

Quaestiones Infnitae

PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIOUS
STUDIES
UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

VOLUME LXXIII

© Ingeborg S. Löwisch, November 2013
Printed by Drukkerij Ridderprint
Cover photograph: “Morscher Baum” by *Mizure*

Genealogy Composition in Response to Trauma

Gender and Memory in 1 Chronicles 1–9 and the Documentary Film “My
Life Part 2”

De compositie van genealogieën als antwoord op een traumatisch verleden

Herinnering en gender in 1 Kronieken 1-9 en de documentaire “Mein Leben Teil 2”

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht op gezag van de rector
magnificus, prof.dr. G.J. van der Zwaan, ingevolge het besluit van het college voor
promoties in het openbaar te verdedigen op donderdag 21 november 2013 des middags te
12.45 uur

door

Sigrun Ingeborg Löwisch

geboren op 17 juli 1968
te Hamburg, Duitsland

Promotoren: Prof.dr. B.E.J.H. Becking
Prof.dr. A. Brenner
Prof.dr. J.J. Noordegraaf

Fortsetzung

Die wir uns
fortsetzen
durch Liebe

Wir geben uns hin
dem Tod
und nehmen uns
das Leben

vom Baum
der
Erkenntnis

Rose Ausländer

Contents

Abbreviations	11
Introduction	13
Chapter 1 Conceptualizing Gendered Genealogies as Cultural Recall in the Present	29
1. 1 Introduction	29
1. 2 Cultural Memory as Overall Concept of Memory	31
1. 3 Cultural Memory and Gender	32
1. 4 Cultural Memory: Performance and Activity in the Present	34
1. 5 Narrative Memory versus Traumatic Recall	39
1. 6 Counter-present Memories and Alternative Archives	43
1. 7 Mediation of Memory	45
Chapter 2 Socializing Bible Texts and Films: Methodological Considerations	49
2. 1 Introduction	49
2. 2 Hermeneutical Starting Points	49
2. 3 Previous Research on the Bible and Film	52
2. 4 Intertextuality	56
2. 5 Socializing Bible Texts and Films	60
Chapter 3 1 Chronicles 1–9 and its Gendered Fragments	67
3. 1 Introduction	67
3. 2 Genealogy Composition at the Beginning of a Retold Story	70
3. 3 The Late Persian Period Context	74
3. 4 Reading 1 Chronicles 1–9 as an Archive	82
3. 5 Assessment with Regard to the Close Reading	89
Chapter 4 Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession	93
4. 1 Introduction	93
4. 2 Narratives on the Jeopardized Lineage	93
4. 3 Women as Eponymous Ancestors and Heads of Lineages	101
4. 4 Obscured Female Agency in Text-critically Difficult Passages	107
4. 5 Conclusion	110

Chapter 5	Gynealogy Performance in “My Life Part 2”	115
5. 1	Introduction	115
5. 2	“My Life Part 2” and its Location in Time and Space	116
5. 3	Gynealogy Composition: The Lineage of Levi Women Unfolds	123
5. 4	Discontinuity with and Inscription to the Lineage of Levi Women	135
5. 5	The Political Impact of Mediating Cultural Memory	145
5. 6	Conclusion and Crossover to 1 Chronicles 1–9	149
Chapter 6	Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah	153
6. 1	Introduction	153
6. 2	Segmentation through Wives	156
6. 3	Segmentation through Wives in the Text Itself	159
6. 4	Women as Subjects of Opening and Closing Formulas	170
6. 5	Sisters and Shaped Gaps	177
6. 6	The Structure of Shaped Gaps	181
6. 7	Patterns of the Genealogical Memory Act	186
Chapter 7	From Anachronistic Lists to Meaningful Memory Acts: Looking Back in Order to Look Forward	193
7. 1	Memory Spaces that Comprise Continuity and Discontinuity	193
7. 2	The Politics of Decision-Making	195
7. 3	Play as a Means to Meet the Bony Structure of the Genre	201
7. 4	Metaphors of Relatedness: Kinship, Tree, and Rhizome	205
7. 5	Afterthought	209
Appendix 1	The Female Fragments of 1 Chronicles 1–9 in their Literary Context	211
Appendix 2	Scene Protocol “My Life Part 2”	221
Bibliography		243
	Online Resources	255
Samenvatting (Dutch Summary)		257
Acknowledgements		267
Curriculum Vitae		269

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	David Noel Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDR	Kocku von Stuckrad (ed.), <i>The Brill Dictionary of Religion</i> (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007)
BE	Biblische Enzyklopädie
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (eds. K. Ellinger and W. Rudolph; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983)
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BKAT	Biblicher Kommentar zum Alten Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series
DCH	David J. A. Clines, <i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996)
DCLSt	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBS	Herders biblische Studien
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
<i>Int. Zoo Yb.</i>	<i>International Zoo Yearbook</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i> (online http://www.jhsonline.org ; accessed June 06, 2013)
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
LHBOTS	Library Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NBV	De Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling
NCamBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary

NCB	New Century Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën, Old Testament Studies</i>
SBLAcBib	Society of Biblical Literature, Academia Biblica
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SEThV	Salzburger Exegetische Theologische Vorträge
SKG.G	Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SR	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
STHV	Science, Technology & Human Values
VHB	Verklaring van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplement
VWGTh	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
WiS	Carol Meyers, Ross Kraemer and Toni Craven (eds.), <i>Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal / Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament</i> (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000)

Introduction

Genesis 5 (NRSV): ¹ This is the list of the descendants of Adam. When God created humankind, he made them in the likeness of God. ² Male and female he created them, and he blessed them and named them “Humankind” when they were created.

³ When Adam had lived one hundred thirty years, he became the father of a son in his likeness, according to his image, and named him Seth. ⁴ The days of Adam after he became the father of Seth were eight hundred years; and he had other sons and daughters. ⁵ Thus all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred thirty years; and he died.

⁶ When Seth had lived one hundred five years, he became the father of Enosh. ⁷ Seth lived after the birth of Enosh eight hundred seven years, and had other sons and daughters. ⁸ Thus all the days of Seth were nine hundred twelve years; and he died.

⁹ When Enosh had lived ninety years, he became the father of Kenan. ¹⁰ Enosh lived after the birth of Kenan eight hundred fifteen years, and had other sons and daughters. ¹¹ Thus all the days of Enosh were nine hundred five years; and he died.

¹² When Kenan had lived seventy years, he became the father of Mahalalel. ¹³ Kenan lived after the birth of Mahalalel eight hundred and forty years, and had other sons and daughters. ¹⁴ Thus all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years; and he died.

¹⁵ When Mahalalel had lived sixty-five years, he became the father of Jared. ¹⁶ Mahalalel lived after the birth of Jared eight hundred thirty years, and had other sons and daughters. ¹⁷ Thus all the days of Mahalalel were eight hundred ninety-five years; and he died.

¹⁸ When Jared had lived one hundred sixty-two years he became the father of Enoch. ¹⁹ Jared lived after the birth of Enoch eight hundred years, and had other sons and daughters. ²⁰ Thus all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty-two years; and he died.

²¹ When Enoch had lived sixty-five years, he became the father of Methuselah. ²² Enoch walked with God after the birth of Methuselah three hundred years, and had other sons and daughters. ²³ Thus all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty-five years. ²⁴ Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him.

²⁵ When Methuselah had lived one hundred eighty-seven years, he became the father of Lamech. ²⁶ Methuselah lived after the birth of Lamech seven hundred eighty-two years, and had other sons and daughters. ²⁷ Thus all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty-nine years; and he died.

²⁸ When Lamech had lived one hundred eighty-two years, he became the father of a son; ²⁹ he named him Noah, saying, “Out of the ground that the Lord has cursed this one shall bring us relief from our work and from the toil of our hands.” ³⁰ Lamech lived after the birth of Noah five hundred ninety-five years, and had other sons and daughters. ³¹ Thus all the days of Lamech were seven hundred seventy-seven years; and he died.

³² After Noah was five hundred years old, Noah became the father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

This dissertation is about genealogies. To be precise, it is about gendered genealogies and the question how they function in response to fractured pasts. But what exactly are genealogies; in what respect are they gendered; and in what way might seemingly dry lists of names be meaningful for coping with traumatic pasts?

An ancient and somehow prototypical genealogy is the list of generations, or *toledoth*, in Genesis 5 (quoted above). The structure of the genealogy is iterative and rhythmic. Wandering down the generations, the text connects one life cycle to the next and enfolds a succession of fathers from Adam to Noah. After the disturbing narrative of the fratricide in Genesis 4, the rhythmic list comes as a relief. It reassures us that the line of life was not broken, but is still passed on from generation to generation. And indeed, the first impulse for this research originates in my memory of the Genesis *toledoth* as conveyed to me in Sunday School: music, carried on by the beat of life.¹

But then, Genesis 5 is also a disturbing text. The lineage is completely male centered. Gen. 5:1–2 recalls that humankind was created as masculine and feminine in the likeness of God (Gen. 1:27), but does not mention the feminine/Eve any more. Similarly, mothers are generally missing. From a female standpoint, the text is difficult to identify with.

And there are other disturbing elements. For example, Gen. 5:24 breaks with the iterative rhythmic structure: it does not round off the life cycle of Enoch, but recounts that he was taken by God. Moreover, the basic principle of succession is modified the moment it is installed: Gen. 5:3 does not list Cain, the firstborn of Adam, but Seth, the son who was given to Eve in place of her murdered son Abel.

This latter fracture, no more than a fissure, struck my interest. Here, the *toledoth*, in a tiny deviation from the principal structure, responds to the traumatic violence in the narratives of the beginnings. The text skips the firstborn, Cain, does not mention Abel, the second son, but builds the lineage on the substitute son Seth. This moment of deviation opens a space for life to be handed down and the lineage to continue.

The ideological stance of the genealogy becomes even more apparent when looking at a second genealogy in the same narrative vicinity.²

Genesis 4 (NRSV): ¹⁷ Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bore Enoch; and he built a city, and named it Enoch after his son Enoch. ¹⁸ To Enoch was born Irad; and Irad was the father of Mehujael, and Mehujael the father of Methushael, and Methushael the father of Lamech. ¹⁹ Lamech took two wives; the name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other Zillah. ²⁰ Adah bore Jabal; he was the ancestor of those who live in tents and have livestock. ²¹ His brother's name was Jubal; he was the ancestor of all those who play the lyre and pipe. ²² Zillah bore Tubal-cain, who made all kinds of bronze and iron tools. The sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah.

¹ For the rhythmic nature of the Genesis genealogies see Franziska Bark, 'The God Who Will Be and the Generations of Men: Time and the Torah', in *Judaism* 49.3 (2000), pp. 259-268 (259-260).

² I follow the scholarly consensus on the setup of Genesis, and assume that the genealogies in Genesis 4 and Genesis 5 derive from different sources. See Konrad Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), pp. 37-39 and 153-156. Still, the final version of the book, which places the two genealogies side by side, urges to consider the one when reading the other. So for example Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Creation, Un-creation, Re-creation: A Discursive Commentary on Genesis 1–11* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2011), pp. 82-105.

Genesis 4 recalls the descendants of Cain and his anonymous wife over seven generations. It is constructed as a segmented genealogy, much less regular in form and quite different in character from the *toledoth* in Genesis 5. The line branches out through listing the mothers and co-wives Adah and Zillah, and presents their sons as founders of civilization and the arts. The text also lists their daughter Naamah in a fragment that might be read as presenting her as mother of professional singers.³

The genealogies in Genesis 4 and 5 respond to the fracturing events of the preceding narratives in extremely different ways. Here we have a segmented list; there we have a rhythmic *toledoth*. Here we have Adah and Zillah, mothers of founders of culture, and a fragment about Zillah's daughter Naamah; there we have the absence of mothers and only a general hint about the anonymous daughters. Here we have the pursuit of the line of Cain, the firstborn; there we have the decision to trust the continuation of the line to Seth, the substitute son.

