of

other memorial forms contribute to the social function of
history i.e. the way we organize the past in accordance with the
needs of the present (2011:125).[47]

It is imperative to note that Assman understood cultural memory as related to a group as opposed to personal memory which is related to an individual. He noted, "'memory culture' is concerned with a social obligation and is firmly linked to the group. The question here is: 'What must we not forget?' The question is more or less explicit and a relatively central element of any group" (2011:34).[48]

In a very insightful study Gavriely-Nuri (2014) lamented the fact that scholars have lost awareness of the metaphoric nature of the concept of 'collective memory' as had been conceptualized Halbwachs in the 1920s. She further argued that by misconstruing its metaphoric nature and interpreting it as concrete reality, we may be prevented from 'seeing the manipulative uses of collective memory to create the illusion of an ostensibly consolidated and unified "collective," adhering to a coherent repertoire of memories' (2014:46).

Studying the speeches of Israeli prime ministers Ariel Sharon (2001-2005) and Ehud Olmert (2006-2009) Gavriely-Nuri isolated 274 instances in which the word 'memory' was used (2014:52). Closer analysis of these instances revealed 103 references to "collective memory" in 64 speeches. These references to collective memory would have included terms such as "national memory", "historical memory", "the public's memory" and "our people's memories" (Gavriely-Nuri, 2014:52). Many of the speeches were delivered in the Knesset, the

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[47] See also Febvre, (1973).
[48]See Nora (1984-1987). Nora coined the term "memory communities" to describe those groups for which the question of what must not be forgotten is paramount to its identity and image of self.

Israeli Parliament where there is access to the media (Augoustinos et al. 2002:106). This media access provides the scope for prime ministerial speeches to shape public opinion and, as Gavriely-Nuri pointed out, gives the media in Israel the opportunity to create homogeneity and insularity (2014:50). Perhaps Shenhav put it best when he said,

> Societies are organized around foundational stories rather than logical arguments. The role of political leadership […] is not merely to provide arguments for a policy, but to know how to tell the national story so that the policy will be seen as justified, and hence to connect the policy in hand with the foundational principles of the political community (2008:235).

While acknowledging that Israel has legitimate reasons to feel threatened, Gavriely-Nuri is of the opinion that "the real threats are strengthened by what can be called a 'rhetoric of scaring/frightening' which has the power of a self-fulfilling prophecy by creating national expectation for the next tragedy" (2014:54). It is the expectations of threat and danger, the evil intent of an external enemy being evoked at every public occasion that constitute Israel's collective memory and contribute to the entrenchment of their siege mentality (Gavriely-Nuri, 2014:54).

Some instances highlighted by Gavriely-Nuri where collective memory is employed in prime ministerial speeches include Olmert's appeal to Israel that 'we are an ancient people. Our memory spans thousands of years of continuous [history]' (3 December, 2007); and a year later he stated, 'Ladies and gentlemen, we are the children of a people whose historical ethos is built on the memory of pogroms'. (2014:54).

Bar-Tal and Antebi had also alluded to the siege mentality being reinforced by Israeli leadership and its appeal to collective memory. They noted that Yitzhak Rabin, whilst Minister of Defense, in a 1987 speech entitled "In Every Generation", made this point:

> In every generation, they rise up to destroy us, and we must remember that this could happen to us in the future. We must therefore, as a state, be prepared for this (1992a:254).

What Rabin was actually evoking here was an appeal to the collective memory and tradition of Israel. The saying "In every generation they rise up to destroy us" was originally a part of the *Haggada* text which is read annually during the Passover Feast. (Gavriely-Nuri, 2014:55).

These passages reflect how memory of past trauma can be utilized by leadership and the apparatus under the control of leadership to create and entrench siege beliefs, about a current trauma. It is very important to note the psychological projection that can take place where the past is brought into the present even though the circumstances may be totally different. In his thought-provoking work *Blood Lines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism*, Vamik Volkan provides very pertinent insight which summarizes this phenomenon. Volkan opined:

> The memory of the past trauma remains dormant for several generations, kept within the psychological DNA of the members of the group and silently acknowledged within the culture–in literature and art, for example–but it re-emerges powerfully only under certain conditions. For instance, a political leader may reignite a dormant group member that affects collective thinking, perceptions, and actions. When such a shared mental representation of the original injury is reactivated, it may distort a large group's perceptions. New enemies involved in current conflicts may be perceived as extensions of an old enemy from a historical event (1998:46).

4.   Significant National Events of Heroism

One of the events which serves as a powerful cultural tool kit for Jewish people is the siege of the desert fortress Masada by Roman forces in 72CE. Though the only real verification for this event can be found in the work of Flavius Josephus, it has become one of the enduring symbols of the resilience of the Jewish people, and has had a longstanding effect on Jewish self-perception. In fact, as has been alluded to earlier, the very term siege mentality was derived from the term coined by Bar-Tal, 'Masada Syndrome', which was derived from the term 'Masada Complex'. However, though the term 'Masada Complex' was only coined in the 1970's, the mindset it describes seems to have been extant much earlier.

From as early as the 19th century when Zionism emerged and certainly in the early part of the 20th century when Jews from the Diaspora were being encouraged to return to Palestine, the driving force behind this repatriation was a poem by Yitzshak Lamdan entitled 'Masada'. A few pertinent lines from the poem read:

> Open your gates O Masada
> And I the refugee shall enter…
> Masada shall not fall again.
> (ptsinisrael.wordpress.com, accessed March 29, 2014).

This poem served as a clarion call to the diaspora to return to defend Masada, which in the poem represents Israel. Indeed, between the years 1919-1929 there was a proliferation of Zionist youth movements in Palestine and the poem 'Masada' seemed to have been a major influence.   These youth groups often held retreats on the summit of Masada, the most famous of which was one in 1942 which featured two future Israeli Prime Ministers. In noting the

importance of the presentation of the Masada in Jewish youth movements, Ben-Yehuda observed,

> Its significance lies in the crucial role that these movements played in the socialization of young Jewish Israelis into the newly emerging state. Furthermore, many members of the political, social and intellectual elite of the country participated in the activities of these youth movements… the Masada myth is based on a very powerful social construction of an ideological connection to and identification with Jewish rebels, across an abyss of nearly two thousand years. This connection is of an ethnic, religious, and national-historical nature. The Masada myth, which enhances this connection, was meant to provide a firm heroic base for a new type of national Jewish identity (1995:83).

From 1930-1960, the poem Masada was made an integral part of the school curriculum in Israel.[49] According to Ben-Yehuda,

> On a more or less regular basis, until around 1991, [soldiers of the Israeli armored units] climbed to Masada after completion of their basic training, to swear allegiance to the state of Israel and to the IDF in a most dramatic and memorable ceremony (1995:147).

Though the Masada story has a negative slant, where it is alleged that the Jews at Masada really committed mass suicide rather than defending their fort, the use of the story was interpreted as conveying the message of defending the nation to the bitter end. The image of

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[49] Ben-Yehuda (1995) noted the comments of several key commanders of the IDF (Israeli Defence Force) who had been educated and socialized in accordance with the Masada myth. He recorded Avraham Adan as saying: "I first climbed Masada as an apprentice in Hashomer Hatzair every Passover vacation during 1941-1942". Moshe Bar-Kochva said of the education he received, "These things accompanied us from the Etzel –education about the heritage of our fathers, wars that took place, Maccabees, Bar-Kochva, Masada". Rechavam Zeevi recalls, "The Legend of Masada was prevalent in Mahanot Haolim as far back as I can remember. It was a desire, a goal. In addition, at school, a teacher named Dr. Nathan Shalem, a man of the desert, a member of the Jerusalemite 'walkers' association, Breslavski's booklet about Masada, and of course Flavius and Lamdan's poem [influenced us regarding Masada], and all the rest is oral Torah" (1995:150). Here we get a glimpse of how entrenched the teaching of the Masada myth would have been in Jewish communities.

Masada has had its critics. Perhaps one of the most vocal was Y. Gils who in a 1964 issue of

Hamodea (a daily Hebrew–language newspaper) had this to say about the use of Masada as a

positive image for the Jewish community;

> There is propaganda focused on the excavations of Masada. This propaganda aims to place Masada at the center of Israeli life during the period of the destruction of the Second Temple. The propaganda aims to present Masada… as a 'symbol for generations'…We must speak of Masada knowing that 'this is not the way' and not the tradition of Israel… We must tell our children… that Masada is not a symbol, that it never was a symbol and that it will never be a symbol. The only sense in which it can be a symbol is in what should not be, and for an ideology that must be kept away and never be accepted. (1964:2).

Robert Alter a Hebrew literary critic, like Gils, was seemingly not convinced that the

constant evocation of the memory of Masada was the most positive path for the nation to take.

His qualms however, related to Israel's image in the world and how it would affect its

international relations. According to Alter:

> Torch-lit military ceremonies on top of Masada are, I fear, a literal and dubious translation into public life of a literary metaphor and a Prime Minister's [referring to Golda Meir] subsuming Holocaust, pogroms, and Israel's present state of siege under the rubric of Masada might be the type of hangover from poetry that could befuddle thinking on urgent political issues. (www.masada1.blogspot.com, accessed March 29, 2014).

Both Gils and Alter make several fundamental points which offer invaluable insight to how

siege beliefs are fostered by the leadership of a community. National ceremonies can be used

as an obvious means of evoking a sense of nationalism.[50] It is reported that in Nazi Germany,

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[50] See Ben-Amos and Bet-El (1999:258-284).

"uniforms, banners and torch-lit processions were commonplace. German people attending them became very emotional" (www.theholocaustexplained.org accessed July 12 2015).

Incidentally, as Ben-Yehuda noted, many researchers are of the opinion that the youth movements in Israel developed by modelling themselves after youth movements in Europe, of which the German scouts would have had a definite influence (1995:83). In this case the torch lit ceremonies were linked to the memory that the Prime Minister wanted to transmit to the community. The Holocaust and pogroms would have served to project the image of a hostile world. As far as Alter was concerned this imagery made the country even more vulnerable in the sense that it was stuck in a particular mindset while the rest of the world was moving forward.

However, in spite of the critique, Masada became the narrative that would shape the ideology and foster a sense of nationalism in Jewish communities for decades to follow. The imagery and narrative associated with Masada continue to be key elements of Israeli education and national ethos.

2.7.2   Functions of Siege Mentality in a Society[51]

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[51]In Bar-Tal's 1992b article with Dikla Antebi, these functions were not clearly defined. There were some of these functions lumped with other traits which were all called consequences of siege mentality. In the 2004 article however, Bar-Tal has crystalized the theory and now has two distinct categories called "functions of siege mentality" and "consequences of siege mentality".

There are several ways in which siege beliefs can function to affect how a society views itself. Bar-Tal (2004) highlighted six ways in which the worldview of a community can be changed if it is fed a steady diet of siege beliefs. These they identified as the functions of siege mentality.

1. *Allows for a Black and White View of the World*

Siege Mentality provides the scope for the society to define the world in a rather simplistic way by the transmission of threatening information of the negative intentions of the world to their personal and societal existence. This monocular view of the world facilitates "the management of cognitive ambiguities by dichotomizing the world trough black and white solutions (e.g. rejection of all other groups versus acceptance of own group)" (Bar-Tal, 2004).

2. *Develop a Sense of Predictability*

Siege beliefs enable the society to predict the future quickly since they are constantly living with the expectation that the world will be hostile toward them. The expectation of negative events prevents disappointment. This is a very important aspect of siege mentality because it prevents complacency and therefore renders the society easily mobilized for defense of its ethos.

3. *Deepen Identity Boundaries*

By positioning the society in conflict with the rest of the world, siege beliefs foster a strong social identity. Such social identity in the case of countries can lead to a heightened sense of

nationalism and by extension social cohesion. According to Bieberaj, the boundary separates the society from the rest of the world, allowing the experience of "pure" identity and "unadulterated" culture (1986 cited in Bar-Tal, 2004).

4. *Solidarity and Mobilisation*

A society fed on a steady diet of siege beliefs is easily mobilized for action and one would imagine be more cohesive than a free-thinking society. Siege beliefs can function as a means of rallying the group by cementing its concept of identity and a shared heritage. This can engender a sense of urgency with regard to group mobilization.

5. *Superiority*

The notion that the whole world has negative intentions toward the society renders the world evil and the society good. The society may therefore see itself as superior to the rest of the world. To this end any hostility is attributed to the rest of the world.

This sentiment was well articulated in Pinsker's seminal work, *Auto-Emancipation* where he described anti-Semitism as a hereditary disease. According to Pinsker,

> Judeophobia is a psychic aberration. As a psychic aberration it is hereditary and as a disease transmitted for two thousand years it is incurable. Thus have Judaism and anti-Semitism passed for centuries through history as inseparable companions. No matter how much the nations are at variance in their relations with one another, no matter how diverse in their instincts and aims, they join hands in their hatred of the Jews; on this one matter all are agreed (1932:7-9).

Pinsker seems to have sought to redefine the parameters of the debate by suggesting that the problem does not lie with the Jews and their siege mentality, but rather with the rest of the world and their 'hereditary psychological disease' that compels them to seek the annihilation of the Jews.

6. *Freedom and Self-Reliance*

The underlying principle of siege mentality is that group members perceive that the rest of the world has negative intentions toward the group. Therefore, as Bar-Tal and Antebi pointed out, the group develops beliefs that; "No-one will help in time of need." "The world would be glad to get rid of us," "we cannot rely on others' advice" (1992a:251-252). These beliefs function as a licence for the group to act in accordance with its own interests and preservation because it cannot rely on anyone else. It was the belief of 64% of Jewish adults polled in the year 1989 that, "All means are acceptable to secure the existence of the State of Israel" (Bar-Tal and Antebi, 1992a:268). Similarly, they opined that for Israeli Jews, "the civilized world, which did not act on behalf of the Jews during the Holocaust and did not help to prevent it, has little moral grounds for sermons to Israel" (1992a:268). According to Bar-Tal, "this [attitude of freedom of action and self-reliance] can function as a source of pride and esteem" (2004).

2.7.3　The Consequences of Siege Mentality

What Bar-Tal and Antebi refer to as the consequences of siege mentality, speak to the actions that groups that foster siege beliefs may take, and attitudes they may have towards perceived threats from both outside and within the society/group.

1. Development of Negative Attitudes

The development of negative attitudes toward the world can be a consequence of how the group perceives itself as being treated by the world. Bar-Tal and Antebi outlined two psychological theories which, though devised to describe interpersonal relationships, may be manifest in Israeli Jews, namely; the Balance Theory and the Exchange Theory (1992a:265).[52]

Israel's negative attitudes toward the world can be found in the language used by some sources to describe the world. The *Ha'aretz* newspaper in 1975 carried a statement issued by the Likud party, which read:

> The central question facing us is how we in Israel and the
> Diaspora can stand against a world which is half tyrannical, evil
> and hostile and half democratic yet whose degenerated soul has
> been poisoned by the black liquid (*Ha'aretz*, 1975).

The language used is highly vitriolic and reflects the deep hatred with which the author perceives that the world regards Israel.

2. Sensitivity

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[52] The Balance Theory by Heider (1958) suggests that persons tend to dislike those whom they perceive as disliking them, while the Exchange Theory by Blau (1964) suggests that persons reciprocate with hostility to perceived negative intentions.

The belief that the world hates the society and has negative intentions toward the society induces a heightened sensitivity about messages being transmitted by the world. In their assessment of Israeli Jews, Bar-Tal and Antebi noted:

> Believing with great confidence that the world has negative intentions, Israeli Jews are tuned to information confirming their beliefs. They often selectively search for it and frequently interpret ambiguous information in line with their belief. (1992a:266).

In fact, even when complimentary comments are made or even mild criticisms of Israel, these are either twisted or magnified to construe negative intentions.[53]

3. *Internal Coping Mechanisms*

Societies exhibiting siege beliefs are always closely monitored internally for dissenting opinions. Such opinions are usually very quickly suppressed or threatened, to ensure compliance. According to Coser; "groups engaged in continued struggle with the outside tend to be intolerant within. They are unlikely to tolerate more than limited departures from group unity" (1956:103).

a. *Pressure Towards Conformity*

The aim of the pressure to conform and calls for unity is really to foster a cohesive society that is impenetrable by the world and can be readily mobilized. Bar-Tal and Antebi noted a

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[53] This Bar-Tal and Antebi deemed to be psychological evidence individuals may distort incoming information so that it fits their cognitive sets (1992a:266).

speech by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1975 following the UN Resolution against Zionism where he urged the people to "fight as one man" (1992a:267).

4. Unaccountability

Xenophobia and chauvinism can become characteristics of societies that exhibit siege mentality. The characterization of the world as evil can lead them to perceive themselves as being morally superior. The belief that the rest of the world cannot be trusted to assist the society in times of trouble or need renders the society self-reliant and free to act in accordance with its own will in its own interest. This gives the society a sense of freedom, as well as pride and self-esteem. "The society may take a course of action which does not take into account international behavioural codes because it perceives that it is endangered and its survival dictates that any means necessary can be utilized" (Bar-Tal, 2004). This relates to Lenski's views that survival is the chief goal of humanity, which makes the power to take life the most formidable form of power. Perhaps it is true what Cicero is reported to have said; "laws are dumb in the midst of arms".

Current day Israel, perhaps because of its siege mentality, has one of the most formidable armies in its region and on several occasions has acted unilaterally in conflicts with its neighbours, in contravention of international treaties and laws. Perhaps the sentiment of Israeli song writer Yoram Tahar Lev best encapsulates the attitude of Israel today. Lev wrote;

> The whole world is against us
> This is an ancient tale
> Taught by our forefathers
> To sing and to dance

> If the whole world is against us,
> We don't give a damn
> If the whole world is against us,
> Let the whole world go to hell (cited in Bar-Tal and
Antebi 1992a:258).

Quite similarly, Ephraim Kishon in his work "A Nation That Dwells Alone" wrote:

> This title was given us by Bilam while interviewed in the paper
> "Numbers" and till this very day we do not know if it was meant
> as a compliment or a curse. In any event, from then until today
> we have succeeded in preserving our special status as the only
> nation who does not have an ally for sure (1988:145).

Here we have an example of how current day Israel has transformed what used to be a sacred text into a political text.

2.8   Siege Mentality as an Element of Social Theory

What this brief overview of siege mentality has revealed is that it is not an uncommon phenomenon and has been and still is being exhibited by several nations and groups globally. For example, Bar-Tal identified the Soviet Society after the Bolshevik Revolution, Japanese Society in the early thirties, Albanese Society between the 1960's and the 1980's, South African white –society prior to the elimination of the Apartheid system, Iraqi Society in the 1990's, North Korea and Iran today and most pointedly the Jewish Society in Israel (1992a:252).

With regard to its place in social theory, siege mentality can be classified as being at an extremity of social politics. The question is, does it subscribe to functionalist theory or conflict theory? It propels group behavior to the extremes of insularity and does not exempt force as an acceptable means of maintaining status quo. As it relates to the two meta-theories, siege mentality appears to fit at the extreme end of the coercive or conflict theory which utilizes ideology and force in extreme proportions as a means of establishing equilibrium in a social system. Siege mentality, validates the sociological perspectives of both Dahrendorf and Lenski that the functionalist and conflict theories can exist simultaneously in social system. This is borne out in the fact that the leadership of a community that exhibits siege mentality is driven by the coercive theory where the use of force and ideology are paramount, however, the masses are expected to function and if properly indoctrinated, may very well be functioning, in the mode of the functionalist model!

The entrenchment of siege beliefs in a society seems to be dependent upon the various channels within the society through which it is promulgated. Though not dealt with directly in this chapter, in addition to the expressions of siege mentality in Israel's literature and other arts, religion also seems to play a very integral role. For example, Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a:255) referenced the work of Mirsky who highlighted several biblical passages that evidenced Jewish siege mentality grounded in scripture. Such passages include Genesis 15:13 "And he said unto Abraham, know of surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and they will make them serve, and they will afflict the four hundred years"; Leviticus 20:26 "And I have separated you from the nations, that ye shall be mine"; Numbers 23:9"Lo, it is a people that dwell alone, and among the nations it shall not be reckoned"; and

Psalm 119:157 "Many are my persecutors and my assailants yet from thy testimonies do I not turn away".

While acknowledging Mirsky's observations, we must however be cautious about the genre of the texts highlighted. While they may be derived from the Bible, and thus deemed by some to be sacred, we ought not ignore Shapira's bold assertion that "the Bible was adopted by Zionism as a core text that transformed from a religious to a political and national document" (cited in Aran and Hassner, 2013:370). Though it must be accepted that the Bible may not be seen as primarily a religious book but a political one in today's Israel, Mirsky's observations still serve as a good platform from which to launch my investigation of siege mentality in the book of Deuteronomy. The description, possible causes, functions and consequences of siege mentality, along with the understanding of social theory outlined in this chapter inform my critical assessment of the book of Deuteronomy.

Although it is not the mandate of this study to date Deuteronomy, it is imperative that the study be grounded in a historical and social setting. The book of Deuteronomy has been deemed to be either pre-exilic set in the Hezekiah/Josiah period or post exilic, set in the Persian period. As has been noted earlier, a heuristic decision has been made to select a likely date for the historical setting for the major period of its authorship as the period of the reign of Josiah since it is the earliest of the periods and this thesis would therefore serve as either validation for continuing to consider it as a likely setting or further evidence that we should look elsewhere. Likewise, according to the narrative presented in 2 Kings, the period leading up to

Josiah's reign from Ahaz's vassalage treaty with Assyria through to Josiah's reign has been selected as that era in Judahite history most conducive to the fomenting of siege beliefs.

CHAPTER THREE

INVESTIGATING THE FACTORS THAT GIVE RISE TO RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS AND FOMENT SIEGE MENTALITY WITHIN THEM

3.1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to produce a heuristic, working model for detecting situations and contexts in which the emergence of siege mentality is likely and which enables the informed reader to identify indicators of siege mentality within a biblical text. In order to do so, it is necessary to turn to social studies where examples of siege mentality have been discussed. The case studies presented below are inevitably modern and external to Israel, but they demonstrate how and why siege mentality can take hold in segments of a country's population, the factors that prompt its development, and how siege mentality is variously manifested. Once established, the working model will be used to analyse themes and concerns in the Book of Deuteronomy, as will be presented in the next two chapters.

The first two case studies will be presented as a comparative analysis of the differing responses to the challenge of globalization in two African countries – Egypt and Mauritius – as demonstrated in the work of two political scientists Richard Sandbrook and David Romano. Their 2004 study 'Globalisation, Extremism and Violence in Poor Countries' is referred to extensively in the first half of this chapter as it lays the groundwork for my working model. However, their views will be supplemented by individual studies of the two countries from

additional sources.

The study compares two agrarian societies that were impacted negatively by globalization. The Egyptian society being indigenous and homogenous presented itself as fertile ground for resistance movements and siege beliefs to foment. Mauritius on the other hand with a population that is largely not indigenous and significantly diverse culturally, ethnically and religiously, responded to the negative impact in a different way. This study by Sandbrook and Romano is especially salient as it seeks to reinforce Bar-Tal and Antebi's model of siege mentality by proving its existence outside of Israel, but also by demonstrating under what circumstances siege beliefs find difficulty taking root.   The Egyptian model however, stops short of showing what can happen when a resistance movement which fostered siege beliefs becomes the regime.

The third case study concerns the rise of the Albanian Communist Party from 1941-1991. Although it may seem an unlikely comparative case, I have constructed this case study personally, for the following reasons:

(i)   Egypt and Mauritius are in the same geographical region as Israel, whereas Albania is in a different locale altogether. The use of Albania provides a test case that can determine whether siege mentality is restricted to a particular region or not.

(ii)   The second reason follows on from the first in that Albania can be seen as presenting a Eurocentric worldview which is distinct from that of Africa and the Near East.

(iii)   The Albanian Communist Party during its years of rule produced a comprehensive legal corpus. The book of Deuteronomy also contains an expansive legal corpus. The Albania case study will enable us to compare the legal corpus of a regime that exhibited siege mentality with the legal corpus of Deuteronomy to establish similarities or differences.

(iv)   The Albania study demonstrates what happens when a resistance movement that fosters siege mentality becomes the regime.

The chapter discusses these three different scenarios in order to identify a) a group that was impacted negatively by external forces but which did not exhibit siege beliefs, Mauritius, b) a group that was impacted negatively by external forces and produced manifestations of siege beliefs from resistance movements within, Egypt, and c) a group that went from being a resistance movement that exhibited siege beliefs to a regime, in order to see whether the siege beliefs persisted, Albania.

3.2   A Comparative Study of the Impact of Globalization on Egypt and Mauritius

The research by Sandbrook and Romano is really a comparative study of two African Nations; Mauritius and Egypt, that experienced siege in the form of globalization which is defined as 'external and internal market liberalisation' (2004:1007). The effects of that siege on the internal structures of the two nations would not be dissimilar, but the responses will prove to be divergent. It is out of these divergent outcomes that we should be able to tease out a model that would pinpoint some of the causative factors of, and behavioural attitudes that

characterize, siege mentality from the perspective of a group that is opposed to the regime. The authors begin by establishing the two ends of the spectrum of possible resultants of the effects experienced when a nation comes under siege (in this case) in the form of globalization.

3.2.1   The Utopian Hope

On the one hand they recalled the hope that was expressed following the end of the cold war and the capitulation of socialism in the 1980s that neoliberalism would flourish in parts hitherto cut off and usher in a new era. While Sandbrook and Romano did not cite any specific comment made to the effect, I believe the hope expressed by Michael Ignatieff would not have been alien to what they perceived. According to Ignatieff;

> When the Berlin wall came down, when Václav Havel stood on the balcony in Prague's Wenceslas Square and crowds cheered the collapse of the communist regimes across Europe, I thought, like many people, that we were about to witness a new era of liberal democracy…. With blithe lightness of mind, we assumed that the world was moving irrevocably beyond nationalism, beyond tribalism, beyond the provincial confines of the identities inscribed in our passports, toward a global market culture which was to be our new home (1993:2).

It was believed that "this new era would have realized a 'peaceful and prosperous' world in which there is freedom of trade and movement in places which were once closed" (Sandbrook and Romano, 2004:1007). Hope sprang eternal it seemed, because it was felt also that "this new explosion of freedom would have in time led to democratization and thus lead to peace and prosperity… eradicating the scourge of poverty and hence diminishing conflict" (2004:1007). Sandbrook and Romano referred to this as the 'sanguine view', however, I have deemed it the 'utopian hope' since it seems to mirror so much what Dahrendorf perceived of

the Functionalist Theory. Ignatieff would likewise concede;

> I cannot help thinking that liberal civilization – the rule of laws, not men, of argument in place of force, of compromise in place of violence – runs deeply against the human grain and is only achieved and sustained by the most unremitting struggle against human nature. The liberal virtues – tolerance, compromise, reason – remain as valuable as ever, but they cannot be preached to those who are mad with fear or mad with vengeance (1993:189).

3.2.2   The Rationalist Prospect

On the opposite end of the spectrum, countering this expectation that can only be described as utopian at best, naïve at worst, is what Sandbrook and Romano describe as the 'darker view' of liberalization (2004:1007). They postulated that this 'darker view' foments extremist movements and competed with the sanguine viewpoint (2004:1007). I should note here that what Sanbrook and Romano refer to as the 'darker view' is what not dissimilar to what Dahrendorf had referred to as the rationalist approach of the Conflict/ Coercion Theory. It is the basis upon which siege mentality develops. The term 'darker view' connotes negativity which perhaps ought to be avoided since conflict is about tension and it involves two or as Weber suggested, several actors. Hence, actors who may simply be seeking to establish equilibrium in their lives following the disruption caused by some form of siege, may find themselves being vilified by their response being regarded as the 'darker view'. While the end result in most cases may turn out to be dark, it does not mean that the intentions of all the actors were meant to be dark. Indeed, we may well find that nations that are generally perceived as good in today's world, at some point in time would have responded to siege, by way of Sandbrook and Romano's 'darker view'.

In presenting their hypothesis for the 'darker view' Sandbrook and Romano quoted Karl Marx who in an earlier era of globalization had voiced concerns about its possible outcome. Marx in his *Communist Manifesto* had lamented the 'volcanic act of market forces' with their propensity to create 'everlasting uncertainty and agitation' giving rise to a state of flux in which 'all that is solid melts in the air' (cited in Sandbrook and Romano, 2004:1007). Indeed, the authors perceived that the general view of persons such as Marx, and Karl Polyani who, in his work entitled *The Great Transformation* (1944), had referred to the liberal project of self-regulated market as utopian, was that the liberal project by nature required regulation by "a counter movement of social protection" and even so "when the two became irreconcilable the fodder had already been created for devastating backlashes" (2004:1007).[54]

Citing Fascism and Stalinism in Europe during the 1920's and 1930's as examples, the authors posited the view that another possible devastating trigger that could give rise to violent extremist tendencies, was market-induced insecurity (2004:1008). One of the chilling aspects of this study by Sandbrook and Romano, is their acknowledgement of how predictions have been borne out. For example, they note this assessment from the US Central Intelligence Agency's 2000 report that predicted *Global Trends 2015*:

> [Globalisation's] evolution will be rocky, marked by chronic financial volatility and a widening economic divide. Regions, countries, and groups feeling left behind will face deepening economic stagnation, political instability, and cultural alienation. They will foster political, ethnic, ideological, and religious extremism, along with violence that often accompanies it. (2004:1008)

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[54] Schumpeter (1947) had suggested that market liberalization was capitalism's perennial gale of creative destruction.

The concern voiced by the CIA was worth quoting in its entirety because it not only points to a correlation that can be drawn between globalization and the fostering of extremist movements and activity, but also highlights the various groups within society that can serve as vehicles for extremism.

Sandbrook and Romano in supporting the validity of the points made in the CIA report, refuted the claims made in a study by Li and Schaub which supported a liberal view by suggesting that,

> 'economic globalization' (increased flows of foreign trade, foreign direct investment, and portfolio investment) dampens terrorist activity in recipient countries by promoting economic development (2004:254)

In retort, Sandbrook and Romano raised two very key points. First, it is an assumption that economic growth is dictated by direct investment. Indeed, as the authors argue, it may be the direct opposite. Investors may be attracted by the buoyancy of an economy (2004:1008). Similarly, direct foreign investment may not be the cause of low terrorist activity, on the contrary, it may be because of low terrorist activity. Investors are likely to place their money where there is least risk. In this case that would be stable economies in territories with social stability, as opposed to volatile ones (2004:1008).

Sandbrook and Romano go on to posit the view that there is a 'general tendency' for globalization (as defined) to generate conditions that are conducive to the emergence of extremist movements, instability and conflict (2004:1008). They further opined that the current state of the world dictated by dependence upon scantily regulated markets that subject persons to abrupt changes in fortune, places pressure on the state apparatus to maneuver in such a way

as to prevent conflict. However, they also conceded that, the pressure was so tremendous that,

> the new tensions, combined with externally influenced austerity programs and anti-state ideologies, challenge the legitimacy and coherence of already weak states. [As a result], the rise in tensions and grievances, coupled with an increasingly ineffective and unpopular regime, provide an opening for violent protest movements (2004:1009).

This is a very important point because it points to the fact that the extent to which there is communication between the various socio-economic strata, and/or ethnic and religious groups within a state may very well determine the magnitude of conflict that will ensue. There will be conflict, no doubt. In a different, but seminal study, Walter Rodney (1973) soberly pointed out that when two societies come into contact it changes their rates of development.[55] However, the magnitude of the conflict will depend a great deal on the state apparatus and the requirements of those who feel most affected. Sandbrook and Romano sought to emphasize this reality in their comparison of Egypt and Mauritius, where they posited the view that the extent of change can be cushioned by the level of organization and the processes at work within a given state.

Methodologically Sandbrook and Romano identified five factors that can exacerbate the level of conflict within a country then applied them to both Egypt and Mauritius. The results would provide a basic outline of the prevailing conditions that would determine the 'sanguine' or utopian as opposed to the darker or 'siege mentality' response. In taking a cursory

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[55] This point is fully developed in chapter 2 of the book. Rodney was looking at the impact of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade on Western Africa. He was of the view that quite often slavery is reflected on only from the perspective of the colonies, primarily the Caribbean and the Americas and the cruelty that it entailed. However, Rodney argued that through slavery, Europe robbed West African states of a large portion of their productive workforce, from which they have not fully recovered, thus leading to the deprivation that many of those states experience today. On the other hand, Europe developed rapidly as a result of the increased productivity of the forced labour taken from Africa during slavery.

glance at the two countries, Sandbrook and Romano outlined the conditions that would serve as the controls for their investigation; that is, those conditions common to both countries being investigated.   Both countries, they noted, experienced troubling social and economic circumstances in the 1960's and 1970's. However, they observed;

> Mauritius has deftly navigated the maelstrom of globalization by achieving growth with considerable equity and genuine democracy, whereas Egypt has followed a path characterized by belated and partial liberalization, irregular growth, the rise of new inequalities and insecurities, repression and violent Islamist movements… If Mauritius is globalization's prodigy, Egypt is one of globalization's bastards (2004:1009).

The answer to such a disparity in fortunes would be found in the nature of the forces impacting them, and their respective responses.

3.3   Globalization as a Possible Contributor to the Development of Siege Beliefs

Globalization with the opening of markets and what can be construed as the blurring and, in some cases, the seeming erasure of the defining lines of nationality, ethnicity and culture can create tensions between nation states and 'the world', as well as tensions amongst various groups within nation states that may feel threatened by its effects.[56] Sandbrook and Romano identified five possible negative effects of market opening that can give rise to extremism. These factors would correspond to what Bar-Tal and Antebi had outlined as the 'Causes of Siege Mentality'. In this case the (i) perceived maltreatment of the society by the world and (ii) siege prone leadership and (iii) past collective experiences are all elements that can lead to the formation of extremist movements within nation states.

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[56] Sacks would refer to Globalization as being 'profoundly destabilizing' (2002:39).

3.3.1   Perceived Maltreatment of the Society by the World

I   Trade Liberalization

In identifying the possible draw backs of trade liberalization, Sandbrook and Romano cited India and its liberalization of Soy Bean and Soy Oil products industry in 1999. The result for India was "a flood of the market with subsidized imports from Western countries, thus seeing imports rise by 60% in just one year… with a commensurate 2/3 [67%] crash in the price of soy products, thus forcing millions of oil seed farmers and mills out of business and the eventual destruction of the oilseed industry" (2004:1010). With their livelihood destroyed and their farms being bought out by large companies, many of the disenfranchised farmers headed to urban slums. This sudden change in fortunes, which can result in persons experiencing feelings of being stripped of their pride and deprived of the means to support themselves and their families, can be very fertile conditions for extremism.

II   Financial Liberalization

Sanbrook and Romano used the term financial liberalization to speak to the stipulations that can be placed on a state by an external entity. In their investigation they focused on the impact of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). They opined that the standard package recommended by the IMF included "exchange-rate devaluation, positive real interest rates, a sharp decline in money supply and a cut in Government expenditures" (2004:1011). The effects of such measures on states can in turn impose tremendous pressure on regimes. Regimes can find themselves being rendered impotent to provide vital social services or even

pacify opposing opinion by the offering of some good or service because of the restrictions imposed on them by external agencies. With regimes in such a hapless disposition, opposition movements can exploit the prevailing conditions and gain mass appeal by presenting the regime as incompetent.

III   Stabilisation, Liberalization and Inequality

Sandbrook and Romano cited several studies that indicated that the level of inequality has increased in many countries since the 1980's (2004:1011). They perceived that this can result in two negative outcomes:

(i)   Even if the state registers growth, rising inequality limits the extent to which the poor may benefit.

This model of 'development' can lead to rather volatile situations because it places a ceiling on the degree of upward mobility an individual can achieve even when he/she is working at his/her optimum. In essence while the regime speaks of economic gains, the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer in relation to the rich.

ii)   Disparity as a Source of Disintegration

Sandbrook and Romano opined that "relative deprivation can be a more powerful motivator of inter-group violence than absolute deprivation" (2004:1012). When individuals or groups perceive themselves to be disenfranchised in their own society while others seem to be

benefitting, it creates the space for conflict. The conflict may even be exacerbated where the disparity appears to be along ethnic, religious, or class lines.[57]

The complex nature of human societies demands that one acknowledges the existence of variant forms of political disintegration. In societies with highly defined class boundaries, economic disparity has the potential to deepen class divides and foment the formation of movements that are strongly opposed to the status quo. On the other hand, in communities with deep ethnic or religious divisions, economic disparity tends to deepen those divides. In times of economic hardship when high unemployment is met by increased immigration, especially in cases where the immigrants appear to be benefitting more than the locals, even if only just, xenophobia can easily become a rallying point for the local community. Sandbrook and Romano are of the view that under such conditions, "secessionist movements, civil wars, pogroms, warlordism or low-intensity insurrection kept in precarious check, are the unfortunate outcome" (2004:1013).

IV   Cultural Globalization

An interesting point introduced by Sandbrook and Romano is that neo-liberalism is not always about economics; rather, it has the ability to threaten the entire way of life of a target nation or people (2004:1013). To elucidate further they explored the impact of western mass media, images, values and tastes on non-western culture. To illustrate this, they cite Benjamin Barber's *Jihad vs. Mc World: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World*, where

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[57] Nafziger and Auvinen argue that the propensity for political disintegration increases with the level of economic disparity (2002:156).

he opined that;

> US mega industries in particular transmit a possessive individualism that fragments tightly knit communities; propagate consumer tastes that influence the dress, language, food and attitude of young people; popularize notions of sexual, gender and authority relations that often clash with local notions of virtuous behavior; and reflect a secular, narcissistic outlook usually in conflict with sacred worldviews defended by local elites (1996:81).

Siege can be imposed in the subtle form of ideological infiltration that seeks to control an entity by overtaking the key elements of its societal fabric. The institutions that are often under threat by ideological penetration are religion, culture and politics, as the CIA report quoted earlier suggests. The subtle nature of ideological infiltration renders it undetectable for a substantial period of time even by the very persons who are being affected by it.

It is only when the ideological infiltration reaches proportions where it becomes the expressed way of life or the view of a significant number of individuals or a particular constituency within the society, that it becomes evident. Usually this gives rise to conservative movements which seek to desperately hold on to values and customs which they perceive to be eroding or under threat by the pervading liberal norms. Such groups may even engage in behavior which reflects the consequences of siege mentality as highlighted by Bar-Tal and Antebi.[58] For this reason, the views of extremist conservative movements often appear to be out of touch and at times even 'archaic' within the context in which the society exists. What these movements are really seeking to do is to regain their position of control. But the conditions of the system have changed and therefore equilibrium must be one that reflects the

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[58] Here I am specifically referring to what Bar-Tal and Antebi had identified as the "Internal Coping Methods" such as pressure toward conformity, and calls for unity by invoking some symbol or experience of the group's past.

new dynamics. Extremist conservative movements are therefore usually a minority of the society whose views gain credence only when the society is going through a period of crisis which the ruling regime seems incapable of remedying or when the movement gains control of the reins of government.

Sandbrook and Romano opined that the "dialectical reaction to 'Mc World' – homogenizing, consumer-oriented and secular popular culture- is often 'Jihad' – a reversion to a world defined by religion, hierarchy and tradition" (2004:1013). They further cited Barber who gave a very vivid description of the mentality that provokes Jihad, when he wrote,

> Jihad in its most elemental negative form is a kind of animal fear propelled by anxiety in the face of uncertainty and relieved by self-sacrificing zealotry- an escape out of history… Moral preservationists whether in America, Israel, Iran or India, have no choice but to make war on the present to secure a future more like the past: depluralized, monocultural, unskepticized, reenchanted (1996:215).

Sandbrook and Romano whilst acknowledging the accuracy of Barber's description were also quick to acknowledge the universality of the mentality by pointing out that holy wars are not and have not only been the preserve of Islam but have been invoked by every major religion at one point in time or another (2004:1014).

It is perhaps easy to cite Islam because we have the opportunity to witness and, unfortunately at times experience the horrific effects of the mentality Barber described as 'Jihad'. However, history reminds us that it is not an Islamic problem; it has been a much-

employed mechanism of preservation for persons of varied cultures and creeds.[59]

3.3.2   Leadership as a Causative Factor of Siege Mentality

V   State Disintegration

Sandbrook and Romano in pointing out the danger of state disintegration made the very sobering observation that "a disintegrated state when faced with a crisis tends toward greater disintegration" (2004:1013).   Two key tendencies they perceived can undermine the effectiveness of the state were:

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[59] The Jewish freedom fighter Menachem Begin, the leader of Irgun the 'terrorist' movement which carried out various attacks on the British administrators and British interests in Palestine when Israel was seeking statehood in the 1940's and who eventually became the Prime Minister of Israel from 1977-1983, wrote in his book *The Revolt: Story of Irgun* :

> No, there is another way. If we did not fight we should be destroyed. To fight was the only way to salvation. When Descartes said: 'I think, therefore, I am,' he uttered a very profound thought. But there are times in the history of peoples when thought alone does not prove their existence… There are times when everything in you cries out: your very self-respect as a human being lies in your resistance to evil. We fight, therefore we are! (1977:18)

Irgun was also responsible for the bombing of the King David Hotel which resulted in the death of 91 persons and the injury of 45 'men and women, Arabs, Jews and Britons alike' (Hoffman 2011:263). Irgun was also responsible for the death of several British Administrators; two in particular were barbarously hung and paraded for the media in July of 1947. According to Hoffman, "photographs of the grim death scene- depicting the two corpses, just inches above the ground, the sergeants' hooded faces and bloodied shirts- were emblazoned across the front pages of British newspapers under headlines decrying their execution as an act of 'medieval barbarity'" (2011:266). British journalist Elizabeth Monroe suggested that Palestine was not regarded as a major problem for the British public. She was of the opinion that "the British public had taken Palestine in its stride and had looked upon 'disturbances' and 'violence' there much as it viewed 'the troubles' in Ireland – as an unpleasant experience that was a part of the white man's burden" (1961:34). Hoffman argued that this all changed with the brutal murder of the two sergeants. In fact, Creech-Jones, the former Colonial Secretary as he gave the reasons for the British withdrawal, pinpointed the slaying of the soldiers as a decisive moment that led to their decision. Creech-Jones summed it up this way: "Terrorism was at its worst and the British public seemed unable to stand much more" (Creech-Jones Papers *Boxes 32/3 and 32/6* cited 23 October, 30 November, 1961).

The Jewish revolt has been highlighted to reinforce the point that extremism has been employed by humanity from different religions and ethnicities. Even more telling there is evidence to suggest that one group learns from the successes or failures of another. Ironically as Hoffman citing Wright revealed, "…when the US military forces invaded Afghanistan in 2001 they found a copy of Begin's seminal work, *The Revolt*, in the well-stocked library that al Qaeda maintained at one of its training facilities in that country" (2011:268)

(i)   Legitimacy and the ability to provide the basic necessities in goods and services for

the populace when faced with hardship and regulation by external sources. In such

instances they opined,

> the government's ability to provide is restricted at the time it
> needs it most to appease the desires of key constituencies both
> demographically and perhaps ideologically. The result is an
> escalation in tensions which may lead to conflict (2004:1014).

(ii)   Negative perceptions of a government's response to external pressure is a spin-off from

the above. Whereas the first factor dealt with the legitimacy of the government in terms

of its ability to provide, this second has to do with how the government is perceived not

only in terms of its ability, but in terms of its ideology given the policies it pursues.

When a government is seen to be powerless in the face of external pressure, its authority

can diminish substantially in the eyes of the populace.

How a government is perceived internally can be compromised, because "engaging in bilateral treaties

or transnational consensus can risk the alienation of domestic groups which may be seeking protection from

external forces" (2004:1014). The engagement in external treaties which are perceived by some within the state

as oppressive to their interests can portray the government as being ideologically opposed to the those who are

experiencing hardship. The government can find itself in a very compromising position as domestic groups that

now feel threatened or discontented, may have played key roles in its attainment of power. As a result, "the

consequent political turbulence, in turn motivates threatened political leaders to move towards more centralized

and authoritarian governance, regardless of democratic constitutions" (2004:1014).[60]

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[60] Sandbrook and Romano cited a study by Kothari which suggests that "India experiences such a phenomenon
though it is seen as a well-established democracy" (Kothari, 1995:1596). This shows how extremist movements
can push liberal regimes toward extremist positions. One is also left to conclude that when a government that is
restricted from providing adequately for its people and is perceived to be pursuing a path contrary to the extremist
position, is not accommodating to the demands of the extremists, its capitulation may be imminent.

Internal Response to External Siege

In our investigation thus far, one of the key factors that has surfaced with regard to the response to the magnitude of conflict in a given situation is the flexibility of the actors involved. In the case of a regime, its maneuverability can determine whether inequality, insecurity and sentiments of disenfranchisement will escalate into violence. As has been articulated, if the regime has the resources at its disposal to appease dissident factions, rebellion may be averted. However, in instances where resources are insufficient or regimes are inflexible, the prevailing conditions can lead to conflict.

Sandbrook and Romano pointed out that,

> the domestic political consequences of transnational strains depend heavily on the depth of the pre-existing cleavages, the organization and goals of dissident groups, and the flexibility and coherence of institutions (2004:1015).

Here they acknowledged the flexibility of the regime but also pointed to the other key factor, 'the organization and goals of dissident groups'. This suggests that there is the possibility that there may be instances when, regardless of flexibility or availability of resources, a regime may be unable to quell conflict especially if the dissident movements are fueled by political ambitions or deep-seated ideologies. In such cases there is no room for compromise. Citing Zald (1996), Sandbrook and Romano noted that,

> protest movements try to translate inchoate grievances into a sense of injustice and threat, and thereby to mobilize people for political action. Counter-elites manipulate 'cultural tool-kits'– dominant symbols, myths, historical memories, and attitudes– to

interpret events, attribute blame and sanction actions including political violence (2004:1015).[61]

In making a contemporary link to the notion of ideological manipulation, Sandbrook and Romano have raised the possibility that Islamism has become in our time the main ideology of protest in predominantly Islamic countries (2004:1015). They further went on to make the point that,

> Islamism offers a 'religio-historical justification' for revolt in a context where other protest ideologies – populism, nationalism, socialism and pan – Arabianism – have failed to achieve their anti-imperialist, nationalist, egalitarian goals" (2004:1015).[62]

Islamism, as is seemingly the case with any entity that fosters siege mentality, targets specific groups which can be easily mobilized based on their homogeneity, and present that uniqueness as being under threat. The unique characteristics such as class, ethnicity, nation or religion are presented as being under threat by highlighting specific events or trends which may have affected them in some way.

3.4 Differences Between Egypt and Mauritius that Influenced Divergent Responses

i)   Population Demographics

Egypt is a homogenous society ethnically and predominantly so in religion as well. It is made up of 94% Muslim with the remainder being mainly Coptic Christians. Mauritius

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[61] An instance where such ideological manipulation was used to create a mass movement was in the peasant revolt in Chiapas in Southern Mexico. The peasants were enticed by use of "a blend of liberation theology and Marxism, together with the imagery of Emilio Zapata, in rallying behind the EZLN (Zapatistas) since the mid 1980's (Tschirgi 1999:13-34).

[62] Here Sandbrook and Romano relied on the work of Woltering (2002:1145-1158) and Croein (2002:35-45).

on the other hand is an ethnically heterogenous and multi-religious population whose origins are not indigenous. Mauritius was a colony of Britain and France and most of its population are the descendants of persons who were imported either through slavery or indentureship.

In a highly informative article, William Miles (1999) sought to outline the demographics of the Mauritian population both by ethnicity and religion. One third (33%) of the population is made up of creoles who are the descendants of slaves from the African mainland and these are Christians; predominantly Roman Catholic. One sixth (16%) is made up of the descendants of indentured labourers from pre-partition India, and these are Muslim by religion.

The largest group which makes up one half (50%) of the Mauritian population, is comprised of the descendants of non-Muslim indentured labourers from the subcontinent. This group are adherents to the Hindu religion but are highly stratified on the basis of caste, ancestral language and region of descent. Those who identify themselves as "Hindus" are the descendants of the indentured labourers who originated from Northern India, and these a light skinned in complexion, while those who identify themselves as "Tamils" originated in the Dravidian South and are dark skinned in complexion.

The remaining one percent (1%) of the Mauritian population is made up of Chinese and French Islanders, the latter of whom are the descendants of the Europeans who settled the island. According to Miles, "the Chinese and French Islanders are few but hold disproportionate economic influence" (1999:91).

These demographics paint a picture of two totally different societies and may well explain their divergent responses to siege and the contrasting outcomes. Egypt's homogeneity suggests that it should have the advantage in mobilizing its population and weathering the impacts of globalization. However, where its homogeneity can be seen as a strength, it can also prove to be a great weakness.

ii)   Policies

One of the critical elements which can either foster siege mentality or hinder its entrenchment is leadership. The flexibility of a regime can determine its ability to cushion the effects of globalization and thus stem the tide of discontent within the subordinate state. This is one of the areas that distinguished Mauritius from Egypt. Successive Mauritian governments have pursued policies that have sought to appease all elements within the country. For example, in the 1970's the MMM (Mouvement Mauritian Militant) sought to galvanize support by appealing to various constituencies in the country at the time and were successful. Driven by what Sandbrook and Romano referred to as "Marxist and Third Worldist ideas, [the MMM] denounced communalism and appealed for support from the urban and rural proletariat and petit bourgeoisie" (2004:1021). The power of this movement rested in its composition; being drawn from every segment of the society ethnically and socially. The movement was able to cripple the machinery of the state, forcing the regime to implement a state of emergency between 1972-1975. During that period many of the MMM leaders were imprisoned. However, the government, acknowledging that the movement comprised of a large percentage of educated unemployed young persons, implemented policies that facilitated emigration, thus

easing the tension within the country.

The MMM eventually became the government of Mauritius in 1982. When the MMM took office, because of the flexibility of the former administration, as well as the positive outlook for the country, the MMM administration simply continued along the neoliberal path by implementing an IMF program that had been negotiated by the previous administration (2004:1021). One must wonder to what extent the composition of the MMM not being homogenous would have contributed to its relatively easy transition to neoliberal governance. The cohesion of the MMM seemingly was not deeply rooted along ethnic or religious lines but more so, along economic lines. So, once the economic outlook improved, the major premise for resistance dissipated.

Egypt on the other hand, was slow in embracing liberalization. This may have more to do with its history and demographics than anything else. According to Sandbrook and Romano, "the world's first Islamist political opposition emerged in Cairo in 1928. The 'Muslim Brotherhood' advocated a 'return' to Islamic government, law and cultural practice, as well as economic equality and charity to help the poor" (2004:1021). In 1948 the Brotherhood assassinated the then Prime Minister Nuqrashi. However, according to Bill, with the emergence of Prime Minister Gamel Abdel Nasser (1952-1970) Islamist Movements were pushed to the fringes of the society as Nasser through his policies ushered in an era of prosperity and development. Nasser implemented a social program which guaranteed education, health care and employment for all. This gave rise to the phenomenon known as Nasserism (1994:217).

The success of Nasser would be short lived as the Six Day War of 1967 would deal a heavy blow to Egypt's economy and overall development. By the time Nasser died in 1970, he would leave the incoming president Anwar Sadat with the daunting task of trying to inspire a country that was in the economic doldrums. Sadat sought to make the adjustments necessary to achieve growth in the economy through his *infatah* (limited market opening) initiative, but its impact was only minimal. He was unable to make cuts in areas that were most needed, such as the military. As a result, the gains of *infatah* were marginal and thus were not felt in any meaningful measure by persons in the lower stratum of the society; especially those who found themselves disenfranchised and dispossessed of their property.

In addition to this failed initiative, and perhaps more telling, was Sadat's peace treaty with Israel in 1979. This became a rallying point for nationalist movements which eventually led to the assassination of Sadat in 1981. This is an instance where Egypt's homogeneity proved to be a negative attribute, as dissident movements were able to identify an issue that would be abhorrent to a predominantly Muslim society and use it to destabilize the regime.

(iii)   Claims to Land

Mauritius' history as a British, then a French Colony before gaining Independence along with the fact that the origins of its population are not indigenous, means that there are no deep-seated claims, rights or historical links to the land.

Egypt however, because of its demographics which render it homogenous ethnically, as

well as indigenous naturally, would have had greater challenges with globalization. External

and internal liberalization would have opened the state to the global market. This meant that

market forces played a great part in determining what services Government could adequately

render and what services had to be cut. According to the *Economist Intelligence Unit,*

> small farmers and land owners were forced to sell properties; the
> government terminated its policy of employment
> guarantees…and while this is occurring with 20-30% living
> below the poverty line there is a widening chasm between the
> poor and the affluent (2001:3).

The previous discussion has already suggested how economic disparity could be a potential

rallying point for the siege mentality to take root. Egypt was no different, Islamism came to

the fore. Perhaps this phenomenon was best summed up by two very pertinent sources

identified by Sandbrook and Romano in their work.

First, Lubeck described the phenomenal rise of Islamism in Egypt with a rather vivid

metaphor when he observed that, "triumphant neoliberal economic and social policies became

the midwife of Islamist ascent in civil society" (1999:13). It should therefore come as no

surprise that with the multitude of challenges that regimes have faced in Egypt due to the impact

of globalization, the Islamists utilized the Muslim demographic and projected their message

through religion.

Secondly, Zeidan's study helps to highlight how homogenous groups can be easily

mobilized into action. He summarizes the essence of the Islamist message in Egypt thus:

> Islamists in Egypt, as elsewhere, call for a return to the principles

of an idealized golden age of Islam (during the time of the prophet and the first four Caliphs in the seventh and eighth centuries), when 'correct' religious observances led to a strong and healthy society. In the case of most radical Islamist movements such as al- Qaeda, various Islamic Jihads, and the Egyptian al-Gama'a al-Islamyya, Islamic texts are interpreted in a manner that casts pious Muslims as protagonists in a black-and-white, life or death, all or nothing struggle between good and evil, belief and unbelief, virtue and sin. The complex mechanisms and effects of neoliberal globalization are explained simply and forcefully by those movements. Lowered standards of living for the masses, unemployment, weak states, lost wars against Israel, the influence of multinational corporations, and materialist 'cultural assaults' on 'Muslim values' are simply the consequences of having strayed from 'fundamental' Islamic belief and practice. The rulers of countries such as Egypt are then portrayed as puppets of foreign infidels bent on exploiting and leading Muslims astray (2001:12).

This passage by Zeidan is instructive because it highlights how the 'cultural tool-kits' spoken of by Zald have been employed in the case of Egypt. Here we see an appeal to 'historical memories' and 'myths' in the appeal to the golden age of Islam with the imagery of the leadership of the prophet and the first four Caliphs. This also corresponds with what Gavriely-Nuri pointed out as the appeal to 'collective memory'. Similarly, it provides salient evidence of siege beliefs emanating from a resistance movement by highlighting what Bar-Tal and Antebi had outlined as the causes, functions and consequences of siege mentality where events are interpreted in such a way to attribute blame and sanction violence. By interpreting the policies of the regime as an attack on Islam, and an attempt to 'lead Muslims astray', the architects of this rhetoric are really implying that the Muslim has no choice but fight. This is seemingly the prevailing attitude of those who exhibit siege mentality.

3.5   Detecting Siege Mentality: the working model thus far

In the studies by Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a; 1992b) and Sandbrook and Romano (2004) along with other secondary material, I have been able to isolate some basic factors which can foment siege mentality, as well as the methods that can be employed to reinforce it both from the perspective of a regime and a resistance movement. In the case of both Israel and Egypt we have seen how homogeneity of the population both ethnically and religiously, as well as a common history, can serve as powerful avenues that can lead to the fomenting of the siege mentality. These avenues provide the scope for the appeal to 'collective memory', connection to a geographic locale, shared experiences and a common tradition. Successive regimes in Israel as well as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt have been able to utilize these various 'tools' to foster and reinforce their siege mentality.

On the other hand, we have been able to see what factors make it difficult for a siege mentality to develop. In the case of Mauritius, with its mixed population both ethnically and religiously, with no shared history and no real connection to that geographic locale because of their colonial past, there are very few premises upon which siege mentality could be constructed.

It would seem that siege mentality has some clearly identifiable causative factors and it functions in particular ways leading to an identifiable set of consequences. This provides the scope for an investigation of the Book of Deuteronomy in an effort to identify any of the 'tool kits' mentioned thus far being deployed in a way that would be consistent with 'siege mentality'.

Table 3.1: A Comparison of Egypt and Mauritius showing differences and similarities

which may have influenced their respective responses to Globalization.

	Egypt	**Mauritius**
Religious Composition	Homogenous	Diverse
Ethnic Composition	Homogenous	Diverse
Origin of Inhabitants	Indigenous	Non-indigenous
Means of Production	Agrarian	Agrarian
External Crisis	Globalization	Globalization
Policies of the Regime in Response to the Crisis	Liberal	Liberal
Response of Groups Within	Rise of Resistance Movements with siege beliefs	Cooperation from groups within, leading to growth and prosperity

This table summarizes key elements that can render a group easily susceptible to siege beliefs. Though Egypt and Mauritius shared similarities in their means of production, the nature of the external crisis that impacted them and even the response of their regimes to the crisis, the respective outcomes were different. Egypt being homogenous ethnically and religiously as well as indigenous, meant that there were more avenues for easy mobilization, and traction for messages of identity and nationalism. Deep rooted claims to their land of origin would have created greater impetus to defend it. Mauritius on the other hand had no such issues and so only needed to focus on the economic situation confronting it and how best to combat it.

3.6   Egypt After Sandbrook and Romano's Analysis

Sandbrook and Romano writing in 2004 alluded to the approach of the then Egyptian

regime to radical Islamist movements; "offering [them] no carrot to accompany the stick of repression" (2004:1023).   In this decision the regime offers no flexibility and therefore tension is likely to intensify.   According to the *Economist*, "20,000 people were detained in 2002 in Egypt, the bulk of whom were Islamists… Mass arrests and sweeps of Islamist areas has been a staple. In the midst of this the regime sought to purport the view that they were more Islamic than the Islamists" (cited in Sandbrook and Romano 2004:1023). Here we have an example of a relatively liberal government, due to the pressure placed upon it by its opponents, responding with authoritarian tactics.

As Abdo pointed out, "the net effect of this policy has been an increasing Islamisation of Egyptian Society, as the government essentially concedes to the Islamists' demand for a more Muslim way of doing things (cited in Sandbrook and Romano 2004:1023).

Our mode thus far suggests that such a response to those who exhibit the siege mentality in the face of rising tensions and a widening gap between the rich and the poor, is a recipe for disaster.   The Muslim Brotherhood in particular, then presented itself as an alternative government by proving it was more Islamic than the regime. Sandbrook and Romano record an instance in which in the face of a natural disaster, the Muslim Brotherhood was on the scene rendering assistance before the government services.

The regime, caught in a debacle with a dissident group in the midst of a global recession of massive proportions, with unemployment escalating, found itself ill-prepared for the 'Arab Spring' in 2011 which saw the then president Hosni Mubarak deposed and, very pointedly, the Muslim Brotherhood becoming the duly elected government a year later. The Mubarak regime

had fought a battle it could not win.

Sandbrook and Romano made an astute prediction when they wrote:

> By conceding the field, the government lays the foundation for a never-ending conflict centred around who is acting as a better Muslim in resisting non-Muslim cultural and economic penetration. When the regime – Islamist contest became framed in this way, the Egyptian regime found itself at a severe ideological disadvantage thanks, among other things, to its neoliberal economic reforms. The reforms left the government vulnerable to accusations of being a puppet of foreign interests (the IMF and The US Government) at the same time as these reforms reduced the regime's ability to co-opt potential opposition through patronage networks (2004:1023-1024).

This comparative study of Egypt and Mauritius has highlighted a number of situations that can foster the siege mentality and the actions that it entails. It has also shown how different responses to siege can yield different results. The situation of Egypt has presented some interesting dynamics which can be relevant for the overall study. Of particular interest is the possibility that opposing actors in a conflict can have basic interests in common just at varying intensities. In the case of Egypt, both the Islamists and the Regime are Muslim. However, part of the difference lies in how Islam is perceived by the respective parties.

Egypt presents an opportunity for an ongoing study of how siege mentality exhibited by a fringe movement can affect their leadership if that movement becomes the regime. We have already seen how The MMM in Mauritius was able to make the transition to become neo-liberal. However, as the situation in Egypt is unfolding as this paper is being written and what has been seen from the Muslim Brotherhood regime after just one year in office is an unrelenting effort to impose strict Islamism on Egypt in the passing of Sharia law. This has resulted in a military coup which has ousted the Muslim Brotherhood Administration and

removed President Morsi from leadership. It would seem that the dynamics of Egypt and the intensity of the siege mentality of the Muslim Brotherhood, rendered it unable to make the transition from its radical stance as a resistance movement to a more liberal one which would have been more conducive for leadership.

3.7   From Resistance to Regime: The Rise of National Communist Party in Albania

Having examined the cases of Egypt and Mauritius, two agrarian societies that were impacted upon economically in similar ways by global events, and the divergent responses of those two communities, we have seen how the ethnic and religious demography of a society can play a great part in averting or fostering siege mentality.

In Mauritius, the diversity of the population in ethnicity and religion, as well as the reality that no group had a direct claim to the land, made it difficult for siege mentality to take root. In Egypt on the other hand, the relative homogenous nature of the community ethnically and religiously, as well as its indigeneity allowing it to make direct claims to the land, made it easy for siege beliefs to foment, eventually leading to the toppling of the somewhat liberal regime and the election of the more conservative Muslim Brotherhood.

To assess the behaviour of resistance movements which purported and exhibited siege beliefs prior to becoming the regime, I have constructed a case study based on the observation of Bar-Tal that Albania is an example of a country that exhibits the Masada Syndrome. According to Bar-Tal,

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following a change in Soviet leader Khrushchev's policy toward Yugoslavia, relations between the Eastern block and Albania started to deteriorate until in October 1961 relations broke off completely. These events isolated Albania entirely in the world because it had no relations with the West since the end of World War II. Following these events, Albanian leaders, believing that they were surrounded by a hostile world, refused any type of relations offered by Western countries and used the political and economic boycott to strengthen Albanian socialistic patriotism and isolationism. For years, Albanians have continued to believe in a "capitalist-revisionist blockade and encirclement." …foreigners are treated with suspicion (1986:37).[63]

I have chosen to use the Albanian example to develop a case study of how a resistance movement can utilize the siege beliefs it held as resistance movement, when it becomes the regime. I will rely heavily on the works of Marmullaku (1975) and Pollo and Puto (1981) to establish the historical setting of Albania in the period that will be assessed. Further studies will be utilized to demonstrate development of Albania's siege beliefs. The Albanian study allows us to see the causes, functions and consequences of siege mentality at work in the same group.

Though Albania in the latter part of the twentieth century became relatively industrialized, it was still a predominantly agrarian society. As Marmullaku noted, "before liberation in 1944, its economy was extremely backward; industrialization had hardly begun and agriculture was still primitive and at a subsistence level" (1975:4). Of course, with great care and acknowledging that there may be significant differences between the two, I believe that inferences can be made from a study of the predominantly agrarian Albanian society in

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[63] See also Marmullaku (1975) and Pollo and Puto (1981). According to Artisien, "Albania had allied itself successfully to Yugoslavia (1944-1948), the Soviet Union (1948-1961) and China (1961-1978) (1985:107).

the first eighty-five years of the twentieth century, about the Judahite society of the long

seventh century from which the Book of Deuteronomy emerged.

3.7.1   Albania: Demographics and Geography

One of the distinctive features of siege mentality, as we have seen from our

comparative study of Egypt and Mauritius is that, it tends to thrive in places where there is

ethnic and or religious homogeny, as well as strong claims to the land. The demographics

and geography of Albania have the propensity to create such an environment.

Demographics

At the time of the publication of Mamullaku's work in 1975, Albania had a

population of just over 2.2 million people, of which ninety-five (95%) were ethnically

Albanian. Descended from the Illyrians who were an Indo-European people who either

migrated and settled the western portion of the Balkan peninsula around 1000 BCE, or

originated there, the Albanians are made up of two dialectic groups: the Tosks in the south

and the Ghegs in the north.[64] It is believed that though congruent in ethnicity, these two

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[64] See Marmullaku 1975:3-5. He also suggests that there is an alternative view of the origins of the Illyrians which is gaining traction. He notes,

> There has been speculation through the centuries on the origin and evolution
> of the Illyrians. Today there are two main schools of thought: first that the
> Illyrians migrated to the Balkan peninsula, and secondly, that they are an
> autochthonous people in the Balkans. Modern investigations in Albania and

dialectic groups operated as distinct entities until the 15th century when Albania and the

Balkans came under the influence of the Ottoman Empire. Marmullaku would describe the

impact of the Ottoman Empire and the transformation it brought to the Albanian way of life,

in this way:

> The old organization of Albanian society was deep-rooted, and
> the people lived for centuries within small communities of
> blood relations… it is undoubtedly this lack of unity which
> accounts for the fact that the Albanians became a politically
> formidable force rather late, in the fifteenth century only, when
> they began their long struggle against the Turks (1975:10).

The Islamic Ottoman Empire filled the void created by the demise of the previous Christian

Byzantine Empire resulting in a change in the religious composition of Albanian society by

the growth of Islam. Close to 60% of Albanians are Muslims and the impact of the Ottoman

Empire was such that as late as just prior to 1941, Muslims in Albania and Yugoslavia were

still subject to some aspects of *Sheriat Law*.[65]

Geography

Albania is nestled on the Balkan coast with the Adriatic Sea in the North and the

Ionian Sea in the South, and the Strait of Otranto separating it from Italy. In addition to these

strategic advantages, Albania is also rich in mineral wealth: iron, copper, gold and silver.[66]

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the Balkans have convinced archaeologists, ethnologists and linguists that
the second hypothesis is the correct one (1975:6).

[65] See Marmullaku (1975:11). This statistic will have implications for the extent to which siege beliefs can foment in this society. Religion, as Lenski would have noted, can be a unifying element within a society, which also suggests that religious diversity can be an equally divisive force.
[66] See Marmullaku (1975: 3-6).

Albania's geographic locale as well as well as its natural resources have been major contributing factors to its checkered relations with the international community.

Based on its homogenous ethnic composition Albania has propensity to be a fertile environment for siege beliefs to foment. In addition, its rich resources also render it conspicuous as an ideal territory for exploitation by stronger neighbouring foreign powers. These dynamics would characterize the fortunes of Albania throughout the several decades of struggle first for statehood and then international recognition, the latter of which continues well into the twenty-first century.

3.8   Siege Mentality in Albania

In this section, I present siege mentality as emanating from a resistance movement which in this case would be the anti-fascist movements which later became the Albanian Communist Party after 1941. I will also seek to parse the presentation using the basic subheadings from Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a) with regard to the possible causes, functions and consequences of siege mentality in order to maintain connection with the discussion thus far.

3.8.1   Past Maltreatment of Albania: Setback and Recovery

One of the key elements of siege mentality is the fostering of a collective memory either by highlighting some past maltreatment of the community or a past heroic event that the entire community can readily tap into. Albania presents a powerful example of this phenomenon. Albania has a history of checkered fortunes in its interaction with other nations and the impact of other nations upon it. This case study will show how such undulating circumstances would have shaped what eventually emerged as the psyche of Albanian leadership and its populace. Artisien would describe those circumstances and their resulting effects thus:

> For centuries Albania was intimidated, ravaged and partitioned by covetous foreign powers, and oppressed by a legacy of backwardness: pervasive poverty, disease, illiteracy and superstition (1985:107).

Artisien's poignant description of the Albanian psyche and condition makes a compelling case for a deeper investigation of the events which would have led to their development.

While Bar-Tal (1986) would have identified the Bolshevik split in 1961 as a distinctive contributing factor to Albania's siege mentality, as Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a; 1992b) have pointed out, the past plays an integral role in the development of siege beliefs. A good point of departure would be the events leading up to, and in the aftermath of the declaration of the Albanian State in 1912.

Albania's Struggle for Statehood

The mid to latter part of the nineteenth century saw discord beginning to erupt in the

Albanian society as a reaction to the yoke of the rule of the Ottoman Empire. The

bureaucratic structure of the Ottoman system had begun to impinge upon the rights,

privileges and treasured traditions of the communal construct of the Albanian society.   This

sparked a series of peasant uprisings from the mid 1800's which culminated with the

declaration of the Albanian state in November of 1912. According to Marmullaku,

> Although the uprisings were mainly concerned with preserving
> local autonomy which the feudal landowners had enjoyed under
> the old regime, they also had broader national and Balkan
> importance, since they opposed the entire administrative system
> of the Ottoman empire: its taxes and levies, the seven – and
> twelve – year terms of army service, and so on, which had had
> a devastating effect in Albania and every country under
> Ottoman rule (1975:21)

Coupled with the stringent administrative parameters of the Ottoman empire was the

impact of free enterprise in Europe. According to Pollo and Puto,

> Small tanneries, oil works, flour, wool, silk and cotton mills
> were set up in Albanian towns during the second half of the
> nineteenth century. However, in the stifling climate of Turkish
> domination, they stagnated, remaining small, outmoded
> factories, unable to withstand the crushing competition of
> Austrian, English and French manufacturers. Few new
> factories were built and, from the industrial standpoint, Albania
> remained the most backward country in Europe until Ottoman
> domination came to an end (1981: 107-108).

These observations by Marmullaku and Pollo and Puto unveil the extent of the

oppression and exploitation which Albanians experienced at the hand of the Ottoman empire

as well as the more powerful nations in Europe. These events sparked decades of

maltreatment of the Albanian people which had the potential to leave indelible marks on the

Albanian psyche, thus rendering the society fertile ground for siege beliefs to germinate. The years which ensued after the initial uprisings would see Albania and some of its Balkan neighbours being the pawns in a power struggle between the stronger nations of Europe. Compounding the tension of this period would be a series of developments within Albania and the Balkans which would lead to Albania's mistrust of its neighbours.

Internal Challenges

As noted earlier, the linguistic variance between the Tosks and Ghegs would have served as a premise for division within Albanian society in the period leading up to the fifteenth century. However, Albania's interaction with foreign entities created other divisive issues within the society. One of the key elements for siege beliefs to take root in a society is homogeny, either in religion, ethnicity or ideology. The absence of this level of homogeny renders the society susceptible to foreign influence and in some cases domination. Albania developed two challenges during the Ottoman period which prevented it from developing a collective identity. Those two challenges came in the form of class divisions and religion.

In its opposition to the yoke of the Ottoman empire, Albania was unable to speak with one voice because, whereas the peasants were pushing for self-governance and statehood, the bourgeoisie were ambivalent. While seeking a loosening of the Ottoman stranglehold, the bourgeoisie were not necessarily in favor of a peasant revolt for liberation. According to Marmullaku,

> The Albanian bourgeoisie, which could have given the rebels a
> unified political programme, was unable to do so, since it was
> economically weak at the time, and was not prepared to let the

> peasant revolts grow into a national liberation struggle…. The
> political programme offered by the young Albanian bourgeoisie
> did not seek to alter the country's existing status within the
> Ottoman empire (1975:22).

Here we encounter different interests among the classes in the society and therefore different responses to external siege.

Similarly, religion proved to be just as, or even more, disunifying an entity as Marmullaku noted,

> The influence of Islam and Christianity, both Roman Catholic
> and Orthodox, was strong and, more than any other nation in
> the Balkans, Albania was under the conservative influence of
> the Porte and the Greek Patriarchate, which sought,
> respectively, to islamize or hellenize the Albanian people by
> language and faith (1975:22).

Religion permeated the core of Albanian society since "education was exclusively religious, run by ecclesiastical institutions, and had no relevance to the needs of a developing nation" (Pollo and Puto, 1981:110). Thus, not only did the diversity in religion have the propensity for disunity but also that both major religions, Christianity and Islam, were unified in their approach to education which discouraged Albanian nationalism.

The two elements of class and religious diversity would have thwarted Albania's quest for statehood and bolstered the intentions of neighbouring territories to exploit it. With an Albania that was not united and a Turkey that was experiencing economic, social and political turmoil, the stage was set for other European powers to flex their political muscles in

the Balkans. In spite of the concept of a peaceful disintegration of European Turkey by way

of the Rastatt Treaty at the Russo-Austrian Convention of January1877, which would have

seen the creation of an independent Albania, some neighbouring territories were not in favour

as they had covetous interests in Albanian territory.[67] This would become manifest in 1876-

78 in the wake of the Russia-Turkish and Serbo-Turkish wars, the former leading to the

establishment of the San Stefano Treaty.

The San Stefano Treaty

One of the events that would accentuate the aversion of European powers to the

concept of Albanian statehood would come in 1877 when the Balkans found itself at the

center of the Russian-Turkish war. One of the outcomes of this conflict was that Albania

would become a part of the spoils to be apportioned to various European powers. On the one

hand, Britain was of the opinion that Albania should be given to Italy while some of the other

powers such as Hungary and Austria objected. In the end, the San Stefano Treaty resulted in

the creation of Greater Bulgaria which included a portion of Albanian territory.[68]

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[67] According to Marmullaku,

> The manoeuvres of Russia and Austria to gain influence in the Balkans were
> viewed with alarm by the Albanians. In Albania, Austria vied with Italy for
> influence. Having recently achieved its own unification, Italy sought to
> portray itself as the father of Albania's independence movement. The
> neighbouring countries, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro, were also
> interested in how the Albanian question would be settled within the larger
> context of the Balkan question. The bourgeoisie and leading circles in these
> countries and in Bulgaria raised unjustified territorial claims on Albania
> (1975:22-23).

[68] This decision fuelled the formation of one of the leading organizations in the Albanian movement for
independence – The League of Prizren (Mamullaku, 1975:23).

Albania would experience similar betrayal at the hands of the Serbs[69], the Turks[70] and the Young Turks[71] in the years leading up to the declaration of statehood in November 1912. Statehood however, did not lead to autonomy as what was agreed upon was that Albania would be recognized as a sovereign principality, but a ruler still had to be selected by the Conference of Ambassadors of the six great powers in Europe. Prince Wilhelm of Wied was made ruler of the new state.[72] In a few short years power would shift to Ahmet Zogu, then Fan Noli and by 1925 back to Zogu (Pollo and Puto, 1981:146-196). Zogu declared Albania a 'parliamentary and hereditary' monarchy in 1928 and took the title Zog I, 'King of the Albanians'. The reign of Zog I is very succinctly summed up by Marmullaku who suggested that his foreign policy was an open-door policy directed towards Italy. This saw the exploitation of Albania's mineral wealth at the expense of the development of domestic industries. In addition, Italians held top administrative positions in education, the army and the police. In effect, "Zogu placed Albania in total subservience to Italy; and when in 1939 he refused to renew [the Italian-Albanian pact of November 27,1926] the Italians occupied the country" (1975:36).[73]

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[69] The Serbian Government had promised that as long as the Albanians living in the south of Serbia were loyal to them during the Serbo-Turkish war, they will not be troubled. However, after the war the Serbian Government moved to expel the Albanian population in the south though they had kept their end of the bargain (Marmullaku, 1975:24).

[70] In the wake of the Serbo-Turkish war, a weakening Turkish Government, threatened by calls for Albanian independence moved against the Albanians with overwhelming military might, forcing members of the resistance into exile or imprisonment (Marmullaku, 1975:25).

[71] The Young Turks was a resistance movement in Turkey which sought the assistance of Albania in overthrowing the oppressive Turkish regime. In return, Albanians were to receive tax relief and constitutional rights. Having rendered loyal assistance, Albanians were again betrayed as the new Government reneged on its promise and moved against Albania by closing their schools and societies and placing a ban on all newspapers and periodicals written in the Albanian language (Marmullaku, 1975:26).

[72] The Ambassadors Conference in London involved the nations of England, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, Greece and Turkey (Pollo and Puto, 1981:149). The Ambassador's Conference selected Prince Wilhelm whose rule would be short lived as he sought to form a government comprising of feudal landlords, much to the disapproval of the peasantry. In addition, given the religious history of Albania, though the feudal landlords were favoured by the prince, they themselves, sought a Muslim ruler (Marmullaku, 1975:30-31).

[73] Zog's reaction came as the result of Italy seeking to tighten the screws to fulfil its long-held desire to gain possession of Albania's territory. On March 25, 1939 Zog was handed an Italian proposal for an 'agreement'

3.8.2   The New Resistance: Struggle for Independence

With the fall of the Zog regime, Italy was once again free to fulfil its long-held

aspirations to incorporate Albania into the Italian state. Italy moved with dispatch to

formalize the political union with Albania by first passing the Albanian crown to the Italian

King Victor Emmanuel III and setting up a puppet government which was presided over by a

landowner.[74] This political change initiated drastic economic and social transformation.

> Customs control between the two countries was abolished…the
> Albanian Franc was linked to the Italian Lira, Italian nationals
> could avail themselves to the same rights as the Albanian
> citizens…the Albanian army found themselves incorporated
> into the Italian army…Albania experienced a veritable
> economic invasion. Workers poured in from Italy in their
> thousands, while Italian financial and industrial groups…set up
> branches all over the country. Dozens of enterprises set to
> work to exploit the mineral wealth…like petrol, chromium,
> iron, copper, bitumen etc. Tens of thousands of settlers from
> Italy were to settle on the coastal plains, in place of the present
> population which was to be transferred to the mountainous
> areas of the interior. The fascist authorities were counting on
> Albania's becoming a *'quinta sponda'* (fifth shore-line) which
> would absorb at least a million settlers from southern Italy
> (Pollo and Puto, 1981:225).

 With a populace that was ethnically homogenous and with strong ties to the land, the Italian

occupation provided the fodder for the formation of resistance movements. The most notable

of these would be the Anti-fascist Movement towards National Liberation which would

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under which Albania would voluntarily become an Italian protectorate. On this occasion Zog sought the
protection of Great Britain and Yugoslavia (Marmullaku, 1975:39).
[74] See Pollo and Puto, (1981:224) This move would have significance for the resistance because it was the
landowners who always opposed the peasant movement for liberation.

eventually give way to the rise of the Albanian Communist Party.[75] Enver Hoxha would lead

the Communist Party in guerilla warfare against the Italians and later the Germans before he

finally seized power in 1944.[76] This would usher in a forty-year rule of Enver Hoxha and the

Albanian Communist Party which would later be called the Albanian Party of Labour.

3.8.3 Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Communist Party

Siege-Prone Leadership

One of the key causes of siege mentality is the influence of leadership on the group.

Albania's long struggle for statehood and eventually for liberation from Italy and Germany,

had left its leadership indelibly wary of the dangers of the world. Enver Hoxha, Albania's

ruler for the four decades after independence, would display this mentality as Stecklov et al.

noted that under Hoxha's rule, "Albania became the most isolated and closed of communist

countries" (2010:938).

It must be stated that Hoxha did pursue relations with other European and

international powers. However, after being rebuffed and denied on several occasions, as well

as having neighbouring nations still viewing Albania as territory to be divided and annexed,

like many leaders who exhibit siege beliefs, he was forced to focus inward. Early in his

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[75] The first major act of defiance against the occupation regime came on the anniversary of Independence, November 28, 1939. The resistance then became more active, spearheading acts of sabotage and violent confrontations with the police (Pollo and Puto, 1981:227). The Albanian Communist Party was formed in 1941 with the assistance of the Yugoslav Communists.

[76] Italy capitulated to the German Army on 8 September 1943 leading to the occupation of Albania by Hitler's troops.

tenure, in a speech delivered in Tiranë in 1944, Hoxha addressed overtures by Greece to annex parts of Albania in this way:

> The Greek premier Papandreou has expressed aspirations to annex the towns of Gjirokastër and Korçë and their hinterlands. Such aspirations impede good relations between our countries. Our borders are inviolable, since they contain only land which our grandfathers have left us. No one dares touch our borders, because we shall defend them (Marmullaku, 1975:117-118).

In this speech we encounter Hoxha employing two key elements for collective identity: claims to the land and a common past. These would remain focal points of his leadership for the next forty years, and would permeate every facet of Albanian life. In one of his last works, Hoxha would still be as defiant as he was when he started his rule, as he noted:

> We are the descendants of the Illyrian tribes. Into the land of our ancestors came the Greeks, the Romans, the Normans, the Slavs, the Angevins, the Byzantines, the Venetians, the Ottomans and numerous other invaders, without having been able to destroy the Albanian people, the ancient Illyrian civilization and later the Albanians (Hoxha, 1985:40).

In this speech, Hoxha links the struggles of the present community with those of the communities of past eras, thus seeking to foster a collective identity, by way of collective memory.

Hoxha's influence went beyond speeches to physical representations of imminent danger due to the hostility of the world. Rosenberg highlighted one feature which would have created this effect, when she noted that Enver Hoxha had dotted the country's borders with over 300,000 pillbox concrete bunkers in which, "young Albanians in the army reserve

had spent every third weekend…kneeling in the mud, their machine guns trained on some imaginary intruder" (1994/95:85).[77]

The effectiveness of Hoxha's influence is attested to by several commentators on the Albanian psyche in the post-Hoxha era. According to Rexhepi:

> Debilitating modalities of paranoia blended with inferiority,
> fruits of this particular dependency model, would inflect
> Albanians' perception of self and the world… Albanian people
> had been cowed into a fearful state of submission, which led
> them, like the country to withdraw into themselves with their
> thoughts kept secret, paranoid and suspicious of all around
> them (2013:18).

This summation embodies several of the functions and consequences of siege mentality identified by Bar-Tal and Antebi such as, the development of a black and white view of the world, development of a sense of predictability, and the development of negative attitudes toward the world. These were inculcated at every level of Albanian society.

3.8.4   Pedagogy as a Tool for the Transmission of Siege Beliefs in Albania

One of the enduring legacies of the Albanian Communist Party would be its contribution to the education of the masses in the post-1944 period, eighty percent of whom

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[77] Cf. Reuters in Tirane, https://www.theguardian.com which suggests that in addition to the thousands of pillbox bunkers, Hoxha also had constructed, "millions of concrete posts topped with sharp spikes to deter the aerial troops he feared would invade".

were illiterate.[78] Given these egregious statistics, the Communist Party embarked on an

intense education program. While the intent could have been construed as altruistic, the

Communist Party made no attempt to hide its motive that the education system was to be tied

to politics, and should foster sentiment for the government and a consciousness of the

brotherhood of the people.[79] The Party, according to Thomas, perceived that its views would

reach the masses through the teachers in the villages who it considered as "its first-hand

assistants in the work for the communist education of the workers in the villages, for

explaining politics to the masses…" (1973:115). The same philosophy was ascribed to the

education of children as was clearly enunciated by First Secretary of the party Enver Hoxha,

in 1950. He outlined:

> The schools should be the driving force for the ideas and
> principles of the politics of the Party, its tasks and aims for the
> working masses; it should implant the new socialist principles
> of education, should educate children of all strata of all the
> populace on the basis of these principles, to fight against every
> foreign ideology and against every foreign influence on
> children (Thomas, 1973:111).

In this speech Hoxha touches on several indicators of siege mentality. The parameters are set

for the education system in Albania not necessarily to be an entity to broaden the scope of the

masses but rather, to narrow their perception of the world through the lenses of the

Communist Party. This form of ideological homogenization was extended to the next

generation, the children, which is essential for siege beliefs to take root. According to

Thomas, the missive from the Ministry of Education in 1960 would be even more revealing,

as it encouraged teachers to "educate the new generation with the spirit and devotion to the

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[78] According to Thomas, the number of illiterates in 1945 was about 80% of the total populace, and the
remaining 20% only possessed basic reading and writing skills (1973:108-109).
[79] See Thomas (1973:108).

issues of socialism and communism, with unlimited love for the people, for the Motherland, for our glorious Party of Labour…" (1973:112). The Albanian Party of Labour (formerly the Communist Party), dissatisfied with the efforts of the Ministry of Education to carry out its directives, would take full control of the educational system in 1968.[80] Thus, the education system became centralized in the Albanian Party of Labour.

Education of the Children

With the education system firmly planted in the Albanian Party of Labour, the topics in school books were carefully selected to "inform the teachers and students about the Motherland, patriotism, love for country, and the economy of the nation" (Thomas, 1973:117).[81] Of particular interest is the view by Qafleshi (2013) that children's books seemed to focus on images of ethnicity and nationality with a heavy emphasis on 'Othering'. According to Qafleshi:

> There are dozens of texts that exhibit such deep Albanian patriotism….These texts present both male and female young characters, and many books deal with the Illyrian War in Dyrrahu, particularly in the Albanian city of Durrës, where children witness events and report on their experiences (2013:23).

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[80] In reality, many of the teachers were not qualified to carry out the directives of the Party and so in 1969 it was stated that all teachers, communists or not, were expected to act as propagandists of the Party's directives (Thomas, 1973:112-114).

[81] Science books were structured to separate science from theology. This no doubt would have been to make a break from the traditional delivery of education which was the preserve of religious schools. Similarly, History books focused on the ideology of the Labour Party. Likewise, Geography books were specifically written to present a contrast between the political transformation that was taking place in Albania, with what was being done by capitalist and revisionary reactionists (Thomas, 1973:117-118).

There is a strong play on the psyche of young readers having the characters of the books being children. Through those characters, children reading in the present are able to share in the events of the past. The children's books had the potential to foster collective memory and by extension collective identity, thus linking the present community with past communities. A direct consequence of the fostering of the identity is the consciousness of the 'other'. Qafleshi identifies three methods of 'Othering' presented in children's books:

> The first method is New Man ideology, attempting to construct the image of the ideal Communist citizen. The second method is to construct a foil for the New Man (social class enemy) requiring social punishment of vary degrees–including and up to incarceration […] The final method of Othering (strangeness/foreignness) […] is the exploitation of foreign contexts (2013:23).

Albanian children were systematically programmed in the art of 'Othering' by the labelling of negative protagonists in literature as either *diversants* or *kulak*[82] would have been able to readily identify the difference between the New Man and the social class enemy within the society. However, at the international level, they were exposed to the contexts of other nationalities and ethnicities thus being able "to point out contrast in encounters with the other to construct Albanian socialist nationalism favorably in order to internalize a communist sense of fraternity" (Qafleshi, 2013:24).

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[82] A 'diversant' is a person who violates the boundaries of a certain country to exercise violently sabotage the nation, whilst a 'Kulak' is a peasant who aspires to be a part of the middle class, and were therefore classified as class enemies of the state (Qafleshi, 2013:25-28).

Television and theater also served to inculcate siege beliefs in Albanian children. Some children's films portrayed children imitating adults and participating in World War II as well as the National Liberation War as freedom fighters.[83]

3.9 Centralization and Homogenization

One of the key traits of siege mentality is the control of institutions that can influence the opinion of the people and the silencing of dissidents. From the time of the promulgation of the constitution in January of 1946 the intent of the Party of Labour was defined as:

> The organized leader of the working class and the working
> masses in the struggle to build the foundations of socialism and
> as the leading unit of all other socio-political organizations and
> state institutions (Marmulakku, 1975:64).

By placing the party above all other institutions in the society, the party automatically became the central authority in the community.[84]

3.9.1 Control of Key Institutions in Albania

Property and Industries

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[83] The children were described as little guerrillas/Communists who participated in the liberation of the country and the expulsion of occupiers and invaders (Qafleshi, 2013:27).
[84] Marmulakku argues that with all organizations being subordinate to the Party, they actually act as mouthpieces for the Party's decisions (1975:64).

One of the first acts of the Anti-Fascist Council for National Liberation on the day following the liberation of the country, was to promulgate a series of decrees. Pollo and Puto note that:

> All property belonging to the Italian and German states were confiscated, as well as any money belonging to concessionary Italian firms, including banks. All Albanian industries and firms were placed under state control, while mines were nationalized (1981:247-248).

The intent was to control the means of production and extinguish the influence of any foreign entities which may be able to be agents of destabilization of the regime by use of their economic power. A similar policy was ascribed to internal enemies, the local bourgeoisie, which saw "the naturalization of the most important private properties" (Pollo and Puto, 1981:251). The cumulative effect of these measure was that:

> In 1946 the state sector already represented 87 per cent of the production of raw materials, and by the end of 1947, 167 factories and businesses had been nationalized. Capitalist industry had almost disappeared (Pollo and Puto, 1981:251).

The Judicial System

One of the major casualties in the era of the Party of Labour in Albania was the justice system. According to Rosenberg:

> Albania's legal tradition was not weakened under Hoxha–it was literally made nonexistent. Albanians lacked even a symbolic concept of citizens' rights. Law was simply an instrument of the party (1994/1995:91).

The control of the judicial system gives a regime free range to carry out its programs without accountability.

Religion

The impacts of the Byzantine Empire as well as the Ottoman Empire on Albania had left very strong religious ties in both the Muslim and Christian traditions. This presented a problem for the Communist Party as it created divisions and made it difficult for the Party to carry out its agenda of ideological homogenization of the Albanian people. Marmullaku gave a very succinct observation of the impact of religion in Albania when he noted:

> The pluralism of religions and religious communities threw up
> barriers between the Albanians themselves, and was the cause
> of friction between tribes and provinces. These divisions
> hampered Albanians' attempts to unify their efforts to fight
> foreign domination (1975:76).

Religion therefore prevented one of the key aspects of siege mentality to take place in Albania: the ease of mobilization. To counter what it must have perceived as the deleterious effect of religion, the Communist Party first launched an ideological attack on religion through having its youth groups denounce religion.[85]

Failing in its initial efforts to counter the negative effects of religious diversity of Albania, the Communist Party in 1967 made the decision to stamp out religion altogether, making Albania "the world's first atheist state" (Rosenburg, 1994/1995: 86). Conscious of

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[85] According to Marmullaku, the Communist Party was interested in making communists and youth standard-bearers, and religion was proving to be a deterrent (1975:76).

the centuries-long ties of the Albanian people to religion, the Party was seemingly clever in its approach to dereligionize the state. According to Marmullaku:

> The first step taken by the government was to retrain Christian priests and Muslim khojahs and turn them into civil servants. They automatically became state employees or were pensioned off. The second measure was to turn the churches and mosques into museums, halls for physical culture and cultural centres (1975:76).

Whether the ban on religion was a transition with little resistance is debatable. Marmullaku suggests that the administration was very lenient in its approach to the elderly who were allowed to practice their religion at home, as well as in remote villages with strong ties to religion. The one harsh incident reported was the execution of a Roman Catholic priest whom the administration branded as a "spy and robber". The general message of the administration was that the move to become an atheist state was the will of the people (1975:76-77). However, Rosenburg reports that, "priests and Islamic leaders were shot, people were imprisoned for years for wearing a crucifix or possessing a bible, and ancient cathedrals were gutted and turned into basketball courts (1994/1995:86).

Whatever the reason, be it by ideology or force, religion, which is one of the key elements which can be a source of dissenting voices or, in the case of Albania a hindrance to homogenization, was eradicated. Marmullaku opined that the reason for Albania becoming atheist was "the leadership's desire to make the nation homogenous and thus to forestall interference from outside" (1975:77).

The Media

Another of the major casualties of the Communist Party was the media. In 1973, following a brief experiment with democratization which manifested itself in Albanians being influenced by Western culture, the Party decided to halt what it perceived to be the negative effects of foreign infiltration. At the fourth Plenum of the Party, Hoxha highlighted the danger as being two-fold where the external influence was being supported from within Albania. He lamented:

> It is this culture, coated with a glossy veneer, accompanied by sensational advertisement, handled in the most commercial way and backed up by the bourgeoisie…If influences and manifestations of the bourgeois revisionist way of life are not nipped in the bud, they open the way to the corruption and degeneration of people which are so dangerous to the cause of socialism (Bönker et al., (2016:238-239).

The Party employed slogans which sought to denounce foreign influences and liberal ideas as a means of sensitizing the masses to the dangers but also to justify the action it intended to take against the institutions and individuals who perpetuated such ideas. People in any position that was perceived capable of influencing public opinion, came under heavy scrutiny. As Marmullaku notes, intellectuals, writers, musicians, artists and film workers were especially targeted (1975:65). The purge began within the Party itself with the removal of the leadership of the Union of Artists who were described by Hoxha as "worthless political dead corpses".[86] Some of the restrictions put in place by the regime, give an idea of what was

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[86] According to Czekalski, two Union leaders, Paçrami and Lubonja were the first to be affected. Paçrami was deemed an 'enemy of the state and people' while Lubonja was deemed to be a 'right wing deviant' who 'supported liberal opportunist tendencies and had a modernistic aesthetic taste' (2013:117).

taking place in Albania. According to Bönker, Obertreis and Grampp, following Hoxha's speech of 1973:

    (i)   The Dajti amplifier was shut off[87]
    (ii)   Watching foreign broadcasts and "imitation of foreign behaviours" became punishable
    (iii)   Growing sideburns, wearing cowboy trousers, blue jeans, miniskirts, "seductive" dresses and big sunglasses, singing foreign music and imitating foreign artists were prohibited.
    (iv)   Control and pressure over youth and artists were increased (2016:239).

Following the purge of the media in 1973, the Albanian film industry grew in prominence as the mouthpiece for the ideology of the Communist Party. The viewing of foreign broadcasts was criminalized and there was to greater surveillance on the part of local Party committees to ensure that such alien influences did not take root in their communities.[88]

3.9.2   Internal Coping Mechanisms: Conformity and Surveillance in Albania

As a regime wages an ideological battle against foreign infiltration, there is invariably an internal battle against dissidents and practices which hinder its goal of the homogenization of the group. In Albania, due to its ethnic homogeneity but religious diversity, the regime eradicated religion as a means of making the community more homogenous. However, there was still the added issue of ideological differences. Through the ban on foreign broadcasts, this was somewhat minimized but not eradicated.[89]

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[87] This was an amplifier of Italian TV which had been positioned on Mount Dajti.
[88] See Bönker, Obertreis, and Grampp (2016:243); and Czekalski (2013:117).
[89] According to Bönker, Obertreis, and Grampp, the Party had introduced a VHF Television set which would broadcast ideology of the Party only, however, people devised a way to make antennae that would enable them

The Communist Party had developed a vocabulary for 'Othering' which separated

Albanians on the basis of 'good biography' or 'bad biography'. Andoni explains the

phenomenon in this way:

> *Biografi* is broadly translated as 'self-identity' or 'personal history'. Under communism, *biografi e mirë* (good biography) meant the person was a loyal party activist. *Biografi e keqe* (bad biography) was given to those and their family who had fallen out of political favour, had been imprisoned, had been landlords or had fought with the non-communist partisans. Often, those with bad *biografi* and their families became 'untouchables' (2015).

Given this description, it was therefore within the interest of families to ensure that its

members were conforming to the requirements of the Communist Party. Non-conformity

resulted in the entire family being stained and ultimately purged. Those who experienced the

brunt of this treatment were the Albanians who were branded *kulak* which implied that they

were internal class enemies; peasants who aspired to be a part of the middle class. This was

best effected through of a process called Displacement. According to Ndoja and Woodcock:

> From 1944, the Party passed laws to nationalize the homes and properties of those named *kulaks*,…people with 'stained biographies' were forced to leave their homes and move to internment villages, and Party members and their families were moved into the empty houses. Displacement made a place for the Party in every town, and the entire population was reorganized for the Party to survey and control workers (2018:232).

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to pick up the stronger UHF signals from Italian Television. So many were able to view foreign broadcasts unknown to the Party (2016:238).

Disloyalty to the Party came at a great price and therefore surveillance within the community and even more important, at the level of the family, was critical.[90] The Interior Ministry created a network of surveillance throughout the country as a means of identifying persons for persecution. The pressure was such that even Ministry employees would find themselves convicted for 'lack of vigilance' which would carry terms of imprisonment for failing to identify enemies of the state.[91] People were also informed upon by family members and close associates.[92] According to Sulo and Kaso, "the socialist regime created a pervasive bureaucracy that manipulated the gendered social structure of society to exert control in various ways. These always included punishing an extended family for the conviction of one person (1995:9).[93]

Treatment of Women

One of the distinguishing traits of siege mentality is the maltreatment of groups that are considered inferior. In Albania women fell into this category. Buckurie in describing the perception of women in Albania gave the cryptic assessment that "people viewed women a little better than a dog and a little worse than a horse" (1985:52).[94] This view of women would become amplified in the Communist era as women found themselves experiencing

[90] According to Ndoja and Woodcock (2018:232) "People with good biography could be 'stained' if they interacted with persons of bad biography.

[91] See Ndoja and Woodcock (2018:233); According to NBC News "From 1946 to 1991, some 6,000 people were executed, according to Albania's Association of Former Political Prisoners. Tens of thousands were imprisoned or sent to labor camps on political charges" https://www.nbcnews.com/news/amp, "Communist-era secret police files reopen old wounds in Albania"

[92] In an interview with NBC News Maks Velo reported that he had been informed upon by al least 20 people, one of which was his mother-in-law who reported that: "Maks Velo is a person of bourgeois beliefs…he is a person with no character." https://www.nbcnews.com/news/amp, "Communist-era secret police files reopen old wounds in Albania"

[93] According to Andrew Hosken, the Sigurimi secret police were known for their surveillance and for many Albanians "under Hoxha, Sigurimi meant torture, execution, arbitrary imprisonment". https://www.bbc.co.uk

[94] See also Emadi (1992:999).

isolation from family and community. Ndoja and Woodcock summed up the plight of women in this way:

> Female prisoners were not only temporarily socially displaced from family, and displaced from being a 'good' citizen to being an 'enemy of the people', but their families often disowned them as too shameful or damaging to their survival under the regime. The distance of social displacement or social death was greater for women than for men because of the enduring stigma of possible sexual violation, which in Albania compromises a woman's honour and thus her worthiness for marriage (2018:234).