The different ways in which Gen. 4:7–22 and Genesis 5 deal with the traumatic back story point to the deliberate, ideological, and performative character of genealogies. In the case of Genesis 5, the features interfering with the smooth course of the iterative clear-cut structure are critical starting points for an understanding of the particular ways in which this genealogy performs the past. Such interfering features are variation of form, deviation from the dominant rule of succession, and gender. More generally speaking, the example of Genesis 5 points to fractures and irregularities as keys to understanding how genealogies function in response to traumatic pasts.

Reading Genesis 5, I formed the hypothesis that fractures and variations would serve as apt places to learn more about how genealogies function as a form of memory in the aftermath of trauma and crisis.⁴ During my research, looking at the genealogies of the Hebrew Bible at large substantiated this hypothesis. It also showed that irregularity is often coupled with references to women. As a consequence, gender appeared to be a critical notion in exploring the genealogies' capacity to respond to traumatic and disturbing pasts.

In the Hebrew Bible, genealogical references to women often appear as fragments, such as the hint at Eve in Gen. 5:2, or the reference to Naamah, the singing one, in Gen. 4:22. Involving gender in my research on Hebrew Bible genealogies immediately raised the problem of how to deal with the fragmented character of female-gendered references. In order to fully understand how fractures, variation, and gender interplay in the genealogies' capacity to respond to traumatic pasts, I decided to call in one extra-biblical genealogy that would feature gender in a more central place than the biblical genealogies do, hence serving as a point of comparison or control. In doing so, I went to the other extreme and settled on using female lineages as portrayed in a contemporary documentary film. This sharp contrast supported carving out the particular form and functions of the gendered fragments. In addition, the different perspectives of gendered genealogies—here gendered fragments,

³ One possible reading of the name Naamah is 'singer'. Hence, Naamah might have been the ancestor of the vocal singers in accordance with her brothers who are listed as eponymous ancestors of different arts and crafts. See U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (trans. Israel Abraham; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1944), p. 238; and Carol Meyers, 'Naamah', in *WiS*, p. 129.

⁴ My understanding of trauma is based on Cathy Caruth's definition of trauma as "unclaimed experience" (Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). I introduce her concept of trauma in Chapter 1: *Conceptualizing Gendered Genealogies as Cultural Recall in the Present*, pp. 29-47 (29).

there an elaborated female line—established a balance that was necessary to draw more general lines and discuss gendered genealogy performance beyond the case studies.

The genealogies in the Hebrew Bible are diverse, as are female lineages in contemporary film. Still, in surveying my materials, pairs suggested themselves on the basis of particular core themes. The pair I eventually settled on was the genealogy composition in 1 Chronicles 1–9 and the documentary film “My Life Part 2” (Angelika Levi, Berlin 2003).⁵

“My Life Part 2” documents the life of the filmmaker’s mother during National Socialism and in post-war Germany in a collage of archive materials. It addresses how the traumatic childhood of her mother impacts the life of the family and explores intersections of personal and political histories with regard to Jewish-German identities in Germany today. The composition of a female lineage that serves as anchor point for the filmmaker’s appropriating her traumatic legacy and responding to it is located at the center of the film.

On a formal level, I decided to work with a documentary because the biblical genealogies and the genre of documentary feature an intriguing overlap of central topics, e.g. the relation of fact and fiction; interconnections of past and present; the notion of framing; implications of editing; and the role of narrative.⁶ Moreover, reading Bible texts alongside documentaries constitutes new ground in Bible studies, thus allowing me to engage in highly innovative research. On the level of content, “My Life Part 2” contributed three key aspects: first, the notion of discontinuity as part of and precondition for gendered genealogy composition in response to trauma; second, the interplay of given and imagined lineages with regard to a resource-oriented genealogy composition; and third, the notion of the archive as key to understanding genealogical memory acts in the context of traumatic pasts.

1 Chronicles 1–9 provides a heterogeneous nine-chapter-long genealogy composition. The genealogies start with Adam and reach until the first returnees from Exile. Most tribes are covered, but there is a strong focus on Judah and Levi. The genealogies propose a self-conception of Israel before the real story begins (1 Chronicles 10 to 2 Chronicles 36). This self-conception responds to fracturing events of contemporaneous history.⁷ It presents a strong statement in the context of controversial discourses on memory and identities, as well as of contested claims on religious and sociopolitical authority and land in the postexilic period.⁸

⁵ Other pairs that I considered were the genealogies of Genesis together with “Antonia’s Line” (Marleen Gorris, NL 1995), a pair that would have highlighted the issues of female reproduction and its control, of sexual violence, and of the role of outsiders; as well as the biblical fragments on Serah bat Asher and her afterlife in rabbinical literature together with the films “Mrs Dalloway” (Marleen Gorris, UK/NL 1996) and “The Hours” (Stephen Daldry, US 2001), a pair that would have highlighted the issues of female ancestors and identification, as well as of symbolic and especially literary lineages.

⁶ See Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); and Stella Bruzzi, *New Documentary: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁷ Fracturing events concern the destruction of state and temple, deportations and exile in the early sixth century BCE, as well as the emergence of Jewish centers in the Diaspora with the parallel restoration in Judah/Yehud. For an introduction into 1 Chronicles 1–9 including the discussion on its dating see Chapter 3: *1 Chronicles 1–9 and its Gendered Fragments*, pp. 67-91 (74-82).

⁸ I use the terms political and sociopolitical not in the strict literal sense of state politics, but in a more general sense that includes sociopolitical movements and discourses.

The Book of Chronicles is often read as a conservative, rather patriarchal account of Israel's past, which smoothes out everything that might shed a negative light on David, Jerusalem, and the temple.⁹ Accordingly, the genealogies might be expected to be patrilinear, male-centered, pro-Davidic, and keen to rule out contradictions or dead ends. This, however, does not turn out to be so. 1 Chronicles 1–9 is indeed a largely male-centered composition of patrilinear lineages. Nevertheless, it features more than 50 women, some of them in rather unexpected positions. For example, Sheerah, the daughter of Ephraim, is listed as builder of three cities (1 Chron. 7:24). The genealogies of Judah (2:3–4:23) in particular feature a dense web of references to women. They are listed as members of the house of David or foreign women, eponymous ancestresses or nameless wives, heads of houses or sisters without history. Tiny as they are, the gendered fragments interrupt, roughen, and partly subvert the patrilinear succession.

1 Chronicles 1–9 does not comply with prevalent expectations in yet another way: Its genealogies are heterogeneous, sometimes chaotic and incomplete. In the case of Judah, lineages are often fractured, endangered, or only loosely connected. The genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9, and especially the lineages of Judah, do not run smoothly. Instead, they involve ruptures, loose ends, and gendered fragments that, in fact, make statements on Israel's past, present and future. They provide an excellent example for studying how fractures and gender interact in a genealogy composition that responds to a traumatic past.

1 Chronicles 1–9 features gender in a most characteristic way, namely in the form of gendered fragments. This quality implies a particular angle for analysis. The second case study, the documentary “My Life Part 2”, tackles gender in genealogy composition from an entirely different vantage point—the angle of female centered lineage, or *gynealogy* composition, as I have decided to call it in the film analysis in Chapter 5.¹⁰ The additional perspective of gynealogy composition balances the perspectives on gendered genealogy composition and addresses the possibility of alternative or counter-present genealogy performances.

In “My Life Part 2”, Berlin filmmaker Angelika Levi documents the life of her mother Ursula Levi in the context of her Jewish-German family story during National Socialism and in West Germany. Building on the personal collections of her mother, the film arranges interview excerpts, audio records, home-movies, photographs, and memorial objects into an archive that is introduced and explained by the personal voice-over of the filmmaker. The archive is organized around a female line, the lineage of Levi women. In the film, this lineage is spelled out from the filmmaker's great grandmother down to herself. However, this is only a piece of a larger, imagined lineage, which the filmmaker's mother, Ursula Levi, traces down from the biblical Levi to herself. The film recalls the past, but likewise addresses the question: How can the filmmaker, as artist and as daughter, respond to her traumatic legacy? The format of an experimental documentary film allows the filmmaker to address the relevant issues in closer compliance with the genealogy genre than a family saga would. For example, the skeleton-like structure that is so characteristic for genealogies appears in a sequence of photographs of murdered family members (00:18:40). In this visual genealogy, photographs are shown in succession, while the voice-over only gives the name, date, and place of the murder.

⁹ Pancrattus C. Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (SSN, 52; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008), pp. 1-13.

¹⁰ Chapter 5: *Gynealogy Composition in “My Life Part 2”*, pp. 115-151 (123-124).

“My Life Part 2” represents an increasing interest in notions of genealogy and generation in contemporary literature and film. Beyond conventional family sagas, such works explore the potential of genealogical and generational narratives that deal with family mythology and secrets, economic interdependencies, chosen genealogies, denials of the future, afterlife of the dead, and the ongoing impact of memories and legacies. Such works bring still existing links between generations as well as their fragility to the fore.¹¹

At the backdrop of this interest is a recent crisis in traditional modes of transferring memories, traditions, and identities. These modes of transfer usually presuppose intact relationship models over three generations, as well as functioning social frames.¹² However, an increasing normality of migration, diasporic identities, and cultural hybridity has led to substantial changes in the constitution of families and peer groups.¹³ These changes shake and alienate generational bonds, rendering “the traditional modes for transmitting cultural, ethnic, and racial memory—both memories passed from parent to child and those disseminated through community life—increasingly inadequate.”¹⁴ Moreover, traumatic histories, such as the Shoah or US slavery, induce a breaking apart of relations between parents and children, as well as between individuals and communities, making traditional modes of transfer insufficient and/or inaccessible.¹⁵

Working with “My Life Part 2” and the filmmaker’s struggle for an artistic expression of appropriating her legacy in the discourse on post-Shoah memory in Germany and beyond, meant throwing a spotlight at the recent crisis of modes of transfer that forms the backdrop for this research. It is a crisis that echoes the crisis of memory transfer which is likewise present in the biblical text. For me, it shifted the attention from identity to memory performance. It also showed how the study of the biblical genealogies can be important to the present. Hence, my research feeds into the actual discussion on modes of transfer and provides an additional historical perspective to it.

The initial drive to pair 1 Chronicles 1–9 and “My Life Part 2” was based on their heterogeneous form: both Bible text and film assemble their genealogies from bits and

¹¹ So the exposé of the *Literaturtage 2008*: “Am Nullpunkt der Familie: Generationen und Genealogien in der Gegenwartsliteratur” and corresponding research projects at the *Zentrum für Literatur- und Kulturforschung Berlin*. (<http://www.zfl-berlin.org/veranstaltungen-detail/items/am-nullpunkt-der-familie-generationen-und-genealogien-in-der-geg.html>, accessed June 08, 2013).

¹² For example Paul Connerton, who, in his conceptualizing cultural memory as acts of transfer, attributes a key role to the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 39-40. For the idea of social frames at the basis of memory production see, Maurice Halbwachs, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen* (eds. Heinz Maus and Friedrich Fürstenberg; trans. Lutz Geldsetzer; Berlin: Luchterhand, 1966), especially pp. 361-390.

¹³ See Patricia Pisters and Wim Staat (eds.), *Shooting the Family: Transnational Media and Intercultural Values* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 2.

¹⁵ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, 2. Landsberg consequently proposes “prosthetic memories” as new/alternative mode of transfer. See my Chapter 1: *Conceptualizing Gendered Genealogies as Cultural Recall in the Present*, pp. 29-47 (46). I here refer to the Shoah and US slavery even though more recent traumatic histories could be named. Yet, they have continued impact, and are still the central reference points in the scholarly and cultural discourse on cultural memory. See for example Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction’, *Signs* 28, no. 1: Gender and Cultural Memory (2002), pp. 1-19.

pieces. In the case of 1 Chronicles 1–9, heterogeneity is often assessed negatively or at least considered highly problematic.¹⁶ In the reception of “My Life Part 2”, however, heterogeneity is related to the archival character of the documentary and assessed positively.¹⁷ In the course of reading “My Life Part 2” alongside 1 Chronicles 1–9, interpreting the film’s collage as an archive opened up a way of making sense of the heterogeneous character of 1 Chronicles 1–9. As I hope to show in Chapter 6, the archive notion can function as a shared concept for genealogy composition in response to a fractured past: It allows tracing a genealogical taxonomy, while at the same time departing from it again and again, with the intention of accounting for breaks, fragments, and loose ends in memory performance, more often gendered than not.¹⁸

While the archive notion opened the way for looking at the taxonomy of the genealogy composition in 1 Chronicles 1–9, the sisters in the lineages of Judah, Manasseh, and Ephraim drove me deeper into understanding how gender functions in the composition’s response to the crisis of exile and the postexilic re-conceptualization of Jewish identities. 1 Chronicles 1–9 features a set of references to sisters. For example, 1 Chronicles 3 provides the lineage of the house of David down to the postexilic Davidides. The lineage is solely male, with the exception of 1 Chron. 3:19, which lists two sons of Zerubbabel and adds: “and Shelomith, their sister.” In a similar way, the genealogies of Asher in 1 Chron. 7:30–40 include the sisters Serah and Shua.