The tension created by the surveillance of the Party at every stratum of the society placed the burden of the pressure on the women who were already regarded as insignificant. The regime also carried out executions to convey messages and maintain conformity. Ndoja and Woodcock reported an interview where a young woman recounted the 'memory' of an execution that took place in her village in the year that she was born. She noted:

> One woman named Zoja, she came from a poor background; she had no man, no support, no nothing and they hung her. They accused her of being a slut, a *kurva*, in Kruma, as a showcase of what they would do to women if they were like this (2018:231).

In this account we have an example of how an episode told and retold to successive generations can become a part of the community's semantic memory. The young woman though she was not there, recalled the incident as though she was. This account also demonstrates how fear was used by the regime to control behaviour.

3.9.3   Events of National Significance and Heroism, Rituals and Monuments

Albania's struggle for statehood and later its battle for liberation from both Italy and Germany, while leaving it with many deep wounds which have fostered the memories of the maltreatment of the community, they have also given rise to significant events of national pride. According to Marmullaku,

> The 28th and 29th [of November] are national holidays commemorating the independence of the Albanian state, respectively known as 'Independence Day' and 'Flag day' (1975:58).

Likewise, April 21 was celebrated as Pioneer Day when teachers along with the Pioneer organizations made up of the nation's youth, engaged in activities to emphasize the importance of Albanian social and cultural life. Albania's recognition of heroism was presented in film and theater. Several films focused on the Albanian resistance movements both in the Middle Ages as well as World War II and the National Liberation War.[95]

Rituals and Monuments

The period following Albania's split with Russia saw a heavy focus on monuments and rituals which helped to bolster nationalism and communist ideals. Czekalski refers to it as a period of revolutionization which saw the emergence of various forms of commemorating heroes of the partisan wars and victims of World war II. The opening of "martyrs cemeteries" in various towns for those who died in those wars became places of

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[95] See Thomas (1973:116); Qafleshi (2013:27).

pilgrimage. Likewise, monumental statues were placed in towns as *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) (2013:115).[96]

3.10   Albania in Retrospect

The 2002 report on Albania from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development gave a plaintive description of the legacy of the Hoxha era. That report stated:

> Lengthy communist dictatorship combined with complete isolation from the rest of the world have left deep scars in the human psyches, organizational structures and all types of infrastructure in Albania. The recent history of education in Albania is still strongly affected by the legacy of the Hoxha regime (2002:14).

The poignance of this statement coming almost two decades after the death of Enver Hoxha, speaks to the firm grip that the siege beliefs promulgated by the Communist Party through education and enforcement in communities, still had on Albanians. The messages of the struggle for statehood and liberation, as well as the strong claims to the land and ethnic homogeneity were not unique to the Communist Party. The Albanian model reminds us that though the old regime may be removed, the deep-seated memory of the past of the group's treatment by the world still remains, though the ideology of the new regime may be totally different.

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[96] 96 According to Czekalski, "One example was the monument of the Mother of Albania, placed in the suburbs of Tirana and looking down on the cemetery of war victims;… [then] on the sixtieth anniversary of the proclamation of Albania's independence, a 17-metre-high statue…was erected…which expressed the permanency of the revolutionary idea and the fight for an independent Albania (2013:115).

As recent as February 2020, Albania still continues to experience the rejection of the 'world' in its aspiration to be a member of the European Union. Though the communist regime and its leadership have been relegated to the realms of infamy in Albanian political lore, the Prime Minister Edi Rama in response to the current treatment of Albania could still draw from the cultural tool kit of the past, the psychological tools of sensitivity and self-reliance which is a vestige of the siege mentality of the communist era. When asked about his prospects of for the Brussels Summit in May, Rama responded:

> I do not expect anything…we should do the things that should
> be done (regardless of decisions in Brussels) the country cannot
> continue to live with this anxiety of waiting for something that
> is out of our hands…we will not stay at Europe's door and cry
> https://arab.news/h6v76.

The defiance of Rama is indicative of the extent of Albania's siege mentality and though the country may engage in treaties with the world, at the first perception of negative intentions by the world, the cultural tool kit furnished by past encounters with the world, will always be there to draw from.

3.11   Egypt, Mauritius and Albania: A Comprehensive Model

The experiences of Egypt, Albania and Mauritius afford us a glimpse into how siege mentality can be fomented in a society and the factors that can exacerbate or hinder its strength. In the case of Egypt and Albania we have seen how the homogenous nature of those two societies rendered them more susceptible to the transmission of siege beliefs.

Similarly, the predominantly indigenous nature of the two societies, where the majority of the people shared a common past meant that appeals to collective identity and collective memory would have been more receptive.

Quite contrastingly, Mauritius with its relatively heterogenous ethnic composition which was not indigenous, though it experienced similar conditions to both Albania and Egypt, did not exhibit siege mentality or engage in violent extremism. Yes, there was tension in the community at times but, it never escalated to the type of atrocities that characterized Communist Albania or the operations of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, for the simple reason that there were not any deep-seated roots or cultural lines shared by the society around which large portions of its members could become mobilized. In fact, Miles made the point that it is only when abroad, that the inhabitants of Mauritius identify themselves as Mauritian (1999:92).

The studies of Egypt and Mauritius, coupled with the study of Albania present a broad model of siege mentality. This model will now be used to analyze the socio-political conditions of Judah/ Yehud from the late eighth century to the seventh centuries, and how those conditions could have influenced the contents of the book of Deuteronomy.

CHAPTER FOUR

TESTING THE HYPOTHESIS: EXAMINING THE 'LONG SEVENTH CENTURY' AS A POSSIBLE SETTING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SIEGE BELIEFS FOUND IN DEUTERONOMY

4.1   Introduction

Though the aim of this thesis has not been to date the work found in the book of Deuteronomy, it is worthwhile to explore a possible setting in which such the text may have emerged or to which it immediately relates. Dates suggested for the writing and setting of Deuteronomy have ranged from the pre-exilic, exilic, post-exilic (Persian period) to the Hellenistic periods. The scope of this study does not permit an exploration of each period thus it is imperative that a heuristic approach be taken for testing the findings of siege beliefs in the book of Deuteronomy, within a historical context.

In this section of the study, a synopsis of the long seventh century will be undertaken. The choice of the seventh century (pre-exilic period) as the focal point for analysis is an attempt to add to the debate about whether this period can be retained as a viable area of study for the setting of Deuteronomy or if it ought to be eliminated altogether. To opt for any of the later periods would not serve to discount previous ones. It is the view of this writer that the long seventh century when Judah was impacted politically, economically and culturally by its neighbours, provides the setting for the pronouncements of Deuteronomy.

Transformational Periods/Events of the Long Seventh Century

The investigation will delve into the shifting political climate of Palestine during the long seventh century, paying special attention to what can be perceived to be the most significant periods/events which would have altered the fortunes of both Israel and Judah. These periods/ events would have been:

i)   The Incorporation of Judah into the Assyrian Global Economy in c. 732 BCE

ii)   The Fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel c. 722/721 BCE

iii)   The Invasion of Judah by Sennacherib in c. 701BCE

iv)   The Aftermath of 701 BCE: The period of *Pax Assyriaca*

These events would have brought substantial social, economic and political changes to Judah and Jerusalem, and would have been interpreted theologically by the community of that period. The investigation will consider some archaeological evidence pertaining to the period and the political developments that are generally agreed to have occurred. Given the constraints of this thesis, as well as that the primary goal of the study is not dating Deuteronomy, the archaeological and political references will be synopses.

Having conducted this investigation, the findings will then be utilized alongside the work of Dutcher-Walls (2002) to construct the social environment of Judah and Jerusalem in the period under investigation. The combination of the archaeological evidence, the political developments of the period, and the social conditions, as far as can be ascertained, will be analyzed to determine if there is any significant correlation to the conditions which can give rise to violent extremism as outlined by Sandbrook and Romano (2004) as well as the existence of any evidence that would have led to the causes, effects and consequences of siege beliefs as

outlined by Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a, 1992b) and exhibited in Albania under Enver Hoxha.

This study is not primarily concerned with a critical evaluation of the various dates and contexts hypothesized. Dates remain relevant because siege mentality is always grounded within specific contexts, but the primary analysis concerns the detection of siege beliefs in the text. The secondary question concerns where, when and why such siege beliefs emerged. The study therefore acknowledges Deuteronomy as a redacted work that would have developed over time. However, since our investigation specially focuses on siege beliefs in the book of Deuteronomy, it necessitated that some starting point be established for the fomenting of such beliefs. Thus, the decision has been taken to investigate the period extending from the last three decades of the eighth century through to the late seventh century as the possible crucible in which siege beliefs may have fomented.

4.2   A Synopsis of the Archaeology and Politics of Judah and Jerusalem in the late eighth to seventh centuries: The Sociological, Economic, and Religious Implications

It is difficult to fully comprehend the conditions in the southern kingdom of Judah in the late eighth through to the late seventh centuries without dealing with the happenings in the northern kingdom of Israel. These two kingdoms would have existed alongside each other with the more prominent northern kingdom serving as a buffer for its smaller southern neighbor. The Northern kingdom had enjoyed a period of stability and economic growth under the kings

Joash and Jeroboam II during the first half of the eighth century.[97]

What has complicated the study of these two kingdoms has been the reliance on biblical material as the starting point in many cases. Hence, the notion of a united monarchy is presumed prior to the eighth century. However, the increasing influence of the field of archaeology on biblical studies has led to the creation of critical distance from the biblical text when assessing the two kingdoms. Finkelstein gave a very concise example of the need for critical distance in his description of these two kingdoms, when he wrote:

> Israel and Judah were two distinct territorial, sociopolitical, and cultural phenomena. This dichotomy stemmed from their different environmental conditions and their contrasting history in the second millennium B.C.E. Israel was characterized by significant continuity in Bronze Age cultural traits, by heterogenous population, and by strong contacts with its neighbors. Judah was characterized by isolation and by local, Iron Age cultural features, as evidenced by the layout of its provincial administrative towns. Israel emerged as a full-blown state in the early ninth century B.C.E., together with Moab, Ammon, and Aram Damascus, while Judah (and Edom) emerged about a century and a half later, in the second half of the eighth century (1999:48).

This assessment of contrasting kingdoms challenges the biblical perspective of Israel and Judah as sister nations which once constituted a united kingdom. Given this phenomenon, it is therefore imperative to conduct this analysis without an over-dependency on biblical sources, pointing to them only when extrabiblical sources lend credence. The long seventh century facilitates this kind of analysis as Rogerson noted that, "for the second part of the eighth century, Assyrian records greatly amplify the biblical material" (2009:9).

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[97] This is attested to by the archaeological findings which reveal how, during that period, Megiddo became a functional centre within the hierarchical structure of the state [and] the material culture of Galilee and the Jezreel Valley was prominent. For further reading see (Gertz et al., 2012:124); see also Finkelstein and Silberman (2006:261).

4.2.1 The Incorporation of Judah into the Assyrian Global Economy: First Encounter

The latter part of the eighth century BCE would herald Judah's emergence from obscurity and isolation, as it appears for the first time in the records of Assyria, a regional super power of the time. According to Pritchard, the inscription on a clay tablet found at Nimrud which records the exploits of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727) states:

> I received the tribute of …Sanipu of Bit-Ammon, Salamanu of Moab …Mitinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz of Judah, […] (1955:282; 2008:151-152).

This inscription seems to correlate with the account of 2 Kings 16:7-8 where, facing the threat of Syria and Israel, Ahaz appealed to Assyria for assistance.[98] Following the Syro-Ephraimite war in c. 732 BCE, as a consequence of king Ahaz of Judah's appeal to Assyria for assistance to resist the threats of Israel and Damascus, the Southern Kingdom became a vassal for Assyria and most likely by virtue of that association made its entry into the global economy. Judah became a part of the bustling Arabian trade resulting in a period of economic growth and development. According to Finkelstein:

> Starting in 732 BCE, Judah participated in the Assyrian-dominated Arabian trade. This was the main reason for the prosperity in the Beer-sheba Valley along the routes that led from Arabia via Edom to Mediterranean ports, which were turned into Assyrian emporia (2007:153).[99]

This period of growth would be accelerated not only economically but also demographically by what can be deemed to be the second significant event of the long seventh century.

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[98] Isaiah 7 where the prophet is seemingly seeking to dissuade Ahaz from forming alliances, also seems to relate to this event.
[99] See also Finkelstein and Silberman (2006:265), Singer-Avitz (1999), and Na'aman (2001).

4.2.2   The Fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel c. 722/721 BCE

After the fall of Damascus in 732 BCE Israel, its co-conspirator in the Syro-Ephraimite war, also suffered monumental losses. According to Gertz et al.;

> Galilee, the Jezreel Valley, Megiddo, Dor and Transjordan were lost to the Assyrians who incorporated much of this territory into the Assyrian Province of Megiddo. The northern kingdom of Samaria was thus reduced to a small rump state which was further weakened by deportations (2012:126).

This suggests that while Judah was on the rise and experiencing economic growth by its exposure to and participation in the Assyrian global economy, the northern kingdom of Israel was on the decline.

The volatility of the region during this period and the precarity of Judah's position, a nation which hitherto existed almost in obscurity, would be compounded by the death of Tiglath-Pileser III (727) and the rather brief reign of Shalmaneser V (726-722). Shalmaneser's successor Sargon II (721-705) "faced with rebellion after his succession, launched a campaign to the west, suppressed the revolt, and annexed the kingdoms of Israel and Hamath to his empire" (Na'aman, 2007:28). Within just a decade after the fall of Damascus, Israel was incorporated in the Assyrian empire.

With Israel now being a part of the Assyrian empire, it meant that Judah, for the last two decades of the 8th century and the first three quarters of the 7th century, found itself in a very strategic and at the same time precarious position. For a long portion of its history Judah had been buffered by its northern neighbor Israel. However, with both Damascus and Israel

incorporated into the Assyrian empire, it meant that Judah's Eastern and Northern borders were now touching Assyria. Similarly, its southern border was touching Egypt. Sargon II, would conduct another campaign in the region following an uprising in Ashdod (712 BCE) which would see Ashdod also annexed to the Assyrian Empire.[100] This development saw the Assyrian Empire now on a part of the western border of Judah, and the kingdom now totally enveloped by two super powers. According to Mazar, "Judah stood alone as the only independent state in the region" (2007:166). Thareani-Sussely posited a plausible reason for why Judah remained as a buffer. He noted:

> The Assyrian empire had a clear interest in keeping the southern border as stable as possible; hence the states in the region were subordinated, rather than annexed, so as to be used as a buffer zone and an economic intermediary between Assyria, the Arabian tribes, and Egypt (2007:74).

Judah became very conspicuous and naturally, the object of the powerplay between its larger and more powerful neighbours, Assyria in the north and Egypt in the south. Judah now served as the last frontier separating these two powerful nations geographically, therefore the one to which she was aligned would have had a strategic advantage over the other. At the same time, East of the Arabian Desert was another emergent power in the region, Babylon, which had begun to make exploratory overtures into the region. Needless to say, this was a very tense period for Judah and the entire region in general.

Judah and Jerusalem's Rapid Growth

Judah experienced phenomenal growth in its economy and demography during the latter years of the eighth century. According to Finkelstein and Silberman;

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[100] See Mazar (2007:171), Na'aman (2007:28), Tadmor (1958:79-80; 1966:94-95; 1971).

In just a few decades towards the end of the eighth century BCE, Jerusalem grew in size from a city of approximately 6 hectares to a city of approximately 60 hectares and the population increased from approximately 1000 to 10000 (estimated at 200 persons per hectare) (2006:265).

Mazar believes that at this time Jerusalem was the largest city in the Levant and probably had a population size equivalent to the rest of Judah, thus giving rise to the idiom "Jerusalem and Judah" as is found in 2 Kings 21:12; Jeremiah 52:3 (2007:167).

Scholars have all acknowledged the fact that Jerusalem experienced significant growth in the later decades of the eighth century, however, they have failed to come to a consensus on the reason for the seemingly exponential increase in its population in so short a period. It was Broshi (1974) who first posited the view that the increase may have been due to refugees from the northern kingdom who would have fled to Judah during the Assyrian campaign in Israel, as well as Judahite refugees who fled from the territories which were conquered by Sennacherib and transferred to the Philistines.[101] Jameson-Drake corroborates the notion of a dramatic change in Judah with regard to the economic growth, pointing out that there was a roughly 300% increase in energy and natural resources allocated to the building of walls, water installations and forts during the 8th century (1991:103). The Book of 2 Kings 20:20 alludes to some infrastructural work which was undertaken by Hezekiah during his reign. Isaiah concurred with the evidence of the infrastructural changes that took place during Hezekiah's reign as well (Is. 22:9-11).

Finkelstein and Silberman are of the opinion that the drastic rise in the Judahite

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[101] See Broshi (1974:25). Several scholars have accepted and expanded upon Broshi's thesis. For further reading see K. van der Toorn (1996: 339-372); Finkelstein and Silberman (2001:243-245); Schniedewind (2004:68-73, 94-95).

population cannot be attributed to a natural process but rather a monumental event, such as the assimilation of the northern kingdom into the Assyrian Empire. This, they suggested, would have led to the influx of refugees from the north into Judah resulting in a significant demographic shift where:

> The population dramatically changed from 'purely' Judahite to a mix of Judahites and ex- Israelites. The assumption that half of the Judahite population in the late eighth/early seventh century BCE was of North Israelite origin cannot be too far from reality (2006:266).

Na'aman (2007, 2014) Mazar (2007) and Guillaume (2008) totally oppose the view of a flood of Israelite refugees into Judah in the late 8th century. Mazar does not see the reason for the phenomenon as being so one dimensional but rather an admixture of the refugee crisis and the gradual development of the western hill prior to and during the eighth century (2007:167). Na'aman in a comprehensive disquisition in opposition to the treatise of Finkelstein and Silberman as well as the arguments of Schniedewind,[102] outlined several reasons why a flood of Israelite refugees into Judah during the 8th century was unlikely.

Assyrian Policy

Using as his premise an Assyrian document showing correspondence between an official and Sargon with regard to the annexation of Allabria[103] just seven years after the annexation of Samaria, Na'aman sought to show that Assyria was particularly interested in securing its borders to prevent its new subjects from leaving, while also ensuring that they were

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[102] Schniedewind (2004:94-95) outlined five 'facts' which provide proof that Hezekiah sought to incorporate northern refugees into his kingdom. Na'aman deems the argument as "most unlikely" (2007:37).

[103] This was a kingdom in the Zagros mountains that was annexed by Sargon in 713 BCE. A letter between the deputy governor Mazamua and Sargon speaks to the intentioned policy of Assyria to keep its new subjects within the borders of the annexed territory. For further reading see Na'aman (2007:35); also Lanfranchi and Parpola (1990: No.210).

comfortable in their home territory. He therefore argued:

> The assumption that the Assyrians permitted thousands, possibly
> tens of thousands, of people to flee from the new province and
> settle in Judah, a vassal state that Assyria had not annexed and
> had no wish to strengthen, contradicts everything known about
> the policy of the Assyrian Empire in newly annexed territories.
> Accepting thousands of refugees from Israel into the territory of
> Judah would have amounted to an open provocation against the
> king of Assyria and a serious blow to Assyrian efforts to establish
> and stabilize their new province (2007:35).

If correct, Assyrian policy at the time of the annexation of Samaria, does not correlate with the

hypothesis of a flood of refugees fleeing Samaria for Judah.

Judahite policy may have been just as prohibitive to the kind of assimilation that is

suggested by the flood-of-refugees hypothesis. As Guillaume noted;

> Orientalism afforded limited amounts of integration of the
> colonized cultures into the culture of the colonizers […] there
> are not many examples of governments of recipient countries
> willingly adopting the laws, customs and stories of incoming
> refugees. The tendency is to have them adopt indigenous
> practices. When 'nation' or land is perceived as flooded by real
> or imagined waves of foreigners, the elite foster waves of
> xenophobia. Limited integration of immigrant cultures takes
> place when the guest culture does not feel directly under threat,
> but this does not apply to Hezekiah since the flood-of-refugees
> hypothesis requires that the Israelites flood was a mortal danger
> to Hezekiah's rule (2008:202-203).

Material Culture

In addition to the possibility that Assyrian policy would have been averse to the flood

of refugees theory, even archaeology upon which Finkelstein and Silbermann have premised

their arguments, questions their theory. Finkelstein and Silbermann sought to bolster their

argument by attributing a 75% decline in the population in southern Samaria between the eighth

century BCE and the Persian period to a flood of refugees into Judah during the eighth century.

This suggests that with the drastic increase in the population of Jerusalem, there was a commensurate decrease in the population of southern Samaria.[104] However, upon close examination, Finkelstein and Silberman are seeking to have Jerusalem flooded with refugees within a short space of just over twenty years (722-701 BCE) but in the same argument, give about two centuries for Samaria to be drained of the same refugees. One is forced to conclude that the amount of time between the eighth century BCE and the Persian period is too wide to come to such a conclusion. In addition, Na'aman noted that for Judah during the eighth century BCE, "the material culture discovered in the excavated sites is purely Judahite" (2014:9)[105]. This runs contrary to what would be expected if a flood of refugees from a country that was culturally different, entered another. The material culture of the period suggests that Judah was a homogenous community during the eighth century BCE.

Na'aman would explain the phenomena of the expansion of Jerusalem and the homogeneity of Judah in this way:

> The growth of Jerusalem in the 8th – early 7th century resulted from an internal Judahite settlement process and the arrival of a wave of refugees from the cities destroyed by Sennacherib in his 701 BCE campaign against Judah (2014:3).

Thus, Jerusalem was populated by primarily Judahites.

There is one feature, however, that seemed to have entered Judah during the late 8th to early 7th century, that has served as corroborating evidence for those who support the assertion of a heavy Israelite presence in Judah. Finkelstein is of the opinion that "after the destruction

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[104] See Finkelstein and Silbermann (2006:135-136); Finkelstein (2007:154).
[105] See also Singer-Avitz (1999:3, 12-13); de Groot and Ariel (2000:97); Katz (2001:110-155).

of Ashdod [712 BCE] and the rise of Ekron in the days of Sargon II, Judahite olive oil must have been sold to Assyria and other clients possibly via the olive-oil production center at Ekron" (2007:153). Olive oil presses, which were a common feature of ninth century Samaria, seem to have become prevalent in Judah in the late eighth century.[106] This ought not be seen as concrete evidence for the presence of Israelites in Judah, but can simply be attributed to Judah's exposure and access to "new technologies" extant in the Assyrian Empire due to its new status as vassal.

The late eighth century, in addition to being a period of demographic upheaval, expansion and economic growth in Judah, must also have been a period of considerable social adjustment as well. The tension of this period would be first ruptured when in 712 BCE Egypt sought to encourage Hezekiah, who was at that time very early into his reign (715-685 BCE), to assist them in a revolt against Assyria. Hezekiah resisted the temptation to join in this revolt which turned out to be a disaster for Ashdod and Gath, from which Egypt retreated and left to be plundered by the forces of Sargon II.

Hezekiah would not prove as resilient, when after the death of Sargon II in 705 BCE, both Babylon and Egypt again stoked the fires of revolt in the region. On this occasion, Hezekiah formed an alliance with Egypt much to the detriment of Judah. In disgust and opposition to this move the prophet Isaiah called it 'a covenant with death' (Is. 28:15). This rebellion by Hezekiah saw the Assyrian juggernaut march into Judah leaving a trail of destruction until it reached the very gates of Jerusalem. It is my belief that this was the decisive moment that would change the course of Judah's history.

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[106] For further reading see Eitam (1987); and Finkelstein and Na'aman (2004).

4.2.3   The Invasion of Sennacherib 701 BCE

The Assyrian invasion would prove to be politically and religiously devastating for

Judah. Sennacherib's Clay Prism recounts the Assyrian view of the invasion. According to

Anderson,

> During the invasion of 701 B.C.E., Jerusalem was cut off from
> outside help. "Like a caged bird," Sennacherib says, "I shut up
> [Hezekiah] in Jerusalem, his royal city." (1998:314)

It is out of this crisis that the propaganda represented by the Book of Deuteronomy

could have possibly emerged. To demonstrate this I will, alongside the geopolitical focus

reflect on the sociopolitical implications as well.

The question of why Jerusalem was not conquered by Assyria has been a source of

debate on several levels. The biblical texts seem to have a particular view for Jerusalem being

spared which as Anderson noted, is more the "basis of legend" (1998:317). According to Isaiah

37:36-37, also 2 Kings 19:35-36, the Assyrian retreat was the result of divine intervention in

response to a prayer offered by Hezekiah, where 'an angel' smote the camp of the Assyrians

leaving it in disarray, hence prompting their retreat. Anderson further opined,

> "a rumor" concerning a new uprising in Babylonia led
> Sennacherib to withdraw hastily, in order to deal with a trouble
> spot potentially more dangerous than the little kingdom of Judah
> (1998:318).

Saggs' (1991) study of Assyrian psychological warfare would imply that the destruction

of the fortified cities and the besieging of Jerusalem would have been a psychological tactic to

force Hezekiah to submit to Assyrian Hegemony. The intention may never have been to take

Jerusalem. Yet another view would be that presented in Edelman's study (2008:406) in which she referenced the work of Gallagher (1999) in which the view is posited that Hezekiah and Sennacherib might have been cousins and therefore Hezekiah would have received special treatment. Whatever the cause of the Assyrian withdrawal from Jerusalem, it provided fodder for the emergence of what would become a 'Zion ideology/theology' which had as its premise the view that Zion is the place where Yahweh 'chose' to have his Name dwell and as a result it is inviolable.

Though the averted danger of the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem would serve to bolster, in some circles, the conviction of Yahweh's protection of Jerusalem, such a vindication could hardly have been celebrated when one considers the psychological, ideological and political wounds the Assyrian invasion would have left upon Judah as a whole. Edelman is of the view that 'after 701 BCE, the territory of the kingdom of Judah was probably limited to the immediate environs of Jerusalem. This situation (she believed) which led to the temporary 'centralization' of the cult of Yahweh in Jerusalem, is most likely what prompted the author or a subsequent editor of Kings to credit Hezekiah with a voluntary cultic centralization that followed the call in Torah for a single place where Yahweh would 'choose to place his name to dwell' (2008:425).

Loss of the Shephelah

In addition to the plundering of the countryside of Judah and the siege of Jerusalem, one of the telling consequences of the Assyrian invasion of 701 BCE was the loss of the Shephelah. According to Gertz et al:

> The Shephelah was permanently lost to Judah, being divided up
> among the Philistine vassal kings of Ashdod, Ekron and Gaza,

who were loyal to Assyria (2012:133).

Such an occurrence must have been devastating to Judahites who thitherto were living in "isolation" from the "rest of the world", now finding themselves having to exist under two foreign powers all at once; the Philistine vassal king and the king of Assyria.

Decommissioned Shrines

One distinctive phenomenon that has been dated to late 8th and early 7th century Judah, is the number of shrines that seemingly went out of use. Archaeological data suggests that possible shrines at Beersheba,[107] Arad,[108] Tell Ḥalif,[109] and Lachish[110] all went out of use during the period of, or just prior to, the Assyrian invasion of 701 BCE. One of the dangers in assessing such findings is that they have often been used to validate the biblical material. As a

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[107] See Aharoni (1974) His discovery of a four horned altar embedded in a storehouse wall at Beer-sheba dating back to the eighth century led him to the conclusion that the altar was dismantled as a part of Hezekiah's reforms. Archaeologists do not all concur on this matter. While Borowski, like Aharoni, dates the altar to the eighth century, he does so on the basis that the wall of the storehouse dates to the eighth century and therefore since the altar was utilized in the building of the wall, its dismantling must be dated around the same time. Also, the similarity in the material of the Stratum II layer at Beer-sheba with the Stratum III layer of Lachish, which was destroyed in Sennacherib's campaign of 701 BCE, further led Borowski to conclude that the altar at Beer-sheba must be dated around the same time (1995:150-151). Yadin (1976) on the other hand dates the altar to Josiah's reforms a century later.

[108] Like the discovery at Beer-sheba, the cultic site discovered at Arad has left more questions than answers concerning the time it went out of use. Herzog (1981) and Herzog et al. (1984) have come to the conclusion that the decommissioning of this sacred space occurred in two phases. First the sacrificial altar was put out of use in Stratum VIII which is dated around the late eighth century during the reign of Hezekiah. This was followed by the decommissioning of the incense altar in Stratum VII dated around the late seventh century during the reign of Josiah. Conrad links the closing down of the temple at Arad to the aftermath of the destruction and annexation of the Northern Kingdom and the socio-economic decline which ensued (1979:31).

[109] The shrine room in a four-room house at Tell Ḥalif is one of the more revealing finds dated to the eighth century. In a vivid description of artifacts found at the site, Borowski noted, "The room also contained several artifacts which could be termed cultic. These include a white-painted, molded head of a female pillar figurine (Aštart?) and a fenestrated incense stand with a broad bell-shaped base (1995:151). The find of the head of a female pillar figurine in what appears to be the shrine of a private home can shed some light on the use of these effigies in the eighth through seventh centuries. For a more extensive discussion of Pillar Figurines see Wilson (2012). The destruction of this sacred site is dated to the invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE due to the abundance of arrowheads and sling stones found on the site as well as the consistency in the material culture, particularly ceramic pottery, with Lachish III (Borowski, 1995:152).

[110] Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) is the benchmark for dating several sites to the eighth century once their material culture is consistent with that of Lachish. The certainty of dating the destruction of Lachish during the invasion of Sennacherib is derived from reliefs found in Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh which details his 701BCE campaign in Judah.

result, the apparent decommissioning of what appear to be these sacred spaces, has often been attributed to the cultic reforms of Hezekiah as purported in the Books of Kings and Chronicles.

However, Edelman's assessment that the centralization of the cult of Yahweh in Jerusalem might not have been the work of Hezekiah is a very poignant one. In her assessment of the findings at Arad and the conclusions of archaeologists like Herzog she opined:

> The first explanation that springs to mind for the phenomenon of a buried temple is not cult reform or cult centralization. However, more logical explanations have rarely been explored because a ready answer has been seen by many to exist in the account of Hezekiah's cultic purge and centralization in 2 Kings 18-19 (2008:411).

She also highlighted the point that the Chronicler seemed to have gone to great extents to emphasize that Hezekiah's reform took place immediately after he assumed the throne. This approach by the Chronicler, she believed, was to eliminate the possibility that the reform took place after 701 BCE when a large portion of the Judah was not under Hezekiah's control. In effect, 'centralization occurred in Judah *de facto* after 701 BCE, when Hezekiah's domain was reduced to a rump kingdom that was probably confined to the immediate environs of Jerusalem' (2008:400).

Very little is known of Hezekiah's reign, post 701 BCE. Isaiah 36-39 for the purpose of this study cannot be utilized due to its association with 2 Kings 18:17-20:19. It is quite possible that Hezekiah's illness is an invention in the text to account for his limited activity after 701BCE in spite of his survival as king of Judah for another fifteen years. It can also be seen as a means of absolving him of any culpability, if he did survive for fifteen years after 701 BCE, since his reign would have overlapped with that of his son Manasseh (695-642). The

story of the Babylonian envoy is introduced into the text at this time to support the assertion

that Hezekiah was ill. However, the Babylonian envoy is really dated shortly after the death

of Sargon in 705 BCE and prior to the Assyrian invasion.

4.2.4   Judah in the Seventh Century: The Era of *Pax Assyriaca*

The decimation of cities and villages throughout Judah and the siege of Jerusalem at

the end of the eighth century meant the reinforcement of Judah's vassalage to Assyria which

would have implications for its development in the seventh century. Though the archaeology

and history of Judah is sparse for the period post 701 BCE to the late seventh century, it is

believed that this was a period of political stability and prosperity for Assyria and by extension

its vassals. According to Crouch:

> Assyrian domination continued with the reigns of Esarhaddon
> and Assurbanipal [680-632 BCE] …the phrase *pax Assyriaca* is
> often applied to this period intended as a description of the
> relative stabilization in the relationships between Assyria and its
> western vassals and the overall reduction in the political and
> military tumult of the region (2014:10).

This period of stabilization also meant greater assimilation of the previously insular Judah into

the Assyrian economy, as well as increased interaction with its neighbours. According to

Na'aman, "following *pax Assyriaca*…the kingdom opened its gates, and the material culture

found in sites all over Judah reflects its expanding contacts with the nearby regions" (2007:37).

4.2.4.1   Judah's Participation in the Assyrian Empire

a) Economic and Social Interaction

From its first official involvement in the Assyrian empire under Ahaz in 732 BCE, Judah had begun to show signs of growth not only demographically but economically as well. This was due mainly to the drastic changes in the region following the annexation of the kingdom of Israel into Assyria in 722 BCE. Jerusalem in particular would increase significantly following 701 BCE when it was left as one of the only major sites in the Levant not decimated by the Assyrians. Na'aman surmised the growth of Jerusalem in this way:

> The emerging picture is of a long, gradual process involving many factors, such as natural increase, the developing economy and commerce, internal migration to the kingdom's principal urban center offering economic potentialities, the immigration of many refugees seeking shelter within the fortified city following the Assyrian campaign to Judah in 701 B.C.E. (2007:27).[111]

Assyrian policy with regard to vassal states during the period of *pax Assyriaca* certainly was not to be intimately involved in the day to day management of the state. Vassal states were afforded a considerable degree of autonomy while being conscious that Assyria reserved the right to exercise force when deemed necessary, as was the case of Judah in 701 BCE.[112] This created a type of symbiosis which saw vassal states actively participating in the maintenance of Assyrian dominance in the region, in return for their own protection and ultimate prosperity. Such an arrangement meant that vassal states maintained peaceful relations not only with Assyria but among themselves as well, thus leading to economic growth.[113]

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[111] Na'aman (2007:27) convincingly argues that some Judahites may have fled to nearby Ekron as well. This he argued would have been permitted by the Assyrians since these were not annexed territories as Israel would have been in 722 BCE. See also Jamieson-Drake (1991) who opines that the prosperity of Judah which boomed in the seventh century would not have been possible without the vital role played by Jerusalem (p.146).

[112] Vassal states were bound by treaties demanding loyalty to Assyria. For further reading see Levinson (2010).

[113] See Thareani-Sussely (2007:75) who speaks to reduction of conflict between subordinate states during *pax Assyriaca* leading to the growth of Negev sites along the trade route from Transjordan to the southern coast and Egypt.

Judah's integration into the global economy, saw the development and growth of regions beyond Jerusalem.[114] One such region would have been the Beersheba Valley which, though it must have suffered some degree of damage during the Assyrian campaign of 701 BCE, was seemingly rebuilt shortly after perhaps even with the blessing of Assyria.[115] The Beersheba Valley was an integral part of the trade route from the Transjordan to Egypt and the Southern coast, and therefore its development would have been of paramount economic interest to Assyria. This region became one of the principal areas of Judean interaction with the 'world' and possibly a major point of cultural penetration. According to Thareani-Sussley,

> [It is] possible to determine that the Beersheba Valley developed as a clear semi-peripheral area, combining traits typical both of the periphery and of an economic and multi-cultural center. The Judean kingdom exploited the caravans passing through its area by protecting the road and establishing a settlement system along the trade route….the Judean elite enjoyed the imported luxury goods that came through the valley as well.
> The distinctive character of the region is seen in the ceramic assemblage and in the small finds; it is also reflected in the ethnic mosaic of social groups and nomads. The evidence points to a convergence of Judean administration and population, Assyrian trade and dominance, Arabian trade, and local nomadic groups with an Edomite orientation (2007:75).

This indicates that the Beersheba Valley was a key conduit of goods and possibly cultural influences from outside territories into Judah.[116]

Judah also played a major role in the olive oil industry in the period of *pax Assyriaca*.

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[114] Finkelstein and Silberman (2001: 264-70, 80) are of the view that during the reign of Manasseh, due to the integration of Judah in the Assyrian economy there was a strengthening of the centralized administration of the country, as well as population growth into the ecologically marginal regions of Judah.

[115] Thareani-Sussely is of the view that reconstruction of the Beersheba Valley took place shortly after 701 BCE in the days of Manasseh, "in continuous collaboration with the Assyrian empire" (2007:75).

[116] See Gitin (1995:61-79) which speaks to the impact of foreign cultural influences on Ekron and other Neo-Assyrian Vassal States.

With the rise of Ekron as a major economic power, Judah participated in the olive oil trade which yielded approximately 1000 metric tons annually.[117] This also cemented Judah's participation in the Assyrian empire during this period as Gertz et al. noted:

> In the 7th century, two Assyrian vassals appear to have cooperated in mutual interest: Judah supplied Ekron with raw materials and also perhaps with manpower. Thus, until the end of the Assyrian Empire, Judah remained a loyal vassal, with the result that the generations living under the reign of Manasseh (694-640 BCE) enjoyed a stable and prosperous period (2012:133).

Pax Assyriaca, one can deduce, thus saw the blossoming of Judah as integral part of the Assyrian global economy, heralding one of its most prosperous periods.

b) Political Interaction

i)   Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty/ The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon

One document that has survived from the period of *pax Assyriaca,* gives some insight into the nature of treaties between Assyria and its vassals. The treaty dates to 672 BCE during the reign of Esarhaddon and sets out the terms and conditions for his son Assurbanipal to assume the throne upon his death. In addition to the treaty issuing a threat against dissension in the royal family, as Levinson noted, it also "stipulates that those vassals who fail to maintain steadfast allegiance to the Assyrian monarch will be subject to a series of curses" (2010:339). This passage suggests that vassals would have been under threat against rebellion. Loyalty

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[117] See Gitin (1995:61-79).

oaths were standard between Assyria and its vassals and there was already a Neo-Assyrian treaty tradition, with which Judean scribes were familiar, as Levinson outlined:

> (1) already in the eighth century, Ahaz (735-715 B.C.E.) became a vassal to Assyria, so as to gain support during the Syro-Ephraimite war; Hezekiah (715-687) maintained that foreign policy; (2) the Assyrians normally appointed a *qēpu* or senior administrative official in the bureaucracy of their vassal states, who was responsible to the Assyrian monarch; and (3) a written copy (*tuppi adê*) of the loyalty oath that bound the treaty partners was normally provided to the vassal state (2010: 341).

Throughout the long seventh century, Judahite leadership was therefore under constant threat from their Assyrian overlord. Even more telling is the fact that Judahite leadership was subject to Assyrian authority and powerless to resist.

ii)   Provision of Military Assistance

Judah's participation in the Assyrian empire during the period of *pax Assyriaca* was not only via its incorporation into the global economy, but through political involvement as well. Pritchard suggests that Manasseh may have offered Assyria military and material assistance (1955:291, 294). Crouch's description of this phenomenon paints a very vivid picture of the extent of Judah's assimilation into the affairs of the Assyrian empire. She noted;

> Judah's direct interaction with Assyrian military outposts during the seventh century is indicated by, among other things, the inclusion of a Judahite troop contingent among the lists of troops provided by the southern Levantine vassal states for Ashurbanipal's Egyptian campaigns, implying the participation of Judahite military contingents on the battlefield alongside those from Assyria and elsewhere in the empire (2014:17).

Judahite troops fighting alongside Assyrian and other troops from the region would have had serious cultural and religious implications.

4.2.4.2　Possible Influence of Pax Assyriaca on Judahite Society

a) Cultural and Religious Influence

(i)　Pottery and Vessels from Phoenicia

The major gap in the archaeological material for the period *pax Assyriaca* has often presented an obstacle in ascertaining the demographic composition of Judah during this period as opposed to the period prior to 701 BCE. Already it has been argued by Na'aman that the population of Judah was predominantly Judahite for the latter portion of the eighth century. However, the lack of extensive archaeological or historical data concerning Judah in the seventh century, has made it difficult to ascertain its demography.

Singer-Avitz (2010) in a comprehensive assessment of a group of Phoenician vessels found at Tel Beersheba and dating to the late-eighth century, observed that:

> The Phoenician vessels, and those that imitate Phoenician vessels, are known only from Stratum II… Assyrian/Edomite ceramics and other objects already appear in Stratum III and continue into Stratum II (Singer-Avitz 1999)…therefore,…Stratum III (or at least the final stage of the stratum, represented by finds that have been retrieved) must have existed when Judah was included among the vassal states of the Assyrian Empire, was incorporated into the economic system and was under certain Assyrian/Edomite influence. Thus, the end of Stratum III could not be earlier than the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (2010:195).

This suggests that material culture that was Phoenician in style was present in Judah from the beginning, and throughout the long seventh century. What is even more telling is Singer-Avitz's assertion that:

> Most of the vessels from Tel Beersheba that were imported from Phoenicia or whose typological shape was influenced by Phoenician ceramic traditions are jars. Some were produced in Lebanese coastal cities. Others, apparently, were produced elsewhere – for instance on the Coastal Plain of Israel and in the Judahite Shephelah – although under the influence of Phoenician types (2010:194).

A picture emerges of cultural infiltration into Judah from Phoenicia to the point where Judahites were recreating Phoenician styled vessels in Judah or Phoenicians actually resided in Judah and were creating the vessels there. The latter would imply that Judah underwent some demographic change in the long seventh century which had a profound effect on its culture. However, Crouch (2014) in her analysis of Judah's interaction with its neighbours during the seventh century, makes a very valid point that material culture may not always point to demography but rather, can be an indicator of cultural penetration.[118] In assessing the relations between Judah and Phoenicia, Crouch noted;

> Phoenician cities were probably not a direct trading partner for Judah during the long seventh century and few if any Phoenicians were likely resident or present in Judah itself…an increased volume of Phoenicia-derived material traffic…contributes to a developing picture of a Judah exposed to outside influences in the long seventh century in a more sustained and significant way than previously experienced (2014:29).

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[118] For further reading see Crouch (2014: 45-47).

The external influence therefore, needs not be living amongst the population to transform it. Singer-Avitz's description of the nature of the trade which took place in the Beersheba Valley aptly conveys the imagery of the infusion of foreign influence in Judah via the trade. She wrote;

> Caravans functioned as intermediaries or agents by which the various goods were distributed to the settlements through which they passed. It seems reasonable that it was not the jars themselves that were traded, but rather their contents – perishables of which no traces remain (2010:195).

Though Singer-Avitz would have meant materials other than the jars were being traded, I extend it to suggest that foreign culture and influence were also being traded. I find it difficult to envisage interaction between two foreign cultures which does not result in the altering of ideological perspectives on both sides.

(ii)   Judean Pillar Figurines

The question that would naturally come to the fore considering the evidence of cultural penetration in Judah during the long seventh century and particularly its increased participation in the affairs of the Assyrian Empire during the period *pax Assyriaca* is; 'what impact, if any, did it have on the religious construct of Judah?' One distinctive feature of the eighth and seventh centuries in both Israel and Judah was the prevalence of Pillar Figurines. Mazar described this phenomenon in this way;

> Hundreds of clay figurines found in both Israel and Judah representing naked women are probably related to the popular cult of Asherah…In Judah, the figurines that were popular during the eighth and seventh centuries were more stylized. While the molded head was naturalistic, the body is depicted as a schematic pillar, perhaps the trunk of a tree, which symbolizes Asherah (2007:177).[119]

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[119] Wilson (2012:261) suggests that over 1000 of these figurines have been found with over half of the finds coming from Jerusalem. See also Kletter (2001:179-216) where he gives a detailed analysis of where the various figurines were found as well as their appearance.

There have been various opinions on what the figurines really represent and were used for. Kettler noted four possible uses that have been suggested; (i) a cult figure, (ii) a vehicle of magic, (iii) an initiation figure, or (iv) a toy (1996:82).

The general consensus has been that the JPFs represent a deity of some sort. Albright (1939) had linked the figurines with the Phoenician goddess of fertility, sexuality, and war; Astarte. Dever (1984) and Kletter (1996) identify them as Asherah. Dever substantiates this claim by pointing to biblical evidence. He argues that, "the Hebrew Bible contains some 40 veiled references to the cult of the old Canaanite fertility deity Asherah, consort of El at Ugarit" (1984:21).[120] While Meyers (2007) does not rule out the use of the JPFs as magical figurines used in rituals to represent an actual person, she also believes they could be representative of a deity. Which deity however, she argues, may not be discerned without the accompanying ritual texts (2007:121-122). I believe what we can say conclusively is that during the long seventh century, given the prevalence of JPFs and the views of many scholars on their significance, a female deity may have featured prominently either in the national life or private worship of many Judahites.

4.3 The Possible Social Construct of the Judahite Community During the Long Seventh Century

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[120] Wilson supports this view, suggesting that the biblical references to Asherah indicates that the goddess was known in Iron Age Judah (2012:267). Zevit suggests that if Asherah continued to function as a first-tier deity in the Iron Age, perhaps as Yahweh's consort, then the JPFs may be linked to her veneration and worship (2001:648-652). This corresponds to the possibility of poly-Yahwism and the inscriptions of 'Yahweh and His Asherah' at Kuntillet 'Ajrûd in the 8th century (Gertz et al., 2012:155)

With regard to the external social dynamics, the period in which the Book of Deuteronomy would have emerged was the period when Judah existed under the shadow of a very powerful Assyrian empire. Hallo (1999) Levinson (2001) have also investigated the influence of Assyrian literary genres on Biblical literature. However, as Dutcher-Walls noted, Otto (1999) has delved even further into the ideological, social and economic changes that came with Assyrian hegemony on Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomists, with regard to their perspectives on older laws and their willingness to reshape older laws to reflect the current reality (2002:610). To conduct her investigation Dutcher-Walls employed a social scientific method which explored the dynamics of the relationship between a dominant core state and the secondary periphery states on its borders. This model is referred to as the 'Core-Periphery Relations Theory'. This theory was developed by theorists interested in modern world systems (2002:611).

Leaning on the findings of Santley, Dutcher-Walls pointed out that this theory had several variations of the political and economic relationship between the core state and the peripheral states (2002:611). These she outlined were:

1   The Dendritic Political Economy where goods flow directly from the periphery to the core.[121]

2   The Hegemonic Empire in which the core dominates its periphery by military force but does not necessarily incorporate the peripheral states directly.

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[121] This system coins the term dendritic which is characteristic of the root system of some plants. Dendritic root systems are made up of several tentacles or dendrites which emanate from the central root. The effectiveness of this system is that the dendrites enable the plant to gather resources from a wider area. The dendrites do not exist for their own benefit but the benefit of the plant.

3   The Territorial Empire in which the peripheral state is incorporated into the political system of the core through direct conquest, military occupation and assimilation (2002:611).

It is important to note that a core state may employ all three of these variations at the same time on different periphery states. In the case of Judah, it would appear that the hegemonic model was the one employed during the late eighth and throughout the seventh century. At this time Judah was a vassal state which paid tribute to Assyria but at the same time it was not incorporated into the Assyrian empire and enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy politically and socially. In this regard Judah was relatively free to develop its own social identity even in the shadows of the dominant Assyrian empire. This reality Dutcher-Walls alluded to when she cautioned about the simplistic perception of core-periphery relationships. She wrote,

> an assumed pattern of domination and development in the core alongside passivity and underdevelopment on the periphery has proven much too simplified (2002:611).

Here Dutcher-Walls touches upon a key aspect of siege mentality. In spite of the external conditions, there is always a need to maintain stability within the group.

Though Judah in the seventh century under the leadership of Manasseh was a vassal state, given the extent of expansion and economic development that would have taken place under his leadership, one is left to conclude that he was a very popular king for the masses. However, it is seemingly the case in biblical literature that good politics is equivalent to bad religion. Hence, though Manasseh may have achieved a great deal politically and economically

by his willingness to assimilate Judah into the Assyrian economy, that would have created a religious crisis. It is this religious crisis, couched in the notion of identity, that would create the environment for siege beliefs to develop.

4.4 An Analysis of the Long Seventh Century for Factors that Foment Resistance Movements and Foster Siege Beliefs

In this section I will utilize the subheadings from chapter three, in as far as they are applicable, given that I will be applying 20th century concepts to an ancient text. When one considers the social construct of Judah as outlined above and its ethnic composition, a picture begins to emerge of a homogenous community in isolation that was suddenly impacted by the world. As has been demonstrated in the case studies presented, the nature of this impact and the response of leaders to the same can prove to be a determining factor in the fomenting of resistance movements and the fostering of siege beliefs. It is my belief that Judah was no different.

4.4.1 Globalization[122] and its Effects

The events of the long seventh century in as highlighted in this chapter reflect a very tumultuous period for Judah. While there was economic growth, there was also the loss of territory and assimilation by way of Judah's participation not only in the Assyrian economy, but in its politics as well. While there was relative peace, there was also the closure or

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[122] Though Globalization is a 20th century concept, I am using the term here to describe the impact of incorporation into the Assyrian global economy on a small nation state like Judah in the long seventh century.

abandonment of shrines. Whichever, theory one may choose for what happened to the shrines

does not negate the void their closure may have created in the lives of those who used them.

In addition to this, while the change in material culture may have been welcomed by some, one

can safely conclude that it wasn't by others. Judah would have experienced globalization and

all its possible effects; trade liberalization, cultural infiltration, financial liberalization,

inequality and state disintegration. It may not be possible to identify all of these in Judah but

that may have more to do with the lack of historical data, than the fact that they were indeed

extant.

4.4.1.1   Perceived Maltreatment of the Society by the World

Trade Liberalization

It would be utopian to believe that the entry of Judah into the Assyrian global economy

was smooth and would not have resulted in some disruption of the normative way of life for

some Judahites. After all, the Assyrians now had control over the production and distribution

of goods and would have done what was in the best interest of Assyria. As Crouch noted:

> The strategic destruction of specific sites and the reassignment
> of the Shephelah to Philistine control are…a deliberate
> refocusing of the region's economic activities around a site
> firmly under Assyrian control (2014:29).

The reassignment of the Shephelah to Philistine leadership and the oversight of the olive oil

industry by Assyria would have had a catastrophic effect on many in Judah. Small farmers and

land owners in the Shephelah would have found themselves disenfranchised by their new

status. In addition, with Assyria's interest in the olive oil industry, new technologies and

perhaps larger "foreign companies" may have been brought in to boost production.[123] Such an occurrence would have left many without the means to provide for their families and thus, stripped of their pride, as well as their patrimony.[124] This is fertile ground for the fomenting of violent extremism.

Financial Liberalization

Sandbrook and Romano (2004) in discussing financial liberalization, which they defined as the stipulations that can be put on a state by an external entity, cited the involvement of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and its demands on countries that may be experiencing economic difficulties. In the case of Judah in the long seventh century, certainly there was no IMF. However, Judah was subject to stipulations from an external entity by way of its vassalage to Assyria. A part of Assyrian policy as it relates to vassals was not only obedience and warnings against rebellion as is evident in the vassal treaty of Esarhaddon, but also the payment of tribute. It cannot be ascertained whether this tribute, which was usually in return for Assyria's protection against enemies, as was the case when Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-Pileser III, was a percentage of the vassal's annual returns or an arbitrary figure. What is certain however, is that it could be raised if the vassal was rebellious.[125] This was the case in 701 BCE

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[123] This may account for the prevalence of olive oil presses which were common to Samaria in the ninth century, in Judah towards the end of the eighth century.

[124] As was the case in India with the liberalization of the Soy Bean and Soy Oil industry, many small farmers were forced out of business, loss their properties and were forced to seek refuge in the slums of the city (See chapter 3).

[125] Submissive kings were praised by Assyria while those who were rebellious were punished. It seems that a part of Hezekiah's problem which led to the campaign against Judah and Jerusalem in 701 BCE was his active participation in a coalition which saw the deposition of Padi, the pro-Assyrian king of Ekron, by his own people. According to Sennacherib, "The officials, the patricians and the common people of Ekron–who had thrown Padi, their king, into fetters because he was loyal to his solemn oath sworn by the god Ashur, and had handed him over to Hezekiah, the Jew–and he [Hezekiah] held him in prison, unlawfully, as if he [Padi] be an enemy…" (Pritchard, 2008:156).

following Hezekiah's rebellion, as recorded by Sennacherib on a six-sided clay prism found at

Nineveh. According to Sennacherib:

> Because Hezekiah of Judah did not submit to my yoke, I laid siege to forty-six of his fortified cities,…The cities in Judah which I captured I gave to Mitinti, ruler of Ashdod, and to Padi, ruler of Ekron, and to Sillibel, ruler of Gaza…and I also increased Hezekiah's annual tribute payment (Matthews and Benjamin, 1997:178-179).[126]

This incident is corroborated in the book of Kings which paints an even more dismal picture

than the Assyrian account.   In the account of 2 Kings 18, Hezekiah admits his guilt to the King

of Assyria and pledges that he will accept whatever punishment is imposed (vs.14). When the

tribute was imposed, the debilitating economic condition of Judah is revealed by Hezekiah

cleaning the temple and the treasuries of the king's house of all the silver and stripping the gold

from the doors and doorposts of the temple (vs. 15-16).[127]

Whether one accepts the account of 2 Kings to be true or not, what can be concluded is

that in 701 BCE, Judah found itself in a dire economic and social condition, with a levy

imposed by a foreign power, and a king too weak to resist the external force, and too powerless

to assist his people. Such conditions provide the space for opposition movements to emerge

gaining mass appeal by presenting the regime as incompetent. Financial liberalization as it

would have presented itself in the long seventh century by Judah having to pay an annual tribute

to Assyria, and in the case of the extenuating circumstance in which Hezekiah found himself

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[126] See also Pritchard (2008:157). The inscription from Sennacherib went on to describe the tribute that was exacted from Hezekiah at the time. It read, "He was forced to send me four-hundred twenty pounds (Akkadian: thirty talents) of gold, eleven-thousand two-hundred pounds (Akkadian: eight-hundred talents) of silver, precious stones, couches and chairs inlaid with ivory, elephant hides, ebony wood, box wood, and all kinds of valuable treasures, his daughters, concubines, and male and female musicians" (Matthews and Benjamin, 1997:179).

[127] The only discrepancy between the Sennacherib account and that of 2 Kings 18 is in the amount of silver exacted. In Sennacherib's account it says eight-hundred talents, whereas in 2 Kings it says three-hundred talents.

defeated and powerless, could have given rise to conditions which can cause resistance movements and anti-regime sentiments to foment.

Inequality

A likely consequence of trade liberalization and financial liberalization is inequality between groups within the society. It would not be implausible to argue that this would have occurred in Judah during the long seventh century. However, in the absence of empirical evidence to substantiate such an argument one can only postulate that like most societies Judah would have been stratified on the basis of class. Dutcher-Walls, who conducted a study on the social construct of Judah during the long seventh century, is of the opinion that the societal type that fits ancient Israel is that of a pre-industrial type society marked by advanced agricultural technology but no industrialization (1991:80). Lenski, who earlier would have conducted a study of agrarian societies, is of the view that in such societies, "the unequal distribution of power, privilege, and honor arises from their political systems" (1966:210). The social stratification of Judah in the long seventh century would have reflected a social pyramid in which there is a disproportionately larger base in comparison to its apex, thus giving rise to distinct social inequality.[128]

Given the social construct of Judah, described by Lenski and Dutcher-Walls, it is conceivable that:

i)   with the loss of the Shephelah, which would have led to the displacement of some

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[128] For a detailed description of the class structure in Judah during the long seventh century see Dutcher-Walls (1991).

people and the loss of revenue for the state, along with

ii)   the interest of Assyria in the economy of Judah with the restructuring of the olive oil industry, centering it at Ekron possibly leading to the disenfranchisement of some small olive oil farmers in preference for larger technologically advanced operations and,

iii)   with Judah's vassalage requiring that much needed resources of the state be channeled to Assyria;

the distribution of the limited resources of the state would have been carried out on the basis of the class stratification. Hence, economic disparity would have resulted between the elites and those at the lower levels of the community. Such disparity could have created the space for intergroup conflict especially in instances where the elites appear to be complicit with external forces.

Cultural Globalization

One of the key points introduced by Sandbrook and Romano (2004) in their study of Egypt and Mauritius was the fact that the impact of globalization was not only economic but could take a form of cultural and ideological infiltration which posed a threat to the very way of life of the target group. Judah during the long seventh century was susceptible to such infiltration at the level of culture, politics and religion.

At the level of culture, the Arabian trade route passing through Beer-Sheba rendered that region an inlet for foreign culture and influence. Though no historical documents exist to describe the impact this interaction would have had on Judah, it would be unrealistic to deny there would have been any. What the archaeology of the period does suggest is that there was

a prevalence of Phoenician pottery in Judah, though the population would have been predominantly Judahite. This suggests that the material culture of Phoenicia was impacting Judah. What is lost to us is whether it was the pottery itself to which Judahites would have been attracted, or if the contents of the vessels were just as, or even more impactful on the culture of Judah.

The politics of Judah would also have undergone a seismic shift particularly during the period of *pax Assyriaca* as Manasseh adopted the political posture of a loyal vassal and immersed Judah fully into the political life of the Assyrian empire. Judahite forces, fighting Assyrian causes, alongside other citizens of the Assyrian empire, presented a diversity of cultures and norms which provided opportunity for ideological infiltration. Likewise, the threatening language of Assyrian Vassal Treaties, as exemplified by the Vassal Treaty of Esarhaddon, served as a constant reminder of who was in control.

The religious life of Judah was not exempt from the impact of globalization during the long seventh century. The closure of shrines whether by commission or by way of destruction, would have had a negative impact on at least some of those who used them. In addition to the closure of shrines, perhaps the major religious impact of globalization on the Judahite populace would have come in the form of the upsurge in the prevalence of Judean Pillar Figurines during the eight and seventh centuries. Wilson seeks to explain this phenomenon in this way:

> The figurines and their abundance in late Iron Age Judah…should be understood as a part of a Levantine cultural discourse: the apparent popularity of JPFs marked a Judean attempt to maintain ethnic identity in the face of Assyrian imperialism (2012:261).

Wilson comes to this conclusion on the basis that the JPFs had predominantly solid bases while those from other territories had mainly hollow bases. While Wilson sees this difference in design as an identity marker, I see it as perhaps a mere consequence of technology.[129] I believe that the prevalence of JPFs in Judah has less to do with design and more to do with what they represented. Contrary to Douglas' view, JPFs may not have been an indicator of the desire of Judahites to distinguish themselves from others, but rather, an indication of Judah's assimilation into the Assyrian empire. The crude construction of JPFs suggest that their existence was less about form and more about substance: what they represented.

In addition, the find patterns as presented by Kletter (1996) can assist in discerning the true purpose of JPFs. Most of the JPFs were found in and around Jerusalem, which was the urban center of Judah in the seventh century following the destruction of Lachish during Sennacherib's campaign of 701 BCE. Urban centers are usually the places where cultural penetration can have greatest effect and be given best expression, whereas rural communities tend to be conservative and hold more closely to traditions. In our studies both of Egypt and Albania, it is the rural populations with whom the notions of claims to the land and patrimony resonated.[130] Though, cognizant of the inexactitude of archaeology, given the high density of JPFs in urban Judah as compared with the rural areas, I submit that JPFs were an element of cultural globalization which infiltrated Judah during the long seventh century and became widely accepted by the more liberal urban population, but rejected by the more conservative rural populations.

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[129] The Phoenicians were well advanced in the art of pottery making and would have developed the technology to create the hollow based figurines while Judah may not have.

[130] In Albania, Enver Hoxha's speeches focused heavily on claims to the land and patrimony which would have resonated with the rural tribal communities which were allowed to practice their ancestral way of life and maintain their religion.

Cultural globalization at the level of culture (material or ideological), politics or religion threatens the way of life of some in the community and can lead them to believe that their way of life can be lost if not robustly defended, and hence, resistance groups can be formed. Judah during the long seventh century, based on my findings, would have experienced the effects of cultural globalization at these three levels, thus creating the propensity for the formation of resistance movements not dissimilar to what Barber described as, "moral preservationists [who]…make war on the present to secure a future more like the past: depluralized, monocultural, unskepticized, reenchanted" (1996:215).

4.4.1.2   Leadership as a Causative Factor of Siege Mentality

State Disintegration

State disintegration speaks to the effectiveness of leaders to strike the balance between mitigating the fallout from the other effects of globalization, thus maintaining legitimacy, and the ability of the leadership to remain relevant in the face of its perceived obeisance to imperialism.

The events of the long seventh century suggest that Judah would have experienced monumental changes in its economic, political, and social conditions. Such a disposition would have placed immense pressure on the leadership to provide that which it could not adequately provide, and thus would have created the opportunity for critics to link the leadership to the hardship being experienced, by portraying it as being in collusion with the external forces.

Little is known of Manasseh's leadership other than that he was a loyal vassal to Assyria. However, notwithstanding Thareani-Sussely's description of Manasseh as the "invisible king" (2007:75), I believe our case studies of Egypt and Albania as well as our synopsis of the long seventh century can give a glimpse into the reign of Manasseh in response to this aspect of globalization.

The reign of Manasseh in Judah could be compared to the Zogu years in Albania with relation to its submission to foreign powers, and the Nasser through Mubarak period in Egypt, based on the liberal posture of those leaders to the world. It must be noted however, that though these regimes were both submissive and liberal respectively, where their interaction with the world was concerned, they were quite suppressive in their own territories. For example, in the case studies outlined in chapter three, in the face of threats to identity, movements with claims to the land and the desire to return to a glorious past usually emerge. In the case of Egypt, it was the Muslim Brotherhood with its desire to return to Sha'ria Law. Similarly, in the case of Albania, the Albanian Communist Party embraced the belief in a "capitalist-revisionist blockade and encirclement" and thus the resolve to protect their territory from foreign invasion, bolstered their siege beliefs.

Though we cannot identify the composition of this resistance movement in Judah during the 7th century, like the Muslim Brotherhood and the Albanian Communist Party, this group must have been determined to avoid what it perceived to be the certain demise of their way of life in the face of imperialism, globalization and liberalization embraced by the policies of a regime that had become 'foreign'. Not dissimilar to the reactions of the Zog regime in Albania and successive regimes in Egypt, it is reasonable to believe that Manasseh would have

suppressed political dissidents. This illumines Josephus's charge that Manasseh slaughtered the prophets and filled Jerusalem with blood.[131]

4.5   Conclusion

This brief investigation of the long seventh century has revealed a period of rapid transition for Judah and its inhabitants. Judah in the long seventh century, particularly in the aftermath of 701 BCE, would have found large portions of the population displaced, territory lost thus reducing productive space, some citizens disenfranchised due to Assyrian control of the olive oil industry, a regime burdened with an increased levy to Assyria, a growing disparity between the elites and the lower strata in the community, the purity of its religion under threat, and leadership seemingly either powerless against, or complicit with, the external forces. Such adverse circumstances have the propensity to foment resistance movements and foster siege beliefs.

A likely scenario is that a resistance movement with claims to the land and a strong sense of identity developed during the long seventh century, honed its message, propagated it amongst those segments of the community with which it would best resonate. What emerged as the Book of Deuteronomy would be the manifesto of this resistance movement once it took the reins of government. Though the emergence of a resistance movement in Judah cannot be

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[131] Josephus suggests that, "[Manasseh] barbarously slew all the righteous men that were among the Hebrews; nor would he spare the prophets, for he every day slew some of them, till Jerusalem was overflown with blood" (Whiston, 1987:269). Mubarak in Egypt, though he was seen as liberal by the Muslim Brotherhood, jailed political dissidents and opponents. This aspect of the passage may well be likened to the phenomenon found in our case study of Egypt and Mauritius. The juxtaposition of the Hezekiah period with subsequent reigns may well represent an ongoing debate surrounding Deuteronomism. In the case of Egypt, the Mubarak regime found itself in an ideological battle with the Muslim Brotherhood over who was more Islamic. A similar thing may be taking place in the text concerning who is more Deuteronomic.

substantiated by any historical evidence, there is the example of the ousting of Padi, the King of Ekron, by his own people because of his submission to Assyria. It is possible that there were resistance movements throughout the Assyrian Empire; Judah may have been no different.

Based on this brief synopsis of the archaeology and politics of the long seventh century, and given the congruence of these findings with the case studies of Egypt and Albania, a pre-exilic dating for the setting of Deuteronomy cannot be ruled out. In fact, given the findings of this thesis that the book of Deuteronomy contains siege beliefs and is likely to have emerged from the pen of writer with siege mentality, a pre-exilic dating for the text may prove to be the most plausible of all the possibilities proffered.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY FOR EVIDENCE OF THE SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL INCULCATION AND TRANSMISSION OF SIEGE BELIEFS: MEMORY AND PEDAGOGY IN THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

5.1   Introduction

One of the key requisites for siege beliefs to take root in a group is for that group to have a collective identity be it ethnic, national, religious, ideological or a combination of two or more of those attributes. The case study of Judah during the long seventh century presents such a community which was ethnically homogenous with strong claims to the land given its long existence in isolation, being buffered by its northern neighbour Israel.

Similarly, one of the mechanisms employed by entities seeking to create a collective identity is that of first seeking to foster a collective memory by referring to aspects of the past that a group may have in common, or even creating a narrative of a past for the present group. In this way parameters are set to distinguish insiders from outsiders.[132] There are several means by which the past can be utilized to foster a collective memory, and thereby develop a collective identity which more easily facilitates the inculcation of siege beliefs in a group.

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[132] According to Esler, "Models of phenomena such as identity, ethnicity, religion, sect, kinship, time, honor and shame, patron and client, collective memory and so on allow us to interrogate these issues in biblical texts in helpful and socially important ways" (2006:4).

Three ways in which a collective memory can be engendered, which may be interconnected, are by referencing an event or creating a narrative about:

i)   a period in the group's past, to relate it to a present occurrence.

ii)   the maltreatment of the group in the past or to an oppressive past.

iii)   a heroic figure (leader) from the past.[133]

Methodology

My investigation will be conducted by first isolating the means of fostering a collective memory, looking at the passages in Deuteronomy which utilize these three aspects of fostering collective memory. With the means of fostering a collective memory being identified, I will then analyse the text for modes of transmission, and evidence of the effects of siege mentality. Here I will investigate on the basis of the five consequences/effects of siege mentality outlined by Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a: 264-269), namely:

i)   Development of Negative Attitudes

ii)   Development of Mistrust

iii)   Development of Sensitivity

iv)   Pressure Toward Conformity

v)   Self-Protection and Self Reliance

Though Deuteronomy is an ancient text and our analysis of the long seventh century is based on relatively sparse historical data, I believe there are enough similarities to apply Bar-Tal and Antebi's model of siege mentality to the text and the case study of Judah. Our analysis

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[133] See Edelman and Ben Zvi (2013); Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992a);

will reveal that the long seventh century was a period conducive to the fomenting of the siege beliefs present in the book of Deuteronomy.

The three means of fostering a collective memory identified can be given expression through various modes of transmission. The modes of transmission are the means by which memories can be passed on from generation to generation and given expression in ways which can readily be comprehended and accessed by the group. The past events serve as a rallying point for the current community either to be mobilized into action or to be wary 'lest they forget' the implications of current actions. The events of the past be they positive or negative, create the opportunity to engender a collective memory amongst members of the group, which can lead to the development of a collective identity. As Dessí[134] rightly noted:

> Memory plays a crucial role in the transmission of cultural and national identity. In every society and every country, the collective memory transmitted to the young by the older generation, through a variety of channels (e.g., school textbooks, the media, monuments and commemorative rituals), influences their perception of their cultural identity and values, and their willingness to invest in them–with major economic as well as political and social consequences (2008:534).

I have already investigated how the media both electronic and printed were able, by way of transmission of the collective experiences of the group, to inculcate siege beliefs in Albania under the Communist Party. Quite similarly, we have seen how current day Israel has been able to build a national identity around experiences of Jewish communities of the

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[134] Roberta Dessí is an associate Professor at the Toulouse School of Economics. In this article she investigated the role that memory can play in the investment opportunities pursued by younger generations of a particular group. She noticed a correlation between the collective memory of a group and the investment options members chose.

past. The events of the past utilized by those who have engineered Israel's current siege mentality have primarily been the Masada episode and the Holocaust. According to Bar-Tal and Antebi:

> Years of history taught the Jews about the world's hostility and hatred. In almost every part of the world where they lived, Jews received, in different ways, the same message of rejection, animosity and estrangement. It is thus not surprising that Jews absorbed this message in their tradition. Generation after generation was reared on its basis and maintained it as one of the central tenets of their repertoire. In the present century [i.e. 20th century], with the return of the Jews to their homeland and the establishment of the State of Israel, the beliefs of siege mentality were integrated into the evolving national ethos. The literature, the books, media commentaries and leaders' expression inculcate them and help to maintain their accessibility (1992a:255).

In this chapter I will be using the model of siege mentality which has been formulated and tested using contemporary examples, and applying it to an ancient text. This would not be the first study that seeks to utilize modern theories to make inferences about the intent of ancient texts and their subsequent influence on contemporary communities. Gideon Aran of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and Ron Hassner of the Department of Political Science at the University of California have collaborated using the tools of their respective disciplines to investigate the influence of biblical passages on the psyche of Jewish people with special emphasis on acts of violence. While acknowledging that the Hebrew Bible contained wonderful examples of "anti-violent themes, humanist ideals and idyllic peace and justice", Aran and Hassner also noted that it is a "remarkably militant text" (2013:367). In making their point that the Hebrew Bible is the fundamental text which sanctions Jewish violence, Aran and Hassner wrote:

Violence is evident in the image of God, his treatment of humanity, the manner in which he demands to be worshipped, and the rules he sets forth for social control. Violence is also apparent in the chronicles of the Israelites, replete with war, genocide, and internecine conflict, as well as in prophecies that envision a turbulent end of times.

The violence inherent in the Hebrew image of God is particularly significant, since the divine serves as a model for human emulation (*imitatio dei).* The Hebrew God is the Lord of Hosts, vengeful and militant. He ruthlessly kills individuals, annihilates groups, and punishes humanity with plagues, brutal wars, and natural disasters. He also commands killing on a chauvinist basis: His chosen people are instructed to implement his fury against inferior peoples that are accursed from the moment of their inception, like the Ishmaelites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites (2013:367).

This observation is very instructive, as it identifies the god of the Hebrew Bible as the possible author of their siege beliefs.[135] Hence, the biblical text which instructs the community about this God and his requirements, shapes what the community believes and does. Aran and Hassner summed it up in this way:

[The Hebrew Bible] narrates where the group comes from and where it is heading, its roots and destiny. Consequently, it defines its collective identity and marks its collective boundaries [so much so that]… groups of religious and secular nationalists regard themselves as successors of the Biblical legacy (2013:370).

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[135] This must be understood within the context of what Bar-Tal and Antebi identified as the consequences of siege mentality where the community develops a sense of superiority and chauvinism which leads it to believe that it can act unilaterally with no regard to the effects those actions may have on others. This aspect of being 'chosen' and set apart from 'inferiors' while contributing to the group's collective identity can also foster siege mentality.

The authors affirm the prior claim of Sand who was indeed right in saying that "the Biblical stories function as mytho-history: a narrative recounting significant past events that a group tells itself about itself" (cited in Aran and Hassner, 2013: 370). The Biblical tradition by its presentation of the people of Israel as being superior, may well serve as a basis of contemporary Israeli siege beliefs and actions, such as claims to the land and the justification in conducting war against the Arabs.

Having established that the Biblical text is possibly a rich resource for siege beliefs in subsequent generations of readers and indeed is deemed foundational for the siege mentality of Jewish people in several generations, then it should be possible to identify indicators of siege mentality in the text. Is the Book of Deuteronomy written from the perspective of siege mentality and does it seek to enforce or reinforce siege beliefs?

5.2   Collective Memory in the Book of Deuteronomy

Though little can be said with any degree of certainty concerning the nature of the Deuteronomic community[136]; whether it was concerned with developing a national identity or an ethnic identity as suggested by Crouch (2014), what we can assert with a considerable level of certainty is that the community would have had a past. Any discussion on memory, therefore, automatically evokes some reflection on the past and by extension, tradition.

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[136] Here we refer to the author and the community to whom he is writing.

Perhaps, Aran and Hassner's (2013) discussion on Tradition vs. Traditionalism can offer some insight into the connection of these two with memory. They wrote:

> Tradition, including religious tradition, is a reservoir of ideas and symbols, information and moods, handed down from generation to generation and stored in written and oral texts or objects, available for contemporary cultural, social, and political use. Past tradition is not just a fixed rigid body, a fossil, imposing itself on passive consumers of tradition. It is a vital and open-ended organism that lends itself to a wide variety of understandings and manipulations (2013:365).

In essence, the various components of what Aran and Hassner have described as tradition concur with what Zald had referred to as "'cultural tool-kits'- dominant symbols, myths, historical memories, and attitudes" (1996; Cf.).[137] Gavriely-Nuri also alluded to this phenomenon when she coined the term *cultural code* which she described as:

> a *compact package* of shared values, norms, ethos and social beliefs; …can appear as inter alia, a historical event that members of the community are well familiar with, as a geographical site or a national hero (or heroine) to which the community ascribe a special added value (2013:52). [emphasis original]

For the purpose of this study we will employ the terminology 'site of memory'.[138] It is my intention for the writers of Deuteronomy to be regarded as contemporary users of the tradition of their time. In this way, though they would have been creating a document that

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[137] See Sandbrook and Romano, (2004:1015).
[138] This is a term coined by Pierre Nora which he described as celebrations, monuments and commemorations, but also speeches, archives, dictionaries, and museums (1984:11)

would later become a part of a tradition, they were in essence traditionalists utilizing the tradition extant at the time. According to Aran and Hassner;

> Contemporary users of tradition are not traditional but traditionalist, which means they can view tradition from a self-conscious, voluntary, selective, adjustive, and creative stance. The traditionalist project confronts tradition with an attitude that ranges from conservation to innovation. Naturally, the traditionalists who harness tradition to achieve their objectives tend to repudiate its inventive and adaptable nature and have uncompromising pretentions of faithfully returning the present to what they grasp as the authentic representation of the past (2013:365-366).

To this end, it is not an over ambitious pursuit to seek not only the means of transmission but the effects of siege mentality in the Book of Deuteronomy.

Collective memory is predicated on the past events which may be referenced by group members to relate to their present circumstances. Methodologically, in analyzing the modes of transmission of siege mentality in the Book of Deuteronomy, given the possible nature of the text as a work by traditionalists reflecting upon a tradition, it is reasonable to expect that the appeal to collective memory would be fostered on the basis of references to past heroic events and maltreatment of the community. The passages deemed to be engendering collective memory would be identified by highlighting what I perceive to be "pointer words and phrases".[139]

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[139] Here I am borrowing the term pointer as it is used in the discipline of information technology. In information technology, a pointer is a variable that holds the address of a core storage location. The Free Dictionary by Ferlax; http://www.thefreedictionary.com/pointer. Retrieved January 17, 2017.

In the context of the book of Deuteronomy, the pointer words and phrases are those which seek to point the minds of the readers to passages in the text which make reference to specific past events either with the intent of recollection or warning. Deuteronomy seems to contain a relatively high frequency of such words and phrases. An etymological study is first carried out on the words and phrases identified and then an analysis of their usage in the text is conducted.

5.3   Pointer Words and Phrases in the Book of Deuteronomy

Even the casual reader of the Book of Deuteronomy may have at least noticed the number of times some key words and phrases occur in the text. Weinfeld was one of the first persons to notice this peculiarity in the book when he included an extensive appendix on what he deemed to be Deuteronomic phraseology in his work, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*. He qualified the designation of Deuteronomic phraseology as being "only those recurrent phrases that express the essence of the theology of Deuteronomy" (1972:3). He opined that Deuteronomic phraseology was born out of the context of the community from which they emerged and therefore revolved around certain basic theological tenets.[140]

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[140] Weinfeld identified these basic tenets as: (i) the struggles against idolatry, (ii) the centralization of the cult (iii) Exodus, covenant and election, (iv) the monotheistic creed, (v) observance of law and loyalty to covenant, (vi) inheritance in the Lord, (vii) Retribution and material motivation, (viii) Fulfilment of prophecy, (ix) The election of the Davidic Dynasty (1972:1).

Not dissimilar to Weinfeld, I have identified certain words and phrases recurrent in the book of Deuteronomy which point not merely to its theology but what I believe to be its intent. In the book of Deuteronomy, the pointer words and phrases are strategically placed to attract the attention of the hearers or readers to passages which seek to cultivate a collective memory for the community for whom the text would have been written.

In the case of Deuteronomy there are some salient points that must be made. First, the book's setting in the plains of Moab ought not be read as a historic allusion but a psychological aid. Stemming from this first point is the second, that the very setting of the book gives us an idea of the 'cultural tool-kits 'or 'cultural codes' that the writer(s) may be seeking to employ to engender a collective memory and by extension a collective identity. The plains of Moab serve as a transitional point not only physically but more importantly psychologically, for the community for whom the book was written. Psychologically, it speaks to the freedom and prosperity which can be had in the promised land which is ahead of them, but behind them are the 'memories' of the oppression of bondage in Egypt, the harshness of the wilderness and the might and providence of God who had brought them thus far.

The writer's community is made a part of the experience psychologically and is therefore conditioned to see their current condition as a transitory one where, the freedom and prosperity of what would equate to the 'promised land' in their time, is very much dependent upon their memories of Egypt, the wilderness and the power of God exhibited in the past, real or constructed, which the writer would have them embrace. The plains of Moab is thus a

mindscape to which readers in any epoch of time can journey as a means of effectively

assessing the past as a means of forging the future. It is therefore an orienting phrase which

lays the template for the overarching message of the book which is born out in the recurrence

of the pointer words and phrases.

(i)   Remember זכר

זכר is variously translated 'remember' or 'call to mind' occurs 168 times in the

Tanakh, 14 of which are in the Book of Deuteronomy (5:15, 7:18, 8:2, 8:18, 9:7, 9:27, 15:15,

16:3, 16:12, 24:9, 24:18, 24:22, 25:17, and 32:7) all in the qal. This prevalence is second

only to the Book of Psalms where it occurs 25 times. The Book of Deuteronomy therefore

stands out as a prominent source that calls the community to remember. This would not be a

very telling statistic if it did not occur alongside some other telling words and phrases as well.

The call to remember emphasizes the psychological landscape at the plains of Moab which

establishes the setting of the text. Botterweck and Ringgren also allude to the psychological

significance of זכר by noting that its semantic content includes mindful acceptance.

According to Botterweck and Ringgren;

> It is possible to define the verb's (*i.e. zkr)* semantic content more
> precisely, because it frequently appears in combination with
> certain other verbs. Just as it is itself, when negated, the
> commonest expression for "forget," we frequently find
> alongside statements about remembering the phrase *lo shakhach,*
> "not forget": Gen.40:23; Dt. 8:18f.; 9:7; 1S. 1:11; Isa. 17:10;

54:4; Ps. 9:13 (Eng. V. 12); 74:18f., 22f.; 77:4(3); Job 11:16; 24:20 (niphal); Prov. 3:17. Such parallelism shows that *zakhar* denotes the presence and acceptance of something in the mind (1980:65).

Botterweck and Ringgren in this passage actually emphasize the concept of psychological mindscapes as presented by Ben Zvi and Edelman, by drawing attention to the psychological importance of the verb זכר *zkr* by asserting that its semantic content includes mindful acceptance.

(ii)   Forget שכח

This word שכח occurs 52 times in the *Tanakh,* 9 of which are in the Book of Deuteronomy (4:9, 4:23, 4:31, 6:12, 8:11, 8:14, 8:19, 9:7, and 25:19). As in the case of זכר only the Book of Psalms has more occurrences; 20, with 7 of those in Psalm 119 alone. What is noteworthy about the use of this word is its context, is that each time it occurs, it is as a warning 'not to forget' or 'if you forget' there will be consequences.

(iii)   Take care/ heed שמר

This verb occurs 3 times alongside other pointer words and phrases in the Book of Deuteronomy (4:9, 6:12, and 8:11) where it conveys the sense of a warning to the community. Each time it occurs, it does so along with שכח thus implying a double warning.

Miller is of the opinion that the language of 'take care/ heed' is linked to the language of 'hear' שמע. He noted:

> The language of the *shema* as well as the prologue of the Ten Commandments and the first two commandments appear frequently (e.g. 6:12-15; 7:8-10, 16b, 19b; 8:11, 15, 19; 9:1; 10:12-13; 11:1, 13, 16, 18-22, 28b; 13:2-5, 6, 10, 13; 18:9; 26:16-17; 29:26; 30:2b, 6, 8, 10, 16-17) (1990:98).

This would suggest that there is a deliberate attempt by the writer of the book to capture the attention of its readers. It does not mean however, that this prevalence of שמע indicates additional pointer words. The designation of pointer words and phrases is reserved only for those words and phrases that call the community to remember and therefore can be construed to be seeking to foster collective memory. It is when שמע is linked to other pointer words and phrases that it satisfies this criterion.

(iv)   Know ידע

There is another word that some translators have translated 'remember' (NRSV) but rightly means 'to know', 'perceive', 'understand' or 'be aware of'. In essence it means to make something which might not have been known, known. ידע occurs 6 times in the book of Deuteronomy (4:39, 7:9, 8:5, 9:3, 9:6 and 11:2). It seems to call on those who know of something to divulge it to others. Within the context of Deuteronomy this understanding readily raises red flags since no one in the writer's community would have experienced the events which the writer(s) claims they 'know'. ידע suggests experiential knowledge which, as

mentioned earlier, is unknown to the community and therefore must represent an appeal to collective memory by speaking of the experiences of the past as though they were the experiences of the present community.

What we can deduce, based on the prevalence of these pointer words and phrases, is that the Book of Deuteronomy seems to be focused on linking the community of the writer's time with the experiences of the community of the past, however constructed that may be. This would seemingly be an effort to inculcate what Gavriely-Nuri referred to as a 'semantic memory' (2014:49). Collectively, on 32 occasions in the text the community is called to remember or share in past experiences. In using terms like זכר, ידע, שמר and שכח the writer of the text is seeking to shape 'events' of the past for the present community to create the psychological effect that they were all there. This is what Gavriely-Nuri would further suggest distinguishes *semantic memory* from *episodic memory*. As she pointed out;

> while *episodic memory* is derived from personally experienced events, *semantic memory* is based on general facts. *Semantic memory* includes generalized and structured knowledge that does not involve recall of a specific event. It refers to the memory of meanings, understandings and other concept-based knowledge unrelated to specific experiences, and as such, it is shared with others (2014:49). [emphasis original]

Collective Memory's metaphoric status, Nuri opined, is based on a vision of one mass entity (the "nation" or the "collection") having a common mind that contains common memories (2014:50). This one statement by Gavriely-Nuri I believe, best sums up one of the key functions of Deuteronomy. In the ensuing paragraphs, I will show how the language of

the book of Deuteronomy by way of alluding to past historical events, coupled with the recurring appeals to remembrance, seeks to foster a collective memory for the community for which it was written.

In proceeding I will utilize the methodology employed by Gavriely-Nuri in her analysis of Collective Memory in Israeli Prime Ministers Addresses (2013). Gavrieli-Nuri conducted her analysis in two stages:

(i)The context in which the speech was given **and**

(ii) The contents of the respective speeches.

Although the setting and possible date of Deuteronomy have already been identified as the 'long seventh century' it is still important to analyse the contents of the book independent of this postulation.[141] Accordingly, the analysis will proceed on the basis of the contents. However, Gavriely-Nuri's model is still useful since the contents can be dealt with on two levels: (i) the 'cultural code'/ site of memory being employed and (ii) the message that is being conveyed.

5.4   The Cultural Codes/ Sites of Memory in the Book of Deuteronomy

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[141] Chapter 4 presented an archaeological and historical synopsis of the period from the late eighth to seventh century BCE, what Crouch refers to as 'The Long Seventh Century' as the context for the book of Deuteronomy.

In this section of the study, the passages were first selected by identifying 'pointer words or phrases' that are linked to them. These are construed to be those passages that are seeking to foster collective memory. For the first portion of the analysis I will restrict the discussion to the 'sites of memory' that occur within the context of the passages containing the 'pointer words or phrases' identified. Here it must be borne in mind that שמר and שכח occur together hence, though there may be 32 references, there are really 26 passages.

Of the 26 passages identified, YHWH's deliverance of the people from Egypt and covenant are the most prevalent of the sites of memory; each occurring 7 times. The next most dominant are God's mercy and providence being linked to their heritage which occurs 5 times, and slavery in Egypt with its humanitarian appeal, which occur, 4 times. The wilderness experience rounds off the sites of memory, with that site occurring 3 times.

Table 5.1: The frequency of sites of memory in the passages seeking to foster collective memory in the Book of Deuteronomy.

'site of memory'	No. of times occurring	%
Deliverance from Egypt	7	27
Covenant	7	27
God's Mercy and Providence/heritage	5	19

Slavery in Egypt/humanitarian appeal	4	15
Wilderness Experiences	3	12
Total	**26**	**100**

It should be noted here that the passages which are listed as dealing with 'God's mercy and providence' actually reference geographical locales that fit into the memory landscape of the book. They are listed under this theme because each reference deals with a different locale, and though it may be argued that each ought to be listed as a separate category, what they share in common is the theme of God's Mercy and Providence.

Just over one-quarter, 27%, of the passages identified as those seeking to foster collective memory, have the deliverance from Egypt as the focal point. When we join the frequency of the focus on covenant and slavery in Egypt to the aforementioned statistic, the picture becomes even clearer. Over two-thirds, 69%, of the passages speak to those three sites of memory. Botterweck and Ringgren generally agree with this parsing as they too identify "the exodus from Egypt as the most common motif" (1980:67).

The data presented in Table 4.1 hints at the historical and psychological context of the community from which the text emerged. All of the sites of memory identified in Deuteronomy point to a period, and experiences in which the community was totally reliant upon YHWH. The underlying message of YHWH delivering his people from the yoke of

slavery, guiding them miraculously through the treacherous wilderness, providing for them in spite of their rebellious nature, making a covenant with them and ultimately guiding them to the land of promise, could be a powerful tool for a community undergoing oppression, in any epoch of time.[142]

5.5   The Socio-psychological Message of the Contents: Exploring the Sites of Memory in Deuteronomy

This section will investigate the message of those passages in the book that have been identified as sites of memory listed in the table above. It will be noticed that a particular passage may possess more than one site of memory as it is not unusual for one site of memory to be linked to others. This is only to be expected, since collective memory involves what Ben Zvi described as:

> a multivalent, shifting array of multiple 'sites of memory'
> [which] act as ciphers to be activated within a particular social
> discourse, and as places to be visited and revisited, even if only
> mentally, as part of a self-supportive mechanism of
> socialization and social reproduction (2013: xii).

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[142] In spite of the emerging body of scholarship that seeks to link the Egypt traditions with the Babylonian exile, it should be noted that this does not negate the existence or relevance of Egypt traditions for periods prior to and post the Babylonian exile. If the main basis for restricting the Egypt traditions to the exile is source criticism and the events of that time, then we may well be negating the possibility of oral transmission and the existence of myths or mytho-history prior to the exilic period, and the ability of the community to interpret and reinterpret its traditions in changing circumstances.

There is therefore a connectivity between the sites of memory which Ben Zvi further opined, "construct an ever-shifting memory landscape reflecting and shaping the collective memory of the group" (2013: lii).

Methodologically, stemming from the aforementioned point, some passages will not be dealt with under the sites of memory to which they apply, but will rather be dealt with under modes of transmission by means of rituals and ceremonies. Additionally, to analyze the text as a possible proponent of siege beliefs, I will show how the causes of siege mentality are embedded in the sites of memory.

5.5.1 Sites of Memory Relating to Past Events and Places

(i) *Covenant*

The passages which evoke the covenant as the principle site of memory can be found at Deuteronomy 4:9; 4:15; 4:23; 4:31; 8:11; 8:18; 8:19. It should be noted here that there are other sites of memory which may occur in these passages alongside covenant.

a) *Deuteronomy 4:9*

רק השמר לְ   ֗מֹר נַפְשְׁ מְאֹד פֶּן־תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר־רֲא עָנ   וְ־יֹ֖ס   מִלְּבָב כָּל יְמֵי חַיֶּ֑יָ
וְהוֹדַעְתָּם וְלִבְנֵי לְבָנֶי בָנ

"Only take heed, and diligently keep your soul, lest you forget the things which your eyes have seen, and lest they depart from your heart all the days of your life; make them known to your children and your children's children –"

This passage represents the beginning of a wide reflection which encompasses several experiences. Not only are the people called to bear in mind the marvelous theophany at Horeb, but they are also called to remember the covenant made there and ultimately God's mighty acts in their deliverance from Egypt. Horeb here serves as a place holder for covenant. Covenant does not automatically evoke memories of Horeb, because covenant as a site of memory may point to individuals such as Moses or Abraham or even events; however, Horeb automatically evokes memories of covenant.

I believe before we even examine the various cultural codes that present themselves in this passage, some attention ought to be paid to the semantics involved in the language used in the text. The writer is very crafty in warning the people to take heed/care and guard their desire/soul lest they forget what their eyes saw and lest they slip from their mind. However, knowing that the people to whom he was writing were not the generation that actually saw or experienced those things, he employs language that connotes a different cognitive experience. This verse uses two terms, namely; נפש (desire or soul) and לבב (heart) which suggest a deeper interpretation than the basic understanding of remembering or forgetting.

First נפש: Christensen, following the translation of his student Patricia Dutcher-Walls, translates it as *'soul-life'* (1991:80).

The attempt here to capture some of the intuitive psychological insight on the part of the ancient Hebrews. The "soul" is not to be understood as distinct from the "body." It is a recognition of profound depth in the human psyche (1991:80).

Youngblood, Bruce, and Harrison concur with this interpretation where they opine that the "word soul also refers to the inner life of a person, the seat of emotions and the center of human personality" (1995:1196).[143] The use of נפש is therefore a call to safeguard their identity; that which makes them who they are. Their unique experiences, 'what their eyes have seen' would have served to shape the identity of the members of the community; their inner selves.

Second: Davidson gave a broadened perspective of the Hebrew understanding of לבב where he noted: "to the heart is ascribed thought, reasoning, understanding, will, judgment, design, affection, love, hatred, courage, fear, joy, sorrow…" (1974:406). Christensen argues that it ought to be understood psychologically as well, such that the 'heart,' is not the physical organ in this context; but rather, the sense is 'mind' or 'memory' (1991:80).[144] Like נפש, לבב appeals to a deeper sense of identity. The heart/mind can be regarded as the center of cognition that processes 'what the eyes have seen' and constructs the identity of the soul. Perhaps Schroer and Staubli best summarised this concept when they noted:

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[143] Seidenberg (2015:354-356) likens *nephesh* "spirit" to denoting something metaphysical; Kittel, Hoffer, and Wright (2005:394) translate *nephesh* as living being, person or life.

[144] Kittel, Hoffer, and Wright (2005:396) translate *lebab* as heart, inner self, mind or will; Youngblood, Bruce, and Harrison describe the heart as the inner self that thinks, feels and decides…nearly all references to the heart in the Bible refer to some aspect of human personality…the thinking processes are said to be carried out by the heart. This intellectual activity corresponds to what would be called "mind" in English (1995: 548-549).

[A] significant shift in meaning takes place in many passages where the Hebrew word *lebab* is rendered "heart," since we primarily associate temperament and feelings with the "heart." The Hebrews linked the inner person, thought, reflection and aspiration with the heart and, thus, also what we call conscience. In the Shema Israel *lebab* and *nefeš* represent two aspects of the same person, namely one's capacity for reason and what Freud called the libido, two aspects, then, that only produce a whole together (2013:12).

This passage gives us a very salient example of how semantic memory can be a critical tool of collective memory. Embedded in the text are certain 'code words' which point directly to experiences that the writer would encourage the community to hold in common. For example, the mention of Horeb points directly to covenant which unlocks the cultural 'tool-kit' of associated memories which contains tools such as the Decalogue (with its prohibition of making graven images, or serving other gods), and the concept of election (the community being specially chosen from its inception). Hence, Horeb is presented as a part of a continuum which now persists in the writer's generation. They are therefore guardians of the covenant, and must then be careful that they do not forget. A break in the chain can have dire teleological consequences.

My discussion of this passage has been deliberately placed in this section specifically to make the link between deliverance from Egypt (the Exodus) and covenant. Though the passage in 4:9 speaks initially to the theophany at Horeb, it points back to the Exodus (vs.20). There is an intrinsic link between the Exodus and covenant which can easily be overlooked. The writer of Deuteronomy understood this link and sought to have it ingrained in the minds of the people. Deuteronomy 4:21 gives us the link. Having mentioned the deliverance from Egypt (vs.20) he employs another code word: land. This again unlocks the 'cultural tool-kit'

of covenant. The covenant with Abraham assured two benefits to him and his descendants,

depending on their obedience. The two benefits were that they were to be a great nation and

that YHWH would give them land.

b) *Deuteronomy 4:23*

הִשָּׁמְר֣וּ לָכֶ֗ם פֶּֽן־תִּשְׁכְּח֙וּ אֶת־בְּרִ֤ית יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹֽהֵיכֶ֔ם אֲשֶׁ֥ר כָּרַ֖ת עִמָּכֶ֑ם וַעֲשִׂיתֶ֨ם לָכֶ֥ם פֶּ֙סֶל֙ תְּמ֣וּנַ֣ת כֹּ֔ל אֲשֶׁ֥ר צִוְּ֖ךָ

יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶֽ

"Take heed to yourselves lest you forget the covenant of the Lord your God, which he made
with you, and make a graven image of anything which the Lord your God has forbidden
you."

c) *Deuteronomy 4:31*

כִּ֣י אֵ֤ל רַחוּם֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔ לֹ֥א יַרְפְּ֖ךָ וְלֹ֣א יַשְׁחִיתֶ֑ךָ וְלֹ֤א יִשְׁכַּח֙ אֶת־בְּרִ֣ית אֲבֹתֶ֔ אֲשֶׁ֥ר נִשְׁבַּ֖ע לָהֶֽם:

"For the Lord your God is merciful; he will not forsake you neither destroy you, nor forget
the covenant he swore to your fathers."

These passages emphasize the nature of the covenant relationship between God and

Israel. Having recounted God's mighty acts in the past on behalf of the people and sternly

warning them not to forget, the writer turns to the unwavering loyalty of God to the covenant.

The same Hebrew word זכר is used in relation to God but unlike the case of the people, God

does not have to be reminded to remember to keep his side of the covenant. The people are

constantly in his focus. Indeed, as Craigie noted, "His compassion lay in his continuing

readiness to receive his people back to himself, despite the fact that a breach of the covenant dissolved, in a legal sense, the commitment of God to his people" (1976:141).

Without emphasizing it actively, the writer is also encouraging the people to commit to their memory the compassionate nature and constancy of God in their lives. Thus, every generation which actively shares in the events of the past via the medium of memory also have the confidence of receiving the benefits to be derived therefrom – the assurance of the presence of God in their lives.

d) *Deuteronomy 8:2-20*

(i)   8:2

וְזָכַרְתָּ֣ אֶת־כָּל־הַדֶּ֗רֶךְ   אֲשֶׁ֨ר הֹלִֽיכֲךָ֜   יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֶ֛יךָ   זֶ֛ה   אַרְבָּעִ֥ים שָׁנָ֖ה בַּמִּדְבָּ֑ר לְמַ֨עַן עַנֹּֽתְךָ֜   לְנַסֹּֽתְךָ֗   לָדַ֤עַת אֶת־אֲשֶׁ֣ר בִּלְבָבְךָ֔   הֲתִשְׁמֹ֥ר מִצְוֺתָ֖ו   אִם־לֹֽא:

"And you shall remember all the way the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments, or not."

(ii)   8:5

וְיָדַעְתָּ֖ עִם־לְבָבֶ֑ךָ   כִּ֗י כַּאֲשֶׁ֨ר יְיַסֵּ֥ר אִישׁ֙ אֶת־בְּנ֔וֹ יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ   מְיַסְּרֶֽךָּ׃

"Know then that as a man disciplines his son, the Lord your God disciplines you."

(iii) 8:11

הִשָּׁ֣מֶר לְ   פֶּן־תִּשְׁכַּ֖ח אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֑יךָ   לְבִלְתִּ֨י שְׁמֹ֤ר מִצְ   יו   מִשְׁפָּטָ֣יו וְחֻקֹּתָ֔יו אֲשֶׁ֛ר   נֹכִ֥י מְצַ   ְךָ הַיֹּֽום:

"Take heed lest you forget the Lord your God, by not keeping his ordinances and his statutes, which I command you this day:"

(iv)   8:14

וְרָם לְבָבֶךָ וְשָׁכַחְתָּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ הַמּוֹצִיאֲךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים:

"Then your heart be lifted up and you forget the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage,"

(v) 8:19

וְהָיָה אִם־שָׁכֹחַ תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְהָלַכְתָּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וַעֲבַדְתָּם וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ לָהֶם הַעִדֹתִי בָכֶם הַיּוֹם כִּי אָבֹד תֹּאבֵדוּן

"And if you forget the Lord your God and go after other gods and serve them and worship them, I solemnly warn you this day that you shall surely perish."