1 Chron. 7:30–33 (NRSV): ³⁰The sons of Asher: Imnah, Ishvah, Ishvi, Beriah, and their sister Serah. ³¹The sons of Beriah: Heber and Malchiel, who was the father of Birzaith. ³²Heber became the father of Japhlet, Shomer, Hotham, and their sister Shua. ³³The sons of Japhlet: Pasach, Bimhal, and Ashvath. These are the sons of Japhlet.

References to sisters come in a particular iterative formulation and run throughout the genealogical archive. Many of the sisters are otherwise unknown. Names such as Shelomith, Shua, and Hazzelepni (1 Chron. 4:3) do not have a familiar ring. In the text as such, it remains utterly incomprehensible as to why they are included. Yet, they are included, and this specific form of presentation creates what I have called a “structure of shaped gaps.”¹⁹ Shaped gaps are gaps that do not simply become apparent between the lines, but are specifically pointed out, to bring them into focus. These gaps introduce a counter-movement: While the frequent identification of woman figures as wives and mothers of sons co-establishes the picture of a genealogical stream, recalling seemingly non-functional sisters evokes the image of coves in this stream. Centering on woman figures who remain without a story, these coves are not filled but bequeathed as particularly shaped and thus obvious gaps. Shaped gaps work in different directions. As gaps, they repress the remembrance of woman figures. As visibly shaped formations, they recall that

¹⁶ Exemplary in this respect is Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 6th edn, repr. 1927), pp. 206-217, see especially his discussion of the genealogies of Manasseh (1 Chron. 7:14-19), p. 209.

¹⁷ Madeleine Bernstorff, ‘MEIN LEBEN TEIL 2 von Angelika Levi, D 2003’ (download available at http://www.madeleinebernstorff.de/seiten/leben_tx.html; accessed June 08, 2013).

¹⁸ Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192.

¹⁹ Ingeborg Löwisch, ‘Genealogies, Gender, and the Politics of Memory: 1 Chronicles 1–9 and the Documentary Film “Mein Leben Teil 2”’, in *Memory in Biblical Narrative and Beyond* (eds. Athalya Brenner and Frank Polak; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), pp. 228-256 (243-44).

there is more to remember than the texts actually do. Recurring again and again, they invite projection and gap filling and suggest a potential of recalling absent and marginalized groups beyond the biblical genealogies. Finally, looking at the structure of shaped gaps from the angle of archival taxonomy, they propose that still waters and absence of movement are a critical part of a genealogical memory act in response to trauma.

“My Life Part 2” features a dynamic which only at a later stage, did I understand to be connected with the structure of shaped gaps. Watching the film again and again, what struck me most was the crack in the middle of its genealogy. The filmmaker carefully sets up a lineage of mothers, ideologically shaped, but then, in a personal voice-over, states that she herself will not become a mother, but has decided to live with women and remain childless. The scene likewise sets a counter-movement to the otherwise dominant sense of continuous succession. Paradoxical as it might be, this move is a precondition for the filmmaker’s appropriation of her traumatic legacy and of making sense of the past, as I will further demonstrate in Chapter 5.²⁰

Investigating the structure of shaped gaps in 1 Chronicles 1–9 as well as the film’s paradox of breaking up the carefully built lineage of mothers had major consequences for the setup of this research project. The frequent occurrence of female figures without a story in 1 Chronicles 1–9, sisters and others, brought me from an interest in identification with female ancestors, which had prevailed in the beginnings of my research, to placing emphasis on the question: how does gender work on a functional structural level within a genealogical memory act?²¹ Shifting away from the focus on identification involved a whole set of new themes. Focusing on identification had bound my attention to issues of identity and to the importance of continuity in reconstructing the past, both of which are broadly accepted issues in the exegetical discussion on genealogies. Moreover, focusing on identification tied in with the mainstream of feminist exegesis, which centers on prominent female figures such as Sarah, Judith, Esther, or Lady Wisdom. Shifting the attention to fractures, gaps and structural functions of the females listed opened the way for bringing notions of discontinuity and paradox to the fore, which I regard as aspects crucial to fully delving into the issue of genealogies responding to traumatic pasts. The moment of breaking up the carefully constructed line of mothers in “My Life Part 2” supported this shift, inasmuch as it confirmed my assumption that breaks and contradictions are critical drivers for genealogy performance in response to trauma.

Shifting away from identification raised yet another question. If feminist Bible criticism is not tied to a primary interest in the character and story of women, the mass of (exclusively) male-centered texts in the Hebrew Bible comes into focus, be they genealogies, legal texts, wisdom literature, or narratives. Taking this much broader text basis into view led me to ask what form feminist hermeneutics can or should take without female figures, female voices, or power relations between men and women on which to focus—and it allowed me to develop preliminary answers.²²

²⁰ Chapter 5: *Gynealogy Performance in “My Life Part 2”*, pp. 115-151 (135-144).

²¹ My initial interest in identification with female ancestors is reflected in Ingeborg Löwisch, ‘Frauenealogien in Film und Hebräischer Bibel: Erinnerungsformen und politische Akte’, *Schlangenbrut* 23 (2005), pp. 14-18.

²² See also Roland Boer on the problematic absence of feminist criticism of “intransigent and arid” text such as the book of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah. Roland Boer, ‘No Road: On the Absence of Feminist Criticism of Ezra–Nehemiah’, in *Her Master’s Tools?: Feminist and Postcolonial*

Reading a Bible text in conjunction with a film that does not recycle biblical narratives or notions, but shares a common interest with the Bible text, constitutes new ground. I therefore needed to develop a methodology which would allow bringing both genealogies together, and to make sense of them in view of my question: How do gendered genealogies function in response to traumatic and disturbing pasts? For my methodology, I build on the notion of intertextuality as proposed by Julia Kristeva,²³ but also borrowed from the field of biology and used the concept of socializing. In biology, socializing means that different species are brought to the same environment. There, they are co-housed to the end of not only coexisting but also being beneficial for each other.²⁴ Used as a metaphorical term, the notion of socializing describes that both Bible text and film dwell in the same analytical space, with the objective of giving impulses to their respective analyses. An important aspect of socializing is to provide a frame for the analytical space. In the same way as in the natural sciences, where the environment of co-housing is crucial, the success of effectively socializing Bible text and film depends on the strength of the analytical frame. The analytical frame of this project is based on notions of cultural memory, as well as on notions of archival theory, performance theory, and gender studies included in the broader concept of memory studies. It allows for analyzing Bible text and film independently, using the tools of the disciplines they belong to. At the same time, the setting allows for bringing similar questions to both texts, reading each one from the perspective, as well as to the benefit, of the other. I set up the analytical frame in Chapter 1 and explain the methodology of socializing in Chapter 2.²⁵

My research on gendered genealogies in response to trauma builds on ongoing research on the genealogies in the Hebrew Bible, especially on 1 Chronicles 1–9. Most fundamental in this respect is Robert Wilson’s proposition to analyze biblical genealogies with categories derived from anthropological research into oral tribal genealogies.²⁶ Key categories in this approach are the notions of segmentation, depth, and fluidity. Segmentation describes the branching out of genealogies. It maps—and proposes—affiliation and difference. Depth refers to the length of a given lineage, often related to claims of authority in the present, e.g. claims to offices or land. Finally, fluidity describes—and acknowledges—the fact that genealogies may change, according to the actual needs of the situation in which they are performed. This implies that different genealogies that process the same data can exist side by side, being both equally true but responding to different contexts and settings.²⁷

Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse (eds. Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner; *Global Perspectives on Biblical Literature*, 9; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), pp. 233-252 (233).

²³ Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. Leon S. Roudiez; trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez; Blackwell: Columbia University Press, 1980). For an introduction to the concept of intertextuality see Chapter 2: *Socializing Bible Texts and Films: Methodological Considerations*, pp. 49-65 (56-60).

²⁴ N. Dorman and D.C. Bourme, ‘Canids and Ursids in Mixed-species Exhibits’, *Int. Zoo Yb.* 44 (2010), pp. 75-86 (76-77).

²⁵ Chapter 1: *Conceptualizing Gendered Genealogies as Cultural Recall in the Present*, pp. 29-47; Chapter 2: *Socializing Bible Texts and Films: Methodological Considerations*, pp. 49-65.

²⁶ Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogies and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

²⁷ Wilson, *Genealogies and History*, pp. 18-36.

Even though comparing biblical textual genealogies with tribal oral genealogies has been critiqued,²⁸ Wilson's work has had a deep impact on issues central to subsequent research into the genealogies of the Hebrew Bible, which focused on the issue of identity,²⁹ on continuity and lineage bond power claims;³⁰ and on the ideological and theological character of a given genealogy and the literary functions it fulfills.³¹ A key work in this development is Thomas Hieke's synchronic reception-aesthetic study of the *toledoth* system of the book of Genesis, in which he identifies: a) sociocultural, political, and ethnic functions, among them the construction of identity, b) literary functions, and c) the theological message as main targets of this set of genealogies.³² More generally speaking, research on Hebrew Bible genealogies has started to interpret the biblical genealogies as purposefully designed entities that advance ideological worldviews and pursue theological as well as political aims in the community of their composers. As to 1 Chronicles 1–9, such an understanding of genealogies is still a relatively recent development. For example, one important result of Manfred Oeming's 1990 monograph on 1 Chronicles 1–9 is that the genealogy composition must indeed be understood as a kerygmatic text.³³ In this context, research into new collections of comparative materials, e.g. ancient Greek genealogical literature, has been critical for appreciating the ideological character of 1 Chronicles 1–9.³⁴

While there is growing research on Hebrew Bible genealogies as such, only a handful of studies thoroughly investigate the texts from a gender perspective.³⁵ More often

²⁸ For example, Manfred Oeming, *Das wahre Israel: Die „genealogische Vorhalle“ 1 Chronik 1–9* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), p. 72.

²⁹ For example, Irmtraud Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels: Feministisch-theologische Studien zu Genesis* (BZAW, 222; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1994); Ehud Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2006); Gary N. Knoppers, 'Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120.1 (2001), pp. 15–30.

³⁰ For example, Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 42, 79.

³¹ For example, Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ, 9; Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1997); and Thomas Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis* (HBS, 39; Freiburg: Herder, 2003).

³² Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis*, pp. 343–352, especially p. 345.

³³ Manfred Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, pp. 206–207.

³⁴ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 12; New York: Doubleday, 2003), pp. 254–257. See also Oeming, who discusses contemporaneous comparative materials from Greece, Egypt, and Persia. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, pp. 22–36.

³⁵ For example, Isa Breitmaier, 'Angestaute Gegenwart: Zur Zeitkonstruktion in Genealogien (Gen 5)', in *Zeit wahrnehmen: Feministisch-Theologische Perspektiven auf das Erste Testament* (ed. Hedwig-Jahnow-Forschungsprojekt; SBS, 222; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2010), pp. 66–99; Thomas Hieke, 'Genealogie als Mittel der Geschichtsdarstellung in der Tora und die Rolle der Frauen im genealogischen System', in *Hebräische Bibel – Altes Testament: Tora* (eds. Irmtraud Fischer, Mercedes Puerto Navarra and Andrea Taschl-Erber; Die Bibel und die Frauen, 1.1; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2009), pp. 149–185; Julie Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?: An Irigarayan Reading of the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2007), pp. 115–166; Jan Willem van Henten, 'Judith as an Alternative Leader: A Rereading of Judith 7–13', in *Esther, Judith and Susanna: A Feminist Companion to the Bible* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp. 224–252; and Tamara C. Eskenazi, 'Out from the Shadows: Biblical Women in the Post-Exilic Era', in *A*

than not, references to women are not carefully looked at, if at all. For example, commentaries regularly pass over references to sisters in 1 Chronicles 1–9, or read them superficially.³⁶ Prominent in this respect is Oeming, who does not even differentiate between the terms sister (אחות) and daughter (בת).³⁷ At the same time, the significance of the passages is played down. Indeed, Oeming argues that the genealogies of Judah present a succession of “particular important males,” whereas women played none or only negative roles in the texts.³⁸

This notorious failure of meeting the challenge to provide a convincing analysis of these often difficult passages is striking, for several reasons. First of all, most genealogies indeed include references to women. Secondly, a focus on gender suggests itself, given the research focus on identity and power. Finally, as a rule, the genealogies are strongly gendered: They usually attribute competence to pass on the line to the male members of the community. This rule of succession means that they have a strongly male-gendered building plan before women actually occur. As I will argue, this constellation qualifies gender to have a leading part in all functions that complicate and subvert the succession.³⁹ Hence, gender should be an inherent part of any research on biblical genealogies, as well as of any analysis of their capacity to respond to traumatic pasts.

Building on ongoing research, I understand biblical genealogies as purposefully designed, ideological texts that negotiate power and aim at the present of the authors. This perception of biblical genealogies—including 1 Chronicles 1–9—led to my decision to analyze the final form of the text in a synchronic reception-oriented reading. Such an approach does not deny that the text processes various older materials, but emphasizes that the text makes sense in its existing form.⁴⁰ It abets a close analysis of fractures in the genealogical structure through investigating the functions of formations, variations, and exceptions in their literary context. This especially qualifies the synchronic approach to investigate the functions of gender, which in 1 Chronicles 1–9 are mostly present in fragments or absence.⁴¹

Feminist Companion to Samuel and Kings (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 252-271.

³⁶ For example, Shelomith (3:19) and the nameless sister of Naham (4:19) are passed over by Jacob M. Myers, *1 Chronicles* (AB, 12; New York: Doubleday, 1965) and by H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB, 20; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).

³⁷ Oeming refers to Zeruah and Abigail as sisters (2:16–17), but refers to both Shelomith (3:9) and Hazzeleponi (4:3) as daughters. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, pp. 102-105.

³⁸ Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, p. 208.

³⁹ Hieke formulates a comparable conclusion in his analysis of the Genesis *toldeoth*. He argues that women occur when a differentiation of the lineage is necessary, when the succession needs to be slowed down, and in cases in which a special initiative is needed in order to keep up the succession. Hieke, *Genealogien der Genesis*, pp. 278-298.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the implication of a synchronic reception-oriented analysis of a larger corpus of Hebrew bible genealogies see Hieke, *Genealogien der Genesis*, pp. 13-17; and Frank Crüsemann, ‘Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity: Israel’s Self-Definition in the Genealogical System of Genesis’, in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark G. Brett; BIS, 19; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), pp. 57-76 (60).

⁴¹ The synchronic approach is unusual for analyzing 1 Chronicles 1–9. One of the few examples is, Kelso’s Irigarayan reading of the Book of Chronicles, which includes a synchronic reading of the genealogies. Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, pp. 115-166.

Next, to bring an understanding of genealogies as manufactured ideological texts more explicitly into play, I decided to conceptualize genealogies as performances and acts of cultural recall. Conceptualizing genealogies as performances borrows from cultural memory studies, where memory acts are understood as performances.⁴² It ties in with the idea that they are purposefully built entities, more precisely described as art works than as biological records.⁴³ Moreover, it allows conceptualizing this purposeful act more precisely. For example, the concept of performance encompasses both the notion of ritual, important for analyzing the aspects of rhythm and form in genealogies, and the notion of play, important for analyzing aspects of variation and fissures. Conceptualizing genealogies as performances also takes up the notion of fluidity. It assumes that genealogies are not universally valid reflections of the past, but active creations that depend on contexts and settings, and are responsive to particular challenges and interests.

Understanding genealogies as acts of cultural recall performed during the time of their composition builds on an interest in identity, as well as on work on the ideology of particular sets of genealogies.⁴⁴ The notion of cultural memory allows for specifying the inherently political character of genealogies inasmuch as memory acts can be hegemonic or form alternative counter-present acts of recall.⁴⁵ In the same way, genealogies are a tool that can be used both for domination and for resistance. It is important that the theoretical frame is capable of acknowledging and analyzing the potential for both directions. Finally, the idea of memory performance is important, because it emphasizes the active process of setting up a genealogy while—at the same time—being fully aware of the importance of unconscious and repressed dynamics that can be involved.⁴⁶

Whereas conceptualizing genealogies as memory performances ties in relatively closely with ongoing research, my focus on genealogies' responses to trauma, as well as my interest in fractures, gaps, and paradoxes as a primary starting point for investigating this issue, break new ground. In order to orient myself on this new ground, I explored notions of genealogy outside Bible studies. Here, the notions of discontinuity and imagination revealed themselves as extremely helpful.⁴⁷

⁴² For using the performance notion in the context of cultural recall see Mieke Bal, 'Introduction', in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer; Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. vii-xvii.

⁴³ See Johnson, who has advocated such an understanding of genealogies in reference to André Lefèvre. He describes genealogies as art works, that could be used "as an alternative to narrative or poetic forms of expression," which are not primarily interested in giving exact accounts of the past, but which are interested in legal, economic, sociocultural, and religious matters. Johnson, *Purpose of Genealogies*, pp. 73, 81.

⁴⁴ My understanding of the notion of identity builds on Baumann and Gingrich, who conceptualize identity as interplay between identity and alterity. See Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich (eds.), *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach* (London: Berghahn, 2004). This is appropriate for the work on genealogies, because they form and confirm identity in a permanent movement of defining belonging as well as demarcation.

⁴⁵ For the use of the terms alternative and counter-present forms of recall, see Hirsch and Smith, 'Feminism and Cultural Memory', pp. 1-19.

⁴⁶ See Bal, 'Introduction', p. vii.

⁴⁷ Beyond the issue of genealogies, important examples of how Bible studies engage notions of trauma are Kathleen M. O'Connor, *Jeremiah: Pain and Promise* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012); and Meira Polliack, 'Joseph's Trauma: Memory and Resolutions', in *Performing Memory in Biblical*

The notion of discontinuity as a critical aspect of genealogies has been proposed by Michel Foucault.⁴⁸ In his study on genealogies, Foucault capitalizes on emergence (*Entstehung*) and descent (*Herkunft*) in contrast to the idea of origin (*Ursprung*) as critical notions for understanding genealogies.⁴⁹ Emphasizing the importance of power constellations that form the emergence of a phenomenon, he asks: What political processes and ideological discourses, what coincidences and events, what desires, what breaks and discontinuities, and even what moments of absence, have shaped a given genealogy, and turned a phenomenon into what it is?⁵⁰ This approach introduces the idea of discontinuity to the genealogical discourse: “The purpose of history, guided by genealogy, is not to discover the roots of our identity but to commit itself to its dissipation. It does not seek to define our unique threshold of emergence, the homeland to which metaphysicians promise a return; it seeks to make visible all of those discontinuities that cross us.”⁵¹ Understanding power as aiming at legitimating claims or offices is based on the assumption of continuity.⁵² In contrast, discontinuity moves into focus when understanding power as forces that forge the emergence of a phenomenon. Conceptualizing discontinuity as intra-genealogical rather than anti-genealogical is crucial. It exposes genealogies as fiction, which appear smoothly and logically derived from a seemingly singular line of origin. At the same time, it suggests that fracturing events are part of the tissue of which genealogies are made—and that they bestow meaning to the genre. Even though Foucault looks at genealogies from a different angle than I do—he investigates genealogies as a way of understanding historical processes and as an alternative approach to historiography, while I look at actual ancestor trees—his plea for understanding discontinuity as a decisive engine for the emergence of a genealogy is critical for this study. Besides continuity, discontinuity is a dynamic at the core of genealogical functions. This invites analyzing fissures in the structure, gaps, exceptions or breakdown of form not as accidents that can be explained away by source- and redaction criticism, but as features of the composition that need to be explored and interpreted.

The second notion I have borrowed from outside Bible studies is the notion of imagination in the process of genealogy constitution. The phenomenon of imagination occurs plainly in “My Life Part 2”. In an interview sequence, Ursula Levi, the filmmaker’s mother, draws a line from biblical Levi down to herself, which is mainly based on the shared name, on the experience of concurrently belonging and being set apart, and on a fictive biological descent (“I feel it in my genes”).⁵³ As Ursula Levi is not Jewish in the strict sense of the term (Ursula Levi’s father but not her mother was Jewish, hence, according to Jewish *halakhah*, she herself is not Jewish), the fictitious lineage is critical for Ursula Levi’s identity. It allows her to integrate her experiences during National Socialism and beyond into a broader story, and to make sense of the fracturing events that affected her

Narrative and Beyond (eds. Athalya Brenner and Frank H. Polak; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), pp. 73-105.

⁴⁸ Michel Foucault, ‘Nietzsche, Genealogy, History’, in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (ed. Donald F. Bouchard, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 139-164.

⁴⁹ Foucault’s use of German terms is due to his discussion of the terms Friedrich Nietzsche uses in his *Zur Genealogie der Moral: Eine Streitschrift* (1887).

⁵⁰ Foucault, ‘Nietzsche, Genealogy, History’, pp. 145-152, see also pp. 139-140.

⁵¹ Foucault, ‘Nietzsche, Genealogy, History’, p. 162, see also p. 148.

⁵² So for example Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, pp. 250-253.

⁵³ “My Life Part 2”, interview sequence (00:00:56).

life. I hold that such instances of imagination are not unusual in genealogies, especially not if they try to respond to trauma and loss. In order to meet this phenomenon, rather than devalue it as fiction, I use the term *imagined lineages*. The term is inspired by Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities," inasmuch as it connotes the invention of a lineage with a sense of imagining and creation rather than with a sense of fabrication and falsity.⁵⁴ I also intentionally connote the aspect of *community*, because imagined lineages aim at establishing links and bonding in a situation in which the given ancestry has a gap or is not able to represent a position or perspective that is needed to understand, balance, bear, or appropriate a genealogy.⁵⁵

This thesis integrates research on the genealogies of the Hebrew Bible into a broader discourse on genealogies, memory performance, and gender, both academic and artistic. It opens new perspectives for an understanding of why genealogies are a key genre of the Hebrew Bible and how they function. Moreover, it discloses the biblical material not only for the theological context, but also for the humanities, to which Bible studies are now more and more incorporated.

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 1 sets the theoretical frame. It explains what it means to conceptualize gendered genealogies as cultural memory performances, and discusses notions of cultural memory that are critical for its subject. This includes reflections on cultural memory as an overall concept; on cultural memory as performance and activity in the present; on narrative memory versus traumatic recall; on counter-present memory and alternative archives; on mediation of memory and prosthetic memories; as well as on cultural memory and gender.

Chapter 2 explains the method of socializing. It reflects on the hermeneutical starting point for reading a Bible text together with a documentary film. It discusses the concept of intertextuality as theoretical backdrop for the socializing project and critically reviews ongoing research on Bible and film. Finally, the chapter proposes the method of socializing and discusses its methodological implications.

Chapter 3 prepares the close reading of 1 Chronicles 1–9. It introduces the female-gendered passages of the genealogy composition and assesses gender perspectives in the research on 1 Chronicles 1–9. Next, it places 1 Chronicles 1–9 in the context of Chronicles scholarship, both on a literary and a sociohistorical level. Finally, it argues for the genealogies of Judah as a key text for the subsequent close readings.

Chapter 4 provides a first sample of close readings from the genealogies of Judah (1 Chron. 2:2–4:23). The chapter centers on three key issues: the patriarchal succession at risk in the embedded narratives of 1 Chron. 2:3–4 and 2:34–35; gender-fluidity in genealogical key roles and formalized genealogical language on the basis of the references to Ephrathah (2:19; 2:50; 4:3) and to Zeruiah (2:16–17); and obscured female agency and

⁵⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso: New York, 2nd edn, 1991), p. 6.