There are several references to 'transmitter words and phrases' such as זכר, שמר and שכח in this portion of the text. There are also several sites of memory being referenced as well. The work of Craigie is useful for elucidating the siege mentality associations within the terminology used in these passages.

Though Deuteronomy 8:2 has been classified as being a passage having the wilderness as the site of memory, it will be analyzed as a part of the broader passage (8:2-20) because it is really a lead in to the other sites of memory extant in the passage and the ultimate message of loyalty to the covenant.

Craigie, building upon the seminal work of Lohfink (1965), approached the passage from the perspective of its structural morphology and identified what he perceived to be two "double-themes". These double-themes he noted to be, "a) "remember/forget"; b) "wilderness/promised land" which are closely interwoven, and lead eventually to the solemn warning in vv.17-20, which indicates the basic danger threatening the covenant faith" (1976:184).[145]   The central theme in this passage is covenant and is emphasized using other sites of memory. The general structure outlined by Craigie is as follows:

2-6:   *remember* the *wilderness* and God's presence there:

7-10:   God will bring his people into the *promised land:*

11-16: beware of *forgetting* God in the *promised land:*

       beware of forgetting God who was present in the *wilderness:*

17-20: beware of presumption: *remember* God, the source of strength:

       Do not *forget* God and follow other gods:

       forgetfulness leads to disaster: (1976:184).[emphasis original]

This passage probably provides the most panoramic perspective of the Deuteronomist's utilization of the past to explain the current state of the community and project the future hope. Craigie however cautions the reader that to truly understand what is

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[145] The centrality of covenant is also stressed by Lohfink (1965:76); Christensen (1991:174-176) where he argues that the danger of forgetting is a major theme of the passage as the people are reminded that power comes from YHWH because of the covenant made with their ancestors. See also Driver (1951:110); and Miller (1990:117).

being conveyed in this passage requires an appreciation for what he perceives to be the

Deuteronomist's understanding of history. According to Craigie,

> History in Ancient Israel, was not a scientific discipline; nor was it a search for the past provoked by antiquarian interests, or even a philosophical quest for self-understanding in the context of past events. History revealed what God had done for His people; it intimated His will. The role of history in Deuteronomy is related to this central point. First, history was utilized to evoke memory; second, history served to produce vision and anticipation. That is to say, history embraces both the past and the future, but is only critical for the present; memory of God's past course of action and anticipation of his future course of action provide the framework for the present commitment to God in the renewal of the covenant (1976:40).

Craigie's interpretation of the nature and use of history in ancient Israel is seemingly

not dissimilar to the use of history in present Israel as was highlighted earlier in the reference

to semantic memory as a medium of evoking collective memory.

The second note on the use of history is equally important in the sense that it provides

a continuum which links the present to the past, and projects the future based on that

relationship. Likewise, not dissimilar with the intended effect of the use of history Craigie

opined:

> the sense of history creates an air of immediacy and contingency… the immediacy is created by the awareness that centuries of complex events have been leading, within the plan of God, to the present moment [while] the contingency is stressed by the tension between the promise of God for the future and the weight of responsibility that rested upon the

Israelites to be faithful and obedient in their covenant
commitment to God (1976:40).

Essentially, what Craigie has highlighted are some key aspects of siege mentality extant in this passage.

(ii) *Deliverance from Egypt*

The seven passages dealing with the deliverance from Egypt are (5:15; 6:12; 7:18; 8:14; 11:2; 16:3 and 24:9).[146]

Deuteronomy 6:12

הִשָּׁ֣מֶר לְ֔ךָ פֶּן־תִּשְׁכַּ֖ח אֶת־יְהוָ֑ה אֲשֶׁ֧ר הוֹצִֽיאֲךָ֛ מֵאֶ֥רֶץ מִצְרַ֖יִם מִבֵּ֥ית עֲבָדִֽים׃

"Then take heed lest you forget the Lord, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage."

Like the other sites of memory, we have looked at thus far, this passage also serves as a link to several other sites of memory. The community is being sternly warned not to forget the experiences of their past, upon which the prosperity of the present is predicated. The command to "take heed, lest you forget the Lord, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (vs 12), opens the 'cultural tool-kit' which challenges the

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[146] It should be noted here that some passages may reappear under a different theme where there may have been more than one transmitter word or phrase and more than one site of memory referenced. Likewise, mention may be made of passages (e.g. 5:15) under a different theme where there may have been one transmitter word or phrase but more than one site of memory referenced. To avoid repetition, I will in some cases defer, the analysis to another section.

current community and subsequent communities to remember that their very existence is dependent upon obedience to YHWH and faithfulness to the covenant which he made with their ancestors. In essence, what we have in the book of Deuteronomy is that, though the varied sites of memory may be more emphasized at different times, they all are still held together as integral parts of what Ben Zvi referred to as a "fully interwoven mental landscape" (2013:6). The mental landscape of which Ben Zvi speaks need not be historical accounts, as Craigie has already noted, but rather, a carefully constructed mytho-history[147] to create a memory which the community can readily access. Edelman noted this when she acknowledged;

> Memory studies recognizes that facts relating to selected events
> and experiences are quickly lost in early stages of social
> memory in the process of their being transformed into images
> and concepts and arranged into stories to facilitate their recall
> within the group (2013: xviii).

Deuteronomy 6:12 highlights how narratives can be shaped for ideological purposes. Having issued the warning to take heed or beware lest they forget, the writer(s) of the text then transports the hearers or readers of the text mentally to focus on the providence of YHWH who brought them out of the land of Egypt. Though the text has as its setting the Plains of Moab, it is useful to bear in mind that all of the proposed dates for the text are at earliest, late eighth to seventh century and later, which presents a chasm of time spanning centuries, from the postulated dates of an exodus in the fourteenth to twelfth centuries. Therefore, reminding the people of the God who brought them out of Egypt, is also way of

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[147] In this context, mytho-history would refer not to a collection of facts about historical events but rather a collection of myths carefully constructed to convey particular truths that a group would wish to believe about the past.

reminding them of the God who brought them into the land. It can therefore be seen as a

passage that calls for greater obedience to YHWH and covenant.

However, in addition to the abovementioned purpose, the passage in 6:12 also has

another function. The writer(s) uses the term 'house of bondage' to further describe Egypt.[148]

This description of Egypt serves as a powerful image which juxtaposes the freedom of the

promised land with the confinement of Egypt, which has metaphorically become a "house of

bondage".

In using the term 'house of bondage' to describe Egypt, the writer(s) has defined

Egypt not only as a geographical locale but an experience, as well. Thus, for the community,

and subsequent communities, the nation of Egypt may not be a political threat; indeed, it may

be an ally. However, Egypt as an experience is always a clear and present danger. Egypt

therefore is not only a site of memory, but has also become a cipher. Ben Zvi highlighted the

validity of this phenomenon when he noted that;

> Social memory is about the past that is constantly present
> within the community that is legitimized by the past. Different
> social groups have different cultural memories and thus
> different 'Abrahams' (2013:4).

Though Ben Zvi may have meant literally, different social groups by way of

nationality, ethnicity or religion, as we have seen in the case of Israel (i.e. Jewish

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[148] According to Driver, it literally means house of slaves, "[a] place where slaves are kept in confinement" (1951:94).

communities), it may also mean different generations of a particular group. Thus, Deuteronomy 6:12 could have been interpreted differently by different Jewish communities. For example, for the pre-exilic community living in the latter portion of the eighth and throughout the most of the seventh century, Egypt as 'the house of bondage' could have meant Assyria. Likewise, for the exilic community, Egypt could have been Babylon; and for the post-exilic community, Persia; and still again for the Hellenistic community, Greece. Egypt as a site of memory would no longer have been only a geographical locale, but an experience. Different communities over time, though they would have held many views and beliefs in common, would have had different 'Egypts'.

Deuteronomy 6:12 reflects some key elements of siege beliefs. Not only does it utilize one of the means of fostering a collective memory, in its focus on the past maltreatment of the group, but it also can be seen as engendering the effects of siege mentality, namely; the development of mistrust of the world, and a heightened state of sensitivity. In this particular passage Egypt is presented as a cipher for the experience of oppression. In other passages other nations will serve as place holders also for negative experiences.

a) *Deuteronomy 7:18*

לֹא תִירָא מֵהֶם זָכֹר תִּזְכֹּר אֵת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְפַרְעֹה וּלְכָל־מִצְרָיִם:

"you shall not be afraid of them, but you shall remember what the Lord your God did to Pharaoh and to all Egypt"

Though the underlying message of this passage is YHWH's deliverance of his people from Egypt, by recounting the miraculous events that accompanied that feat, the passage also serves as an admonition to the people to trust in YHWH's strength to accomplish in the present and the future, what he had done in the past. The memory here then is to inspire courage and hope in their ability to overcome their enemies. This however, is rooted in faith in the writer's construct of the deity, YHWH, and the community's acceptance of this construct and belief in his ability. The memory of the past should embolden the community in the present and future.

b) *Deuteronomy 24:9*

זכוֹר אֵת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֱ הֶי לְמִרְיָם בַדֶּרֶךְ בְּצֵאתְכֶם מִמִּצְרָיִם:

"Remember what the Lord your God did to Miriam on the way as you came forth out of Egypt."

The call to remembrance here is an allusion to a story from the group's past. Perhaps a later and more expanded version is recorded in Numbers 12:11-15. Miriam, the sister of Moses, and her brother Aaron had spoken ill of Moses' marriage to a Cushite woman. This was interpreted as speaking ill against the Lord. As a result, Miriam was afflicted with leprosy. The passage therefore calls the community to remember that there is a penalty for disloyalty to YHWH.

Notwithstanding the message being conveyed, it is a rather odd text for the writer of Deuteronomy to evoke given the book's aversion to mixed marriages. Perhaps there is

another message being channelled in this passage. The memory being evoked by referring to the Miriam episode is not only the importance of loyalty to YHWH but the discord that can be caused in the community when external entities are incorporated. The passage in Deuteronomy goes no further than referencing Miriam's punishment perhaps because any more detail would have condemned the writer's hero, Moses, who would have been in violation of the Deuteronomic code. However, it can be that this potentially contradictory passage was added to initiate debate within the family circle about the importance of adhering to the law to maintain stability within the home and community.

Underlying this passage is the general message of the book; Deuteronomy is the message of Yahweh transmitted through Moses, who is the mouthpiece of the author. Therefore, a challenge to Moses, is a challenge to Deuteronomy, Yahweh, and ultimately the author who seeks to have his views as the only views to which the community must adhere. The infusion of this passage reinforces the seriousness of the message of Deuteronomy which goes beyond even family ties.

(iii)   *Slavery in Egypt*

There are four passages identified as referring to slavery in Egypt as the principal site of memory, namely; 15:15; 16:12; 24:18 and 24:22. Two of these passages (15:15, and 16:12) will be deferred for the discussion on modes of transmission.

    a) *Deuteronomy 24:18*

וְזָכַרְתָּ כִּי עֶבֶד הָיִיתָ בְּמִצְרַיִם וַיִּפְדְּךָ יְהוָה אֱ הֶי מִשָּׁם עַל־כֵּן נֹכִי מְצַוְּךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה:

"but you shall remember that you were a slave in Egypt and the Lord God redeemed you from there; therefore, I command you to do this thing."

b) *Deuteronomy 24:22*

וְזָכַרְתָּ כִּי־עֶבֶד הָיִיתָ בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם עַל־כֵּן נֹכִי מְצַוְּךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה:

"You shall remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt; therefore I command you to do this thing."

The memory of slavery in Egypt is constructed to create for the community an image not simply of their common past but more pointedly, of their common status in the past. The commonality that existed in the past when they were slaves is to be expressed in the present and future when they are free. Though the circumstances between the Promised land and Egypt were markedly different, the bonds of brotherhood and neighbourliness were to be maintained. Therefore, the fatherless and the widow, both of whom would have been disenfranchised due to circumstances beyond their control, were to be specially treated. Likewise, the sojourner who may have been spent after a long journey should have his needs satisfied. In essence, there is an appeal for the entire community to deal favourably with each other, being mindful of their common past of slavery and oppression.

Within the broader context of what appears to be one of the focal points of the book of Deuteronomy; fostering of a collective memory and ultimately a collective identity, these passages must be construed to be dealing with more than humanitarian concerns. Slavery in

Egypt is being employed as a site of memory which serves as an identity marker for the covenant community, and the command that they do the things stipulated in the law, is an imperative to maintain social cohesiveness.

(iv)   *God's Mercy and Providence/ Heritage*

The passages relating to this site of memory (9:3; 9:6; 9:7 and 9:27) are all part of a broader body of material (Chapter 9) referred to as the intercession of Moses.[149] Each passage speaks to a different manifestation of God's mercy and providence in preserving the heritage of the ancestors with whom he had made a covenant. Moses' intercession can be divided into two portions; (i) Deuteronomy 9:1-24 (Moses' address to the people) and (ii) Deuteronomy 9:25-29 (Moses' prayer to God). Craigie summed up this body of material quite well when he noted;

> It is interesting to compare Moses' use of history and memory in his address to the people. To the people, Moses recalls that history which shows their unfaithfulness, and on this basis he calls them to obedience and faithfulness. In prayer to God, Moses recalls the long history of God's covenant faithfulness and seeks God's forgiveness for the people on the basis of God's nature, not the people's worthiness (1976:197).

In Deuteronomy 9:3, the community is called to actively participate in the procuring of its own redemption. However, it was not to be misinterpreted as any sign of

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[149] See Craigie (1976:197); Miller (1990:123).

righteousness on their part but rather YHWH's graciousness. Deuteronomy 9:6 echoes a similar admonition. According to Christensen,

> The people were reminded that they are a *stiff-necked people* (v.6). If the gift of the land were contingent on the righteousness of the people, it would never be received. It was a gift, graciously given, not a reward (1991:184). [emphasis original]

Deuteronomy 9:7 emphasizes the graciousness of God by calling to mind the rebelliousness of the people. This sets the tone for Moses' appeal to God to remember the covenant made with the ancestors (9:27). The ultimate message is about God's mercy and faithfulness to the covenant he swore to the ancestors. Several sites of memory are evoked to support this underlying message. The present is inextricably linked to the past since the very existence of the community is not as a result of anything that would have been done in the present but rather God's faithfulness to his promise to the ancestors in the past. This prevents any generation from deeming itself worthy to sever ties with the experiences of the past. More importantly, the survival of the community is dependent upon its collective memory and by extension its forging of a collective identity.

(v)   *The Wilderness*

Three passages (8:2; 25:17; and 25:19) have the wilderness as their primary site of memory. However, 8:2 has already been analyzed in the wider context of 8:2-20 which falls under the site of memory which speaks to covenant. The other two passages will be

discussed when we consider how the past maltreatment of a group can be used to develop its collective memory.

5.5.2   Past Maltreatment of the Community

One of the fascinating things about siege mentality is how negative experiences of a community's past can be used as elements of cohesion, solidarity, and when necessary, as rallying points to press the community into action. For the contemporary Israeli community, the accounts of the harrowing experiences of Masada and the Holocaust are handed down from generation to generation as a perpetual memory.[150] These memories serve as a means of solidarity, as well as a caution to be wary of others who do not belong to the group. Such memories feed the group's siege beliefs that no one would come to their aid in times of crisis because no one did in the past. The group therefore deems it justifiable to act unilaterally and even at times, irrationally.

Similarly, in Albania under the Communist Party, the struggle for statehood, betrayal of neighbours and occupation by more powerful nations, became rallying points for the community to be wary of the rest of the world that did not have the best intentions for their country. The anniversary of Albanian Independence was the date of the first act of aggression by the Anti-Fascist Movement for Liberation against the occupying Italian forces.

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[150] This of course is a generalization as is practiced at the group level. However, as has been noted by Bergmann and Jucovy (1982:20), at the level of the individual, some Holocaust survivors were silent about the past. This silence has had the potential to create gaps in the minds of subsequent generations leading to "fantasies that are even more frightening and pathetic".

The book of Deuteronomy appears to be no different in its references to the past maltreatment of the community. There are several passages already discussed that present aspects of the past maltreatment of the community as memories to be perpetuated. The references to slavery in Egypt in 24:18; 24:22 discussed above use the past maltreatment of the community to evoke a sense of solidarity, whereas the reference in 6:12 to Egypt as the 'house of bondage' seems to serve as a cipher for the community to be wary.

There are two other passages that conjure the memories of past maltreatment of the community by nations other than Egypt. These are 23:3-6; and 25:17-19, which both call to mind wilderness experiences. Though the passage in 23:3-6 has no pointer words or phrases, it taps into a site of memory, well established in the book and therefore becomes a part of the mental landscape.

a) Deuteronomy 23:3-6

א־יבא ממזר בקהל יהוה ֱגם דור עשירי   א־יבא ֶו בקהל יהוה:
א־יבא עמוני ומו בי בקהל יהוה ֱגם דור עשירי   א־יבא להם בקהל יהוה עד־עולם:4
על־דְּבָר אשר א־קדמו אתכם בלחם ובמֹים בדרך   בצאתכם ממצרים ואשר שכר על   את־בלעם בן־בעור מפתור 5
ארם נהרים לקללך:
ו   בֹה יהוה אֱ   לשמע אל־בלעם ויהפ   יהוה אֱ ל ֻ את־הקללה לברכה כי אהֱב ֻ יהוה אֱ י 6

"No Ammonite or Moabite or any of their descendants may enter the assembly of the LORD, not even in the tenth generation. For they did not come to meet you with bread and water on your way when you came out of Egypt, and they hired Balaam son of Beor from Pethor in

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Aram Naharaim to pronounce a curse on you. However, the LORD your God would not listen to Balaam but turned the curse into a blessing for you, because the LORD your God loves you. Do not seek a treaty of friendship with them as long as you live."

This portion of the text deals with the prohibition of the Ammonites and Moabites from ever entering the assembly of Israel. The reason given for the restriction of these groups is;

> because they did not meet you with bread and with water, on
> the way, when they came forth out of Egypt, and because they
> hired against you Balaam the son of Be'or from Pethor of
> Mesopotamia, to curse you (vs.4).[151]

It is quite possible that the Moabites and the Ammonites would have been prohibited from the assembly in any case given the origins of those nations. However, the writer(s) of the book infused the wilderness experience as a site of memory perhaps to account for the hostility which existed between Israel and those two nations. According to Driver;

> Israel is not indeed permitted to hate the Ammonite or the
> Moabite; but it is to remain permanently indifferent to their
> welfare. As the history abundantly shows, hostile relations
> were very apt to manifest themselves between the Israelites and
> their neighbours on the opposite side of the Dead Sea; and by
> the prophets both nations are depicted in an unfavourable light,
> Moab being charged with assuming towards Judah a haughty,
> independent attitude (Is. 16:8; Jer. 48:28,29,42; Zeph. 2:8), and
> the Ammonites with waging cruel aggressive wars (Am. 1:13),
> and with exulting maliciously over Judah's misfortune (Zeph.
> 2:8; Ez. 21:33; 25:3,6) (1951:261-262).

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[151] This passage relates to the story of Numbers 21-22. However, it was only the Moabites and not the Ammonites who would have carried out these acts. One is left to conclude that the Ammonites are added here either because of their kinship to the Moabites or their origins being of an incestuous relationship between Lot and his daughters (Genesis 19:30ff), which links the Ammonites to the preceding prohibition of Deuteronomy 23:2 restricting the entry of bastards into the assembly of Israel. Driver is of the opinion that the bastard here can refer to a person born of an incestuous union or of a marriage contracted within the prohibited degrees of affinity as is set out in Lev. 18:6-20 and 20:10-21; (1951:260).

This assessment by Driver calls to mind Plumb's observation about the construction of history and how the present circumstances may influence a community's perception of the past. Plumb quipped that "warring authorities mean warring pasts" (1969:40). Deuteronomy 23:3-6 reflects the construction of what can be regarded as mytho-history where the Ammonites are concerned. The book of Numbers seems to give an alternative account which suggests that the Ammonites were not a part of the wilderness experience of refusing to give the Israelites bread and water. It would seem that the writer of Deuteronomy is responsible for making the Ammonites a part of that its mental landscape by connecting them to one of that book's sites of memory; the wilderness. There are possible reasons for their inclusion in that experience;

(i) Perhaps strained relations existed between Ammon and Judah at the time of the writing of the text. Hence, the past was made to account for the present.

(ii) Given the history of the relationship between the two nations, as Driver outlined, Ammon was placed in the mental landscape of Deuteronomy to validate the relationship that already exists.

(iii) There may yet be a third possibility which does not eliminate the previous two. The inclusion of Ammon may be a part of the project of identity construction.[152]

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[152] Crouch (2014) makes a very strong argument for Deuteronomy being a project identity construction for the community which involves differentiation of the group from others which may have identical or similar practices. See also Cohen (1985); Mitchell (1993:125) suggests that the passage may have been to emphasize the horror of intermingling.

The pertinent message to be garnered from the textual portrayal of Ammon and Moab's maltreatment of the Israelites, is that these nations cannot be trusted. They had refused to help Israel when it was in its most vulnerable state and, as a result, cannot be trusted to assist them anytime in the present or future. However, it is possible given the arguments of Crouch and others that these accounts may really have been created to suggest distance that is not really there. A major underlying factor for the writer may have been the dissimilarity between Judah and these nations. When taken in context of the broader argument of this thesis, the accounts of Ammon and Moab may well have been to facilitate one of the effects of siege mentality which is the development of mistrust of other groups.

b) *Deuteronomy 25:17-19*

Like the Ammonites and the Moabites, the Amalekites seemed to have been regarded as antagonists by the Israelites. Clashes between Israel and the Amalekites can be found recorded in several texts (Num. 24:20; 1 Sam. 15 & 30; 1 Chron. 4:41-43). However, whereas Ammon and the Moab are just prohibited from the assembly of Israel, Amalek's prescription is much more severe. This passage contains two pointer words and phrases.

(i)   25:17

זָכוֹר אֵת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה לְ ֖ עֲמָלֵק בַדֶּרֶךְ בְּצֵאתְכֶם מִמִּצְרָיִם׃

"Remember what Amalek did to you on the way as you came out of Egypt"

(ii)   25:19

וְהָיָה בְּהָנִיחַ יְהֹוָה אֱ הֶי ׀ לְ ֜ מִכָּל־אֹיְבֶי מִסָּבִיב בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוה־אֱ ֶ י נֹתֵן לְ ֩ נַחֲלָה לְרִשְׁתָּ ֙ תִּמְחֶה אֶת־זֵכֶר עֲמָלֵק מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם ֗ א תִּשְׁכָּח׃

> "Therefore, when the Lord your God has given you rest from all your enemies round about, in the land which the Lord your God gives you as an inheritance to possess, you shall blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under the heaven; you shall not forget."

The site of memory being evoked here is the wilderness, where Amalek's maltreatment of the community in the past is deserving of the Amalekites being exterminated. Miller, commenting on the nature of the passage involving Amalek and the punishment prescribed, noted;

> The intensity of animosity, bordering on genocide, outruns what one might expect even in these stories of belligerence and battle (1990:177).

The book of Deuteronomy seeks to justify the extreme prescription of punishment for the Amalekites by presenting a story about their unfair tactics in slaying the stragglers of the Israelites as they journeyed through the wilderness. This accounts for the difference between the punishment to be meted out to the Ammonites and Moabites as opposed to that which is to be meted out to the Amalekites. Whereas the Ammonites and the Moabites are guilty of inhospitality, the Amalekites are guilty of hostility and what can be construed to be genocide. Driver in his reflection on the practices of the region assessed the actions of the Amalekites in this way:

> Advantage was taken of a time when Israel was exhausted by the heat or other accident of the journey. According to the rules of ancient Arabian hospitality, and with some sense of

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God, such as may be presupposed even among the heathen, the
Amalekites ought to have spared, and indeed rather assisted,
those who lagged behind, unfit for battle. That they did the
contrary, was inhuman and barbarous: a people with such evil
customs deserves no mercy (1951:288). [153]

While acknowledging the salient points being made by both Driver and Craigie on the

passage, one must conclude that when read from the perspective of siege mentality, two very

important factors come to the fore which challenge us to approach the passage using different

lenses. First, as we have established, the remembrance of Amalek and its actions feed into

one of the means by which collective memory is developed. That is the tendency to focus on

the past maltreatment of the group. Secondly, it is the past experience of the group that

determines its action in the present and future. Therefore, the prescribed response is also

evidence of the effects of siege mentality. In this case, it is the propensity to act unilaterally

and excessively when it is perceived that the very existence of the community is being

threatened.

The question may be raised as to why the Amalekites were specifically singled out

for destruction, for as Miller rightly observed:

When other peoples are spoken of negatively in the biblical
tradition, other more favourable perspectives toward them are

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[153] Craigie suggests that the writer(s) of Deuteronomy had no choice but to record this harsh punishment for the Amalekites since they relate to 'unfinished business' recorded in Exodus 17:14. He opined that; "the behavior of the Amalekites had been so grave that their future judgment had been written down in a book; the entry in the book consisted of God's words and was a promise that the memory of the Amalekites would be blotted out from under the heaven. The presentation of the law in Deuteronomy has as its basis the law of the covenant, which was written in a book (Exod. 24:4,7). So too the extermination of the Amalekites was written in a book." (1976:317-318)

usually also somewhere in the tradition, but that is not the case
with the Amalekites (1990:177).

In fact, in the very book of Deuteronomy, for all the references to 'slavery in Egypt' and

Egypt being 'the house of bondage', Egyptians are not to be abhorred and their children of

the third generation can enter the assembly of the Lord (Deut. 23:7-8).

What then of Amalek?

Whether we favour a date for Deuteronomy in the late seventh century, the exilic or

the post exilic period, commentators suggest that Amalek was either no longer a formidable

force, or didn't exist at all.[154] This casts the treatment of Amalek in Deuteronomy in a whole

new light. The reference to Amalek in the book of Deuteronomy may not be about the

historical nation of Amalek but rather, it may be a cipher to caution the community to be

wary of, and act accordingly towards individuals or nations that exhibit 'Amalek–like'

behaviour. 'Amalek–like' behaviour would refer to any action or motive that threatens the

existence of the community.

A prime example of how Amalek functions as a cipher can be found in the book of

Esther. Haman in his plan to annihilate the Jewish community in Persia is deemed to have

exhibited 'Amalek–like' behaviour. This is borne out in his genealogy where he is described

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[154] Craigie (1976:318), yielding to the passage in 1 Chron. 4:41-43 suggests that the Amalekites seemed to have ceased to be a nation around the time of Hezekiah; Driver (1951:287) who favors a pre-exilic date for the book, suggests that Amalek had ceased to be a neighbour formidable to Israel, even if it had not ceased to exist as a nation.

as an Agagite (Es. 3:1). According to 1 Samuel 15:8, Agag was the king of the Amalekites who was defeated by Saul. The book of Esther therefore identifies Haman as a direct descendent of Agag, which would explain his 'Amalek–like' tendencies to destroy the Jewish community.

A more contemporary example which reinforces why Amalek in the book of Deuteronomy may be best understood as a cipher, can be gleaned from an article by Jewish Communist, Het Vilner in 1943. In that article, Vilner equated the nation of Amalek with Nazism.[155] Here Vilner perceived the Nazi treatment of Jews through their pogroms and concentration camps as attempts to exterminate the Jewish community in Europe. Such behavior was deemed 'Amalek–like'. Hence, even as recently as the twentieth century, the book of Deuteronomy's identification of Amalek as a cipher for entities that threaten the existence of Jewish communities was still a poignant memory which could be readily accessed from the cultural tool-kit of Vilner's community. This speaks to the power of collective memory and the diligence of its transmission through centuries of Jewish communities.

In this section on the past maltreatment of the community we have analyzed two passages in Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy 23:3-6, Ammon and Moab are presented as Nations that are not trustworthy. This memory served to foment the effects of siege mentality such as, the development of negative attitudes toward others, and the development of

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[155] Het Vilner's article was entitled, *Mi – avdut le – herut* [From Slavery to Freedom] and appeared in the *Kol ha – No'ar* paper in 1943.

mistrust. The community was commanded not to seek the peace or prosperity of either

Ammon or Moab forever (23:6). In the case of Deuteronomy 25:17-19, the memory of

Amalek also fosters the effects of siege mentality with regard to mistrust and the

development of negative attitudes toward others. However, it points to other effects as well

such as, the development of sensitivity, about the words and actions of others, and the

essentiality of self–protection and self–reliance.

5.5.3 Allusion to a Heroic Event or Figure

One of the key elements of memory studies is the existence of a heroic event or some

aspect of the past to which all the sites of memory can relate. In the case of Deuteronomy,

that entity is in the form of Moses. Moses serves as the central figure to which all the sites of

memory referenced in the book, are related. In the book of Deuteronomy Moses became

what Ben Zvi referred to as, "a central node in the collective memory network" (2013:6).

The central node is a figure who serves as a part of a positive feedback loop which functioned

in such a way that would enable the key issues to coalesce around him/her, thus making the

memories more accessible to the community. According to Ben Zvi;

> The more central a figure was, the more it became a 'magnet'
> for issues and images at the community's core (including self-
> characterization, identity, and ideology) (2013:6).

The centrality of the figure of Moses in Deuteronomy serves as a link to all the sites of

memory, thus creating a continuum in the mental landscape created by the writer of the text.

It is the central figure of Moses who links Bondage in Egypt to the promised land by way of the wilderness with its harrowing experiences and Horeb with its Theophany.

Since collective identity seems to be an underlying aim of Deuteronomy, one may be tempted to ask what would have prompted the writer to use Moses as the central figure? The answer possibly lies in the concept of a positive feed-back loop, where the central node points to the sites of memory, and the sites of memory accentuate Moses. The use of Moses therefore, as the central figure in the book may have less to do with Moses, and more to do with the mental landscape the writer of the text deemed best suited for his message to be properly conveyed. The centrality of Moses in the text may simply rest in the fact that he was the only prominent character in the community's history that can be linked to Egypt, the wilderness, slavery, Horeb, covenant, and the ancestors with the type of cohesiveness, that Deuteronomy presents. The view can therefore be posited that, the prominence of Moses as a central figure may have been more to fulfil the requirements of the narrative, rather than stemming from any perceived ideological attribute of Moses.

Nonetheless, the figure of Moses adheres to the expectations of memory studies and the concept of a central figure which acts as a central node with a magnetism that draws together all the issues and images the writer(s) would have the community embody.

5.6 Pedagogic Tools for the Transmission of Memory in Deuteronomy

Paramount to developing and maintaining siege mentality in a group is the necessity to ensure that the siege beliefs are transmitted to every member of the group. Siege beliefs may be in the form of memory with the intention of developing a collective identity, legal commands to establish conformity, or ideological pronouncements for the group to develop a particular image of itself. The ideological aspect may at times be embedded in the memory and legal commands. Education of the group is therefore a very integral aspect of the transmission of siege beliefs.

There are various pedagogic tools for the transmission of siege beliefs be they memory, legal or ideologically oriented. Our case study of Albania, as well as Bar – Tal and Antebi's studies of Israel (1992a; 1992b) have shown how the media, monuments, textbooks, and commemorative rituals can be powerful tools for the instruction of the masses and propagation of siege beliefs.[156] In the case of Deuteronomy, though the pedagogic tools would not be all commensurate with those employed in Communist Albania or present-day Israel, the book does present very convincing examples of pedagogy for the transmission of memory.

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[156] As we noted from both Bar-Tal and Antebi's study of Israel (1992a; 1992b) and our case study of Albania, education played a very important role in the transmission and maintaining of siege beliefs. In Israel, the media both electronic and printed plays a very vital role in the transmission of siege beliefs. In addition to this, the school curriculum is fashioned to instruct the children in the beliefs of the community.

Albania under the Communist Party exhibited similar traits. Textbooks for school were printed to reflect the ideology of the state, so that the children could be instructed in the siege beliefs of the wider populace. Similarly, newspapers as well as the electronic media, which were compliant, became the propaganda machinery of the state. According to Thomas, the Albanian Party of Labor recommended "that articles published in the journals for youth, *Fatosi* (The Hero) and *Pionieri* (The Pioneer), be included in the texts used in Albania's eight-year schools. Both publications serve as organs of the Albanian Party of Labor. thus, further dissemination of communist ideology and politics into the curriculum of Albania's schools has been effected" (1973:118); See also Qafleshi ((2013).

The book of Deuteronomy is a fascinating text in that it serves as a tool of pedagogy, while at the same time outlining methods of pedagogy. There are three pedagogic tools by which memory is transmitted in the book of Deuteronomy. These three methods are:

(i) **Direct Instruction (Exposition):** This is directed from YHWH/ Moses to the community, as well as from parents to children.

(ii) **Catechizing:** Children learn from parents by asking questions; The community learns from YHWH/ Moses as a result of questions they themselves ought to be inclined to ask, having reflected upon their present circumstances.

(iii) **Ritualism:** Observances, commemorations, festivals and rituals which incorporate experiences of the past.

5.6.1   Direct Instruction (Exposition) as a Pedagogic Tool for Transmission of Memory

There are several passages in the book of Deuteronomy that are directed to the elders of the community, instructing them about the memories to which they ought to hold steadfastly and how such much memories are to be passed on to future generations. These passages are 4:9-14; 6:6-9; 11:1-7; 11:18-20, and 32:46.

(i) 4:9-14 (For translation of passage, see Appendix I, Article 1)

The intentions of the Deuteronomic project as regards the transmission of memory seem to be summed up in this passage. The ultimate goal is for future generations (the children and their children's children) to share in the experience of Horeb. This of course, is only possible by way of semantic memory. It is therefore imperative that the memory is faithfully transmitted. The key element in the transmission of the memory is Moses. It is Moses who had been instructed by YHWH at the time to "teach you statutes and ordinances, that you might do them in the land which you are going over to possess" (vs.14).

For a community for whom the experiences of Horeb were not episodic, the instruction of Moses comes not through experience but from the text of Deuteronomy itself. Hence, the book of Deuteronomy is a pedagogic tool from which the elders of the community receive instruction and thus, share in the experience at Horeb. They are then expected to transmit that memory to their children who will in turn do likewise with their children. The sequence of transmission is therefore, from Moses (i.e. the book of Deuteronomy) to the elders/ parents, then to the children. Adherence to the teachings of Deuteronomy is therefore essential for the survival of the community. Miller emphasized this when he wrote;

> Deuteronomy is always aimed at the next generation. It takes
> the present (next) generation back to the past and brings the
> past afresh into the present. The children are now the ones
> before whom all the choices are laid, and some day their
> children will be there and divine instruction will confront them
> (1990:107).

Of note is how the site of memory of the wilderness experiences and Horeb are used as the basis for teaching.

(ii)   6:6-9; 11:18-20

וְהָי֞וּ הַדְּבָרִ֣ים הָאֵ֗לֶּה אֲשֶׁ֨ר נכי מְצַוְּךָ֛ הַיּ֖וֹם עַל־לְבָבֶ

וְשִׁנַּנְתָּ֣ם לְבָ   וְדִבַּרְתָּ֣ בָ֑ם בְּשִׁבְתְּךָ֤ בְּבֵיתֶ֙ךָ֙ וּבְלֶכְתְּךָ֣ בַדֶּ֔רֶךְ וּֽבְשָׁכְבְּךָ֖ וּבְקוּמֶֽ 7

וּקְשַׁרְתָּ֥ם לְא֖וֹת עַל־יָדֶ֑ךָ וְהָי֥וּ לְטֹטָפֹ֖ת בֵּ֥ין עֵינֶֽ   8

וּכְתַבְתָּ֛ם עַל־מְזוּזֹ֥ת בֵּיתֶ֖ךָ וּבִשְׁעָרֶֽ   9

These two passages are being dealt with together because the wording is almost identical.

Deut. 6:6-9

vs.6 and these words which I command you this day shall be upon your heart (c.f. 11:18a adds, "…and in your soul").

vs.7 and you shall teach them diligently to your children, and shall talk of them when you sit down in your house, and when you walk by the way, and when you lie down, and when you rise. (c.f. 11:19).

vs.8 and you shall bind them as a sign upon your hand, and they shall be as frontlets between your eyes. (c.f. 11:18b)

vs.9 and you shall write them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates. (c.f. 11:20).

The transmission of memory in this instance is to be achieved by employing several techniques. The commandments which naturally evoke memories of Horeb, and the other sites of memory are to be 'diligently' (vs.7) taught to the children. The teaching must be consistent and constant, and of a nature that it permeates every facet of family and community life. Household discussions as well as those which take place outside the home

must be premised on the commandments. For the writer, every moment should be recognized as a teaching moment.

To complement and enhance the instructions and discussions in which parents were to engage the children, the text also prescribes symbols and signs as teaching aids.[157]   One would imagine that these would serve as powerful symbols and signs to remind the community of the importance of keeping the law and transmitting it to future generations.

These passages in 6:6-9 and 11:18-20 are vivid descriptions of the intensity of the intentions that surround the transmission of siege beliefs. In Albania under the Communist Party, every facet of life for children was to be lived and given meaning against the background of the beliefs of the Party.

(iii)   11:1-7 (For translation of passage see Appendix I, Article 2)

This passage like 4:9ff is addressed to the elders of the community, charging them to "know/ consider" what they have seen. It particularly makes the point that the children are not the ones being addressed. However, given the possibility that the text was actually written for a community that had no episodic experience of the events being called to mind, means that "to know/ consider" ought to be read as appeals to semantic memory. The elders

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[157] The Israelites were commanded to bind the law to their hands and wear it as frontlets between their eyes. The phylacteries worn by Torah-observant Jewish men on their foreheads and left arms are vestiges of this command. They were also charged with writing the law on their doorposts and on their gates.

of the community are being challenged to internalize the memories being recalled that they

may be equipped to teach future generations. The children are the main subjects of the

education process. However, for it to reach them, the adults must embody the memories

which they are being taught by Moses, whose message is captured in the book of

Deuteronomy. This reinforces the point that the text itself is a pedagogic tool.

Miller is of the opinion that the passage serves a twofold purpose in that the children

also receive the memory from the panoramic mental portrait of the events described in the

text. Miller suggests that:

> By the time vs.6 is finished, the children have been shown what
> they had not seen and thus share by report and in detail what
> the earlier generation saw first-hand. They are instructed
> through the telling of the Lord's instruction or discipline of
> young Israel long ago (1990:110).

Though not treating the book of Deuteronomy as a commentary of what actually took

place, I share Miller's view on this matter when considered against the backdrop of the entire

project of Deuteronomy which prescribes that these stories were to be told and retold on a

regular basis. Whether it actually occurred or not, it is difficult to ignore the possible impact

on the minds of children, though the text itself specifically is addressed to the adults.

    (iv)   32:46

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם שִׂימוּ לְבַבְכֶם לְכָל־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי מֵעִיד בָּכֶם הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר תְּצַוֻּם אֶת־בְּנֵיכֶם לִשְׁמֹר לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־דִּבְרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת׃

"he said to them, "Take to heart all the words I have solemnly declared to you this day, so that you may command your children to obey carefully all the words of this law.""

The few short lines of this passage encapsulate Deuteronomy's desire for the direct instruction of the children. It represents a part of Moses' last speech to the people of Israel and succinctly charges them to "Lay to heart all the words which I enjoin upon you…and command them to your children." The message is clear; the adults of the community are to hold steadfastly to the teachings they have received and pass them on to their children.

5.6.2   Catechizing as a Pedagogic Tool for the Transmission of Memory

A distinctive pedagogic feature of the book of Deuteronomy for the transmission of memory, is what can be described as its catechizing style. This involves the transmission of memory by way of questions being posed and answers given. There are two categories of catechizing identified in the book. The first involves questions YHWH would like the community to consider, and the second involves questions asked by children in an attempt to gain knowledge of their traditions. The passages of relevance are; 4:7-8; 4:32-34; 6:20-25; and 29:22-29.

a) Questions YHWH would like the Community to consider

(i)   4:7-8

כִּי מִי־גּוֹיג דוֹל אֲשֶׁר־ וֹ אֱ הִים קְרֹבִים אֵלָיו כיהוָה אֱ ֹינוּ בְּכָל־קָרְאֵנוּ אֵלָיו:

וּמִי גּוֹיג דוֹל אֲשֶׁר־ ֧וֹ חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים צַדִּיקֶם כְּכֹל הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת אֲשֶׁר   נֹכֵי נֹתֵן לִפְנֵיכֶם הַיּוֹם:

"what nation is there that has a god so near to it as the Lord our God is to us, whenever we call upon him? And what great nation is there, that has statutes and ordinances so righteous as all this law which I set before you this day?"

The series of questions in this passage sum up the message of the body of material from 4:1-8. The Israelites are led to reflect on the special relationship that they have with their God which is unlike anything the nations have. Indeed, the other nations marvelled at the relationship between Israel and its God and conceded that, in this regard, they were inferior to Israel; "surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people" (vs.6).

The sites of memory of the wilderness when YHWH destroyed the Baal of Pe'or, and the experience at Horeb are evoked. These memories along with the acknowledgement of the nations of the distinguished attributes of Israel, are cause for reflection. The reflection is initiated by questions posed by YHWH/ Moses (vs.7,8).

These questions compel Israel to embrace the memories of God's past interaction and protection of his people. The goal of this exercise is to enable Israel to learn how it is to perceive itself in the world.

This brings to the fore one of the effects of siege beliefs; attitudes of superiority/ chauvinism. The sites of memory accentuated in this passage are positive experiences of the past. The first has to do with the superiority of YHWH over the gods of the nations, in this case Baal of Pe'or, and the second has to do with the giving of the law, which is exclusive to Israel. The exclusivity of the law to Israel and their special relationship with their God who is superior to the gods of the nations, leads to the expectation that Israel would see themselves as a distinctive people. Craigie believes that this distinctiveness was to be understood within the moral and spiritual bounds of covenant (1976:131). I however disagree with Craigie regarding his perceived piety of this text. On the contrary, when one takes into account the message of Deuteronomy from a holistic perspective, it is plausible to believe that the intent of the passage was to engender an attitude of the superiority of Israel, over the nations. Chauvinism, as identified by Bar-Tal and Antebi, is one of the effects of siege mentality.

(ii)   4:32-34

כִּי שְׁ֠אַל־נָא֩ לְיָמִ֨ים רִאשֹׁנִ֜ים אֲשֶׁר־הָי֣וּ לְפָ֗ לְמִן־הַיּוֹם֙ אֲשֶׁר֩ בָּרָ֨א אֱ הִים֙ ם עַל־הָאָ֔רֶץ וּלְמִקְצֵ֥ה הַשָּׁמַ֖יִם וְעַד־קְצֵ֣ה הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם הֲנִֽהְיָ֗ה כַּדָּבָ֤ר הַגָּ דוֹל֙ הַזֶּ֔ה אֹ֖ו הֲנִשְׁמַ֥ע כָּמֹֽהוּ:
הֲשָׁ֣מַֽע עָם֩ קוֹל֨ אֱ   ים מְדַבֵּ֧ר מִתּֽוֹ ־הָאֵ֛שׁ כַּאֲשֶׁר־שָׁמַ֥עְתָּ אַתָּ֖ה וַיֶּֽחִי:33
אֹ֣ו ׀ הֲנִסָּ֣ה אֱ   ים לָ֠בוֹא לָקַ֨חַת ל֣וֹ גוֹי֮ מִקֶּ֣רֶב גּוֹי֒ בְּמַסֹּת֩ בְּאֹתֹ֨ת וּבְמוֹפְתִ֜ים וּבְמִלְחָמָ֗ה וּבְיָ֤ד חֲזָקָה֙ וּבִזְר֣וֹעַ נְטוּיָ֔ה 34
וּבְמוֹרָאִ֖ים גְּדֹלִ֑ים כְּ֠כֹל אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂ֨ה לָכֶ֜ם יְהוָ֧ה אֱ   יכֶ֛ם בְּמִצְרַ֖יִם לְעֵינֶֽי

"Ask now about the former days, long before your time, from the day God created human beings on the earth; ask from one end of the heavens to the other. Has anything so great as this ever happened, or has anything like it ever been heard of? Has any other people heard the voice of God speaking out of fire, as you have, and lived? Has any god ever tried to take

for himself one nation out of another nation, by testings, by signs and wonders, by war, by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, or by great and awesome deeds, like all the things the LORD your God did for you in Egypt before your very eyes?"

The community is called to reflection by way of a series of rhetorical questions which underscore YHWH's sovereignty over time and space, his exclusive relationship with Israel, and his superiority over the gods of the nations. The questions are worded to encompass the mental landscape around which the book is constructed.

Whereas, 4:7-8 was about the status of Israel in comparison with the other nations in light of its relationship with God, this passage is about YHWH's sovereignty and the importance of Israel to serve YHWH only. Hence, the questions are centered around YHWH. The people are called to remember his work in creation (vs.32), the experience at Horeb (vs.33), and the wonders he wrought in bringing his people out of bondage in Egypt (vs.34). The memory of these things should guide the Israelites into the acknowledgement of the graciousness of YHWH and the obligation to submit to his sovereignty because, "there is no other besides him" (vs. 35).

b) Questions asked by the Children about the Traditions (For translation of passage, see Appendix I, Article 3)

(i)   6:20-25

Nowhere is the illustrative power of Deuteronomy's education project more ideally displayed than in catechizing style of the passage in 6:20-25. Here the writer offers a standard terse narrative for parents to give to their children in response to questions concerning the traditions which are kept by their parents. The message here is that the children (younger generations) have no real grasp of the traditions and stipulations to which their parents adhere, and so naturally they will be inquisitive.

The question of the children highlights either their ignorance of, or indifference to the traditions: "What is the meaning of the testimonies and the statutes and the ordinances which the Lord our God has commanded you?" There is a subtlety in this question which can easily go unnoticed and thereby, shrouds the intrinsic danger it reveals. The question is phrased to present the dangerous scenario of the young person perceiving himself outside of the tradition. Though acknowledging YHWH as "our God" he perceives that the testimonies and ordinances are things that YHWH commanded "you [the parents]". The young person does not see himself as having any obligation to be an active participant in the traditions. This undermines the entire Deuteronomic goal of collective identity, via the transmission of memory. Lohfink summed up the young person in this way;

> This is obviously the question of a young man who sees the world of his ancestors constrained within a net of forms and authority, both gross and subtle, and yet they appeal to the name of God, and the young man wonders why such forms exist (1962:47-48).

The danger is that there is a younger generation which this young man represents, that finds it difficult to connect with, or futile to adhere to the traditions of the generations before them.

The parents are therefore provided with a succinct reply to the question which touches a number of the sites of memory in the text's mental landscape, before zeroing in on the crowning message of the story; "and the Lord commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear the Lord our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as at this day" (vs.24). Just as the question was subtle, equally poignant is the answer. The younger generation are not only given a mental picture of the journey of the community of which they are a part, but they are also told in no uncertain terms that their very existence "at this day" has been predicated on the faithfulness of the older generation to the very statutes, and testimonies, and ordinances, the relevance of which they are now questioning. Miller described the relevance of this passage beautifully when he wrote:

> The words of the parent explain, therefore, but they do more
> than that. They recapitulate the story of God's way with Israel
> as the basis for the people's present life and conduct. In so
> doing, they serve to create a memory for the new generation,
> who were not there and do not know. That is the point of the
> educational process, according to 4:9-10 and 31:13 (1990:109).

The catechizing style of this passage gives the parents the opportunity to be teachers of the covenant and transmitters of the collective memory of the community to their children. This is a very powerful pedagogic tool, which serves to strengthen familial ties and reinforce the communal ideology by having it transmitted at the very microlevel of the community: the family.

(ii)   29:22-29 (For translation of passage, see Appendix I, Article 4)

This next catechizing passage lacks the subtlety of 6:20-25 and paints a grim picture of the fortunes of those who fail to keep the covenant and go after other gods. The questions of the younger generation seem to be resonant with disbelief at the magnitude of destruction and the ferocity of anger of which YHWH is capable. These images serve to jolt the younger generation to recognize the importance of keeping the covenant and being faithful to YHWH. The ultimate lesson of this passage mirrors 6:20-25. There mere fact that there are men of the older generation there to answer the questions, testify to their faithfulness. Likewise, the younger generation must submit to the authority of the statutes, and testimonies, and ordinances of the book of Deuteronomy. The very last words of the passage sum up its message.