⁵⁵ An alternative concept would have been the concept of *invented traditions* as proposed by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. I decided against using this terminology, because the concept focuses on traditions that are established by official authorities, which also benefit from them. It connotes institutions, rituals, and functionalities underlying the process of inventing and points in another direction than the one I am pursuing in this research. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

ownership through breakdowns of syntactical coherence and meaning in 2:18–19 and 4:17–18.

Chapter 5 shifts the focus to the film. It analyzes how gendered genealogies are realized in “My Life Part 2”, and which functions they have in the film’s attempt to appropriate and respond to the past. In order to do so, the chapter discusses the film’s location in time and space. It traces how the lineage of Levi women unfolds and analyzes this form of genealogy composition. It analyzes the impulse of discontinuity and the answer of a genealogical memory act, as well as the issue of mediating cultural memory and stimulating political alliances and agency. Finally, the chapter proposes a transfer of the results of the film analysis to 1 Chronicles 1–9.

In Chapter 6, I return to Chronicles to examine the gendered fragments in a more structural way. The chapter again dives into the genealogies of Judah, this time with the help of concepts from cultural studies, e.g. on identity and alterity, as well as with the additional angle of the film analysis. The main objective of the chapter is to understand how gendered fragments function as structural force in the overall genealogy composition.

Eventually, Chapter 7 brings the discussion back to my initial research object, and concludes this project with a meta-discussion of the genealogy genre and its capacity to respond to fractured pasts.

Two appendixes provide an overview of the female-gendered passages in 1 Chronicles 1–9, as well as a scene protocol of “My Life Part 2”. All translations of the Masoretic text are mine, if not stated otherwise. For the spelling of names, I follow the spelling of the NRSV.

Chapter 1 Conceptualizing Gendered Genealogies as Cultural Recall in the Present

1.1 Introduction

Genealogies have been studied from various perspectives, including anthropological, historical and philosophical ones.¹ Given my object of research and the case studies used, I suggest the perspectives of cultural memory and of gender as central analytical categories for this study. I will conceptualize genealogies as cultural recall in the present of their composition and define them as performances of cultural memory. This allows me to focus on the fact that genealogy composition involves negotiation and contest; performs the past in view of present and future; and results from collective agency rather than from historical necessity. Gender as a second, yet complementary approach will allow me to focus on fractures and contradictions, as well as on counter-present dynamics in genealogy performances. This significantly adds to the investigation of the potential of this specific form of cultural recall to respond to fractured and disturbing pasts.

Cultural memory significantly differs from the perspective of history. Historiography focuses on the past. It seeks to explain events by reconstructing their contexts and associating them with larger sociohistorical patterns.² In contrast, the perspective of cultural memory is concerned with the present. It studies how agents in the present appropriate and (re)interpret the past for the sake of the present and future.³ World War I can be seen as a decisive turning point in the development of the memory concept in cultural studies.⁴ According to Walter Benjamin, the traumatic experience of the war left people with a sense of remaining “without the possibility to tell their tales and without communicable experiences to tell.”⁵ In this context, memory rather than history became a workable concept to address the experience of trauma and speechlessness.

Cathy Caruth has defined trauma as “unclaimed experience.”⁶ A trauma is a wound inflicted on the mind (and often also on the body), which is as extreme that it cannot be experienced in the moment of its taking place. Instead, it imposes itself again, belatedly, in traumatic flashbacks or repetitive actions of the survivor.⁷ Between the past, in which the trauma was not fully experienced, and the present, in which traumatic flashbacks and re-

¹ For example, the anthropological studies by Terry Prewitt and Irma Mc Clairin and the philosophical reflection by Michel Foucault. Prewitt, Terry J., ‘Kinship Structures and the Genesis Genealogies’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40.2 (1981), pp. 87-98; Irma McClaurin (ed.), *Black Feminist Anthropology: Theory, Politics, Praxis, and Poetics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press: 2001), especially pp. 1-48; Michel Foucault, ‘Nietzsche, Genealogy, History’, in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (ed. Donald F. Bouchard, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 139-164.

² Aleida Assmann, ‘Gedächtnis als Leitbegriff der Kulturwissenschaft’, in *Kulturwissenschaften: Forschung-Praxis-Positionen* (eds. Lutz Musner et al.; Freiburg: Rombach, 2003), pp. 27-47 (45).

³ A. Assmann, ‘Gedächtnis als Leitbegriff der Kulturwissenschaft’, p. 45.

⁴ Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Theorizing Society Series, 2; Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003), p. 45.

⁵ Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, p. 45.

⁶ Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore, ML: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 6.

⁷ Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, pp. 3-4.

enactments are not fully understood, a traumatic experience is a history that has no place and is not claimed by the one who survived it.⁸ As a consequence, trauma “does not simply serve as record of the past but precisely registers the force of an experience that is not yet fully owned.”⁹ In reference to Shoshana Felman, Caruth points out that the difficulty to access traumatic experiences reaches beyond the individual and indicates a “larger, more profound, less definable crisis of truth ... proceeding from contemporary trauma.”¹⁰ This crisis “urgently demands historical awareness and yet denies our usual modes of access to it.”¹¹ Here again, the notion of trauma refers back to the issue of cultural memory, especially to memory practices that try to respond to collective traumata.

After World War I, memory practices that tried to respond to collective traumata were dominated by national memory and centralized memorial practices, e.g. in the form of war memorials, which directed and subsumed personal and family memories.¹² After World War II and the Holocaust, additional forms of recall and commemoration became important. Memory practices spread until they comprised complex and varied strategies, practices, and agents. In conclusion, the challenge to deal with collective traumata created a strong impulse toward the emergence of memory as a fundamental concept within politics and cultural studies—as distinct from history/historiography—in the twentieth and twenty-first century CE. Today, memory has become a broad concept that encompasses diverse media, practices, and structures. It has an “umbrella quality” that helps “to see (sometimes functional, sometimes analogical, sometimes metaphorical) relationships” between highly disparate phenomena and enables varied disciplines to engage in stimulating dialogue.¹³

Exploring gendered genealogies in response to fractured pasts from the perspective of memory contains major advantages. Rather than trying to explain events of the past as such, the memory perspective is interested in how these events are transferred into something that is meaningful in the present. It highlights the fact that genealogies are constituted in the present and result from a complex process of narrating, negotiating, adapting, rejecting, and contesting the past. As the memory perspective is concerned with how cultural recall in the present may respond to fragmentation and trauma in the past, it contributes scholarly experience and expertise to the process of analyzing genealogies in relation to fractured pasts. An important part of this is constituted by studies on cultural memory and gender that feed into understanding the role of gender in genealogy performance in response to fractured pasts. Finally, the umbrella quality of cultural memory is helpful in relating case studies that contribute different historical contexts, different memory practices, different media, and different disciplines.

Last but not least, defining genealogies as gendered memory performances connects my project to the wider academic debate on cultural recall. It also sets up a

⁸ Cathy Caruth, ‘Introduction II’, in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory, Part II: Recapturing the Past* (ed. Cathy Caruth; Baltimore, ML: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 151-157 (153).

⁹ Caruth, ‘Introduction II’, p. 151.

¹⁰ Cathy Caruth, ‘Introduction I’, in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory, Part I: Trauma and Experience* (ed. Cathy Caruth; Baltimore, ML: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 3-12 (6).

¹¹ Caruth, ‘Introduction II’, p. 151.

¹² Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, p. 45.

¹³ Astrid Erll, ‘Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction’, in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 1-15 (2).

common theoretical framework in which the case studies can be analyzed independently as well as in relation to each other.

1.2 Cultural Memory as Overall Concept of Memory

In her introduction to “Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present”, Mieke Bal claims that within cultural studies, the notion of *cultural memory* has displaced and subsumed notions of individual, collective, communicative, and cultural memory.¹⁴ This claim is not without controversy in the memory debate. Jan Assmann, for example, has proposed a model that differentiates between the inner (neuronal), the social, and the cultural aspects of memory, and also differentiates between “communicative memory” and “cultural memory” (henceforth *kulturelles Gedächtnis*).¹⁵ Communicative memory refers to the living memory of three or four interacting generations. It is concerned with history in the framework of autobiographical memory. In contrast, the notion of *kulturelles Gedächtnis* refers to the mythical history of the absolute past (more than 3000 years ago), which is communicated through highly formalized, often ceremonial recall.¹⁶ J. Assmann’s position is in contrast to recent approaches that, as Bal, use the concept of cultural memory alone, albeit with a much broader scope. Astrid Erll, for instance, works from an umbrella concept of cultural memory, which comprises different dimensions, levels, and modes.¹⁷ *Dimensions* of memory refer to a three-dimensional framework of culture, which comprises social aspects (people, social relations, institutions), material aspects (artifacts, media), and mental aspects (culturally defined ways of thinking, mentalities).¹⁸ *Levels* of cultural memory refer to the level of personal memory, on the one hand, and the level of collective or cultural memory, on the other. Personal memory belongs to an individual, but is nevertheless inherently shaped by public contexts. Collective or cultural memory refers to the symbolic order, the media, institutions, and practices by which social groups construct a shared past.¹⁹ Finally, *modes* of memory refer to the question of how acts of memory are actually shaped. They encompass, among others, memory modes such as myth, political history, trauma, family remembrance, and generational memory.²⁰

For the purpose of my research, I have adopted the wider notion of cultural memory as suggested by Bal and Erll. Genealogies are a mode of memory that usually involves family or group lineages in the present and the recent past. At the same time, however, they may involve mythological, literary, or public figures that add wider cultural discourses and cover remote time frames. For example, the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 involve mythological figures such as the first human, Adam; list names that may have been linked to historical persons and families in the more recent past; and probably also include imagined segments of lineages. It is precisely the combination of myth, history, and

¹⁴ Mieke Bal, ‘Introduction’, in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer; Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. vii–xvii (vii).

¹⁵ Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität der frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1999); and more recently Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 109–118.

¹⁶ J. Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, p. 117.

¹⁷ Erll, ‘Cultural Memory Studies’, pp. 3–7.

¹⁸ Erll, ‘Cultural Memory Studies’, p. 4.

¹⁹ Erll, ‘Cultural Memory Studies’, p. 5.

²⁰ Erll, ‘Cultural Memory Studies’, p. 7.

literature that makes the genealogies interesting for identity performances at the time of their composition and beyond. Through the wider notion of cultural memory, this complex conflation can serve as a starting point, while the layers of myth, history, and imagination can be analyzed in a suitable way on their own as well as in their interaction.

The broader frame of cultural memory is also suitable for conceptualizing the relationship between private and public memory. This differentiation extends over the categories of individual memory, collective or communicative memory, and *kulturelles Gedächtnis* inasmuch as it is less concerned with demarcations of contents, forms, and time frames. Instead, it is concerned with intersections of private and public articulations of past and present in terms of political and social impacts of memory acts. “My Life Part 2”, for example, combines home-movies of the filmmaker’s family with television footage concerning core debates of the memory culture in post-Shoah Germany. Through the intersection of private and public memory established in this way, the film is able to open a debate on contemporary German-Jewish identity that involves and challenges the audience within as well as beyond the perspective of a family story. The wider notion of cultural memory thus provides an appropriate frame to discuss how the interplay of public and private memory influences genealogy composition in “My Life Part 2” against the backdrop of fractured pasts and beyond.

1.3 Cultural Memory and Gender

Before diving deeper into the notion of cultural memory, I will introduce the notion of gender, as well as the relationship between gender and cultural memory. Genealogies are basically gendered: they process patrilinear (or matrilinear) data, hence, one of their principal structuring elements is linked to gender. As a consequence, a patrilinear genealogy requires a male in the position of the heir who continues the line. This privileges the relationship between father and son, and legitimizes power claims of male-dominated political and religious institutions. At the same time, references to women in patrilinear genealogies tend to indicate irregularities in the male succession, and therefore contain a potential for counter-present impulses in genealogies. For example, a daughter may exceptionally continue a line if no suitable male is available. Such an arrangement will allow for continuing the line, but simultaneously challenges its rules of succession. As a rule, both the dominant ideology of a genealogy and its counter-present potentials involve gender dynamics.

Against this backdrop, the memory perspective alone will not provide me with answers to the questions I ask regarding my research object and my case studies. These questions concern the potential of genealogies to enunciate complexity of descent and disclose the resources of a fractured and disturbing past. They refer to processes of establishing, negotiating, and subverting power relations through genealogy composition.²¹ And they address genealogies in regard to their potential to envision and enunciate commitments and utopias. Any answer to this cluster of questions will have to include a gender perspective because contents, forms, structures, symbols, and functions of genealogies are gendered from the outset.

²¹ For a discussion of the notion of power in gender theory see Amy Allen, ‘Feminist Perspectives on Power’, in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2011 Edition)* (ed. Edward N. Zalta; download available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2011/entries/feminist-power/>; accessed June 08, 2013).

Notions of Gender

The notion of gender refers to “the overarching concept for research which is oriented on the inventory and analysis of power relations between men and women and also *within* men and women.”²² In other words, research in gender focuses on power relations between men and women, but at the same time engages power relations that are active across gender, for example concerning class and race/ethnicity. Following Rosemarie Buikema and Iris van der Tuin, I adopt an approach to gender that is based on the “social-constructivist insight brought home by Simone de Beauvoir (1990 [1949]) that we are not born as women (or as men) but that we are made women in a society characterized by patriarchal gender relations.”²³ I am not interested in predefined essentialist notions of gender. Instead, I am interested in how notions of gender are constituted in and through my research object, as well as in the impact of this specific constitution of gender on the production and transmission of knowledge, on memory acts and the formation of identities, and on claims to sociopolitical and religious power.²⁴

Gender Theory and Cultural Memory

Gender research has two major centers of attention. On the one hand, it aims at analyzing power relations “at an individual, institutional, national, and geopolitical level.”²⁵ On the other hand, it is concerned with feminist utopias and feminist strategies for political change.²⁶ The twofold focus of gender theory—tracing power relations between and within men and women, as well as bringing forward feminist envisioning and political change—is an effective starting point for directing gender theory back to notions of cultural memory.

Tracing power relations on different levels applies to analyzing dynamics of power, e.g. concerning dynamics of gender, class, and race, in the work of cultural memory.²⁷ Accordingly, in their introduction to “Cultural Memory and Feminism”, Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith insist on defining cultural memory as acts of transfer that are based on negotiation and contest.

[Cultural memory is] an act in the present by which individuals and groups constitute their identities by recalling a shared past on the basis of common, and therefore often contested, norms, conventions, and practices.²⁸

This focus on negotiation and contest inheres the necessity to explore how agents of cultural memory, and the memory acts they enable, are inflicted by gender, as well as by additional categories such as race, nation, generation, and sexual orientation. This perspective emphasizes specific contexts of cultural memory rather than monolithic and essentialist categories of remembering.²⁹

²² Rosemarie Buikema and Iris van der Tuin, ‘Introduction’, in *Doing Gender in Media, Arts and Culture* (eds. Rosemarie Buikema and Iris van der Tuin; New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1-4 (2), emphasis in original.

²³ Buikema and Van der Tuin, ‘Introduction’, p. 2.

²⁴ Christina von Braun and Inge Stephan, ‘Einleitung’, in *Gender-Studies: Eine Einführung* (eds. Christina von Braun and Inge Stephan; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2nd edn, 2006), pp. 3-9 (3).

²⁵ Buikema and Van der Tuin, ‘Introduction’, p. 2.

²⁶ Buikema and Van der Tuin, ‘Introduction’, p. 2.

²⁷ Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction’, *Signs* 28, no. 1: Gender and Cultural Memory (2002), pp. 1-19 (6).

²⁸ Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 5.

²⁹ Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 6.

The second focus of gender studies advances feminist visions and imaginations and “recommendations to implement change.”³⁰ In the context of cultural memory, this pertains, among others, to notions of activist listening and of counter-present memory performances. Again Hirsch and Smith emphasize that combining the perspectives of gender and cultural memory stresses claims to contested discursive space. Here, alternative archives such as visual images, material and popular culture, oral history, or even silence, as well as alternative reading strategies have become the center of analysis.³¹ Such focus revises hegemonic cultural memory, but also aims at de-familiarizing and irritating traditional forms of remembering in view of re-envisioning modes of knowing the past.³²

Both foci of gender theory, tracing power relations and envisioning political change, highlight the location of cultural memory in the present. And it is here that I will take up the discussion of cultural memory.

1.4 Cultural Memory: Performance and Activity in the Present

Location in the Present

Cultural memory is located in the present. Its contents concern the past, but the process of making the past tangible and shareable aims at the present. Cultural memory links and relates the past to the present and the future.³³ The location of memory in the present implies that the past as such does not emanate memory in logically consistent and predictable ways. Instead, cultural memory results from collective agency in the present. It is an activity: cultural memory emerges from “acts of memory.”³⁴ As a consequence, present contexts, agents, and media are crucial for the production of memory. They not only produce memory but by doing so shape, alter, and appropriate the past. As Aleida Assmann puts it:

As a rule, remembering proceeds by reconstruction, always coming from the present, thereby inevitably leading to shifts, distortion, disfiguration, re-evaluation, renewal of what is recollected at the time of its recollection. During the interval of latency, remembrance is not stored as in a safe depot but is exposed to a process of transformation ... The act of remembering takes place in time, which actively partakes in this process. It is an essential part of the psychomotorics of remembering that remembering and forgetting always interlock inseparably, one enabling the other. We may even say: forgetting is the opponent of storing, yet it is the accomplice of remembering.³⁵

³⁰ Buikema and Van der Tuin, ‘Introduction’, p. 2.

³¹ Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 12.

³² Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 11.

³³ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. vii.

³⁴ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. vii.

³⁵ Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: Beck, 1999), pp. 29-30. “Das Erinnern verfährt grundsätzlich rekonstruktiv; es geht stets von der Gegenwart aus, und damit kommt es unweigerlich zu einer Verschiebung, Verformung, Entstellung, Umwertung, Erneuerung des Erinnerten zum Zeitpunkt seiner Rückrufung. Im Intervall der Latenz ruht die Erinnerung also nicht wie in einem sicheren Depot, sondern ist einem Transformationsprozess ausgesetzt ... Der Akt des Erinnerns geschieht in der Zeit, die aktiv an dem Prozess mitwirkt. Zur Psychomotorik des Erinnerns gehört insbesondere, dass Erinnern und Vergessen stets untrennbar ineinandergreifen. Das eine ist die Ermöglichung des Anderen. Wir

Stressing the location of cultural memory in the present may render cultural memory into something random and detached from the past. However, as Assmann argues, the recognition of the emergence of cultural memory in the present has not led to randomness but rather to enhanced cultural self-reflection. Assmann bases her argument on the case of cultural tradition. As Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger have shown, traditions often do not emerge naturally, but are made and invented.³⁶ This recognition, however, does not render them ineffective or let them disappear. Instead, knowledge about the construct-character of cultural traditions has led to a self-reflexive dimension within these very traditions.

Part of the paradox post-secular situation seems to be that recognizing the historical genesis and the construct-character of cultural tradition does not lead to its suspension but enters it as a self-reflexive moment.³⁷

Assmann takes this argument one step further in her discussion of the case of Swiss author Bruno Dösseker alias Benjamin Wilkomirski. Under the name Benjamin Wilkomirski, Dösseker provided a testimony to the Holocaust that later proved to be without biographical foundation. This led to a scandal, in which his book was condemned as untrustworthy and outrageous. Assmann concludes that the situatedness and construct-character of memory acts has not absolved them from the need to answer to historical verification and ethical authorities. Recognizing memory and tradition as symbolic constructs and medial representations thus enhances cultural self-reflection but does not restrict the possibility of and need for critical verification and ethical responsibility.³⁸

In the context of conceptualizing genealogy composition in response to trauma as a form of cultural memory, locating cultural memory in the present has a major impact. It entails the claim that genealogies do not automatically emerge from the past, but, as a form of cultural recall, result from collective agency in the time of their composition. This agency involves negotiating, selecting, privileging, and repressing names and related traditions, stories, and claims. It is a critical element of the inherently political character of genealogies. Hence, understanding genealogies as cultural recall at the time of their composition allows for conceptualizing them as responses to fractured pasts in the first place. Seen from this angle, genealogies are anything else than anachronistic remnants of the past.

Understanding genealogies as cultural recall at the time of their composition also puts emphasis on the notion of fluidity. The fluidity of genealogies describes the phenomenon of genealogies that refer to the same lineage and time frame, but significantly differ in content. Such fluidity does not mean that one of the genealogies is wrong. Instead, it foregrounds the possibility and need for actualization. Actualization is crucial for the relevance of a genealogy. If genealogies are not reinterpreted, re-evaluated, and transformed in view of the present situation of their owners, they become detached from the present and, only then, develop into unconnected relics of the past. However, this does not

können auch sagen: Das Vergessen ist der Gegner des Speicherns, aber der Komplize des Erinnerns.” Translation Christine Meier and Marianne Löwisch.

³⁶ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-14.

³⁷ A. Assmann, ‘Gedächtnis als Leitbegriff der Kulturwissenschaft’, p. 29; my translation.

³⁸ A. Assmann, ‘Gedächtnis als Leitbegriff der Kulturwissenschaft’, p. 30.

make genealogies arbitrary. Without actually correlating the past to present and future, genealogies would lose their meaning, especially in response to fractured histories.

Composing and actualizing a genealogy takes place at the time of its composition, but likewise involves the time of its reception. For example, 1 Chronicles 1–9 is a text that presents the past with a certain claim. As readers, we are confronted with this claim, and by way of interpreting the text confirm, challenge or alter it. As a consequence, conceptualizing 1 Chronicles 1–9 as cultural recall in the present involves both the time of its writing and the time of its reception by a reader who actualizes the genealogy composition in her time.

Performative Quality

Locating cultural memory in the present stresses its active character and performative quality. Paul Connerton's *How Societies Remember* (1989) is an important study in this respect. Connerton defines social memory as "acts of transfer" in which knowledge as well as symbolic frames of reference are handed down and reinterpreted from generation to generation.³⁹ Connerton's central argument is that images and recollected knowledge of the past are "conveyed and sustained by (more or less ritual) performances."⁴⁰ Essential acts of transfer he discusses in the second part of his book respect are commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices.⁴¹ As mentioned earlier, Hirsch and Smith build on Connerton's notion of acts of transfer in their discussion of cultural memory and gender. Stressing the perspective of feminism, they argue that the negotiation of power relations (e.g. concerning gender, class, and race) is a crucial aspect of the performativity of cultural memory. Negotiation and contest are likewise emphasized in Bal's concept of memory performance. In reference to the scope of the volume "Acts of Memory", Bal notes:

This volume grew out of the authors' conviction that cultural recall is not merely something of which you happen to be a bearer but something that you actually *perform*, even if, in many instances, such acts are not consciously and wilfully contrived.⁴²

Bal applies the idea of transfer through collective agency to concepts of performance and performativity as discussed in performance studies. In the narrowest sense, a performance refers to "a tangible, bounded event that involves the presentation of rehearsed artistic action" for example a theatre play.⁴³ More broadly speaking, a performance is an activity that comprises presenting precast sequences of words or actions ("restored behavior"); takes place as (inter)action and relationship; and enacts power relations.⁴⁴

While the notion of performance is closely linked to actual bodily, artistic and/or ritual practices, the notion of performativity, as coined by J.L. Austin in the 1950s, refers to assumptions about the nature and potential of language.⁴⁵ According to Austin, the performative pertains to speech acts that effect an action. In contrast to utterances that are merely statements, the performative speech act refers to the possibility that "to say

³⁹ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 39.

⁴⁰ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, p. 40.

⁴¹ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, pp. 39–40.

⁴² Bal, 'Introduction', p. vii, emphasis in original.

⁴³ Henry Bial (ed.), *The Performance Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 57.

⁴⁴ Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 24.

⁴⁵ Bial, *Performance Studies Reader*, p. 145.

something is to do something,”⁴⁶ in other words, it refers to the fact that speech acts sometimes constitute reality.