The "things that have been revealed" are those contained in the book of Deuteronomy which in itself is a pedagogic tool that aids in the transmission of the memories of the community. This is what Miller alluded to when he stated:

> Deuteronomy itself can be seen as creating a memory for the
> new generation it addresses by painting pictures (8:7-10);
> (29:22-23) and telling stories (6:20-25) so the children may
> receive as real what they did not experience (1990:109).[158]

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[158] This observation by Miller presents a similar scenario to what Qafleshi (2013) would have described concerning Communist Albania where children's literature was used to influence and shape children's national and ethnic identities. Similarly, images in books and on television as well as in theatre were avenues which offered children the opportunity to participate mentally in social systems of power and struggles of the past.

5.6.3   Ritualism: Rituals, Commemorations, and Festivals as Pedagogic Tools for the Transmission of Memory in Deuteronomy

So committed is the book of Deuteronomy to the realization of a collective identity for the community by way of developing a collective memory, that it bears significant correlation to the traits that psychologists identify for the achievement of this goal. In addition to its commitment to the transmission of memory through the education process by way of literature, as the book of Deuteronomy itself represents, and art, through the expressive narratives and vivid mental images crafted in the text, the book of Deuteronomy also seeks to transmit memories by way of commemorations, rituals and festivals. There are seven passages in the book embodying experiences of the past, which are to be remembered through ritual enactment. These passages are; 5:15; 15:12-15; 16:3; 16:12; 16:13; 26:1-11, and 31:9-13.

(i)   5:15 The Sabbath Law

וְזָכַרְתָּ כִּי־עֶבֶד הָיִיתָ בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וַיֹּצִאֲךָ יְהֹוָה אֱ הֶיךָ מִשָּׁם בְּיָד חֲזָקָה וּבִזְרֹעַ נְטוּיָה עַל־כֵּן צִוְּךָ יְהוָה אֱ ֹיךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת: ס

"Remember that you were slaves in Egypt and that the LORD your God brought you out of there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm. Therefore, the LORD your God has commanded you to observe the Sabbath day".

The Sabbath law in Deuteronomy calls for a weekly observance of a day of rest for the entire community, even down to the level of the animals.[159] What is noteworthy, is that the reason given for the observance of the Sabbath in Deuteronomy 5:15 is consistent with the mental landscape employed by the writer throughout the text. Two of the prevalent sites of memory employed in the book are extant in the reason for the observance of the Sabbath; slavery in Egypt and deliverance from Egypt. The Sabbath law therefore has as one of its goals the transmission of memory. The weekly observance of the Sabbath being linked to those two critical sites of memory, was a means of keeping constantly before the people the experiences of their past.[160]

(ii)　　　15:12-15 The Sabbatical Year of Release for Hebrew Slaves

12　כִּי־יִמָּכֵר לְךָ אָחִיךָ הָעִבְרִי אוֹ הָעִבְרִיָּה וַעֲבָדְךָ שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים וּבַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִת תְּשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ חָפְשִׁי מֵעִמָּךְ
13:וְכִי־תְשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ חָפְשִׁי מֵעִמָּךְ לֹא תְשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ רֵיקָם
14:הַעֲנֵיק תַּעֲנִיק לוֹ מִצֹּאנְךָ וּמִגָּרְנְךָ וּמִיִּקְבֶךָ אֲשֶׁר בֵּרַכְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִּתֶּן־לוֹ
15:וְזָכַרְתָּ כִּי עֶבֶד הָיִיתָ בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וַיִּפְדְּךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ עַל־כֵּן אָנֹכִי מְצַוְּךָ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם

"If any of your people--Hebrew men or women--sell themselves to you and serve you six years, in the seventh year you must let them go free. And when you release them, do not send them away empty-handed. Supply them liberally from your flock, your threshing

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[159] The law differs from the Sabbath law found in Exodus 20:11 in terms of the reason given for the observance. Whereas in Exodus 20:11 the Sabbath is to be observed as a commemoration of God's great work in creation; in Deuteronomy, it is linked to God's deliverance of His people from bondage in Egypt. Though much debate has taken place in an attempt to reconcile this seemingly stark difference, it does not fall within the ambit of this study. For discussion on the difference in the reason for the Sabbath between Exodus 20:11 and Deuteronomy 5:15, see Craigie (1976:157) who is of the view that the two reasons complement each other and both emphasize man's dependence on God; see also Driver (1951:85).

[160] According to Driver (1951:85), the Sabbath is viewed here as a periodical memorial of Israel's deliverance from Egypt ; c.f. Craigie (1976:157) suggests that whereas at one time the Israelites had been slaves in Egypt, with no appointed day of rest from their continuous and monotonous labour, God's deliverance made them potentially a nation, and the Sabbath was to function as a day of rest in which the deliverance from the former bondage could be remembered in thanksgiving.

floor and your winepress. Give to them as the LORD your God has blessed you. Remember that you were slaves in Egypt and the LORD your God redeemed you. That is why I give you this command today".

Like the Sabbath law, this commemoration has as its principal site of memory slavery in Egypt. The Israelites are exhorted to be kind to a brother or neighbour who had been sold into slavery. The experiences of Egypt were expected to guide their treatment of each other in the Promised land. Just as they would have seen after each other's best interests when they were all under the yoke of slavery together, so too the same hand of mercy should be extended now that they were away from Egypt.

The passage therefore calls for a Sabbatical year of release every seven years when slaves would be offered the opportunity of freedom, and debts would be cancelled. This observance every seven years served as a teaching tool for the community. It became like the Sabbath, a part of their way of life and so too was the memory of slavery in Egypt that would have underpinned the observance.

(iii) 26:1-11 The Offering of First Fruits (For translation of passage, see Appendix I, Article 5)

       5-10

The pedagogic technique employed in this passage is one of recitation. In thanksgiving for the bounty of the land and the graciousness of YHWH for granting them a good crop, every male in the community was expected to go before the Lord once a year to

present the first fruits of his crop. Here Deuteronomy gives a glimpse into how the liturgy of the community was constructed as a means of transmission of memory.

In offering their first fruits the men were expected to recite a passage recounting the experiences of the community, and thereby reinforcing all the sites of memory which make up the mental landscape of the book of Deuteronomy. There is also an element of pilgrimage involved in this exercise as well which can have the effect of fostering group cohesion and identity.

(iii)   31:10-13 The Reading of the Law in the Sabbatical Year (For translation of passage, see Appendix I, Article 6)

This particular observance was to take place at the Feast of Tabernacles in the Sabbatical Year of Release. Here we have three observances tied into one every seven years. This must have presented a very moving experience for those who had the opportunity to do so. It needed no separate site of memory since it was linked to observances which already had their reasons given. Israel were given no opportunity to forget. The memories were constantly before the community, in the various observances set out in the book.

The Pilgrimage Festivals

(i) 16:1-8 The Festival of Passover and Unleavened Bread (For translation of passage, see Appendix I, Article 7)

In this passage two principal observances are amalgamated and set within the Exodus tradition.[161] The feasts of the Passover and Unleavened bread are linked to the experience of the people in Egypt, and supplied with the necessary narrative to make the memories more easily accessible.

There are several differences between the Passover as described in the book of Deuteronomy, and that described in the book of Exodus.[162] Of particular importance is the imagery which the book of Deuteronomy gives to the feast of Unleavened Bread. The symbolism is deliberate to embellish the site of memory of the deliverance from Egypt. There is great significance in the description given in 16:3; "you shall eat no leavened bread [with it]; seven days you shall eat it with unleavened bread, the bread of affliction – for you came out of the land of Egypt in hurried flight – that all the days of your life you may remember the day when you came out of the land of Egypt."

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[161] There has been wide ranging debate over the origins of these respective festivals. For a comprehensive discussion see McConville (1984:107-111).

[162] Exodus focusses more on the stipulations of the Passover, being very particular about the animal that it to be used Ex. 12:5, whereas Deuteronomy gives no specificity about the nature of the sacrifice other than that it can be taken from the flock or the herd (Deut. 16:2). Likewise, Exodus is very specific about how the sacrifice should be prepared. It must be roasted not boiled c.f. Ex.12:8-9, whereas Deuteronomy stipulates that the sacrifice should be boiled (Deut. 16:7). In the book of Exodus, the Feast is celebrated in the homes of the people, whereas in Deuteronomy it is celebrated in the place that the Lord will choose (Deut.16:7).

The book of Deuteronomy has given special recognition to the festival of Unleavened Bread through the use of the description 'bread of affliction' (vs.3). As Craigie noted;

> These words [i.e. bread of affliction] indicate that the unleavened bread might serve to symbolize both the affliction of the years in Egypt and the speedy departure from the land…the whole Festival, both Passover and Unleavened Bread, was to serve as a reminder of the manifold dimensions of the exodus (1976:243).

The festival of Passover and Unleavened Bread with its imagery, symbolism, and stipulations was celebrated annually to keep the memory of the deliverance from Egypt always in the community's memory.[163]

This served as an extremely effective pedagogic tool to ensure that the memory and traditions are passed to the next generation. One cannot discount the effectiveness of meal sharing in eastern cultures as a means of group solidarity. In fact, the Passover Seder which was the template for the Christian Eucharist, has not only the effect of group solidarity but a

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[163] Payne recounts a custom that still takes place in some Jewish homes. He noted;

> The lamb was a powerful symbol; and so too was the leaven or yeast. The absence of leaven signified the haste of preparation according to verse 3. However, verse 4 goes even further and bans even the possession of leaven in Jewish households, and children will join in the hunt to make sure every last crumb of it is thrown out. (Jewish mothers would often hide a little of it, for their children to discover and throw out) (1985:98).

deeper sense of 'ingestion of the memory'.[164] This ingestion of memory several senses which

can have a profound effect on the participants.

    (ii)   16:9-12 The Feast of Weeks (For translation of passage, see Appendix I, Article 8)

        The Feast of Weeks was really the harvest festival which sought to encourage virtues

of selflessness, and compassion for the less fortunate in the community. These characteristics

were to come to the fore after being evoked by the memory of slavery in Egypt. Here again

is a commemoration that has embedded in it a site of memory which falls into the mental

landscape of the writer and therefore has the ability to tap into other sites of memory which

can be helpful to the community.

    (iii)   16:13-15 The Feast of Ingathering/ Booths

חַג הַסֻּכֹּת תַּעֲשֶׂה לְךָ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים בְּאָסְפְּךָ מִגָּרְנְךָ וּמִיִּקְבֶךָ:

14:וְשָׂמַחְתָּ בְּחַגֶּךָ אַתָּה וּבִנְךָ וּבִתֶּךָ וְעַבְדְּךָ וַאֲמָתֶךָ וְהַלֵּוִי וְהַגֵּר וְהַיָּתוֹם וְהָ לְמָנָה אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶיךָ

15 שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תָּחֹג לַיהוָה אֱ ׳ יךָ בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה כִּי יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהוָה אֱ ׳ יךָ בְּכֹל תְּבוּאָתְךָ וּבְכֹל מַעֲשֵׂה

יָדֶיךָ וְהָיִיתָ אַ   שָׂמֵחַ:

       "Celebrate the Festival of Tabernacles for seven days after you have gathered the produce
of your threshing floor and your winepress. [14]Be joyful at your festival-you, your sons
and daughters, your male and female servants, and the Levites, the foreigners, the
fatherless and the widows who live in your towns. [15]For seven days celebrate the festival
to the LORD your God at the place the LORD will choose. For the LORD your God will

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[164] The Eucharist has with it a deep call to remembrance, utilizing the Greek *anamnesis* which really can be
translated as reliving. In this regard, the Eucharist is meant to be a reliving of the events in the upper room.

bless you in all your harvest and in all the work of your hands, and your joy will be complete."

This feast does not have a site of memory directly embedded in it, but it is inherently linked to the land. It is a celebration of the bounty of the land and therefore a reminder of the graciousness of God, who had acted so miraculously in the life of the community. It would also have served as a reminder to the community of its sojourn in Egypt, to be generous to the less fortunate in the community.

Depending on the setting of the book and its link to siege beliefs, this passage can also be seen as a reminder to the people and leadership of Judah about their claims to the land. The land is theirs, given to them by YHWH for their sustenance. It is okay to share its produce but ultimately, the control of the land as well as its bounty are for the people of YHWH.[165]

The three festivals; the Passover and Unleavened Bread, Weeks/Pentecost, and Ingathering were all pilgrimage festivals. They involved journeying to the central sanctuary which provided the opportunity for the community to interact and develop relationships. Craigie opined, "the solidarity of the covenant community would thus be expressed and strengthened each year, even when the population of the country would be spread out over a large geographical area" (1976:245).

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[165] In the case studies of both Egypt and Albania we encountered how deep-seated claims to the land can serve to entrench siege beliefs, especially when the loss of the land is under threat, or it is perceived as being exploited by an external force.

5.7   Conclusion

The writer(s) of the book has managed to utilize the sites of memory of the wilderness and the promised land emphasized by the use of transmitter words and phrases such as remember and 'lest you forget' to define the current status of the community. Remembering or forgetting the wilderness experiences, also meant remembering or forgetting God's providence and the people's obedience or disobedience to the covenant. A people ignorant of their past are doomed to repeat their failings and, at the same time, likely unable to repeat their successes.

The people's experience in the Promised land was therefore dependent on the memory of their experiences in the wilderness and how those experiences were shaped by their obedience or disobedience to the covenant. It must be stressed here that we are not dealing with episodic memory but semantic memory. Survival is therefore dependent upon transmission of the memory from one generation to another. It is for this reason that the writers of the text stress teaching successive generations the key elements of their past.

The experiences of the past were to be shared with successive generations such that though far removed from the actual events, the memory would be just as vivid as though they were there. Craigie would elucidate in this way;

> The theme of educating the children, which continues throughout Deuteronomy, [6:7, 20; 11:19; 31:13; 32:46] is important in the context of the covenant. The covenant promise of the land, made first to the patriarchs, moved forward by Moses, and still to be experienced by future generations, spanned time within the framework of the purpose of God. And yet the continuity of the covenant, in its fullness, was contingent upon the obedience of the people of God. Forgetfulness opened the door to failure, and so it was vital that the people of God not only remember their experience of God's mighty hand, but also that

they pass on the memory, and thus the experience, to their children. (1976:133)

In addition to the transmission of memory, I have identified portions of the text where siege beliefs were also being encouraged. The estrangement of the Ammonites and Moabites, as well as the anathema of the Amalekites, reflect the fostering of siege beliefs.

Table 5.2: A Comparison between the Prescriptions of Deuteronomy and the actual results from two Communities that have exhibited Siege Beliefs

	Deuteronomy	Communist Albania	20th &21st Century Israel
Use of Memory of Negative Past	-Bondage in Egypt -Wilderness -Hostile neighbours	-Struggle for Statehood -Italian and German Occupation	-Masada -The Holocaust -Various wars with Arab neighbours
Education of children in ways that may foster siege beliefs	√	√	√
Festivals and National events that may foster collective identity	-The Pilgrimage Festivals -The Sabbatical Year	-Independence Day -Flag Day -Pioneer Day	-"Pilgrimage Festivals"[166] -Yom Kippur -Masada Expeditions -Remembrance Day

This analysis of the book of Deuteronomy presents several instances where it seeks to inculcate a collective identity by the transmission of collective memory. In the next chapter

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[166] These represent the same festivals that were observed in the column labelled Deuteronomy, however, they ceased to be Pilgrimage Festivals after the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E.

the book will be analyzed from a socio-political perspective for evidence of the manifestation

of siege beliefs in laws and stipulations set out in the text.

CHAPTER SIX

A SOCIO-POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY FOR EVIDENCE OF SIEGE BELIEFS: CENTRALIZATION, HOMOGENIZATION AND EXPANSIONISM.

6.1   Introduction

The methodology for this analysis will follow the pattern as presented in the case study of the Albanian Communist Party. The Book of Deuteronomy is analyzed under the three general headings of centralization, homogenization, and expansionism, in an effort to establish as far as possible, a workable template for a comparative analysis. The analysis will be conducted bearing in mind the need for leadership to carefully monitor messages entering and leaving the group. It is therefore imperative that there be a centralization of power. Likewise, siege mentality also dictates that the group be easily mobilized and therefore, homogenization is beneficial. However, as was the case in Albania, homogenization is not a natural phenomenon and therefore calls for enforcement. Vollhardt, Bilewicz, and Olechowski in their tribute to Daniel Bar-Tal summed up his views and those of Dikla Antebi on this aspect of siege mentality, thus:

> One item also addresses what Bar-Tal and Antebi theorize to be a consequence of and coping mechanism to deal with the perceived threat, namely an enhanced desire for internal conformity and unity ("In times of danger, there is no place for opposing views"). In sum, the measure of siege mentality include five facets, namely perceptions of historical victimhood, ongoing threat in the present and the future, lack of support by other nations, justification of (violent) self defense,

and the suppression of dissent in the service of ingroup
cohesion (2015:77).

In the previous chapter the first three of these five facets were dealt with. In this

chapter the latter two will be highlighted. In the case of centralization and homogenization,

the analysis is done on two levels: civil and religious. This analysis will reveal how

comprehensive the Deuteronomic legislation was intended to be, as a means of inculcating

siege beliefs.

The first part of the chapter will focus on the theme of centralization. I will

demonstrate how the laws of Deuteronomy pertaining to five key institutions, namely; the

Cult, the Judiciary, the Prophetic Movement, the Levites, and the King, are all laws geared

towards the centralization and control of these institutions. Correlations will be emphasized

between these laws and those promulgated by the Albanian Communist Party, as well as

practices that obtain in present day Israel.

The chapter will then move to the theme of homogenization. It will be shown how

the Deuteronomic Code has as a goal the homogenization of the community along ethnic and

religious lines. Again, comparisons will be made between the laws of Communist Albania

and the Deuteronomic Code, particularly the laws with a heavy emphasis on religious and

civil conformity.

The final portion of the chapter will then take into account what can be interpreted as overtures for expansionism.[167] One of the consequences of siege mentality can be sense of superiority and chauvinism which sees the 'rest of the world' in a negative light and therefore justly subjective to aggression from the siege prone group. An aspect of such aggression can be through the acquisition of territory by force. The incursions of present-day Israel into the occupied territories on the West Bank are examples of expansionism carried out by siege-prone nations.

The assumption being made is that social systems when impacted by certain conditions, be they social, economic or political, once the conditions are favorable, such as, relative homogeneity ethnically, ideologically or religiously, or some combination of those three, siege beliefs can foment. This assumption is grounded in the case studies provided in chapter three and the associated theory. Perhaps Brustein when responding to his critics in defense of the thesis of his book *The Logic of Evil*, put it most aptly when he wrote:

> In writing [this] book I saw myself not as a healer but as a social scientist. If I had an agenda in writing The Logic of Evil, it would have been the warning that murderous and destructive movements may prevail in other places and at other times when the sociological conditions are right (1997:221).

Here Brustein was alluding to what appears to be a truism of social theory as was expounded by Marx: "the mode of production in material life determines the general

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[167] I have used the term overtures given the nature of the text of Deuteronomy. Since its context is unknown, there is no particular instance that can be pinpointed of expansionism, however, the text does suggest it in Deut. 12:20, and 19:8, once conditions become favourable.

character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of [human beings] that determine their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness" (1970:2).

In the study of anthropology, it is opined that culture is divided into three levels, Infrastructure, Structure and Superstructure. According to Rogerson,

> Infrastructure will include the production of food in relation to the environment of a people, their population size, their work patterns, etc. Structure will include kinship systems, political organisation, family life, the enforcement of law. Superstructure will include myths, symbols, magic and religion (1991:32).

In this model the Structure and the Superstructure are always affected by the Infrastructure and never the other way around. Once at the very basic level human systems are interrupted, it then affects every other level. Anthropology suggests two methods to assess human systems. Emic anthropology seeks answers to phenomena observed in human systems by first consulting the Superstructure (the belief system) whereas Etic anthropology seeks answers by studying the environment in which the system exists. Etic anthropology therefore begins by investigating what affects the Infrastructure, in material terms, in order to understand the phenomena exhibited by the Structure and the Superstructure. According to Rogerson, "Infrastructure affects the structure and the superstructure and not *vice versa*" (1991:32).[168]

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[168] Rogerson's assertion here must be considered an egregious generalization, which is not shared by this writer, given my previous allusions to the unpredictability of human beings and systems. However, the play between

Etic anthropology can be used to explain the phenomenon that developed in

Communist Albania. The universal law governing systems dictates that equilibrium be

maintained, and when a people's very existence is under threat, siege mentality most likely

ensues. It was the struggle for statehood, the constant betrayal of its neighbours, the

predatory actions of more powerful European nations, the subservience of Zog's regime to

Italy, and the invasion, occupation and exploitation of Albania by Italy and Germany during

the second World War that created the space for siege beliefs to foment. The need to reclaim

a national identity in the face of European imperialism that was perceived to be stifling

Albania provided the fodder that contributed to the rise of the Albanian Communist Party. It

can be argued that the desire to re-establish what it perceived as equilibrium, may have

guided much of the policies of the Albanian Communist Party. In a similar vein, Lô (2003)

in offering a word of caution to the leadership of Taiwan, reflected on the nature of conflict

and how conditions can lead humanity down a path that leads to siege mentality. Lô noted;

> Sometimes resistance to imperialism can reproduce imperialistic
> actions on the part of those who are trying to resist the imperial
> ambitions of others…I want to challenge those in positions of
> power in Taiwan, as they make strategic decisions to resist

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the infrastructure and the structure and superstructure is more nuanced where there are times when the infrastructure shapes the superstructure and *vice versa*; but it is important to note that there is a constant tension between the two. To fully explain the reason for this assertion, Rogerson gave a hypothetical example. He opined, "A predominantly hunting society may hunt an animal virtually to extinction. It may then have to hunt another animal, and this may entail different social organisation. The almost extinct animal may also become 'taboo', and myths may be invented in order to justify the 'taboo'. Emic anthropology would simply correlate the non-hunting of the animal with the beliefs that justified the prohibition. Etic anthropology, however, would start from the environmental basis, and would look for an explanation in material terms" (1991:32); See also Marx (1970) and Harris (1979). Harris's argument against the assertion of Douglas (1975:272) that "pigs were prohibited because they defied the classification of ungulates, because they ate carrion, and because they were kept by non-Israelites", is very helpful in understanding the etic vs emic approaches to anthropology. Harris retorted, "the pig's utility resides primarily in its flesh. It can't be milked, it doesn't catch mice, it can't herd other animals, it can't be ridden, it can't pull a plow, and it can't carry cargo. On the other hand, as a supplier of meat the pig is unrivalled…as the pig's natural environment–forests, river banks and edges of swamps–became more restricted, they had to be fed on grains as supplements, and thus became competitive with human beings…[keeping pigs even for the short term] would become extremely costly and maladaptive as it intensified" (1979:192).

imperialism and establish Taiwan as an independent and free country, to avoid subjecting minority communities who may have distinct political or religious commitments to one, single, national ideology. Monotheism should be used to support justice and resist imperialism, but not to impose conformity with force nor to practice imperialism against others (2003:12-13).

6.2   Centralization: The Control of Institutions of Influence on Public Opinion and Beliefs

It is the responsibility of any regime to set out the parameters it deems necessary for effective governance. This usually involves some form of restructuring of the vehicles of state. For example, it is not unusual for new administrations to discontinue certain ministries, rename others, introduce new ones or simply change the focus of existing ministries. The major reason for such restructuring is usually to ensure effective management on the part of the administration. In essence, all administrations effect some form of centralization. This has been highlighted to make the point that centralization in and of itself is not a negative thing, what may taint it is the motive behind the centralization. In regimes that exhibit siege mentality, centralization is usually characterized by the control of all entities within the state that can influence public opinion or undermine the intentions of the regime.[169]

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[169] In Albania under the Communist Party, shortly after gaining power, the constitution was promulgated and made all organizations subject to the Albanian Communist Party. The judicial system, the media and the Education system came under the control of the Communist Party. Religion was banned and the civil service was restructured. See Marmullaku (1975).

Centralization within the ambit of this study therefore, will be taken not simply as the moving of entities to a particular geographical locale or under the control of a physical entity. While those will certainly feature, centralization will also be viewed from an ideological and theological perspective. In the latter instance, centralization is achieved not by a physical wresting of power or authority, but rather by way of ideological or theological perspectives which remove control from the populace or key entities within the society, to the regime. Mayes in his assessment of the stipulations for centralization in the Book of Deuteronomy, wrote:

> There is a tendency in Deuteronomy towards the liberation of religious institutions and practices from primitive magical elements, taboo regulations and so on; This may be called secularization provided that the term is understood,…not to imply opposition to religion…This may be termed also a spiritualizing tendency, a move towards freeing the divine from the control of man… (1979:59)

Mayes seems to be reading centralization from the perspective of emic anthropology where the Superstructure (here religion) is being seen as the transformative agent within the community when it is, according to the model, the other way around. Perhaps Mayes' interpretation of the tendency of Deuteronomy provides for us a good exit point through which we can embark on our investigation of the book to ascertain if its intentions are as liberating as is suggested by his observation.

My investigation will analyse Deuteronomy's stipulations for the centralization of four key institutions; the cult, the Levites, the judiciary and the prophet. I seek to establish who or what office would have controlled this society.

6.2.1 Centralization of the Cult: Deuteronomy 12

The main passages in Deuteronomy that speak to the centralization of the cult are, 12:2-7, 8-12, and 13-19. These passages contain what von Rad refers to as "the centralizing law...that Israel be allowed to offer sacrifices solely in that place which Yahweh shall choose in one of the tribes 'to make his name dwell there'"(1966:89).

Much debate has surrounded the centralizing laws pertaining to the cult in Deuteronomy 12. Questions have arisen about the geographical locale of 'the place'. Was it meant to be one particular place or several places, does it refer to the Northern kingdom or the Southern kingdom, or does it refer to different places at different times in history?[170] Given my stated aim that this investigation is not restricted to an understanding of centralization of the cult from a solely geographical perspective, and that the text is being investigated for siege mentality based on its final form, neither the geographical locale of 'the place' nor the dating of various strata of the text, are essential for our investigation. However, this does not preclude me from positing views in these regards.[171]

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[170] For further reading on this aspect of the text see Niehaus (1992:3-4).

[171] I tend to support the view of Clements (1965:92) who argues that regardless to what may have transpired before, by the 7th century 'the place' is, "almost certainly Jerusalem since in the 7th century there was no alternative and also DtrH identifies the 'place' as Jerusalem". However, even before the seventh century, the eighth century

Centralization of the cult in Deuteronomy can be perceived as being conducted on several levels; physical or geographical, theological, sociological and perhaps even psychological. In Deuteronomy 12:2-3 there is the command to destroy the מצבחם (sacred pillars), אשריהם (sacred trees or wooden poles) and מזבהחם (altars) of the nations. Such a proscription is understandable in as much as Albertz has noted that the Deuteronomists "made every effort to establish the exclusive worship of Yahweh (monolatry) in all sections of society. Their slogan was 'Hear, O Israel, Yahweh is our God; there is one God, Yahweh' (Shema Yisrael Deut. 6:4)" (2002:96).

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prophets Isaiah of Jerusalem and Micah had already developed a theology of Jerusalem being the central sanctuary and center of the world. The passage in Isaiah 2:2-4 (cf. Micah 4:1-4 with slight variations) is very pertinent for the understanding the perception of Jerusalem at least in the latter half of the eighth century.

> In days to come, the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; and all nations shall stream to it. Many peoples shall come and say, 'Come let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.' For out of Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He shall judge between the nations, and shall arbitrate for many peoples; they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore (Is.2:2-4).

This passage is particularly pointed because of the image it presents. Hong in a study reflecting on Bethel as a national sanctuary for the northern kingdom, noted;

> Beth-El presumably was conceived as the navel of the universe, a hill that connected heaven and earth, which was a type of notion that often accompanied central religious shrines in ancient societies (2011:430).

It would seem that Isaiah and Micah were both aware of this ideology and were presenting Jerusalem as the navel of the universe, the highest mountain, hence the closest earth can be to heaven, and the fount of wisdom for the nations. To this end, if we accept these passages reflect eighth century conditions, then there is no reason to deem it implausible that by the seventh century, certainly following Sennacherib's invasion and devastation of Judah in 701 BCE and the perceived inviolability of Jerusalem as a result of the Assyrian withdrawal, what may well have begun as phantasm in the past, had become very much the national credo.

However, vs.4 is pivotal as the people are commanded, "You shall not worship the Lord your God in such ways". What makes this command so poignant is that it really represents a major modification of what may have been the traditional worship of many of the people. In reading Deuteronomy, we must constantly bear in mind that we are dealing with a text which is set in a period in the past, for a community in the present. The communities in Israel and Judah during the eighth and seventh centuries were not monotheistic.[172] As Gertz *et al.* noted;

> According to both extra-biblical and biblical textual sources, [however], the cultic reality consisted of → *polytheism* (Baal, Asherah, Bes, Horus) and → *poly-yahwism* and found expression in the most disparate local manifestations: the Yhwh of Samaria and his Asherah (Kuntillet 'Ajrûd, early 8th cent.), the Yhwh of Teman with his Asherah (Kuntillet 'Ajrûd, early 8th cent.), Yhwh as the god of Jerusalem with claims to the highlands of Judah and the whole land (Hirbet Bet Layy, 7th cent.), the Yhwh of Zion (Ps. 99.2) and the Yhwh of Hebron (2 Sam. 15.7) (2012:155).

In tearing down the high places of the nation, the people would also be rooting out what they construed to the worship of Yahweh. Physically, their worship would have been significantly modified.[173]

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[172] Perhaps the religious construct of both Israel and Judah in the 8th and 7th centuries mirrored somewhat that of Haiti where "the mixture of gods and goddesses and Catholic saints is an integral part of Hatian life- one common saying is that Hatians are 70% Catholic, 30% Protestant, and 100% voodoo" BBC News Channel cited July 12, 2015.

[173] The language presented in the accounts from 2 Kings suggests a violent pillaging of these sites. However, archaeology suggests the total opposite. Archaeological finds suggest that altars were carefully dismantled and not desecrated.

The true worship of Yahweh was now only possible in 'the place that the Lord [your] God will choose…to put his name'. In shifting the cult to a central geographic locale, not only the worship has been centralized but the theology is centralized as well. Those at the central shrine became the repositories of the requirements of Yahweh. The theological centralization of the cult is emphasized in vs.15-16 and 20-24, where the slaughtering of animals away from the central sanctuary has been stripped of its sacredness. Mayes highlighted the dilemma that geographical centralization would have created when he noted:

> The sacrificial ritual consisted of offering blood on an altar, while the flesh could be eaten (cf. 1Sam.14:3ff). Since the abolition of the local sanctuaries made this procedure impracticable, two consequences followed: either the killing of animals and eating of meat apart from sacrificial ritual at the one sanctuary should be completely forbidden (as proposed in the Holiness Code in Lev. 17:3ff.); or slaughtering of animals should 'be secularized', so that it could take place quite independently of the cult-ritual sphere (1979:228).[174]

In a brilliant piece of theological engineering the Deuteronomist stealthily divested the old patriarchal system of its authority, and posited it securely in the central administration. The theology that prescribed this transfer of power is found in the reinterpretation of what used to be a sacred ritual. The people are still allowed to slaughter animals, and the prohibition of eating the flesh with the blood remained intact, however, the blood loses its ritual significance such that it is to be poured out 'on the ground like water' (vs.16, 24). Likewise, the ritual purity required for eating animals offered as sacrifice is removed, and there is no difference between animals designated to be offered for sacrifice

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[174] cf. M. Weinfeld (1973:230ff.)

and those once prohibited; likewise, there is no prohibition concerning who can or cannot eat of it. Indeed, 'the unclean and the clean may eat of it, as they would of gazelle or deer' (vs.15, 22).[175]

In the centralization of the cult, as Von Rad pointed out, "an important sphere of the patriarchal life was set free to become a secular matter" (1966:93). Here von Rad uses the term 'set free' seemingly to imply that this might have been a welcome innovation for all involved. However, it is inconceivable that such a change would not have had telling social implications in that the authority of tribal elders and leaders of families who, up to that point, would have been revered as the guardians of the tradition liturgically, as well as theologically, were compelled to relinquish that authority. Though this is only hypothetical, one can imagine that if indeed the elders and leaders of families once played such pivotal roles, their influence on the community may have diminished, as they themselves would have been as dependent as others upon the central authority for the interpretation of a faith over which they once presided. It also had theological implications because the destruction of the local shrines, also meant the modification of the theology and perhaps even the political ideology that those shrines would have inspired and supported. The only proponents of the new theological reality that was to be the bedrock of the people's faith now rested with those who controlled the 'place where the Lord will choose to put his name'.

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[175] Mayes noted that the Gazelle and the hart, as species of game, were not acceptable for sacrifice; animals accepted for sacrifice may now be treated in a similar way (1979:228).

In reflecting upon Deuteronomy 12, Hjelm highlighted the possibility that we may be dealing with more than a geographical change when we speak of cult centralization, when she opined:

> What is stressed furthermore in the centralization formula, initiated by the same language in Deut. 12,8 is what could be termed mind-control: "don't do what we do here today, every man what he thinks is right in his own eyes". Deuteronomy's primary goal was not to centralize the cult on Gerizim or in Jerusalem, but to further cult control under the authority of the temple and the priesthood and secure the maintenance of the priests and the Levites (1999:299).

While I certainly share the view of Hjelm that there may also be an element of psychological control involved in the centralizing formula, I believe her assessment stops very short of what may be its intrinsic goal. While the centralization formula seems to favour priests and Levites, they too are censored in the Deuteronomic code. It is my view that when the centralization formula is examined in the wider context of the book, a very eerie picture emerges that posits it as an integral part of a larger project of siege mentality. This picture will emerge as we proceed with our analysis.

6.2.2. Centralization of the Judiciary: Deuteronomy 16:18-20; 17:8-13

In this section I employ the passages dealing with the centralization of the judiciary as identified by Rofé who is of the view that "the passages in 16:18-20, 7:8-13 comprise a

continuous text…to establish a single judicial system" (2002:103).[176] These passages again supply yet another piece to the puzzle of what may be an underlying intention of the book of Deuteronomy: to bring all the institutions of influence in the public sphere under the control of the central authority.

The peculiarity of Deut.16:18 is in its stipulation to appoint "judges and officers". The first oddity in such a stipulation is the actual appointment of judges. Von Rad opined that it certainly does not refer to the elders of the towns or villages (1966:114). Mayes shared this view and further pointed out the intentioned nature of the law by way of the "wording, **you shall appoint (**rather than simply 'you shall have') [which] suggests rather, official appointments from a centralized authority" (1979:264). In essence, again we may be dealing with a situation where the traditional leaders of communities are being divested of their power which has been transferred to a central authority, which now appoints persons whom it deems best suited to carry out its intentions. The centralization of the judiciary here has striking similarities to the Albanian Communist Party's restructuring of the civil service.[177]

Perhaps Rofé's assessment of the law stipulating the appointment of judges makes this comparison even more revealing as he acknowledged, as Von Rad and Mayes had, the novelty of this law. In his opinion, prior to the introduction of this law;

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[176] Rofé suggests that the portion of text 16;21–17:7 are out of place a really should positioned between 13:1 and 13:2. For further reading in this area see Rofé (2002:103-104). Cf. A. Bertholet (1899:41-42) and K. Marti (1922:382-4).

[177] See Mamullaku (1975:75ff); Rosenberg (1994/1995: 90ff).

Judgment was entrusted to individuals whose authority arose from their spontaneous recognition by the people. These were heads of the important families, tribal and municipal notables - in other words, the remnants of the pre-monarchical tribal and patriarchal organization. These are the figures who are generally referred to as "elders" (2002:105).

Rofé's observation is very perceptive as it highlights the sociological and psychological significance of the centralization process. When the appointment of judges and the manner in which it is prescribed are read in conjunction with the centralization of the cult, what Deuteronomy really engenders is a systematic dismantling of the social structure of the community by displacing its natural leaders with leadership chosen, and an ideology mandated and dictated from the center.

The latter point is especially featured in the laws of 17:8-13. In spite of their appointment as "judges in the towns" (16:18), if a matter is too difficult for them these appointed judges are to go to the Levitical priests and judge who preside in the "place which the Lord will choose". The requirements of 17:8-13 reflect that there was marginal autonomy for the judges in the towns, in that they were able to pronounce on minor matters. However, for matters of greater complexity they were there simply to carry out to the letter the requirements of the central authority. This comes out most strikingly in the command given to those judges who go up seeking an opinion in a case that is too difficult. In 17:10-13, these judges are strictly advised to:

Carry out exactly the decision that they announce to you from the place that the Lord will choose, diligently observing everything that they instruct you. You must carry out fully the

law that they interpret for you or the ruling that they announce to you; do not turn aside from the decision that they announce to you, either to the right or to the left. As for anyone who presumes to disobey the priest appointed to minister there to the Lord your God, or the judge, that person shall die. So you shall purge the evil from Israel. All the people will hear and be afraid, and will not act presumptuously again (NRSV).

This passage speaks to sanctions being placed on the judges that are appointed, and by extension on the people that they are called to serve. Not just sanctions, but extreme sanctions. To reject or even be lax in the application of the ruling issued by the central authority, which in this case is identified as the Levitical priests and the judge, is punishable by death. The only true legitimacy in the state, be it religious or legal, is now derived from one place and one place only; 'the place that the Lord will choose'.

From this passage we can establish an administrative structure where the judges in towns are under the supervision of the judge and Levitical priests 'in the place the Lord will choose'. The question then arises, from where did the Levitical priests and the judge in 'the place that the Lord will choose' get their authority? In other words, who is guarding the guards? I believe Rofé's reflection on the appointment of the judges in towns and their subjection to a central judge, offers some insight in this matter:

It is not difficult to guess, based on the intent of the law, who was supposed to appoint them: the next passage in the law (17:8-13) subjects the judges to the authority of 'the judge' who sits 'in the place that YHWH will choose'. It appears, therefore, that their appointment originated in the same location, which we understand to be the capital city, the seat of the king and the administrative centre (2002:106).

Specifically dealing with the appointment of the judge at the 'place that the Lord will choose' Rofé noted;

> such a *jurisconsultus* was certainly a professional expert in legal matters. It stands to reason that he was not the king, but rather a special learned and expert official, appointed to his post by the king (2002:111).

I believe, based on the stipulations of 17:8-13, centralization may prove to be too mild a description for the intent of Deuteronomy. The laws of Deuteronomy seemingly point toward autocracy, which may have implications for how the, so-called 'circumscription of the king' in 17:14-20 ought to be viewed. Presiding over all that Deuteronomy prescribes is the one official who is not appointed by men but divinely anointed by Yahweh as a part of the Davidic Dynasty. This anointed individual, the king, is most likely the one who has the power to appoint and disappoint. I will elucidate on the role of the king in the book of Deuteronomy, later in this chapter.

In addition to judges, the laws in 16:18-20 also call for the appointment of officers שטרים. Scholars are divided on the role of this office. Von Rad suggests that they were officials of the state, or royal officials who dealt with the affairs of the army, and placing the appointment of judges alongside them, meant that judges were now to be regarded as officials of the state as well.[178] In a wider study on the etymology of שטרים which is translated

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[178] For further reading see Von Rad (1966: 114ff); Mayes suggests that the officers were to be administrative assistants to the judges (1979:264ff)

officers, Rofé noted that it is really a derivative of a root "which means 'to write' in Arabic

and Akkadian" (2002:108).[179] He further opined that;

> The original meaning [שטרים] is thus "scribe". During the monarchy scribes were royal officials who occupied quite high rank, requiring a knowledge of fluent writing[180]…Deut. 16:18 therefore speaks, in practice, about the appointment of scribes that is, royal officials in every city…it appears that the combination 'judges and scribes' is hendiadys, that is, a single concept expressed by two separate words, and its sense judges who belong to the professional status of 'scribes', that is, the status of royal officials (2002:108-109)[181]. [emphasis added]

Rofé's assessment here sheds even more light on the nature of the centralization being

prescribed by Deuteronomy. If the judges are indeed to be appointed from the royal officials,

then it emphasizes the concentric nature of the stipulations. All roads led to the king.

6.2.3   Centralization of the Levites: Deuteronomy18:1-8

The position of the Levite in the Deuteronomic stipulations has been a source of

debate for some time. Some scholars have pointed to the hapless position in which the

Levites may have found themselves following centralization of the cult. According to

Sweeney,

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[179] See Rofé (2002:107ff.) for further reading on the etymology of *soterim.*

[180] See A.F. Rainey (1969:126-47).

[181] See Baumgartner (1967:247).

> Deuteronomy's position regarding Levites represents an attempt by the Josianic establishment to curb the autonomy of the hitherto autonomous Levitical orders, reducing them to wards of the state akin to the strangers, widows, and orphans reliant on the social welfare system (2001:151-53).

In spite of such opinions of the deprived status of Levites in Deuteronomy, some scholars have still attributed it to Levitical authorship or influence. According to Hoppe, W.W.F. Baudissin (1889) may have been the first to have posited the view that Deuteronomy may have been the work of priestly/Levitical authors.[182] One of the challenges that proponents of Levitical authorship for the book of Deuteronomy have always faced is the fact that cult centralization, with the destruction of local sanctuaries, actually eliminated those Levites from participation in the cult. According to Hoppe, von Rad's response to this assertion was that;

> Levites actually had outgrown the cultic sphere proper and were basically concerned with the scholarly preservation and transmission of ancient traditions rather than with liturgical service (1983:30).

 This notion has some purchase but perhaps not for the reason that von Rad offers. Are there any alternative views for understanding the status of Levites in the book of Deuteronomy?

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[182] See Hoppe (1983:27ff.) He also cites Wright (1954), and several others being proponents of Levitical influence on Deuteronomy. He suggests that von Rad would have been one of the greatest supporters of this view.

Leuchter (2007) offers an alternative to the dilemma of 'what was really prescribed for the Levites in Deuteronomy'. Picking up from Rofé's (2002) postulation that the judges and officers of 16:18-20 were really scribes, Leuchter makes the case that the Levites of the former rural shrines were incorporated into the bureaucracy as the scribes who functioned at the gates. In positing this view, he reads the book of Deuteronomy within a late seventh century context, particularly around the time of the Josianic reforms (2Kings 22,23). Given the limited literacy of the Judahite population at the time, Leuchter noted;

> Only the social elite would have had the requisite skills to carry out this office; on the regional level one would expect the local clergy to be the bearers of the office, as priesthoods served as the locus of literacy throughout the ancient Near East (2007:421).[183]

To emphasize this point Leuchter draws attention to what he deems "the recurring character [the Levite] as he is presented in the Deuteronomic text: he is the Levite "in your gates" (2007:419). The gates represented the administrative precincts of towns. Thus, linking the Levites to the gates suggest that they now performed some administrative function there.

This observation by Leuchter provides a clearer picture for comprehension of the true status of the Levite as he is presented in Deut. 18:1-8. There are two very important aspects of Deuteronomic reform that we should bear in mind. First, the centralization of the cult was

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[183] Ben Zvi (2000) suggested that the Israelite population was illiterate down to the Persian period. Schneidewind (2004) however, opined that the Josianic period was one of widespread literacy. While acknowledging Schneidewind's findings, Leuchter argues that the evidence provided by Schneidewind reflects "only a rudimentary education and limited command of grammar" (2007:.421).

revolutionary and affected the structure of the entire community. We have already noted how

it would have possibly affected the status of the elders and the normative function of the

family religion. The destruction of the local shrines, would also have affected the Levites

who served there. If the Levites were indeed amongst the literate of the population, then one

can imagine that this may have created a dilemma for the drafters of the Deuteronomic

legislation; what do we do with this large body of literate persons? It can be dangerous to

any regime to have a large body of persons who have been disenfranchised by the regime, left

in a position where they can be critical of the regime. To remedy such a problem, the

Coercive theory of sociology suggests either suppression by force, coercion by laws, or a

palatable mixture. The Deuteronomic legislators seemed to have opted for the latter.

However, let us not presume some act of benevolence.

In noting what can be deemed to be another important aspect of Deuteronomic

reform, the solution for the former will become apparent. The second important aspect of the

Deuteronomic reform is that, it required a literate body of persons to disseminate its

propaganda to the populace. The Deuteronomic legislators probably solved one problem

using the other. As Leuchter suggested;

> [The] incorporation [of local Levites] into a central system
> bound to the central sanctuary would ensure that the regional
> interpretation/institution of the law would be consistent and
> would benefit the monolithic interests of the state (2007:421).

The Levites would therefore have been assimilated into the system in a different

capacity altogether. In addition to this, the Levites would have been granted concessions for

their displacement in that, they were allowed to keep the benefits of their previous positions in the cult (18:1-8). On the flip side of this however, they had lost their autonomy, they would have become a part of a centralized system. Therefore, if they are to be equated with the judges and officers of 16:18, then they would also have been subject to the censorship and control of 17:10-13, as noted earlier. As Marmullaku pointed out, in Albania the government retrained Christian priests and Muslim khojahs and incorporated them into the civil service, thus making them employees of the state and by extension subject to the state (1975:76).[184] The Levites may have met a similar fate by their assimilation into the centralized system set out in Deuteronomy.

Leuchter suggests that not only the disenfranchised Levites were assimilated but the elders as well. He cites Deut. 22:15-28 as one of the instances in which "the role of the elders is not eliminated but redefined" (2007:425).[185] In this instance, the elders would have assumed a position under the supervision of the Levites who served as the judges. Sociologically, this ought to have been a smooth transition from one function to another as one can envisage it maintained the same structure with regard to authority that would have existed at the local shrines.

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[184]This move would have had several benefits. The priests and khojahs would have made up a portion of the intelligent people in the society with the ability to influence the populace against the regime. Thus, bringing them into the civil service would have neutralized potential dissenting voices. Similarly, eradicating religion would have removed a major hindrance to the government's goal of homogenization.

[185] For further reading on the authority of the elders in Deuteronomy see Rofé (2002:106ff.) Rofé, highlighted a number of passages that mention the elders. He argues that some of them were older laws while others appear to be the remnants of efforts of harmonization by the Deuteronomic legislators. However, Leuchter's view of the elders being assimilated into the Deuteronomic judicial apparatus seems to be novel.

The Deuteronomic stipulations of the centralization of the cult and the centralization of the judiciary, would have incorporated two key institutions in Israel, the Levites and the elders, into the bureaucracy controlled by the central authority. The assimilation first involved stripping those institutions of their autonomy, and subjecting them to conform to the precepts being disseminated by the central authority. This can be construed in modern terms as being comparable with the control of the media; the institutions that can influence public opinion.

6.2.4 Censoring of the Prophetic Movement

The view has long been posited that the Book of Deuteronomy emerged from a group sympathetic either to the Levitical Priesthood or the Prophetic movement. However, as our analysis has suggested thus far, rather than being esteemed in the book, the Levitical Priesthood is actually divested of some of its authority and is also heavily sanctioned to carry out, strictly, the orders that emanate from the central authorities 'in the place that YHWH shall choose". The following analysis will show that in similar manner, the prophetic movement was also heavily censored and severely sanctioned.

Deuteronomy seems to give an understanding of what was generally perceived as the prophet and the new interpretation it wanted its audience to adopt. The two passages of particular importance are 13:1-5 and 18:10-22. The combination of these two passages give a wide gamut of what prophecy in the context of the era from which the book emerged entailed. Reading the text not only from a theological perspective, but also from a socio-

political and psychological perspective as well, makes it recognizable that the stipulations of Deuteronomy actually reflect siege beliefs.

In analyzing these passages, each one will be set out in four stages; the subject of the passage, the outcome of the prophecy, the allegiance of the prophet to YHWH, and the penalty for disobedience.

Deuteronomy 13:1-5

Subject: A prophet or dreamer (vs.1)

Outcome of the Prophecy: Comes to pass (vs.2a)

Allegiance to YHWH: Let us go after other gods (vs.2b)

Penalty: Put to death (vs.5)

The first passage that deals with the prophet in the book seems to equate the prophet with a dreamer of dreams. While not seeking to identify any position the person or persons may have, von Rad suggested that they must have been persons "whose words [had] an influence by virtue of a special commission" (1966:96). He further opined:

> It is not easy to say what kind of prophets the preacher in Deuteronomy has in mind. Did Canaanite prophets (I Kings 18.19) pass over in this way to the offensive against the faith of Yahweh? Samaria had no sanctuary of Yahweh, but a temple of Baal (II Kings 10.23). Here such an awakening of Canaanite

self-assurance might no doubt be imagined. Or is it a question
of conditions in the former Northern Kingdom in the period after
722, when the faith of Yahweh found itself driven back on the
defensive in what was now an Assyrian province? (1966: 97).