In my understanding of performance, I follow Judith Butler, who takes the concept of performativity further by integrating it with the concept of artistic performance.⁴⁷ Her theme is the performance and enactment of gender, but her argument is crucial for the performance of memory and genealogy, as well. Butler synthesizes the philosophical and theatrical dimensions of performances. On the one hand, she builds on the phenomenological assumption that social agents have the potency to constitute sociopolitical realities through language, gestures, and symbolic signs. On the other hand, she argues that gender is constituted through performative acts, thereby involving the contingent and temporal qualities of performance as understood in theatre or anthropology.⁴⁸ Both arguments come together in her claim that performative acts, e.g. acts that constitute gender, are not primarily expressive of reality but constitute reality through performative bodily and, to a large extent, stereotyped acts.⁴⁹

Performative acts are stereotyped acts inasmuch as they take place according to given scripts. For example, performative acts that constitute gender follow culturally predefined stereotypes of how girls and boys, women and men dress, move, and behave. On the other hand, stereotyped behavior and conventions are performed by individual agents. Only this individual agency actualizes them and reproduces them as reality.⁵⁰ Performative acts are, then, understood as a “kind of acting in concert and acting in accord” in which collective cultural scripts and roles merge with the distinct ways in which an individual puts them into action. As to gender, Butler argues that

The act that gender is, the act that embodied agents *are* inasmuch as they dramatically and actively embody and, indeed, *wear* certain cultural significations, is clearly not one’s act alone. Surely, there are nuanced and individual ways of *doing* one’s gender, but *that* one does it, and that one does it *in accord with* certain sanctions and proscriptions, is clearly not a fully individual matter ... The complex components that go into an act must be distinguished in order to understand the kind of acting in concert and acting in accord which acting one’s gender invariably is.⁵¹

Finally, Butler argues that the interplay of predefined scripts and collective roles on the one hand and individually bringing them into action on the other hand marks the space for political action. Variation, deviation, and subversion of given scripts provide an effective tool for political change.⁵² In this respect, performative acts that constitute gender can serve as a strategy for the cultural transformation of gender norms.⁵³

⁴⁶ J.L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered in Harvard University in 1955* (eds. J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1975), p. 12.

⁴⁷ Judith Butler, ‘Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory (1988)’, in *The Performance Studies Reader* (ed. Henry Bial; London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 154-166.

⁴⁸ Bial, *Performance Studies Reader*, p. 145.

⁴⁹ Bial, *Performance Studies Reader*, p. 145.

⁵⁰ Butler, ‘Performative Acts and Gender Constitution’, p. 160.

⁵¹ Butler, ‘Performative Acts and Gender Constitution’, p. 160, emphasis in original.

⁵² Butler, ‘Performative Acts and Gender Constitution’, p. 160.

⁵³ Bial, *Performance Studies Reader*, p. 145.

With reference to Butler, understanding memory as performance characterizes memory acts as performative bodily acts—including speech acts—that constitute reality while being contingent and temporal. Memory performances take place in the framework of established memory practices, e.g. national commemoration days and religious mourning rituals. However, conventions of recall need to be put into action by individual agents in particular contexts. Actualization then marks the space in which memory performances enforce, alter, and subvert predefined memory practices.

Qualifying the production of cultural memory as performative ties in with the broader development in cultural studies to study and claim the performativity of culture.⁵⁴ In this context, performativity refers to processes of “staging, participating, experiencing, interacting, negotiating and exchanging between actual agents” that are active in the constitution and definition of culture in general and cultural memory in particular.⁵⁵ This development feeds back into memory studies, and it therefore seems reasonable to speak about performances of memory.⁵⁶ Given this consensus, Assmann stresses that the processuality and performativity of cultural memory is only one pole in the production of cultural memory. A second pole is the textuality and monumentality of cultural memory, with productive tension existing between the two aspects.⁵⁷

In my research, I conceptualize gendered genealogies in response to fractured pasts as acts of transfer and memory performances. Conceptualizing genealogies as transfer acts involves the question which ideologies, structures, and forms constitute the genealogical transfer, and how they shape and gender it. For example, the notion of patrilinear succession is a central concept of transfer in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9 and beyond it.

Conceptualizing genealogies as performances highlights the impact of collective agency and contest for the sociocultural context, in which one or several agents perform a genealogy. Next, it stresses that genealogies emerge in a complex interplay of predefined patterns of form and meaning, on the one hand, and realizing them in individual memory acts, on the other. Genealogy performance takes place in predefined forms and rules of succession. However, the moment of actualizing predefined forms and rules of succession marks the space in which genealogy performances enforce, alter, and subvert these predefined patterns, and in which the political, possibly counter-present potential of an actual genealogy performance can unfold. Performance in the sense of actualizing predefined patterns of memory practices involves the aspects of artfulness, staging, and play.⁵⁸ These notions are especially important (for example through repetition, variation, and fluidity), because the genre is strongly characterized by formal language, repetitive structures, and hierarchical rules of succession. How this repertoire of the genre is brought into action constitutes a critical turning point for genealogies to be meaningful.

Conceptualizing genealogies as memory performances underlines the processual and performative aspect of genealogy composition. However, this aspect needs to be

⁵⁴ A. Assmann, ‘Gedächtnis als Leitbegriff der Kulturwissenschaft’, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁵ A. Assmann, ‘Gedächtnis als Leitbegriff der Kulturwissenschaft’, p. 31.

⁵⁶ See for example Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, ‘Introduction: Cultural Memory and its Dynamic’, in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 1-11, especially p. 2.

⁵⁷ A. Assmann, ‘Gedächtnis als Leitbegriff der Kulturwissenschaft’, p. 32.

⁵⁸ Bial, *Performance Studies Reader*, p. 115.

complemented by the monumentality of genealogies. Even though they require actualization, genealogies also need static moments of closure. Their potential is also inherent to the bare and condensed form of a genealogy that is no longer open to all possibilities. The form mirrors a point in time when the work of constructing, negotiating, and deciding ends and is completed—even though this moment must likewise be a new starting point for renegotiation and change. I understand the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9 and of “My Life Part 2” as mirrors of a moment of completion of a given genealogy. At the same time, however, the unresolved and open ends of both genealogy compositions disclose the genealogies for negotiating and actualizing their meaning from the time and perspective of the reader/viewer.

1.5 Narrative Memory versus Traumatic Recall

The memory concept in cultural studies has developed in close relation to the study of trauma. Traumatic histories easily fall outside both personal reference systems and common sociocultural frames of reference. The attempt to prevent traumatic histories from slipping into oblivion through active remembering in the form of narrating/testifying and witnessing/confirming the past renders the practice and analysis of cultural memory into a form of political activism in its own right.⁵⁹

Accordingly, Bal defines cultural memory as narrative memory in contrast to traumatic recall.⁶⁰ Narratable memories provide accents, benchmarks, and atmospheres. They engage in a productive interplay of remembering and forgetting. And, most importantly, they are narratable in present cultural frames where others may confirm and respond to them.⁶¹ In contrast, traumatic recall is characterized by dissociations and repressions, which interplay with the painful resurfacing of events of a traumatic nature. In reference to the work of Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, Bal argues that the subject who suffered the traumatizing event in the past is isolated; his or her traumatic memories need to be “legitimized and narratively integrated” before they can lose their power.⁶² Among others, narrative integration is difficult, because it may mean to lose the precision and “the force that characterizes traumatic recall.”⁶³

Bal’s methodical decision to conceptualize cultural memory through engaging the tension of narrative memory and cultural recall is taken from the perspective of post-Shoah memory, in which traumatic memories, the need for narrative and witnessing, and the function of social frames and mediation play a crucial role.⁶⁴ The focus on post-Shoah memory as a central reference point reflects the more general emphasis on the memory of the Shoah and the memory of US slavery as critical reference points of cultural memory studies in the twentieth and twenty-first century: “The unspeakable victimization of the

⁵⁹ Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 13. See also Caruth, ‘Introduction I’, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁰ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. viii. So also Judith Herman, who describes “normal Memory” as the act of storytelling, which is in contrast to “traumatic memory” that is “wordless and static.” Judith L. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), p. 175.

⁶¹ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. x.

⁶² Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. viii. For the narrative integration of the traumatic events see also Caruth, ‘Introduction II’, p. 153; and Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, pp. 176-181.

⁶³ Caruth, ‘Introduction II’, p. 153.

⁶⁴ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. xi.

Holocaust, like the dehumanization of slavery, has come to shape much recent thinking about trauma, memory, memorialization, and transmission.”⁶⁵

Conceptualizing cultural memory as narrative memory hints at the social and cultural condition of memory. Narrative and memory occur in sociocultural frames, a generally accepted fact within memory studies, which is owed to the legacy of French theorist Maurice Halbwachs. Halbwachs argued that remembering is only possible within social frames of reference.⁶⁶ Halbwachs’s argument comprises both individual and collective memory. Individual memory emerges in direct communication; groups share “publicly articulated images of collective pasts (mythology, tradition, heritage, long-term symbolic patterns)” that are starting points for the production of cultural memory.⁶⁷ The social condition of memory as proposed by Halbwachs has become a basic notion in memory studies. However, his more particular concept of the character of social frames has been challenged. For example, Alison Landsberg argues that Halbwachs’s concept of social frames has its limitations in appropriately describing the scope of social frames produced by the technologies of mass culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries CE. Social frames in Halbwachs’s terms would imply a “geographically bounded community with a shared set of beliefs and a sense of ‘natural’ connection among its members.”⁶⁸ In contrast, mass culture has the potential to create “shared social frameworks for people who inhabit, literally and figuratively, different social spaces, practices, and beliefs.”⁶⁹

Beyond the general notion of social memory, the context of post-Shoah memory provokes a focus on the roles of first personhood (giving testimony and narrating) and second personhood (witnessing and confirming) in the constitution of memory. The same distinction is referred to by Hirsch and Smith, who argue that the second personhood of witnessing and confirming memory implies an active choice for “active and activist listening, empathic identification, and solidarity required to imagine the experiences of the other, and therefore of the past.”⁷⁰ At the same time, active second personhood includes the conscious granting of “the pastness and the irretrievability of the past, the irreducibility of the other, and the untranslatability of the story of trauma.”⁷¹

The concept of narrative memory is concerned with active and primarily conscious memory acts. This corresponds to the major part of memory research that addresses “those ways of making sense of the past which are intentional and performed through narrative,

⁶⁵ Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 4. See also Landsberg who develops the notion of prosthetic memories in reference to the history and memory of the Holocaust and the institution of US slavery. Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2004).

⁶⁶ Maurice Halbwachs, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen* (eds. Heinz Maus and Friedrich Fürstenberg; trans. Lutz Geldsetzer; Berlin: Luchterhand, 1966). Halbwachs develops his argument from the differentiation between dreams and memories to discussing it with respect to the collective memory of families (in chapter 5), of social groups (in chapter 6), and of social classes and their traditions (in chapter 7). For a summary of his argument see his conclusion, pp. 361-390.

⁶⁷ Jeffrey K. Olick, ‘From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products’, in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 151-161 (157).

⁶⁸ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 8.

⁶⁹ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 8.

⁷⁰ Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 12.

⁷¹ Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 13.

and which go hand in hand with the construction of identities.⁷² The target of my own research, which is also located in the nexus of narrative-performance-identity, covers a similar scope. However, the notion of cultural memory also remains open for the study of unintentional and implicit ways of cultural remembering and of inherently non-narrative forms of memory, e.g. visual or bodily forms.⁷³

Marianne Hirsch's notion of "postmemory" is an example of unintentional and implicit cultural remembering that is especially important for the case study of "My Life Part 2".⁷⁴ Postmemory refers to the memory of survivor's children in relation to the traumatic events in the lives of their parents, which they did not experience themselves but which nevertheless shape their emotional and bodily lives:

I use the term *postmemory* to describe the relationship of children of survivors of cultural or collective trauma to the experiences of their parents, experiences that they "remember" only as the stories and images with which they grew up, but that are so powerful, so monumental, as to constitute memory in their own right. The term is meant to convey its temporal and qualitative difference from survivor memory, its secondary or second-generation memory quality, its basis in displacement, its belatedness. Postmemory is a powerful form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through projection, investment, and creation.⁷⁵

The notion of postmemory connects to the debate on individual versus collective memory. It shows that in connection with post-Shoah memory and beyond, boundaries between individual and collective memory are in flux, and that many acts of counter-present memory involve individuals who inscribe their personal (second-generation) narratives and memories into the collective memory. It illustrates that transfers between personal and collective/public memory have central political potential, which is of fundamental importance.