Craigie envisaged such a person may have been "a man whose role or office carried

particular religious authority in the community, but one who might abuse his position for his

own evil ends" (1976:223). Payne however, seemed to have read the text from a social

scientific perspective and thus posited the view that Deuteronomy 13 in general is more

concerned with the social and political well-being of Israel, than anything purely religious

(1985:87). In fact, Payne went on to equate this prophet or dreamer with modern day,

dissidents, minority religious groups, political opponents…[a
person] standing outside organized religion (very probably), and
proving very persuasive to ordinary folk. The demagogue, with
a magnetic personality and a glib tongue (1985:87).

Payne then went on to identify Adolf Hitler as such a person (1985:87). He however

cautioned that the text be read as "a reflection on the past and condemnation of its laxity and

apostasy, not as a viable programme for the future" (1985: 87).   In spite of my disagreement

with his perception of Deuteronomy as a reflection on the past, Payne's interpretation leads

one to question how the 'independent prophets' of the eighth and seventh centuries might

have been perceived by the writers of Deuteronomy?[186]

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[186] Here I refer to the prophets such as Amos, Micah and Isaiah who were not institutional prophets and the
content of whose messages leaned more towards social justice. Given Payne's interpretation, could such
persons have been deemed to be political opponents by the Deuteronomists?

Of particular note in 13:1-5 is that the person who arises as a prophet does so from within the group. In spite of the accuracy of his prophetic work the measuring stick is really his loyalty to Yahweh. This passage is salient and must be read as indicative of the context in which the Book emerged. Without overtly stating it and probably not intending it ideologically, the writers of the text actually lean towards monotheistic views. In seeking to emphasize the supremacy of Yahweh over the other gods, they have actually posited all power into the possession of Yahweh. To this end any great sign brought about, though it was not done in the name of Yahweh, it was to be seen as Yahweh's doing. This was to emphasize the underlying point that the writers are seemingly trying to establish. Persons were to pledge their allegiance to Yahweh only.

Barstad is of the view that:

> [in the Book of Deuteronomy] prophets are not discussed in a positive sense, but only negatively, [and] thus implies a powerful demotion of the authority of prophecy to the status of a sort of second-rate revelation, subordinate to the "Law of Moses". It is Deuteronomy that is the actual expression of the will of YHWH (1994:241).

Prophets were therefore seen as threats to the true worship of YHWH by possibly leading people astray. Therefore, anyone who did not strictly adhere to the Deuteronomic code was a false prophet. This, in essence, is one of the key factors of siege mentality; the concept of a black and white world with no room for deviation.

The passage points out that the same benefits can be derived whether one prophesied in the name of Yahweh or not, so the underlying factor which demands loyalty to Yahweh

must be something else. The punishment and its intended outcome present a hint concerning the true focus of this law. The prophet who seeks to lead his people after other gods, though his prophecy is accurate, shall be put to death under the sentence of teaching "rebellion". The Hebrew word מורה which has been translated rebellious, can also be translated refractory, disobedient, or rebellious against.

The prophet or dreamer may very well then fit in with Payne's postulation. Thus, the charge would seem to be more about the disruption of the homogeneity in the group than the sacredness of following Yahweh only. The intended outcome again makes the point that the law may be about silencing dissenting voices, thus "purging the evil out of Israel". As Craigie noted; "the object of the severe penalty was not only the punishment of the evildoer, but also the preservation of the community" (1976: 224).

Deuteronomy 18:15-22

Subject: The Prophet who does not practice what he preaches (vs 19)/like me

The next portion of Deuteronomy that deals specifically with prophets is 18:15-22. The text may seem at first, to be favourable to the prophetic movement. However, when one analyzes it, its focus has more to do with the legitimacy of the legal code as expounded by Deuteronomy, than prophecy in and of itself. Like the previous passage on prophets, the prophetic movement is very heavily sanctioned. When read from the perspective of siege

mentality, the passage seems to be deliberately circular and covers any loopholes left open by the pronouncements of Deuteronomy 13.

Barstad is of the opinion that in the broader passage we may be dealing with two sub-passages (15-19, and 20-22) (1994: 244). Deut.18: 15-19 deals with YHWH raising up a prophet like Moses who will have the words of YHWH in his mouth, and will speak to the people all that YHWH commands, while 20-22 deals with the prophet of YHWH who either speaks out of turn or leads persons to turn to other gods.

Deut.18:15-19

The critical portion of this passage is really 18:16 where the Deuteronomist infuses a detail from the past which is premised on that very writer's interpretation of history. It is the very book of Deuteronomy 5:23-31 that introduces the concept of the people saying 'Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, or see this great fire anymore, lest I die' (c.f. Deut. 18:16). Bearing in mind that the book may be written to and for a generation far removed from the actual events it describes, this passage may be more a psychological infusion than the recollection of a historical event. It seems to be making the point that generations past had already relinquished the direct interaction with and guidance from YHWH, to Moses. Hence, the current generation would do well to follow their lead and relinquish any desire to interact with or be guided by YHWH, to the prophet like Moses.

Scholars have presented varied interpretations of this passage. Barstad posited the view that the prophet like Moses is actually Joshua (1994:246). This would actually be placing the text in a setting long before the seventh century. I however, perceive the passage to be more nuanced than a simple reference to Moses' successor. In fact, an observation by Barstad highlights a deeper ideological slant to the passage. According to Barstad,

> Deuteronomy represents the last, essential revelation from YHWH and hence contains everything that the people need to know. For this reason there is no institutionalization of the office of "prophet" in Deuteronomy; nor is there any general comparison of the prophets with Moses. The statement in 18,15 to the effect that YHWH will make a prophet like Moses arise applies to a once-and-for-all phenomenon, rather than to a series of future prophets (1994:247).

One's interpretation of this passage is very dependent upon one's dating of the events and of Deuteronomy in general. Barstad seems to be analyzing the text within the context of the Deuteronomistic History's narrative and thus interprets Joshua to be the prophet like Moses referred to in 18:15. Tengström on the other hand, perceived the text to be the product of exilic or even post-exilic redaction, and thus opined:

> The redactors seem not to have engaged in any specific ideological conflict, at least not if we define 'ideology' as a defense and legitimation of actual political or religious group interests. At the time when they elaborated their work there were no more interests in political or religious power, in property or land interests to defend, there were no more kings and no more prophets. Everything was lost (1994: 265).

Whilst I understand the conclusions of Barstad and Tengström given their respective points of origin, I differ with them for different reasons. When approached cognizant of the

dating dilemma that currently surrounds the book of Deuteronomy, a different picture

emerges.   In the case of Barstad, certainly the passage cannot be interpreted to mean Joshua

since the earliest accepted date for Deuteronomy is the seventh century. On the other hand,

in the case of Tengström, certainly prophecy is not dead nor is the kingship. So what could

this passage mean in a seventh century context?

When read from the perspective of siege mentality, the prophet will be one who

espouses only the content of Deuteronomy, which was, the "Law of Moses" and the will of

YHWH. The people had already given up the desire to hear YHWH directly, and the Book

of the Law was in the charge of the Levitical Priests in the Place that YHWH shall choose,

and the Levitical Priests were directly appointed by the King. Therefore, it is logical to

conclude that the passage is really a means of ideological control of the people, and the

prophet of Deut. 18:15-19, whom YHWH will raise up, is perhaps nothing more than a

phantom! Deuteronomy had now replaced the office of prophet. Barstad rightly concluded:

> Not only were the classical prophets left out of the
> Deuteronomistic History, but also…the Deuteronomists were
> not especially interested in prophecy at all. In their eyes, after
> the prophet Moses there is really no need for other prophets at
> all. It is Moses who is the great prophet, and YHWH's revelation
> to him is now available in Deuteronomy (1994:250).

It follows then, that whoever controlled Deuteronomy, was *de facto* prophet. This corresponds

with the view of Polzin (1980) who, though analysing the text using a blend of historical and

literal methods, came to the conclusion that the Deuteronomistic Historian is the prophet of Deuteronomy 18:18.[187] Ultimately, the king was in control.

Deut.18:20-22

This section of the text is rather concise and simply prescribes the death penalty for the prophet who speaks in the name of YHWH but utters that which 'YHWH has not commanded him to speak' (18:20a) that would mean, something that offers an alternative view to that which Deuteronomy offers. Here, this prophet may not be teaching idolatry, since the next portion of that verse describes another type of prophet "who speaks in the name of other gods" (18:20b).

It is apparent that both Deuteronomy 13:1-5 and 18:15-22, when read together are really meant to prohibit prophetic work of any kind that is contrary to the teaching of Deuteronomy. It may be a text coined in legal terms to silence political and ideological opponents. The harsh penalty of death is intended to be a deterrent against any dissenting voices within the community. This is not dissimilar to what would have obtained in Communist Albania with the silencing of the media.

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[187] See Ackerman (1984).

6.2.5   The Circumscription of the King: What is really the scope of the Deuteronomic King?

In assessing institutions in the Book of Deuteronomy, the tendency has usually been to seek parallels in the Deuteronomistic History. However, as we have established in the previous chapter, the origin of a literary tradition in Judah probably dates to the late eighth to seventh centuries. If we accept then, Noth's postulation that the Deuteronomistic History is grounded in the teaching of Deuteronomy, it would then not be prudent to seek verity of Deuteronomy in the Deuteronomistic History. Instead, it may be best to view Deuteronomy as an innovative text and hence subscribes to very little that preceded it.

Perhaps we can again draw on the case study of Albania under Enver Hoxha. If it was the case that no records had existed of governance in Albania prior to the Albanian Communist Party, it probably would have led historians to believe that its style of governance was not dissimilar to what would have preceded it. However, history testifies to the total opposite. The Albanian Communist Party was like nothing they had seen before or after; it was an absolute dismantling of all the traditional structures of governance in Albania, and the promulgation of new laws that reflected its siege mentality.

As we have established in previous paragraphs, the Book of Deuteronomy seems to have promulgated laws that represented a dismantling of traditional institutions such as the cult, the Levites, the judiciary, and the prophetic movement as well. The question then must be asked, where was the king? Or more pointedly, who really governed a Deuteronomic

Community? The answers to such questions may be found in the Deuteronomic Law

regarding the king (Deut. 17:14-20). The law can be divided into three basic portions,

namely, (i) the laws outlining the means of choosing a king (Deut. 17:14-15), (ii) the limits of

the king (Deut. 17: 16-17, and (iii) the role of the king (Deut. 17:18-20). These three portions

embody what Crouch has identified as "expressions of the Deuteronomic ethnic identity

concerns arising from the social, political and economic context of the long seventh century"

(2014: 178).

(i)   Deuteronomy 17:14-15: Choosing a King

In this passage kingship is deemed to have emerged out of the desire of the people to have

a king 'like all the nations around [them]'. From the outset, the office of the king may appear

to be somewhat nebulous within the context of the Deurteronomic experiment. As Crouch

noted,

> Even before the king's function is addressed, the text recognizes that the
> Israelites' desire for a king like all the surrounding non-Israelites contradicts
> everything for which the deuteronomic material stands. Given that such a
> person is apparently unavoidable, the deuteronomic author legislates the
> royal role in such a way, as, first, to minimize the major avenues of risk
> presented by the king's position, thereby securing Israel's insularity, and by
> doing so to, second, render the Israelite king unlike his non-Israelite
> analogues (2014:179).

While Crouch's analysis may be accurate in that the Israelite king is unlike any of the

other nations, I however suspect that there is a more nuanced motive to the Deuteronomic

legislation regarding the king. Its clarity is probably found in the ambiguous circularity of

the entire Deuteronomic code. As we have already seen with regard to the centralization of

the institutions discussed previously, the Deuteronomic king seems to loom over the

community. In Deut. 17:14-15, the people desire a king like the other nations, but the actual choice of the king is not like the other nations; YHWH chooses Israel's king.

However, with the king being YHWH's choice, the question then arises as to who actually mediates between YHWH and the people? The Deuteronomic code has already deemed the institution of prophet as rather obscure and essentially insignificant, and the Levites are under the control of the king. The significance of this portion of the text must then be ensuring that the king, chosen by YHWH whose will is expounded exclusively in Deuteronomy, will ultimately be Deuteronomic. I believe it is precisely this aspect of the law of the king that has been overlooked by numerous commentators and has thus led to the variant views concerning the motive behind it. In this discourse I will show that the law concerning the king is not only a prescription for a Deuteronomic king, but also a critique of kingship in the immediate past with relation to the laws Deuteronomy.

The next portion of the law pertaining to the choosing of the king (Deut. 17:15) may appear to be a contradiction of the first. The stipulation that the king must not be a foreigner seems uncanny given that YHWH chooses the king and one would expect him to know what he is looking for in a king! Mayes suggests that the passage is often seen as Deuteronomistic as opposed to Deuteronomic because of its tension with 17:14 (1971:271). However, Barton opines that the juxtaposition of the two passages is "part of the text's careful sublimation of the royal house to Yahwistic oversight" (1984:46-47).

The complexity of this passage is probably evidenced by the many commentators who have offered varying explanations, perhaps with premises not dissimilar to those which led Driver to opine that,

> It is difficult to imagine what attractions the rule of a foreigner
> can have possessed for Israel, and there are no traces in the
> history of either kingdom of a desire to establish it (1951:210).

Similarly, Daube's sobering observation may have led to the same quest, when he suggested that, "no sane person would have contemplated enthroning a foreigner" (1971:480).

Depending on when one dates the Book of Deuteronomy, and one's perspectives on its origins, the passage has the potential to offer several possibilities. Mayes suggests that it may have Northern roots grounded in the tradition of Omri or Ahab and Jezebel (1979:272). Nelson however, deems the passage to be a reference to the period of the Syro-Ephramaite War and the attempts to install Tabeel on the throne of Judah or even further back to the period of the Judges with Abimelech (1981:223)[188]. Nielsen (1995:185) links the passage to preservation of identity not because of personel but rather, the foreignness of the office of king itself. Dutcher-Walls is of the opinion that the passage was to encourage acquiescence to the Assyrian Ruler, lest a foreigner be set over them in place of a native (2002:615). In keeping with the context of the eighth century setting, Nicholson posits the view that it may be a reference to the 'Great King' as he noted:

> Dtn 17,15b has been much debated, and various suggestions
> have been made as to what would have prompted such a
> prohibition and what historical figure or historical circumstance

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[188] Cf. Tigay (1996:167) who raises the possibility of the passage being a reference to foreign mercenaries.

> may have been in the mind of its author. It is argued here that this prohibition is best understood against the background of the Neo-Assyrian hegemony over Israel and Judah with the political, economic, cultural and religious consequences this brought, and that "foreigner" in the text thus has in mind the figure of "the Great King", the king of Assyria (2006:61). [189]

While Nicholson's assertion is plausible, I believe that when read against the backdrop of what Crouch refers to as 'the long seventh century', the passage in 17:15 is even more nuanced and covers a much broader spectrum of issues. For example, 'the foreigner' when read from the perspective of Deuteronomy and with the possibility of siege beliefs being its driver, may not simply be someone from outside, but it may be an insider who does not subscribe to Deuteronomic principles. Crouch offered an insightful perspective when she noted that,

> the insistence that the king over Israel be himself an Israelite is an attempt to ensure that the leader of the Israelite, Yahwistic community is a community insider, aware of and in support of the various practices which constitute the Israelite community's particular identity. To risk the acquisition of a non-Israelite king is to risk a ruler who is neither an Israelite himself nor aware or concerned about the preservation of a Yahwistic Israelite identity (2014:181).

Crouch's view here is very significant because it suggests that identity is not merely by way of ethnicity but also ideology. While not ruling out the fundamental importance of ethnicity, the passage certainly suggests that it is not all. It is therefore possible for someone to meet the ethnic requirements but not the ideological ones. It is here that the law of the king becomes intriguing because the king may be an Israelite but not Deuteronomic; and it is

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[189] For further discussion see Crouch (2014:180 n.196).

the latter which the writer of Deuteronomy is seeking to avoid. Group membership is

ultimately determined by whether a person is Deuteronomic or not. A king who is an

Israelite but not Deuteronomic is therefore ideologically a "foreigner". Groups that exhibit

siege mentality usually view leadership that is susceptible to, or complicit with, external

influences as 'foreign', though the leadership may be ethnically indigenous.[190]

I wish to suggest that the portions of the law regarding the king not be read in

isolation of each other, but rather be taken as a collective. When read from this perspective,

against the backdrop of the late eighth and seventh centuries, with the possibility that

Deuteronomy is a work that exhibits and promotes siege mentality, a different picture

emerges concerning the law of the king. The portion directly following the stipulation that

the king should not be a foreigner, is that which is often referred to as the 'circumscription of

the king' (17:16-17). I believe an analysis of this section will enable us to better understand

the preceding section of the law.

Deut: 17:16-17 The Circumscription of the King or Critique of Hezekiah?[191]

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[190] Here we can view Deuteronomism in the same light in which Sandbrook & Romano viewed Islamism (2004:1015). Just as Islamism is practiced in variant degrees, so too Deuteronomism may well have variant degrees.

[191] Hezekiah is chosen for this analysis simply to correspond with the period used by Crouch and others for their analysis.

In this passage the king is prohibited from going down to Egypt for horses as well as accumulating many wives. According to Dutcher-Walls,

> Many scholars are of the view that the limits of Deuteronomy 17:16-17 have a historical background in the sustained prophetic critiques of royal authority and royal abuses of power. A related proposal is that the origin of the limits is in the actual experiences of Israel with its kings, their powers and their excesses (2002:603).[192]

While this approach is understandable, from an assessment of the wider Deuteronomistic history where Sweeney (2001), for example, having analysed the passage in 1Kings 10:1-25, 26-29, suggests that the law of the king is anti-Solomonic because of its reference to Egypt and foreign wives, I wish to posit the view that the focus of the Law of the King is much more acute and can be seen to be rooted in the events of the late eighth century and early seventh century BCE. When these two portions of this law are separated, a picture begins to emerge of the possible intent of the writer of Deuteronomy.

Deut. 17:16

When one analyses this law, one can almost read it alongside the description of the reign of Hezekiah as presented in 2 Kings 18 as well as Isaiah 36. The taunt of the Assyrian official to Hezekiah's officials embodies the message of this portion of the law of the king.

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[192] See also Crouch (2014:181 n199) for further discussion.

> Do you think that words can take the place of military skill and might? Who do you think will help you rebel against Assyria? You are expecting Egypt to help you…I will make a bargain with you in the name of the emperor. I will give you two thousand horses if you can find that many riders. You are no match for even the lowest ranking Assyrian official, and yet you expect the Egyptians to send you chariots and horsemen (Is. 36:5-6a, 8-9).

I believe the preceding passage and its close resemblance to the law of the king in Deuteronomy presents a compelling case for us to examine more closely, the reign of Hezekiah. One of the peculiarities of Hezekiah's reign was his possible inclusion of persons who were not Judahites, presumably persons who had fled the Assyrian invasion of the Northern Kingdom, into his administration. Again, it is the prophet Isaiah who gives us an indication that this was not a move that was deemed acceptable by all. Indeed, Isaiah's scathing attack on Shebna the steward is quite instructive.

> This is what the Lord, the LORD Almighty, says: "Go, say to this steward, to Shebna the palace administrator: 16 What are you doing here and who gave you permission to cut out a grave for yourself here, hewing your grave on the height and chiseling your resting place in the rock? "Beware, the LORD is about to take firm hold of you and hurl you away, you mighty man. He will roll you up tightly like a ball and throw you into a large country. There you will die and there the chariots you were so proud of will become disgrace to your master's house. I will depose you from your office, and you will be ousted from your position. "In that day I will summon my servant, Eliakim son of Hilkiah. 21 I will clothe him with your robe and fasten your sash around him and hand your authority over to him. He will be a father to those who live in Jerusalem and to the people of Judah. 22 I will place on his shoulder the key to the house of David; what he opens no one can shut, and what he shuts no one can open. 23 I will drive him like a peg into a firm place; he will become a seat of honor for the house of his father".
> (Isaiah 22:15-23)

From this commentary we learn that Shebna was clearly a 'foreigner' who held a very prominent and powerful position in Judah. He was the palace administrator with a love for chariots. It is quite possible that he was the one charged with the responsibility for the overall management of the palace including determining the number of chariots the king possessed and the ordering of the same.

What is also evident in this passage is that Isaiah did not feel that such a position should have been held by Shebna. Intriguingly, the only thing that Isaiah did not prescribe in this passage was the deposition of Hezekiah; but he might as well have. The attack is much on Shebna as it is on Hezekiah. The question, in 22:16a is very pointed: "What are you doing here and who gave you permission…?" These are rhetorical questions which point to the ineptitude of Hezekiah to lead the Judahite community. Shebna had to be there on the invitation and at the pleasure of the king, and he was able to hew a grave in the land that had been specially covenanted to YHWH's people with the consent of the king. To this end, Isaiah is prophesying the removal of Shebna and his replacement with a Judahite who by the description of his role, will be *de facto* the king. Isaiah prophesied that Eliakim son of Hilkiah will be 'a father to those who live in Jerusalem and Judah' (vs.21). Isaiah was quite clear in indicating that Eliakim was going to take over the office of Shebna. Thus, in prophesying that Eliakim will be a father to the people, it is implicit that this was the role that Shebna, whom Isaiah deemed a "foreigner", was expected to perform. Shebna, a "foreigner", was *de facto* ruler over the people of Jerusalem and Judah.

Perhaps we should also read Deuteronomy 17:15 with this critique from Isaiah in mind. This may well be the more plausible interpretation of the passage since we must presume that by the time Deuteronomy is being written, there is already a well- established tradition of a Davidide ruling over Judah, so the stipulation that the king must be a brother and not a foreigner most likely is not as straightforward as has traditionally been believed.[193]

It was possibly that same disposition of "foreign-ness" which led Hezekiah's advisers to encourage him to form a treaty with Egypt for protection against Assyria, again evoking a response from Isaiah:

> 30 "Woe to the obstinate children," declares the LORD, "to those who carry out plans that are not mine, forming an alliance, but not by my Spirit, heaping sin upon sin; who go down to Egypt without consulting me; who look for help to Pharaoh's protection, to Egypt's shade for refuge. But Pharaoh's protection will be to your shame, Egypt's shade will bring you disgrace. Though they have officials in Zoan and their envoys have arrived in Hanes, everyone will be put to shame because of a people useless to them, who bring neither help nor advantage, but only shame and disgrace." (Isaiah 30:1-5)

Isaiah's critique of Hezekiah's reign suggests that he was no longer operating on the behalf of the people because he was not operating under the advice of YHWH. In effect, Hezekiah's request of horses and horsemen from Egypt, as was suggested by the Assyrian

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[193] The language in this portion of the text perhaps should be read in the same context as the 'brother language' as was utilized by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. In Albania *Biografi e mire* (Good Biography) was used to identify the person who supported the regime while terms like *Biografi e keqe* (Bad Biography) along with *kulak* and *diversant* were used to identify enemies of the state. In the case of the Muslim Brotherhood it was adherence to a certain view of Islam. For the writer of Deuteronomy, it is being Deuteronomic. Being foreign for the writer of Deuteronomy is not about ethnicity, it is about ideology; being Deuteronomic.

official, his reliance upon foreign advisors and his formation of a treaty with Egypt, may well have deemed him a 'foreigner'. This would not be unusual when reading from the perspective of siege mentality. In our case study of Egypt, it was Anwar Sadat's treaty with Israel that made him unpopular in the sight of his people and eventually led to his demise. A similar thing was true of the Zog regime in Albania.

Na'aman offers an alternative perspective as to who Shebna might have been and what his transgression was likely to have been. In his analysis of Isaiah's attack on Shebna, Na'aman wrote:

> We know not what Shebna's father's name was nor what
> Shebna's real power was in the court of Hezekiah. The fact
> that he ventured to hew a tomb in a royal manner, near the
> royal burial place indicates that he felt himself strong enough to
> behave in a kingly manner (2016:464).

Here Na'aman concurs with my assessment that Shebna had somehow assumed the role of king *de facto* and took it upon himself to "violate a royal prerogative"[194]by hewing a tomb for himself in the part of the city which was the designated burial site for the kings of Judah. It matters not what Shebna's ethnic background was, his behaviour within the context of the Deuteronomic Code would have rendered him a "foreigner". I believe this description of the behaviours of both Shebna and Hezekiah is at the heart of the intent of the Deuteronomic Law of the King. It is not so much a circumscription of the king but a means of ensuring that the king is Deuteronomic and hence not ideologically "foreign".

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[194] Na'aman (2016:465)

The next portion of the law stipulates that the king should not gather many wives. While there is no evidence of such activity in the period of Hezekiah's reign, I agree with Crouch's view that this portion of the text may just be an extension of the prohibition concerning horses. According to Crouch,

> The king's wives were the concrete manifestation of and living seal on international treaties and alliances; the prohibitions' repetition of language from Deut. 17:16 reiterates that the objection to both horses and women lies in this quarter (2014:183).

Likewise, the prohibition concerning the accumulation of goods may well be read in the same light. As Crouch noted,

> This Israelite king is to secure his throne and Israel's insularity by behaving as a loyal vassal, avoiding alliances secured by the exchange of goods or by the exchange of women, and by paying his tribute on time (2014:183).

Deut. 17: 18-20

The king in this portion of the law is to have a copy of the law of Moses near him and read from it all his life. Again, this can easily be misconstrued as it has been, as some diminishing of the office of the king. However, when read from the perspective of siege mentality, this passage actually empowers the king. The passage presents the image of a king who is loyal to the Deuteronomic code and therefore assumes the role of Moses, thereby having all authority over the community. I believe Bächli summed up the intention of this portion of the text quite succinctly when he wrote:

> Here, it is argued that, the king is charged with the responsibility of reading and interpreting the law in public. He thus assumes the office of the law-preacher of an earlier period and as custodian and teacher of the law he is mediator between Yahweh and the people and responsible for the renewing of the covenant. It is the king is clothed with the authority of Moses and is successor to the earlier 'judge of Israel' (1962:187 cited in Nicholson, 1967:89).

This is in fact the role Josiah did assume in 2 Kings 23:2. When reading the Book of Deuteronomy from the perspective of siege mentality it brings into play the psychological intent of the writer. The king presented in Deuteronomy is only restricted if he is not Deuteronomic. The king who is Deuteronomic would naturally do all that the law stipulates even if there was no law of the king, simply because it would be the Deuteronomic thing to do. For example, such a king would never be labelled a 'foreigner' because he would naturally be insular and would have no foreigners in his administration. Likewise, he would form no alliances with other nations, neither will he pay obeisance to any foreign ruler, because such are a threat to the identity of his people and constitute 'the world' of which one must be wary. Thus, the law of the king as presented in Deuteronomy is really the litmus test to ensure that the king is in fact Deuteronomic. If he is not, his fate could be akin to that of Amon in 2Kings 21:23!

6.3   Who Really Ruled a Deuteronomic Community?

Having assessed the centralization of various institutions in the book of Deuteronomy, the question is then before us; who really ruled this community?   In assessing this aspect of the text, I wish to concur with the views of Bächli with regard to his understanding of the role

of the king portrayed in the book of Deuteronomy, though I do not subscribe to his premises for the assessment. His arguments use as their premise the Deuteronomistic History. In the analysis I have attempted to avoid the Deuteronomistic History as validation for Deuteronomy, utilizing it only to demonstrate the plausibility of my assertions, since it may well have been written after Deuteronomy itself.

Bächli was of the view that, Deuteronomy emerged as a consequence of Josiah's death such that Josiah himself knew nothing about it (1962:82).   However, as Nicholson rightly noted, such a view belies the law book discovered in the temple in Josiah's time (1967:91). As mentioned before, while I do not support Bächli's premises, he certainly posits some very salient views concerning who actually presided over the Deuteronomic community.

With regard to the cult, Bächli argued that the king was the highest and ultimate authority on cultic matters in Israel. To support this view, he pointed to evidence from the reigns of Ahaz, Hezekiah and Manasseh noting their involvement in cultic reforms.[195] However, since those events are debatable, I am willing to concede that the king was ultimately in control of the cult but we need not go outside of Deuteronomy to deduce this. The text in and of itself, with the centralization of the cult and the diminishing of the roles of the elders and Levites as discussed earlier, presents the king as the ultimate authority.

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[195] Cf. Nicholson (1967:90)

In similar manner, according to Nicholson,

> Bächli believes that the king was also ultimately responsible for the administration of the law. He was the juridical head of the nation (1967:89).

Again, while agreeing with Bächli's conclusion, I am forced to question his premise. He used as the premise for this assertion the story of Jephthah being made the head of the Gileadites in Judges 11:4ff whilst at the advent of the monarchy Saul is designated head of Israel.[196] The verity of the assertion that the king presides over the judiciary can be found in the book of Deuteronomy itself.

The centralization laws, the censoring of prophets and the law of the king all provide features of siege mentality in the book of Deuteronomy. The centralized power and the stipulations to conform or die are all distinguishing features as evidenced in our case studies of Germany and to a lesser extent Egypt.[197]

6.4   Homogenization of the Community: An Attempt to Create an Ethnically and Religiously Homogenous Community.

Amongst the many distinguishing features of siege mentality is the propensity for it to survive best where there is homogeneity. It is therefore incumbent upon any agent or entity

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[196] Nicholson (1967:89)
[197] The rise to power of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and its relatively short rule does not provide an adequate timeline to fully assess its promulgation and application of laws.

seeking to propagate siege mentality to either create an environment that fosters homogeneity or find one that exists naturally, as has already been established in the case study of Egypt where ethnic homogeneity certainly assisted in the cultivation of the siege mentality, as opposed to Mauritius where the ethnic and religious diversity of the community made the development of siege beliefs difficult. However, as we have also seen, though ethnic homogeneity is a good rallying trait, there still needs to be established an even finer line of ideological homogeneity. As Bar-Tal and Antebi rightly noted, the community must be easily mobilized. Such ready mobilization is best achieved in communities where there is little or no diversity in views or ideology. One may suggest that such is never the norm for human systems, and one would be right.[198] However, siege mentality can hardly be considered a normative means of human existence. It is for this reason that internal coping methods as well as the pressure toward conformity within a group are also distinguishing features of the siege mentality. These fall into the category that Bar-Tal and Antebi described as consequences of siege mentality (2004).

The pressure to conform is really the means of establishing ideological homogeneity within a group. Refusal to conform can result in marginalization or even exclusion from the group by, on the one hand, sanctions and isolation, or on the other, more severely, elimination. Either way, the refusal to conform is an ideological posture that is tantamount to anathema where siege mentality is concerned. The resistance to conformity undermines the ultimate goal of solidarity via ideological homogeneity which is essential for the siege mentality to flourish.

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[198] This does not mean that there cannot be a general or majority shared ideology.

6.5   Internal Coping Methods and Pressure Towards Conformity as Instruments of Social Control and Cohesion in Deuteronomy

The Book of Deuteronomy has been long studied by persons from various ideological perspectives, and conclusions regarding its genre, historical context, and even motive, have been born out of such studies. In their exposition on Deuteronomy 13:6-11 and the concept of community in the Book of Deuteronomy, Shires and Parker wrote,

> Never is Deuteronomy more faithful to its own deepest insights
> than when it speaks of the whole people's relation to Yahweh.
> Not just private piety but the whole community response is
> under obligation. In essence this means democracy. At points
> like this O.T. thinking achieves some of its noblest heights,
> portraying the religion of a people who as a whole have their
> correlated rights and duties. The strong communal note runs
> throughout Deuteronomy (1953:419).

Though not the purvey of this study, one is left to wonder if Shires and Parker writing from a mid-20th century perspective have been influenced by their context and are thus able to isolate democratic principles in the Deuteronomic code. Though their work is dated I have cited it to show how world views and possibly ideological perspectives may have influenced their interpretation of the text.

Approaching the text from a 21ˢᵗ century perspective with fresh images of ISIS in Iraq and its 'establishment' of an 'Islamic State' with the strict directive to conform or die, and similarly Boko Haram in Nigeria with an equally threatening invective in its pursuit of the establishment of an Islamic State there, the book of Deuteronomy takes on a totally different complexion. Indeed, some parts the Deuteronomic code, including the passage esteemed by Shires and Parker, seem to bear an uncanny resemblance to the promulgations of groups like ISIS, Boko Haram and their antecedent Al Qaeda.

In the following paragraphs we will examine some laws found in the book of Deuteronomy which stipulate severe punishment or death for members of the community who refuse to conform to the laws. What we will find are laws, which far from fostering democratic principles, seek to enforce conformity, stipulate harsh penalties for those who refuse and drive fear into those who witness. The laws being investigated will be parsed under two general headings, namely; religious conformity and civil/moral conformity. The basic method of analyzing each law would follow the pattern of identifying the sin/shortcoming, the punishment prescribed and the intended outcome.

6.5.1   Religious Conformity (Deuteronomy 13:1-18)

In the passages which seek to establish homogeneity by way of conformity to religious precepts and practices, there seems to be the inclusion of what may be referred to as a Deuteronomic phrase יכם אֱ יְהוָה - "The Lord your God". Without elucidating too much on this phrase, one thing is certain, the inclusion of the second person possessive pronoun 'your'

does present a stark contrast when compared with the Yahwistic phrase יְהוה אֱ הִים - "The Lord God". This suggests that the writer of Deuteronomy was seeking to establish YHWH as the personal god of the community for which he was writing, recognizing that there were other gods, but YHWH was theirs, hence the personal pronoun. The Deuteronomic phrase reflects monolatry rather than monotheism.

I argue the view that we are dealing with a text that is purporting monolatry as opposed to monotheism because, at a glance, it may appear that the fundamental purpose of these passages is the avoidance of polytheism. However, when read though the lenses of the siege mentality, the writers seem to be more concerned about limiting the religio-ideological latitude that can exist when there are too many options available. Of paramount importance to the group from which the book emerged are two identity markers; religion and ethnicity. The importance of identifying a single god to whom their allegiance will be focused, was possibly to limit the combinations that could be derived from the inclusion of other gods. To accept other gods would have been to introduce other persons into the group who may not have shared many other things in common. The acceptance of other gods would have the propensity of creating an ideologically and culturally heterogenous group which is not conducive to easy mobilization, as siege mentality requires. The passages therefore, though couched in a religious context, may not necessarily have the avoidance of polytheism as their primary goal; neither may their intention be as sacerdotal as we have traditionally believed. Rather, the primary goal of these passages may simply be the avoidance of ideological and cultural heterogeneity which has the potential to make the group less cohesive and thereby, more vulnerable to attacks from external forces.

Like the civil and moral aspects of the laws seeking to establish conformity, equally as striking is the severity of the punishment and the intended behavioral transformation that should ensue as a result of the punishment for religious deviance.

i)   Deuteronomy 13:1-5 "The case of a member of the group who arises as a prophet"[199]

ii)   Deuteronomy 13: 6-11 The case of a family member who entices others to go after other gods

These laws, as well as that which follows in Deuteronomy 13:12-18, really crystallize the underlying message of conformity to be found in the passages analyzed thus far. What may be presenting itself in these laws is pressure being placed on every level within the group to ensure conformity and the maintenance of stability and group homogeneity. The laws highlight a communal responsibility to maintain ideological stability within the group. Of course, in Deuteronomy, the ideological conformity is presented within the confines of religion.

In 13:6-11, the subjects of the law convey the seriousness of the offences. The subjects are identified as persons within the family circle: "If your brother, the son of your mother, or your son, or your daughter, or the wife of your bosom, or your friend who is your

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[199] This passage has already been analysed under the censoring of prophets. The severity of punishment prescribed is an indicator of the pressure toward conformity.

own soul…" (vs.6). However, the passage emphasizes that family ties are to be deemed

secondary to the goals of the group. The punishment and intention are even more severe not

only for the perpetrator but the other family members as well. The family member who seeks

to entice and lead others to follow other gods, even though he does it secretly, must be

exposed. The law then places an obligation on family members to keep a check on each

other. The severity of the punishment of stoning by death is compounded by the stipulation

that a family member should cast the first stone. One would imagine that this had the

propensity to be a very powerful psychological tool because it also makes the family

members culpable for having not done enough to ensure the conformity of their member,

while at the same time leaving a permanent image etched in their psyche about the

seriousness of conformity within the confines of one's everyday activity. The sense is given

that every moment was to be monitored. This is comparable to what obtained in Communist

Albania where according to Ndoja and Woodcock, to avoid being 'stained', families would

disown members as being "too damaging to their survival under the regime" (2018:234). In

fact, with the recent opening of the files of the secret police from the Communist era in

Albania, it has been revealed that many persons were reported to the authorities by persons

close to them such as neighbours and co-workers.[200]

The intended outcome for this punishment as stated, is that; "all Israel shall hear, and

fear, and never again do such wickedness as this among you" (13:11). The punishment also

serves as a public spectacle and a means of wider group control. The ultimate purpose of the

punishment is to bring about conformity; group control by fear. The psychological aspect of

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[200] In the case of Maks Velo, it was his Mother-in-Law. See 'Communist-era secret police files reopen old wounds in Albania' https://www.nbcnews.com/news/amp

this law cannot be understated because it serves to keep the community on edge from the most microcosmic level of the family. The psychological effect would have been a constant and heightened state of tension within the community.

iii)   Deuteronomy 13:12-18 "The case of base fellows of a city"

This law is not dissimilar from that which preceded it in the sense that it places an obligation on the local leaders of the community. Here though the base fellows are the ones who are seeking to lead the city astray, the culpability falls on the elders of the city. Pressure is then being placed on the elders of the city to maintain stability and ensure conformity in keeping with the goals of the wider group. Failure to do this results in punishment not only for the base fellows or the elders, but the entire city. חֶרֶם is evoked against that city with the added stipulation that it never be rebuilt.

Similar methods were employed by the Albanian Interior Ministry which according to Ndoja and Woodcock, pressured employees "to identify people for persecution, and ministry employees would themselves be convicted for 'lack of vigilance'" (2018;233). Likewise, Bönker, Obertreis and Grampp noted that in an effort to eradicate the infiltration of foreign broadcasts, the Party "urged local party committees to 'look deeper into these problems' …and to 'engage better in the ideological battle against alien manifestation'" (2016:245).

Though these pronouncements do not speak explicitly to the 'displacement' of the party committees, they certainly exemplify the desire of the central authorities to control every facet of the people's daily activity.

In the book of Deuteronomy, this desire to control again is presented with the strong element of psychological control involved in this law. It is within the interest of everyone in the group to keep an eye on the other. The effect of the punishment for that city serves as an enduring reminder for the elders and inhabitants of other cities of their lot if they fail to maintain stability by silencing dissidents.

6.5.2   Civil/Moral Conformity

i)   "The Stubborn and Rebellious son" (Deuteronomy 21:18-21)

This passage seeks to address the issue of handling a son who is stubborn and rebellious. There may be more embodied in this law than immediately meets the eye. Its true intent may lie in a careful analysis of the characteristics ascribed to the son and the charges that would eventually be brought against him. The Hebrew word ה   which has been translated rebellious can also be translated, refractory, disobedient, or rebellious against. Likewise, the word ס רֶר which has been translated stubborn can also be translated, rebellious or to backslide. On the surface, these two characteristics do not seemingly fit the accusations

of being a glutton and drunkard with which this young man is to be charged. The Hebrew זָלַל which has been translated glutton can mean riotous eater but it may also be translated as one who is worthless, lavish and a squanderer. Quite similarly, the Hebrew סָבָא which is translated drunkard does not seem to fit in with the seemingly more controlled and intentioned characteristics of being stubborn and rebellious. Who is this young man then?

To adequately answer this question, I will delve into its interpretation by Jewish sources. The Mishnah Sanhedrin which was compiled in Talmudic Israel between the years 190 CE and 230 CE, highlights the complexity of this passage. The rabbis at the time found it a rather harsh law and were therefore divided about it. One school of thought suggested that the law was never fulfilled in that, there was never a stubborn or rebellious son who was stoned. Another perspective was that it was the word of God and therefore beyond reproach; while a third opinion was that if a stubborn and rebellious son had ever received the punishment, it was not because of his past transgressions but rather, to prevent him from becoming even more of a threat to the society (Mish. San. C8. Sect.1). It is clear that the rabbis of the late second and early third centuries CE found great difficulty reconciling the punishment with the offense presented in Deuteronomy.

In an attempt to identify what 'stubborn and rebellious' and their relation to 'glutton and drunkard' could possibly have meant, the rabbis took a literal approach and concluded that, a son could only be considered stubborn and rebellious if he stole from his father and ate it on the property of others. If he stole from his father and ate it on his father's property, or if

he stole from others and ate it on their property or his father's property, he could not be considered stubborn and rebellious (Mish. San. C 8. Sect.3).

The vagueness of the postulations given by the rabbis as well as the relative silence of commentators on this particular passage, may highlight the inherent danger in not reading the book of Deuteronomy holistically. When read within the context of Deuteronomy as an integrative and holistic unit, the law concerning the stubborn and rebellious son takes on a whole new meaning that aligns with the broader message of the text.

The usage of the phrase 'stubborn and rebellious' in other biblical texts, suggests that the interpretation of the rabbis betrays its depth. There are four occurrences of the phrase in the Old Testament; two in the passage in question 21:18, and 21:20, and the others in Psalm 78:8 and Jeremiah 5:23. In the latter, the designation of stubborn and rebellious speaks to apostasy; a turning away from YHWH. If we interpret 'stubborn and rebellious' in Deuteronomy 21 in this way, the question arises as to whether it ought not be regarded as a repetition of Deuteronomy 13:6-11. However, the charges of gluttony and drunkenness suggest that the passage is more nuanced. The family member of 13:6-11 seeks to entice others to go after other gods, while the son of 21:18-21 is one who simply rejects the system all together. The latter is not seeking to entice anyone to follow him, he simply refuses to follow them. While both can be interpreted as a rejection of YHWH, it is not in the same way. Deuteronomy 21:18-21 ought to be read as the civil/moral complement of 13:6-11, where the former deals with social or even political dissidents while the latter deals with

religious dissidents. The law is seemingly structured to cover the entire gamut of civil/moral deviance in which young men in the group may participate.

The ascribed characteristics of being stubborn and rebellious, given the various translations that can be had, may well be addressing those persons within the in group who present ideological differences. Dissenting voices within the group are not conducive to the sustaining of siege beliefs, and therefore render the group vulnerable to attacks from without. The stubborn and rebellious son may well represent the independent thinker within the group who refuses to follow blindly, as the siege mentality requires. One of the effects of siege mentality is the easy mobilization of the group. No effort should be spared then, to bring about conformity. It is when the parents fail in their efforts at bringing about conformity that the young man is to be brought to the elders and be charged with being a glutton and a drunkard.

Willis (2001) holds the view that the law concerning the rebellious son is a common phenomenon in the community which was blown up to national proportions by the Deuteronomic redactors. He argues that the parents' turning over of their son to the elders was a means of maintaining their standing in the community and avoiding divine retribution. Without any lengthy engaging of Willis and his views, I wish to posit the view that there may well be much more than the parents' desire to maintain their standing in the community and to avoid divine retribution. Perhaps it is imperative that we read these laws with the stipulations of Deuteronomy 13 in mind; the parents would have been well aware of their responsibility not to conceal their son's rebellious behaviour, and even more poignantly, their

culpability should they do so. Their turning their son over to the elders then, may well have

been simply the avoidance of being numbered with the transgressors. Again, this involves

taking into serious account the characteristics of being stubborn and rebellious. Those

characteristics speak to a level of deviance and tantamount to being a dissenter and therefore

an 'enemy of the state'. Anyone found to be harbouring such a threat to the group (including

his parents) is construed to be in agreement with his dissension. Here we are encountering a

law which challenges the community to see life in very black and white terms.

Though at the outset, the charges of being a glutton and a drunkard seemingly bear

very little correlation to being rebellious and stubborn, they function in broadening the scope

of deviance. Being a glutton and a drunkard in the literal sense however, ought not be taken

as lesser offences because they can be equally as dangerous. Perhaps that is why they are

linked with the other two. Whereas being rebellious and stubborn may be driven by the

intellect, gluttony and being a drunkard may be driven by the 'appetite'. This renders the

drunkard and the glutton a liability to the group because he can easily be swayed or bribed

simply to appease the cravings of the 'appetite'.   The glutton and the drunkard therefore, is

as much a threat to group solidarity as is the dissenting voice who is stubborn and rebellious.

Rofé, commenting on this phenomenon, wrote:

> The basic attitude behind this law is not leniency, but rather
> severity or stringency towards the status quo. Not only
> idolatrous practices (17:2-7; 13:2-19) but basic patterns of
> behavior are judged with a zealous rigour (2002:181).

While not discounting at the very basic level that one may be dealing with an actual

carouser and drunkard, when taken in the wider context of the book of Deuteronomy I am

compelled not to preclude the possibility that the phrase 'glutton and drunkard' may also be a dysphemism for an independent thinker who refuses to be confined to the world of his parents' generation. Siege mentality provides no space for such a person, as one of its consequences is the development of internal coping mechanisms geared toward the silencing of dissidents.

Punishment and Intended Outcome

It ought to come as no surprise then, that the punishment for the individual who falls into either or both of these categories is death by stoning. As excessive as the punishment may appear to be, when read through the lenses of the siege mentality, it actually represents par for the course. To truly understand the reason for the severity of the punishment we must examine its intended outcome. The intended outcome is two-fold and very pointed; 'so that you shall purge the evil from your midst; and all Israel shall hear, and fear.' In that one act two things would be achieved;

a) The dissenting voice would have been silenced thus reestablishing the ideological homogeneity of the group **and**

b) A strong message would have been sent, with the intention of driving fear into the hearts of those who might have been harboring similar thoughts or might have shared the same perspectives as the stubborn and rebellious son. This would have served as a means of bringing about further conformity in the group.

(ii)   Deuteronomy 22:13-29 "The Case of Conduct in Relationships"

This passage has a number of laws which though they will be dealt with separately, are all interrelated and really create a tapestry which presents an overarching view of the intention of these laws. A cursory glance at the laws presented in this passage would lead one to believe that they may be an attempt to establish and enforce morality in the group. However, on deeper reflection one will find that they may have more to do with civil pacification than moral justice. The preceding assertion may appear to be somewhat rogue when speaking of the Book of Deuteronomy, but when read from the perspective of the siege mentality, a main objective of these laws would seem to be the maintenance of solidarity within the group.

A group which fosters siege beliefs views itself as vulnerable and a target of attacks from 'the world'. It is therefore incumbent upon the group, given its perceived tenuous nature, to suppress anything that can jeopardize the stability of the group. It would seem that the laws of Deuteronomy 22:13-29 are constructed for this purpose. I have come to this conclusion as it would appear that moral atrocities such as rape and defamation of character are not the focal points of these laws but rather, the avoidance of civil unrest and the destabilization of group cohesion.

Wisdom Literature and the book of Deuteronomy

To fully grasp the intent of the "Family Sex Laws", particularly where they speak to cases involving the married woman and the betrothed woman, I believe we must acknowledge the correlation between wisdom literature and the book of Deuteronomy. There has been debate among scholars about the direction of influence where Weinfeld is of the view that wisdom literature influenced the book of Deuteronomy, while others claim the opposite. [201] What they all agree upon however, is that "the book of Deuteronomy contains laws which have almost literal parallels in both Israelite and non-Israelite wisdom literature" (1972:260).

Without attempting to trace the oral and literary origins of Proverbs 6:30-35 in relation to the Book of Deuteronomy, there seems to exist in both texts a thread of commonality with regard to the status of the woman in society as chattel and the fall out that comes when this property is trespassed upon. The passage in Proverbs 6:30-35 speaks directly to the dangers of laying with the wife of another. The passage reads:

> Thieves are not despised who steal only to satisfy their appetite
> when they are hungry. Yet if they are caught, they will repay
> sevenfold; they will forfeit all the goods of their house. But he
> who commits adultery has no sense; he who does it destroys
> himself. He will get wounds of dishonour, and his disgrace
> will not be wiped away. For jealousy arouses a husband's fury,
> and he shows no restraint when he takes revenge. He will
> accept no compensation, and refuses a bribe no matter how
> great (RSV).

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[201] See Robert (1934:42-68, 172-204, 374-84); (1935:344-65, 502-25); Oesterley (1927:76f.); Pfeiffer (1926:.17 n.3); Fichtner (1933:.67).

This proverb seems to be making the point that a wife is chattel unlike anything else. Whereas other possessions may be replaced or compensated for, there is no restitution for a wife who has been violated either by consent or otherwise. Couched in this proverb then, is not so much the moral culpability involved in laying with the wife of another, but rather the civil disquiet that can ensue as a result of the same. In fact, by highlighting how other property damage or loss is dealt with, the writer was actually making the point that if it were a matter that could easily be resolved by compensation in some form, it would be; but there is a level of disquiet involved because there is really no tangible means of repaying a man for laying with his wife. There is then an understanding of indelibility involved in a coital encounter with the wife or betrothed of another.

The sex laws in Deuteronomy (Deut. 22:13-23:1) seem to have a similar intent as has been outlined with respect to the wisdom text in Proverbs 6:30-35. In fact, Ellens has done an extensive analysis on the language used to describe the sex act in these texts. In particular, she commented on the multivalent use of the word ענה as well as use of שכב. She concluded that:

> Language–depicting–the–sex–act demonstrates woman's
> marginalization in the text as well as her implicit responsibility
> to the laws. In addition, it harbors clear indicators that
> woman's sexuality is the property of the male and that the
> intent of the laws is to protect that property (2008:206).[202]

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[202] David Mace perhaps best summed up this law when he wrote, "From the point of view of property, adultery is clearly a much more serious fault than fornication. Intercourse with an unbethrothed virgin was taking goods which were on the market without fulfilling the necessary conditions; which could be put rightly by insisting that they be fulfilled. Adultery, however, was taking goods which were no longer on the market, but were already owned by another. No corresponding course could put this right. It was the difference between pilfering from an open stall and committing a burglary by breaking into a private house" (1953:245). For further reading see Ellens (2008:189-233).

It is against this background, as well as bearing in mind that the unbethrothed virgin is the property of her father and the betrothed and married woman are the property of their betrothed and husband respectively, that we will analyze the laws of Deuteronomy 22:13-29. Matthews and Benjamin are also very instructive in this matter as they noted, "rape in the world of the Bible was not simply an act of sexual violence, but a political challenge to the father of the household" (1993:178).

(iii)　　"The tokens of virginity" (Deuteronomy 22:13-21)

The passage dealing with the tokens of virginity really has as its chief offences what may be construed as defamation of character on the part of the man or perjury on the part of the woman. What makes this law intriguing is that both the man and the woman commit what is tantamount to the same offence, but the punishment is starkly different. It is noteworthy that the man who spurns his wife by lying about her chastity receives only a fine and a mandatory sentence of marriage without the possibility of divorce (the latter of which the cynic may perceive as being even more punitive than death by stoning!). However, the young woman who lies about her virginity is given no reprieve. Her sentence is death by stoning. Rofé laments the literary incongruity and legal inconsistency of this law when compared to Deuteronomy 19:19 where a man who brings false witness against another is sentenced to death, while a man bringing false witness against a woman receives a whipping (2002:173-174).

Though the disparity in the sentences for the same offence may be in part due to the gender stratification of the society where women were either the property of their fathers or their husbands, could there also be a deeper issue of maintaining stability in the group? It is not the immorality of the act that seems to be of paramount interest in this law, but the effect it can have on the stability of the group. In the case of the husband, his act was deemed reconcilable since it was a matter of his own insecurities or deviance. There was no third party to whom blame could be directed.

In the case of the young woman however, her act can be construed as *de facto* adultery. Though she would have lost her virginity before being betrothed to her husband, he would have 'bought' her under the impression that she had the tokens of her virginity intact. In as much as she had been penetrated before, the avenue was opened for jealousy to be kindled within the deceived husband. The mere possibility of knowing that there might have been a man within the group who would have penetrated his wife, would have been cause for fury and perhaps even the desire to find out who the man was. Hence the punishment to stone the woman would have been a way of dissolving the matter and avoiding possible unrest within the group. The intended outcome to "purge the evil from Israel" should perhaps be read within the context of bringing closure to what would have potentially been a divisive issue.

Given the discussion above; Deuteronomy 22:22 would be self-explanatory. A man who lies with the wife of another, the law stipulates that both should be stoned to death. The fury of the husband would naturally be kindled against the man who lay with his wife, and

the presence of the wife would serve as a constant reminder of her coital misconduct in allowing his property to be indelibly marred. The elimination of both is to purge the evil from Israel. The passage in verse 23 is basically the same as 22 since betrothal carried similar privileges as marriage, and intercourse taking place in the city with no objection on the woman's part can be construed to be an arranged meeting. Betchel in commenting on these laws poignantly noted that, "despite the fact that there is no rape, the sexual intercourse is shameful because it threatens the social bonding of the community" (1994:25).[203] Betchel is here pointing to what I believe to be the paramount interest of the book of Deuteronomy where these texts are concerned: social cohesion.

(iv) "The cases of a betrothed woman and a virgin in the open country" (Deuteronomy 22:23-29)

I have particularly placed these two cases (i.e. the virgin and a betrothed woman in open country) together to reinforce the point with which I began; that these laws may well be less about moral deviance and more about civil pacification. In the case of the young woman who is betrothed being raped in the open country, the man is to be punished by death

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[203] Edenburg (2009) also noted the distinctiveness of this text which, though seemingly paralleled its Hittite and Assyrian antecedents, omitted any possibility of leniency which those laws would have permitted. According to Edenburg, "although the Deuteronomist adopted the model provided by LH§129, he dropped the dispensation that allowed the husband to determine the extent of the penalty according to his discretion. As a result, Deut. 22:22, as formulated, singles out the married woman who has been possessed by her husband, demanding of her an uncompromising sexual exclusivity that no exception or extenuating circumstances. Thus, any intercourse between a married woman and a man other than her husband was taken to constitute adultery, whether the woman was a consenting partner or not" (2009:52-53). See also Pitt-Rivers (1977:165) who notes the connection between masculine honour and the purity of women in traditional Mediterranean culture.

naturally because he violated the property of another, but more so I would suggest, because he would have evoked jealousy in her future husband.

This conclusion is drawn against the backdrop of the case which follows in verses 28 and 29. The man who rapes a virgin who is not betrothed has committed an act punishable by death only if he refuses to marry her. Herein unravels what I perceive to be the true motive behind these laws. Both women were violated in the same way, but the punishment is different. The rape therefore is not the major offence but rather, the impact it can have on the stability of the community.[204] A jealous husband whose wife now bears the indelible scar of a coital encounter with another, and a father who has what is now perceived to be 'damaged goods' on his hand, both present themselves as threats to the stability of the community. According to Ellens,

> The "security" of the woman's womb, which assures a
> husband, fiancé or potential marriage candidate that the
> children she delivers are or would be his own, is forever
> compromised. Even if months pass since the incident and no
> child from the rape results, the security of her womb never
> again has the surety of a virgin or the surety of a chaste wife.
> In addition, unless the woman marries the male perpetrator, her
> sexuality can never belong to only one man the way a virgin's
> sexuality or the sexuality of a chaste wife does. The father,
> therefore, cannot receive the bride-price he might otherwise
> have expected. Her chances for marriage are diminished. If
> anthropological studies in the last several decades are correct,
> then the act represented by ענה is a challenge to the very status
> of the household to which the woman belongs (2008:197-198).

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[204] It is important to note here that in this analysis, the attempt is not to downplay the heinous nature of rape but rather to show that in the broader context of the Deuteronomic project, the focal point of the laws is group stability.

The Deuteronomistic Historian in 2 Samuel 13 picked up the latter case in the story of Amnon's raping of his virgin sister Tamar. Having raped her and chased her away, Tamar's response rang out a caution of the Deuteronomic code; "No, my brother; for this wrong in sending me away is greater than the other you did to me" (2 Sam. 13:16).

The narrative makes the point that David their father was angry, but it was Absalom, Tamar's brother, whose anger was kindled and eventually carried out the Deuteronomic stipulation. We must assume from the narrative that had Amnon not sent her away, it would not have been a problem. Tamar herself did indicate to Amnon that had he asked for her hand, their father David would not have refused (2 Sam 13:13). Hence, the major issue was neither the incest nor rape but rather, Amnon's refusal to marry her that led to his death, and irreparable discord in David's family, which spread into the community and led to the near destruction of the monarchy.

In the laws of Deuteronomy 22:13-29 we have had the opportunity to see how conformity of and solidarity within the community are pursued through even the most personal facets of the community's existence. As Ellens rightly notes, "sympathy for the psychological, emotional and physical damage done to the woman personally is absent from the law" (2008:212). The law deals solely with the protection of the rights of the man to his property.[205]

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[205] Kawashami (2011:2) argues convincingly that "biblical law, inasmuch as one might posit a coherent view on this matter, does recognize the possibility of a forcible sexual encounter, but it defines it as a particular case of the more general crime of illicit sex, and identifies the "victim" of this crime as the father or husband whose claims over the "object" of the crime–daughter or wife–have been "violated" (*'innah*)". See also Frymer-

6.6   Marriage Laws: Various Laws Governing Marriage Outside the Group

(i)   Deut. 7:1-6 Against Marrying People of other Nations

There are several stipulations embedded within this law which have various theological and sociological underpinnings. While acknowledging that the list given in 7:1 has variations when compared to other texts in the Old Testament, Mayes made the point that;

> The number seven of people mentioned is significant, since it carries with it connotations of totality…the point here, therefore, is a theological and rhetorical one rather than a geographical or historical; it is to indicate Israel's complete possession of her land independent of all peoples (1979:182).

The exclusiveness that presents itself in Mayes' assessment of the passage in 7:1 renders 7:2-3 which forbids marriages of Israelites with any of the groups mentioned, a natural progression. Israel is forbidden to form treaties with other nations because that could lead to having to pay allegiance to other gods. Not only was this stipulation a means of preserving Israel's identity, but it was even more importantly a means of preserving its allegiance to Yahweh. It is their allegiance to Yahweh that helps to define group identity and maintain cohesion.   As Mayes noted;

> Treaties made with other peoples necessarily involved a recognition of the gods of these people through calling on them as treaty witnesses (1979:183).

Kensky (2002:179-183) who is of the view that throughout the Old Testament they [women] specifically lacked the power of "sexual consent," which resided in the father and then the husband.

Marriages with other peoples were therefore seen as a threat to the homogeneity of the group and by extension its ultimate survival. The stipulation of Deuteronomy 7, calls for the annihilation of certain groups (vv.1&2), the exclusiveness of Israel in not marrying persons from other groups (vs.3), and ultimately the superiority of Israelites as Yahweh's chosen people "out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth" (vs.6).

(ii)   Deut. 21:10-14 Marrying a woman who is a captive of war

When read alongside Deuteronomy 7 which succinctly prohibits the marriage of Israelites to people of other nations; that the book provides the avenue for marrying women who are captives of war, appears to be a gross contradiction. However, when read closely, the passage is much more nuanced than would appear at a glance. As Crouch points out;

> The opening phrase of Deut. 21:10, ——'if you go out to battle'—implies that the enemy from whom the woman is captured is outside the land (2014:200).[206]

The problem therefore is not the avoidance of racial intermingling, but rather, the blurring of cultural lines. The woman who is from outside the confines of the land is sufficiently foreign so that her culture would be distinct from that of Israel. To sufficiently divest her of her identity, Deuteronomy has put regulations in place.[207] A woman from within the land

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[206] See also Mayes (1979:303) He posits the view that this deals with nations that do not exist within the confines of the land; and Philips (1973:140).
[207] For further reading on how the captive woman would be assimilated into the Israelite society, see C.L. Crouch (2014:201-203).

however, may have cultural norms that are similar to Israelites, and as a result can lead to a dilution of Israelite identity.

(iii)   Deut. 22:30 Against Marrying your Father's Wife

In keeping with the Deuteronomic project on ensuring the stability of family and community life, there is a prohibition of son marrying the wives of his father. As Mayes rightly noted, this is not to be understood as one's mother but rather step-mother (1979:303).

In the analysis of Deuteronomy 23:1, Ellens notes that the law is made up of two clauses, the first dealing with marriage and the second with the sex act. She opines that:

> The juxtaposition of the two clauses of the apodictic law – the second of which resembles the language of the incest laws of Lev 18 and Deut 27 – demonstrates that the incest prohibition, in turn, places special emphasis on the fact that the woman is the sexual property of the father (2008:194).[208]

Reading from the perspective of siege mentality with its emphasis on social cohesion, the danger this law seeks to avert is probably best exemplified in the narrative describing Adonijah's request of Solomon for the hand of one of David's wives, Abishag (1 Kings 2:13-25). The narrative of the Deuteronomistic Historian in this passage points to what may be the true intention of the stipulation in Deuteronomy 23:1. Adonijah's request for the hand of

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[208] See Wegner, who argues that "Scripture uses the same verb *l-q-h* (to take) for taking a wife as for buying goods" (1992:227 n. 84). Also, Carmichael (1979:49-50) is of the opinion that 'skirt' refers to the woman herself.

Abishag is prefaced by his indication that he was the rightful heir to the throne of his father (vs.15). Likewise, Solomon's response to his mother is very significant in that he points directly to property (vs.22). The narrative suggests that incest was not the salient matter at the heart of the request by Adonijah, but rather the transfer of power and property of the father by 'taking' and 'uncovering' his wife. The ensuing events point to the threat to social cohesion which the law seeks to avert. Solomon had Adonijah killed that very day.

6.7   Expansionism: Exploratory Clauses

One of the eventual consequences of siege mentality is a deep sense of pride and exclusivity that can lead to feelings of superiority. Such attitudes can lead a group to act unilaterally, excessively, and indiscriminately. Expansionism can be deemed the ultimate show of superiority and entitlement by a group which deems itself better than others. It entails the displacement or even annihilation of other groups and the acquisition of their territory.

In the book of Deuteronomy there are two passages which have remained obscure and about which commentators have been silent, perhaps because they have been deemed insignificant. However, when read from the perspective of siege mentality and all it entails, the meaning of the two passages become stark. They are Deuteronomy 12:20, and 19:8, which both speak to an increase in the borders of Israel. Though Deuteronomy 12:20 speaks with a sense of surety, "when the Lord your God enlarges your territory, as he has promised you…" while Deuteronomy 19:8 has more a sense of hesitancy, "and if the Lord your God

enlarges your border, as he has sworn to your fathers,…", they both envisage expansion at some time in the future. Not only do they both have expansion in mind, but that expansion is predicated on the community's covenant with its God. Israel's sense of superiority is derived from this very God, who is unlike the gods of the nations, and has a relationship with his people that is unrivalled by any other god. Therefore, in as much as their God is superior to the other gods, so too they could be seen as being superior to all the other nations, and are thus justified in acquiring the property of the people of the other nations.

In the case studies of Albania and present-day Israel, expansionism has featured prominently in Israel but not in Albania. This actually reflects the two sides of the coin in response to siege: it either creates self-reliance in the form of inward focus, or self-reliance in the form of superiority and chauvinism. The latter usually leads to expansionism. In Albania, the history of maltreatment and predation by its neighbours led to a political posture of preparedness for invasion, while in present-day Israel the proliferation of Israeli settlements in the West Bank, tell the story of Israel's expansion.[209] Though, the United Nations Security Council in 1979 passed Resolution 446, which clearly states that "the policy and practices of Israel in establishing settlements in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East", Israel continues to establish settlements in the restricted areas.[210] Yaniv and Yishai commenting on this phenomenon observed;

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[209] According to Yaniv and Yishai, between 1967 and 1980 there have been 49 Israeli settlements in restricted areas (1981:1105).
[210] This activity by Israel highlights one of the consequences of siege mentality; chauvinism and the tendency to act unilaterally and with excessive force.

> Israel has come in for an unprecedented amount of international criticism on account of her stringent interpretation of the meaning and scope of Palestinian autonomy–Israel's own brainchild–no less than the government's officially enunciated policy of hastily crowding the West Bank with Jewish Settlements (1981:1105).[211]

Though there is no evidence that the hopes of Deuteronomy 12:20, and 19:8 were ever realized, when read within the broader context of the book of Deuteronomy, they represent a hope for expansion, driven by the conviction that the community is unique given its relationship with its God and God's covenant with its ancestors.

6.8   Conclusion

From this analysis of the book of Deuteronomy for evidence of centralization, homogenization and expansion, it is evident that there is much more to the Deuteronomic Code than scholars have previously understood.   When analyzed using the causes, effects and consequences of siege mentality as outlined by Bar-Tal and Antebi, some passages in Deuteronomy bear significant correlation.

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[211] As recent as 2019, Jewish incursions into the West Bank continues. IMEMC (International Middle East Media Center) news reports that Israeli forces on September 9. 2019 demolished structures in the village of Al-Araqib for the 159th time.   According to Ali Salam,

> The village of 220 people have been the target of an ongoing effort to permanently remove them from the area, by way of constant attack and destruction of property, perpetrated by the Israeli occupation.   Israel's displacement efforts towards this village began in 2010, resulting in the community, repeatedly working together with activists to rebuild (IMEMC news, September 2019).

When compared with other groups that have exhibited siege mentality, the stipulations of the book of Deuteronomy are not dissimilar with laws and actions embraced by those groups. The table below presents a comparison of Deuteronomy with groups that have exhibited siege beliefs.

Table 6.1: A Comparison of Deuteronomy with Case Studies of Albania and Present-Day Israel Showing Results of the Analysis for Centralization, Homogenization, and Expansionism[212]

	Deuteronomy	Albania	Israel 20th and 21st Century
Centralization	*Worship restricted to one site *Restriction of the scope of Levitical activity *Restriction of the work of the elders	*Centralization of the Judiciary *All organizations of the state became secondary to the Albanian Communist Party *Centralization of the Education system	*Parliamentary Democracy but described as a Jewish State.
Internal Coping Mechanisms/ Conformity	*Surveillance by family members	*Surveillance by family members and close friends for 'Bad Biography'	*Surveillance and pressure toward conformity are carried out mainly

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[212] The reason for the exclusion of Egypt from this table is because Egypt under Sadat and Mubarak were not siege-prone leaders. The Muslim Brotherhood would be the group would have exhibited siege beliefs as a regime, however, their tenure was too short to be assessed.

	*Surveillance by the central authority (against a city) *Severe penalties for non-conformity *Monitoring the sexuality of women	*Surveillance by state authorities against private citizens as well as government employees *Severe penalties for non-conformity	by the mass media and politicians
Media Control	*Restriction of prophetic work *Strict adherence only to the book of Deuteronomy	*Ban of the media *Ban of religion	*There is no great censorship of media, but state media promulgates siege beliefs.
Exclusion of others (Homogenization)	*No marriages with other peoples *Exclusion of some from the Assembly of Israel	'Othering' by identifying persons as having 'Good Biography' or 'Bad Biography'	*No mixed or civil marriages. (Mixed means, Jews and others; Civil means, non-religious)
Expansionism	√	X	√

When read from the perspective of siege mentality and its stipulations for in-group control, a picture begins to emerge that there may be more at work in the Deuteronomic Code than previously understood. Underlying each law is an element of social control, specifically with a move towards conformity and homogeneity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A NEW PARADIGM FOR DEUTERONOMIC STUDIES?

7.1   A Summary of Conclusions

Daniel Bar-Tal and Dikla Antebi in their work 'Siege Mentality in Israel' explained that he had coined this new term 'siege mentality' as opposed to the former 'Masada Syndrome' without changing the original conception because it was observed that other groups, exhibit the same type of behaviour (1992a: 251 n. 1). Likewise, Brustein in his work *The Logic of Evil* observed that "murderous and destructive movements may prevail in other places and at other times when the sociological conditions are right."[213]

I embarked upon this study cognizant of the work of neither Bar-Tal and Antebi nor Brustein. Rather, I did so only with a suspicion that had emerged from the happenings in the world of my time and the seemingly curious stipulations of a portion of the text I consider sacred and is read and expounded as the "Word of God", to which the congregation responds "Thanks be to God". The horrors of the 21st century where violent extremism is concerned, and the peculiarity of the book of Deuteronomy led me on a journey to see if there are any similarities between the events of the present and the stipulations of this ancient text. Using Bar-Tal and Antebi's theory of siege mentality I analysed the book of Deuteronomy and have come to the general conclusion that Deuteronomy contains siege beliefs and was written as a

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[213] Brustein (1997:221) In this case he was making the point that the atrocities committed under the Nazi party in Germany were not peculiar to Germany. Our case study of Albania has revealed this to be true, and the possibility exists that it was true for Israel in the long seventh century as well.

project to spread siege beliefs and foster siege mentality in the community to which it was written.

7.1.1   Transmission and Maintenance of Siege Beliefs

This study has revealed that the writer of the book of Deuteronomy utilized several of the causes and effects of siege mentality as outlined by Bar-Tal and Antebi to inculcate and transmit siege beliefs to his readers. Siege beliefs were developed by way of shaping a group memory.   To foster collective memory, several pointer words and phrases were employed in the book to point its readers to sites of memory which the writer intended members of the community to hold dear. In that way, the collective memory would shape a collective identity which leads to greater group cohesion. This mode of inculcation and transmission of siege beliefs was found to be consistent with that employed by the Albanian Communist Party, as well as what obtains in current day Israel where the speeches of politicians and messages in the media, seek to nurture a collective memory to ultimately shape a collective identity.

One of the key methods for the entrenchment of siege beliefs in a group is through education of the children. To this end, the instruction of children (the next generation) features prominently in groups that exhibit siege mentality. This study has shown that Deuteronomy has as one of its focal points, the instruction of children. Different pedagogical methods such as catechism and direct instruction are utilized in the book to realize this

objective. The focus on education correlates with current Israeli practices, as well as those

exhibited in Albania under the Albanian Communist Party.[214]

Rituals and art also play an integral part in the inculcation and transmission of siege

beliefs. In Israel this is achieved through film and mass media as well as ritual and

pilgrimages.[215] This study shows that in Deuteronomy, rituals and pilgrimage festivals also

feature prominently. The book urges the community to observe specific festivals, each of

which has a ritual linked to it recounting some event of the past, which is connected to some

aspect of the mindscape of Deuteronomy. Like Albania and present-day Israel, I argue that

the stipulation calling for the re-enaction of rituals, along with the pilgrimages, have as their

intent, group cohesion by way of collective memory and collective identity.

7.1.2   Internal Coping Mechanisms

A distinguishing feature of a group which harbours siege beliefs is the tendency to

develop what Bar-Tal and Antebi (1992 b) referred to as internal coping mechanisms. This

involves the exertion of in-group pressure and the imposition of sanctions on group members

in order to maintain group stability and homogeneity. The desire to maintain a community

that is homogenous is essential for siege beliefs to be inculcated and maintained. It therefore

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[214]In both Israel and Albania, specially tailored school books and curricula, have proven to be influential in introducing siege beliefs to children.

[215] Ben-Yehuda records the deep sense of pride of members of youth groups in the 1940's who took part in expeditions to the summit of Masada, as well as the moving ritual for IDF members at Masada (1995:147-150). Similarly, in Albania, the recognition of November 28th and 29th as 'Independence Day' and 'Flag Day' respectively, evoked national pride and fostered group solidarity. In fact, the first resistance operation to Italian occupation was carried out on Independence Day.

requires the establishment of boundaries which define the group as separate from the rest of the world, combined with measures within the group to ensure nothing threatens its homogeneity. The case study of Albania shows how the Albanian Communist Party achieved this by introducing laws which:

(i)   Centralized the state under the authority of the party

(ii)   Took control of the media

(iii)   Sanctioned dissidents through imprisonment or silenced them by death

(iv)   Imposed pressure to conform by way of in group surveillance and heavy penalties for non-conformity

(v)   Sought to maintain homogeneity by way of 'Othering' (Good and Bad Biography)

Perhaps the most eerie discovery of this study, for me, has been how closely the book of Deuteronomy corresponds with this aspect of siege mentality. This study has revealed that the legal corpus of Deuteronomy has laws which advocate the:

(i)   Centralization of key institutions (Cult, Judiciary, Levites)

(ii)   Control of the media (alienation of Prophets)

(iii)   Sanctioning of dissidents by way of various penalties; even death

(iv)   Imposing of in-group pressure to conform (even families were to engage in surveillance with severe penalties for non-conformity; even death)

(v)   Maintenance of homogeneity by exclusion of others

This actually emphasizes how entrenched siege mentality must have been in the writer of the book of Deuteronomy, but also how intent he was in inculcating and maintaining siege beliefs in his community.

7.2   Setting of Deuteronomy

It is my view that much of the dissonance over the dating of Deuteronomy has come about because persons have often sought to link the writing of the text to the setting it may best fit. The text may fit a particular setting but may have been written at a later time. Thus, writing and context may be two totally different focal points. It was imperative therefore, that the analysis of the socio-political and historical conditions of the long seventh century were conducted without any allusion to Deuteronomy or a Deuteronomistic History. This approach served to distance the analysis from the realms of the debate over when the text would have actually been written, to what conditions may have influenced the ideology of the text or, even more pointedly, where the ideology of the text may be leading its readers to set it.

A brief synopsis of the archaeology and politics of the long seventh century was presented and analysed alongside the findings of the case studies of Egypt and Mauritius, and Albania which outlined factors which can give rise to resistance movements and foster siege beliefs. This study has revealed that the rapid transformation of Judah during the long seventh century due to its involvement in the global economy of Assyria as well as the politics of the region, would have had the propensity to foment resistance movements and

foster siege beliefs. It is my belief that such a resistance movement could have been responsible for the ideology of the book of Deuteronomy, and would have sought to impose that ideology, if it got hold of the reins of power.

7.3   Contribution of this Study

This study contributes to the body of scholarly works that have taken a social scientific approach to biblical texts and specifically, the book of Deuteronomy. Where it carves its own niche is in its interdisciplinary approach combining social scientific theory with elements from the field of psychology, namely; memory and identity studies. Its unique contribution to scholarship comes through the application of siege mentality, a model developed in the field of political psychology, to the book of Deuteronomy. This opens new avenues for exploration in Deuteronomic Studies.

This study, to ensure disambiguation, was conducted without any allusion to a possible Deuteronomistic History. Where portions of the Deuteronomistic History were utilized in this work, they were more to illustrate than to substantiate. Notwithstanding Noll's (2007) call to abandon the notion of a Deuteronomistic History, this study now affords scholars a new set of lenses through which the Deuteronomistic History can be investigated. There is now a wider scope for future studies in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

7.4   Recommendations for Further Study

Due to the constraints of word limit in this study, I could only focus on some select passages of the text for in depth analysis. However, it would be informative to see an analysis of some other portions of Deuteronomy being explored using the model of siege mentality.

Additionally, the Deuteronomistic History can now be explored from the perspective of the causes, effects and consequences of siege mentality in an effort to tease out new ideas about these texts and also perhaps, to ascertain whether there is in fact a Deuteronomistic History or something else.

With regard to dating the setting of the text, the other periods suggested for the emergence of the book of Deuteronomy can now be explored utilizing the model of siege mentality. This would determine whether we should settle for a pre-exilic date, which based on this study has proven to be plausible, or accept another date.

7.5   Implications for Faith Groups

Perhaps one of the most profound impacts of the findings of this study will be on those faith communities for which Deuteronomy is one of their sacred texts. This study

presents the book of Deuteronomy as work not dissimilar to that which would emerge from an extremist movement. Furthermore, the stipulations of Deuteronomy bear significant correlation to those promulgated and carried out by the Albanian Communist Party; a regime that made its nation atheist and inflicted cruel punishments upon its people.

To this end, this study demands of such faith communities that they engage in a total reassessment of how the text is used to formulate or support doctrine, as well as, for exposition of the faith. Such action requires a paradigm shift away from the theological perspectives developed throughout the centuries which would have sanitized this text and rendered it beyond reproach. This study suggests that it is something totally different.

7.6   Conclusion

I submit that the book of Deuteronomy contains siege beliefs and may have been created as a project to transmit and sustain such siege beliefs. It has as its setting, a period when the community was under threat of losing its identity. I argue that the long seventh century in a plausible date for the setting of Deuteronomy. In the face of what may have appeared to the writer as imminent cultural and religious dilution, the response was to create a future for the community that was not dissimilar to its past; even if it was a constructed past that was nothing more than a figment of the writer's imagination. The response was the book of Deuteronomy with its simple and pointed message, as Assmann noted; "Thou shall not forget–means thou shall not become assimilated" (2005:54).

Translation of Hebrew Passages

(All Translations according to the New International Version)

Article 1

Deuteronomy 4:9-14 (Remember: Lest you forget)

רק הִשָּׁמֶר לְ ושמר פֶּשׁ מְאֹד פֶּן־תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר־רָאוּ עֵנ ופֶן־יָסוּרוּ מִלְּבָבְ ֿ כָּל יְמֵי חיי וְהוֹדַעְתָּם
לְבָנֶ ֿ וְלִבְנֵי בנ
יום אֲשֶׁר עָמַדְתָּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָֹה אֱ בְחֹרֵב בֶּאֱמֹר יְהוָֹה אֵלַי הַקְהֶל־לִי אֶת־הָעָם וְאַשְׁמִעֵם אֶת־דְּבָרַי אֲשֶׁר יִלְמְדוּן 10
לְיִרְאָה אֹתִי כָּל־הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר הֵם חַיִּים עַל־הָאֲדָמָה וְאֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם יְלַמֵּדוּן:
וַתִּקְרְבוּן וַתַּעַמְדוּן תַּחַת הָהָר וְהָהָר בֹּעֵר בָּאֵשׁ עַד־לֵב הַשָּׁמַיִם חֹשֶׁךְ עָנָן וַעֲרָפֶל:11
וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָֹה אֲלֵיכֶם מִתּוֹ הָאֵשׁ קוֹל דְּבָרִים אַתֶּם שֹׁמְעִים וּתְמוּנָה אֵינְכֶם רֹאִים זוּלָתִי קוֹל:12
וַיַּגֵּד לָכֶם אֶת־בְּרִיתוֹ אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֶתְכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים וַיִּכְתְּבֵם עַל־שְׁנֵי לֻחוֹת אֲבָנִים:13
וְאֹתִי צ ה יְהוָֹה בָּעֵת הַהִוא לְלַמֵּד אֶתְכֶם חֻקִּים מִשְׁפָּטִים לַעֲשֹׂתְכֶם אֹתָם בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים שָׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתָּ 14

Only be careful, and watch yourselves closely so that you do not forget the things your eyes have seen or let them fade from your heart as long as you live. Teach them to your children and to their children after them. Only be careful, and watch yourselves closely so that you do not forget the things your eyes have seen or let them fade from your heart as long as you live. Teach them to your children and to their children after them. You came near and stood at the foot of the mountain while it blazed with fire to the very heavens, with black clouds and deep darkness. Then the LORD spoke to you out of the fire. You heard the sound of words but saw no form; there was only a voice. He declared to you his covenant, the Ten Commandments, which he commanded you to follow and then wrote them on two stone

tablets. And the LORD directed me at that time to teach you the decrees and laws you are to follow in the land that you are crossing the Jordan to possess.

Article 2

Deuteronomy 11:1-7 (Episodic Memory: Remember what you saw)

וְאָהַבְתָּ אֵת יְהוָה אֱ הִי   וְשָׁמַרְתָּ מִשְׁמַרְתּוֹ וְחֻקֹּתָיו וּמִשְׁפָּטָיו וּמִצְ תָיו כל־הַיָּמִים:

וִידַעְתֶּם הַיּוֹם כִּיוֹ ַ א אֶת־בְּנֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר א־יָדְעוּ וַאֲשֶׁר   ־רָאוּ אֶת־מוּסַר יְהוָה אֱ הֵיכֶם אֶת גָּ דְ וּ אֶת־יָדוֹ הַחֲזָקָה 2 וּזְרֹעוֹ הַנְּטוּיָה:

וְאֶת־אֹתֹתָיו וְאֶת־מַעֲשָׂיו אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בְּתוֹ   מִצְרָיִם לְפַרְעֹה מֶל ־מִצְרַיִם וּלְכָל   ַ צוֹ: 3:

וַאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְחֵיל מִצְרַיִם לְסוּסָיו וּלְרִכְבּוֹ אֲשֶׁר הֵצִיף אֶת־מֵי יַם־סוּף עַל־פְּנֵיהֶם בְּרָדְפָם   חֲרֵיכֶם וַיְאַבְּדֵם יְהוָֹה עַד 4 הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

וַאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לָכֶם בַּמִּדְבָּר עַד־בֹּאֲכֶם עַד־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה: 5:

וַאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְדָתָן וְלַאֲבִירָם בְּנֵי אֱלִ   ב בֶּן־רְאוּבֵן אֲשֶׁר פָּצְתָה הָאָרֶץ אֶת־פִּיהָ וַתִּבְלָעֵם וְאֶת־בָּתֵּיהֶם וְאֶת־   הֳלֵיהֶם 6 וְאֵת כָּל־הַיְקוּם אֲשֶׁר בְּרַגְלֵיהֶם בְּקֶרֶב כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

כִּי עֵינֵיכֶם הָרֹאֹת אֵת־כָּל־מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדֹל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה: 7:

Love the LORD your God and keep his requirements, his decrees, his laws and his commands always. Remember today that your children were not the ones who saw and experienced the discipline of the LORD your God: his majesty, his mighty hand, his outstretched arm; the signs he performed and the things he did in the heart of Egypt, both to Pharaoh king of Egypt and to his whole country; what he did to the Egyptian army, to its horses and chariots, how he overwhelmed them with the waters of the Red Sea as they were pursuing you, and how the LORD brought lasting ruin on them. It was not your children who saw what he did for you in the wilderness until you arrived at this place, and what he did to Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab the Reubenite, when the earth opened its mouth right in the

middle of all Israel and swallowed them up with their households, their tents and every living thing that belonged to them. But it was your own eyes that saw all these great things the LORD has done.

Article 3

Deuteronomy 6:20-25 (Catechesis: Questions asked by Children)

כִּי־יִשְׁאָלְךָ בִנְךָ מָחָר לֵאמֹר מָה הָעֵדֹת וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶתְכֶם:

21:וְאָמַרְתָּ לְבִנְךָ עֲבָדִים הָיִינוּ לְפַרְעֹה בְּמִצְרָיִם וַיּוֹצִיאֵנוּ יְהֹוָה מִמִּצְרַיִם בְּיָד חֲזָקָה:

22:וַיִּתֵּן יְהֹוָה אוֹתֹת וּמֹפְתִים גְּדֹלִים וְרָעִים בְּמִצְרַיִם בְּפַרְעֹה וּבְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ לְעֵינֵינוּ:

23:וְאוֹתָנוּ הוֹצִיא מִשָּׁם לְמַעַן הָבִיא אֹתָנוּ לָתֶת לָנוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לַאֲבֹתֵינוּ:

24:וַיְצַוֵּנוּ יְהֹוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־הַחֻקִּים הָאֵלֶּה לְיִרְאָה אֶת־יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְטוֹב לָנוּ כָּל־הַיָּמִים לְחַיֹּתֵנוּ כְּהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

25:וּצְדָקָה תִּהְיֶה־לָּנוּ כִּי־נִשְׁמֹר לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־הַמִּצְוָה הַזֹּאת לִפְנֵי יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּנוּ:

In the future, when your son asks you, "What is the meaning of the stipulations, decrees and laws the LORD our God has commanded you?" tell him: "We were slaves of Pharaoh in Egypt, but the LORD brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand. Before our eyes the LORD sent signs and wonders--great and terrible--on Egypt and Pharaoh and his whole household. But he brought us out from there to bring us in and give us the land he promised on oath to our ancestors. The LORD commanded us to obey all these decrees and to fear the LORD our God, so that we might always prosper and be kept alive, as is the case today. And if we are careful to obey all this law before the LORD our God, as he has commanded us, that will be our righteousness."

Article 4

Deuteronomy 29:22-29 (Catechesis: Questions asked by Foreigners)

כִּי־יִמָּצֵא אִישׁ שֹׁכֵב ׀ עִם־אִשָּׁה בְעַ תֿ־בַעַל וּמֵתוּ   ־שְׁנֵיהֹם הָאִישׁ הַשֹּׁכֵב עִם־הָאִשָּׁה וְהָאִשָּׁה וּבִעַרְתָּ הָרָע מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל׃

כִּי יִהְיֶ֠ה ער בְתוּלֹה מְאֹרָשָׂה לְאִישׁ וּמְצָא אִ֣ישׁ בָעִיר וְשָׁכַב עִמ 23

וְהוֹצֵאתֶם אֶת־שְׁנֵיהֶם אֶל־שַׁעַר׀ הָעִיר הַהִוא וּסְקַלְתֶּם אֹתָם בָּאֲבָנִים וָמֵתוּ אֶת־ה ער עַל־דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר   אִ־צָעֲקָה בָעִיר 24

וְאֶת־הָאִ֗ישׁ עַל־דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר־עִנָּה אֶת־אֵשֶׁת רֵעֵהוּ וּבִעַרְתָּ הָרֵע מִקִּרְב

וְאִם־בַּשָּׂדֶה יִמְצָא הָאִישׁ אֶת־ה ער הַמְאֹרָשָׂה וְהֶחֱזִיק־בָּ הָאִישׁ וְשָׁכַב עִמ וּמֵת הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־שָׁכַב עִמ   לְבַדֿוֹ׃25

וְל ער אִ־תַעֲשֶׂה דָבָר אֵין ל ער חֵטְא מֶ֑וֶת כִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר יָקוּם אִישׁ עַל־רֵעֵהוּ וּרְצָחֿוֹ נֶפֶשׁ כֵן הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה׃26

כִּי בַשָּׂדֶה מְצָא   צָעֲקָה ה ער הַמְאֹרָשָׂה וְאֵין מוֹשִׁיעַ ל   27

כִּי־יִמְצָא אִישׁ ער בְתוּלֹה אֲשֶׁר   רֹשָׂה וּתְפָשָׂהּ וְשָׁכַב עִמ וְנִמְצָאוּ׃28

 נָ תַן הָאִישׁ הַשֹּׁכֵב עִמָ לַאֲבִי ה ער חֲמִשִּׁים כָּסֶף וְ וְ־תִהְיֶה לְאִשָּׁה תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר עִ֔ אִ־יוּכַל שַׁלְּחָ כָּל־יָמָיו 29

Your children who follow you in later generations and foreigners who come from distant lands will see the calamities that have fallen on the land and the diseases with which the LORD has afflicted it. The whole land will be a burning waste of salt and sulfur--nothing planted, nothing sprouting, no vegetation growing on it. It will be like the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboyim, which the LORD overthrew in fierce anger. All the nations will ask: "Why has the LORD done this to this land? Why this fierce, burning anger?" And the answer will be: "It is because this people abandoned the covenant of the LORD, the God of their ancestors, the covenant he made with them when he brought them out of Egypt. They went off and worshiped other gods and bowed down to them, gods they did not know, gods he had not given them. Therefore the LORD's anger burned against this land, so that he brought on it all the curses written in this book. In furious anger and in great wrath the LORD uprooted them from their land and thrust them into another land, as it is

now." The secret things belong to the LORD our God, but the things revealed belong to us and to our children forever, that we may follow all the words of this law.

Article 5

Deuteronomy 26: 5-10 (The Offering of First Fruits)

וְעָנִ֨יתָ וְ   מַרְתָּ֜ לִפְנֵ֣י ׀ יְהוָ֣ה אֱ   הֶ֗י   אֲרַמִּי֙ אֹבֵ֣ד   בִּ֔י וַיֵּ֣רֶד מִצְרַ֔יְמָה וַיָּ֥גָר שָׁ֖ם בִּמְתֵ֣י מְעָ֑ט וַֽיְהִי־שָׁ֕ם לְג֥וֹי גָּד֖וֹל עָצ֥וּם וָרָֽב: וַיָּרֵ֧עוּ אֹתָ֛נוּ הַמִּצְרִ֖ים וַיְעַנּ֑וּנוּ וַיִּתְּנ֥וּ עָלֵ֖ינוּ עֲבֹדָ֥ה קָשָֽׁה: וַנִּצְעַ֕ק אֶל־יְהוָ֖ה אֱ   הֵ֣י אֲבֹתֵ֑ינוּ וַיִּשְׁמַ֤ע יְהוָה֙ אֶת־קֹלֵ֔נוּ וַיַּ֧רְא אֶת־עָנְיֵ֛נוּ וְאֶת־עֲמָלֵ֖נוּ וְאֶת־לַחֲצֵֽנוּ: וַיּוֹצִאֵ֤נוּ יְהוָה֙ מִמִּצְרַ֔יִם בְּיָ֤ד חֲזָקָה֙ וּבִזְרֹ֣עַ נְטוּיָ֔ה וּבְמֹרָ֖א גָּדֹ֑ל וּבְאֹת֖וֹת וּבְמֹפְתִֽים: וַיְבִאֵ֖נוּ אֶל־הַמָּק֣וֹם הַזֶּ֑ה וַיִּתֶּן־לָ֙נוּ֙ אֶת־הָאָ֣רֶץ הַזֹּ֔את אֶ֛רֶץ זָבַ֥ת חָלָ֖ב וּדְבָֽשׁ: וְעַתָּ֗ה הִנֵּ֤ה הֵבֵ֙אתִי֙ אֶת־רֵאשִׁית֙ פְּרִ֣י הָֽאֲדָמָ֔ה אֲשֶׁר־נָתַ֥תָּה לִּ֖י יְהוָ֑ה וְהִנַּחְתּ֗וֹ לִפְנֵי֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱ   הֶ֔י   וְהִֽשְׁתַּחֲוִ֔יתָ לִפְנֵ֖י יְהוָ֥   אֱ

Then you shall declare before the LORD your God: "My father was a wandering Aramean, and he went down into Egypt with a few people and lived there and became a great nation, powerful and numerous. But the Egyptians mistreated us and made us suffer, subjecting us to harsh labor. Then we cried out to the LORD, the God of our ancestors, and the LORD heard our voice and saw our misery, toil and oppression. So the LORD brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, with great terror and with signs and wonders. He brought us to this place and gave us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey; and now I bring the firstfruits of the soil that you, LORD, have given me." Place the basket before the LORD your God and bow down before him.

Article 6

Deuteronomy 31:10-13 (The Reading of the Law in the Sabbatical Year)

וַיְצַו מֹשֶׁה אוֹתָם לֵאמֹר מִקֵּץ ׀ שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים בְּמֹעֵד שְׁנַת הַשְּׁמִטָּה בְּחַג הַסֻּכּוֹת: בְּבוֹא כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵרָאוֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהֹוָה
אֱ הֵי בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחָר תִּקְרָא אֶת־הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת נֶגֶד כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּ זְנֵיהֶם: הַקְהֵל אֶת־הָעָם הָאֲנָשִׁים וְהַנָּשִׁים וְהַטַּף
וְגֵרְ ֲ אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶי לְמַעַן יִשְׁמְעוּ וּלְמַעַן יִלְמְדוּ וְיָרְאוּ אֶת־יְהֹוָה אֱ הֵיכֶם וְשָׁמְרוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־דִּבְרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת:
וּבְנֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר אֹֽ־יָדְעוּ יִשְׁמְעוּ וְלָמְדוּ לְיִרְאָה אֶת־יְהֹוָה אֱ הֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם חַיִּים עַל־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁ   ת
עֹבְרִים אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן שָׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ :

Then Moses commanded them: "At the end of every seven years, in the year for cancelling debts, during the Festival of Tabernacles, when all Israel comes to appear before the LORD your God at the place he will choose, you shall read this law before them in their hearing. Assemble the people--men, women and children, and the foreigners residing in your towns-- so they can listen and learn to fear the LORD your God and follow carefully all the words of this law. Their children, who do not know this law, must hear it and learn to fear the LORD your God as long as you live in the land you are crossing the Jordan to possess."

Article 7

Deuteronomy 16:1-8 (The Festival of Passover and Unleavened Bread)

שָׁמוֹר אֶת־חֹדֶשׁ ה בִּיב וְעָשִׂיתָ פֶּסַח לַיהֹוָה אֱ הֵי כִּי בְּחֹדֶשׁ ה בִיב הוֹצִיאֲ יְהֹוָה אֱ הֵי מִמִּצְרַיִם לָיְלָה:1

וְזָבַחְתָּ פֶּסַח לַיהֹוָה אֱ הֵי צֹאן וּבָקָר בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהֹוָה לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם:2

אֹֽ־תֹאכַל עָלָיו חָמֵץ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים תֹּאכַל־עָלָיו מַצּוֹת לֶחֶם עֹנִי כִּי בְחִפָּזוֹן יָצָאתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לְמַעַן תִּזְכֹּר אֶת־יוֹם 3
צֵאתְ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּי

וְ אֹֽ־יֵרָאֶה לְ שְׂאֹר בְּכָל־גְּבֻלְ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים וְ אֹֽ־יָלִין מִן־הַבָּשָׂר אֲשֶׁר תִּזְבַּח בָּעֶרֶב בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן לַבֹּקֶר:4

א תוּכַל לִזְבֹּחַ אֶת־הַפָּסַח בְּ חַד שְׁעָר אֲשֶׁר־יְהֹוָה אֱ הֵי נֹתֵן לְ : 5

כִּי אִם־אֶל־הַמָּקֹום אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱ   לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמֹו שָׁם תִּזְבַּח אֶת־הַפֶּסַח בָּעֶרֶב כְּבֹוא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ מֹועֵד צֵאתְ   6
מִמִּצְרָיִם:

וּבִשַּׁלְתָּ וְאָכַלְתָּ בַּמָּקֹום אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱ הֱי   בֹּו וּפָנִיתָ בַבֹּקֶר וְהָלַכְתָּ לְאֹהָלֶ   :7

שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים תֹּאכַל מַצֹּות וּבַיֹּום הַשְּׁבִיעִי עֲצֶרֶת לַיהֹוָה אֱ   א תַעֲשֶׂה מְלָאכָה: 8

Observe the month of Aviv and celebrate the Passover of the LORD your God, because in the month of Aviv he brought you out of Egypt by night. Sacrifice as the Passover to the LORD your God an animal from your flock or herd at the place the LORD will choose as a dwelling for his Name. Do not eat it with bread made with yeast, but for seven days eat unleavened bread, the bread of affliction, because you left Egypt in haste--so that all the days of your life you may remember the time of your departure from Egypt. Let no yeast be found in your possession in all your land for seven days. Do not let any of the meat you sacrifice on the evening of the first day remain until morning. You must not sacrifice the Passover in any town the LORD your God gives you except in the place he will choose as a dwelling for his Name. There you must sacrifice the Passover in the evening, when the sun goes down, on the anniversary of your departure from Egypt. Roast it and eat it at the place the LORD your God will choose. Then in the morning return to your tents. For six days eat unleavened bread and on the seventh day hold an assembly to the LORD your God and do no work.

Article 8

Deuteronomy 16: 9-12 The Feast of Weeks

שִׁבְעָה שָׁבֻעֹת תִּסְפָּר־לָ   מֵהָחֵל חֶרְמֵשׁ בַּקָּמָה תָּחֵל לִסְפֹּר שִׁבְעָה שָׁבֻעֹות:9

וְעָשִׂיתָ חַג שָׁבֻעֹות לַיהוָה אֱ הֶ   מִסַּת נִדְבַת יָדְ   אֲשֶׁר תִּתֵּן כַּאֲשֶׁר יְבָרֶכְ   יְהוָה אֱ   10

וְשָׂמַחְתָּ֡ לִפְנֵ֣י יְהֹוָ֣ה אֱ֠   אַתָּה וּבִנְךָ֣ וּבִתֶּ֗ךָ וְעַבְדְּךָ֣ וַאֲמָתֶ֔ךָ וְהַלֵּוִי֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר בִּשְׁעָרֶ֔יךָ   וְהַגֵּ֖ר וְהַיָּת֣וֹם וְהָ֑ לְמַ֣נָה אֲשֶׁ֥ר 11

בְּקִרְבֶּ֑ךָ בַּמָּק֔וֹם אֲשֶׁ֤ר יִבְחַר֙ יְהֹוָ֣ה אֱ֔   ׳   לְשַׁכֵּ֥ן שְׁמ֖וֹ שָֽׁם׃

וְזָכַרְתָּ֕ כִּי־עֶ֥בֶד הָיִ֖יתָ בְּמִצְרָ֑יִם וְשָׁמַרְתָּ֣ וְעָשִׂ֔יתָ אֶת־הַֽחֻקִּ֖ים הָאֵֽלֶּה׃ 12

Count off seven weeks from the time you begin to put the sickle to the standing grain. ¹⁰Then celebrate the Festival of Weeks to the LORD your God by giving a freewill offering in proportion to the blessings the LORD your God has given you. ¹¹And rejoice before the LORD your God at the place he will choose as a dwelling for his Name-you, your sons and daughters, your male and female servants, the Levites in your towns, and the foreigners, the fatherless and the widows living among you. ¹²Remember that you were slaves in Egypt, and follow carefully these decrees.

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