At first glance, qualifying genealogies as narrative memory may be doubtful. Genealogies are characterized by their bare skeleton-like structure, which results from the genre's restriction to names and linking elements, as well as of their regular use of repetitive syntactical patterns and formalized language. Narratives only occur in the form of tiny embedded notes and comments. Yet, I hold that genealogies indeed belong to the category of narrative memory, especially if opposed to traumatic recall. Genealogies feature dramaturgies and atmospheres. They alternate recalling and forgetting, and are meaningful in social frames. Genealogies are no narratives in the strict sense of the word. However, they tell a story of the past in their own way. In the context of contrasting narrative memory and traumatic recall, the reduced and somewhat bare character of genealogical storytelling has an important aspect. It may provide a mode of expression where a full narrative would not (yet) be possible to be told.

⁷² Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies', p. 2.

⁷³ Erll, 'Cultural Memory Studies', p. 2.

⁷⁴ Marianne Hirsch, 'Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy', in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer; Hanover: University Press of New England), pp. 3-23.

⁷⁵ Hirsch, 'Projected Memory', p. 8. For a critical discussion of the concept of postmemory see Ernst J. van Alphen, 'Second Generation Testimony, the Transmission of Trauma, and Postmemory', *Psychoanalyse im Widerspruch* 33 (2005), pp. 87-102.

The case studies for this project are concerned with traumatic pasts in different ways. “My Life Part 2” is located in the midst of the debate on post-Shoah memory. In the title sequence, the filmmaker states, in a voice-over, that she made the film in order to understand how a trauma she has not experienced herself was passed on to her and how it has influenced her perception. Here, the film seems to provide an artistic translation of Hirsch’s concept of postmemory. Beyond this specific notion, “My Life Part 2” shares its more general sociocultural context with the analytical discourse on cultural memory. In pursuing her leading question, Angelika Levi addresses, among others, the transfer from traumatic recall to narrative memory; the dividing line between empathy and appropriation in the position of second personhood; and the act of counter-present memory as source of resistance.

1 Chronicles 1–9 is situated in the very different historical and cultural context of the late fourth century BCE.⁷⁶ It thus dates back to a period of the history of Israel that is often referred to as postexilic. The notion of a postexilic period has different reference points. On the one hand, it refers to the actual history of siege warfare against Judah and the destruction of state and temple, as well as of deportations and exile of a part of the population of Judah in the early sixth century BCE.⁷⁷ In other words, it refers to the traumatic history that co-constitutes the sociocultural context to which 1 Chronicles 1–9 belongs. On the other hand, the notion of the postexilic period refers to the political and theological discourse on exile and return in the Second Temple period. In this discourse, the exile appears as a major reference point for the identities of postexilic Judaism. Recent research has highlighted the rhetorical and ideological character of this discourse, and has consequently suggested reconsidering biblical accounts of the exile in view of the interest of particular groups to suggest their specific experiences as a general blueprint for the identity of Israel and emerging Judaism.⁷⁸ In my view, both aspects of the debate are important. I follow Kathleen O’Connor and others in assessing the events referred to in postexilic literature as traumatic historical events.⁷⁹ However, I also think it critical to bear in mind that references to exile and return are part of a rhetorical and ideological discourse that is interested in moving these events to the centre, even though such centrality might not have been central or self-understood for the majority of Judaism at the time, for example not for the inhabitants of rural Judah who had remained in the land, or for the communities of the Diaspora.⁸⁰ Accordingly, the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 need to be investigated

⁷⁶ See Chapter 3: *1 Chronicles 1–9 and its Gendered Fragments*, pp. 67-91 (74-82).

⁷⁷ See Kathleen M. O’Connor, *Jeremiah: Pain and Promise* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), pp. 7-17; Mordechai Cogan, ‘Into Exile: From the Assyrian Conquest of Israel to the Fall of Babylon’, in *The Oxford History of the Biblical World* (ed. Michael D. Coogan, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 242-275; and Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (Studies in Biblical Literature, 3; trans. David Green; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

⁷⁸ Lester L. Grabbe (ed.), *Leading Captivity Captive: ‘The Exile’ as History and Ideology* (JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

⁷⁹ O’Connor, *Pain and Promise*, pp. 3-17, especially pp. 4-6. See also Ruth Poser, *Das Ezechielbuch als Trauma-Literatur* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2012), pp. 121–248.

⁸⁰ See Robert Carroll, ‘Exile! What Exile?: Deportation and the Discourse of Diaspora (In Memoriam Ferdinand Deist)’, pp. 62-79 (67, 78); and Philip R. Davies, ‘Exile? What Exile? Whose Exile?’, pp. 128-138 (136-137), in *Leading Captivity Captive: ‘The Exile’ as History and Ideology* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

both in view of their response to the actual traumatic past, and in view of their position in the ideological discourse about exile and return, memory, legitimacy, tradition, and identity at the time.

1.6 Counter-present Memories and Alternative Archives

Counter-present Memory

The choice to adopt the second personhood of memory as well as to engage in active and activist listening contributes to counter-present performances of memory. Assmann defines counter-present memory as memory acts that recall persons and events at the margins of common sociocultural frames of reference, and that read publicly articulated images of collective pasts against the grain.⁸¹ This aspect of the memory debate is crucial inasmuch it links memory to political and ethical perspectives. Taking up Butler's notion of performativity, acts of counter-present memory are memory performances that actualize predefined memory practices in a way that alters, subverts, and politicizes them.

Acts of counter-present memory and forms of activist remembering have the potential to do justice to disenfranchised individuals and groups against a "historiography of the winners."⁸² By calling for political and cultural solidarity with traumatized and disenfranchised parties, counter-present memory acts can be integrating and healing.⁸³ Finally, counter-present memory acts can be a source of resistance and engagement, which may arise from the memory of the suppressed ancestors.⁸⁴ However, the political potential of memory acts can also be used by reactionary groups, as Ann Burlain has shown with the example of the international Christian Right radio ministry.⁸⁵ Counter-present memory exposes the political and ethical dimension of cultural memory. At the same time it demonstrates that the memory concept can be appropriated by different political groups and interests.

Alternative Archives

The discussion of counter-present memory is a fundamental concern in relation to the claim to and the contest for discursive space in the work of cultural memory. Hirsch and Smith stress that research in cultural memory and gender has criticized public media and official archives as tools designed to commemorate the experiences and interests of the powerful and of "those who control hegemonic discursive spaces."⁸⁶ At the same time, alternative archives (e.g. visual images, material and popular culture, oral history, silence) and

⁸¹ Aleida Assmann, 'Memory', *BDR* III, pp. 1212-1218, section 6.

⁸² Paul Ricoeur, 'Gedächtnis-Vergessen-Geschichte', in *Historische Sinnbildung: Problemstellungen, Zeitkonzepte, Wahrnehmungshorizonte, Darstellungsstrategien* (eds. Klaus E. Müller and Jörn Rüsen; Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1997), pp. 433-454 (449-450).

⁸³ Bal, 'Introduction', p. x.

⁸⁴ See Benjamin's *Zwölfte Geschichtsphilosophische These*, in Walter Benjamin, *Zur Kritik der Gewalt und andere Aufsätze* (Edition Suhrkamp, 103; Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1965), p. 88.

⁸⁵ Ann Burlain analyzes the international Christian Right radio ministry and shows the reactionary implications of its counter-present recall of highly selective biblical traditions and family values. Ann Burlain, 'Counter-memory on the Right', in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer; Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. 209-217.

⁸⁶ Hirsch and Smith, 'Feminism and Cultural Memory', p. 12.

alternative reading strategies have become the center of analysis.⁸⁷ This shift in focus revises hegemonic cultural memory, but also aims at de-familiarizing and interrupting traditional forms of remembering in view of re-envisioning alternative modes of knowing the past.⁸⁸

Engaging the notion of (alternative) archives in the context of activist and counter-present memory corresponds to recent conceptualizations of the archive. In recent archival theory, archives are understood as sites of knowledge production rather than sites of knowledge retrieval and storage.⁸⁹ They are “cross-sections of contested knowledge,”⁹⁰ in which notions of power and control are key categories.⁹¹ Such an understanding of archives suggests a focus on power dynamics, e.g. of gender, involved in the knowledge production of a given archive. This comes with a focus on the taxonomy of a given archive, in which power constellations are established and maintained. As Stoler puts it, it is necessary to read an archive “for its regularities, for its logic of recall, for its densities and distributions, for its consistencies of misinformation, omission, and mistake” and to detect the specific production of knowledge through these principles.⁹² In addition, archives need to be read for their “tacit narratives,” which are not formalized or codified but are silently active in and across dominant principles of knowledge production.⁹³

The notion of archives as sites of contested knowledge production refers to different dimensions of the archive notion. On the one hand, it refers to archives in terms of collections of documents, often in the context of institutions, that are characterized by contextualizing single records in a framework of validation and classification with regard to establishing repositories of knowledge that are useful for ensuing ages.⁹⁴ On the other hand, it refers to a re-conceptualization of the notion by Jacques Derrida, who—in addition to emphasizing the relation of archives to power and institutions—described archiving as a fundamental psychological drive and cultural impulse. This drive involves the contradictory desire to remember and hold fast, on the one hand, and to forget, repress and erase the material traces of the past, on the other.⁹⁵ In this context, the archive is “a metaphor for wider processes of remembering and forgetting, both on an individual and a collective level.”⁹⁶ The two dimensions of the archive notion intersect. For example, Derrida’s emphasis on the importance of the location of an archive in an exterior place encompasses both the archive as institution and the archive in a more metaphorical sense. In both cases, the consignment of the archival contents to an exterior place assures “the possibility of memorization, of repetition, of reproduction, or of reimpression” and is a critical starting

⁸⁷ Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 12.

⁸⁸ Hirsch and Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory’, p. 11.

⁸⁹ Ann L. Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance’, *Archival Science* 2 (2002), pp. 87-109 (90).

⁹⁰ Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives’, p. 87.

⁹¹ Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives’, p. 97.

⁹² Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives’, p. 100.

⁹³ Eric Ketelaar, ‘Tacit Narratives: The Meaning of Archives’, *Archival Science* 1 (2001), pp. 131-141 (132).

⁹⁴ Julia Noordegraaf, ‘Audiovisual Archives and Knowledge’, Chapter 1 of *Performing the Archive: Tracing Audiovisual Heritage in the Digital Age* (forthcoming).

⁹⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (trans. E. Prenowitz; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 9-16 and 25-32.

⁹⁶ Noordegraaf, ‘Audiovisual Archives and Knowledge’.

point for the circulation and future uses of the contents.⁹⁷ As Stoler puts it, the notion of the archive refers to “something in between a set of documents, their institutions, and a repository of memory—both a place and a cultural space that encompasses official documents but are not confined to them.”⁹⁸

In both case studies, genealogy composition is bound to the formation of an archive. 1 Chronicles 1–9 collects earlier genealogies, military census lists, snippets of narratives and other inner-biblical intertexts in a literary archive of genealogies that documents as much as constructs the descent, identity, and legacy of Israel. The film “My Life Part 2” forms an archive of the filmmaker’s family lineage and the related political history through assembling home-movies, photographs, objects, audio-records, and television footage. In both cases, collecting, classifying, and presenting archival contents points to the literary and cinematic archive’s opening to future uses, for example through the interpretation by its readers and viewers.⁹⁹ Moreover, employing the archive concept hints at the link between gendered genealogies, counter-present memory, and contested discursive space.

1.7 Mediation of Memory

Mediation

Memory acts that refer to traumatic memories and/or alternative archives such as visual images or silence require mediation between the subject who experienced the trauma and the present reader or viewer.¹⁰⁰ Mediation implies an active choice for the second personhood in the memory act. Artists or critical readers bear witness and facilitate memory, and as second persons create artworks, photographs, or published texts that function as mediators between “the parties to the traumatizing scene and between these and the reader or viewer.”¹⁰¹ Such mediation takes place within sociocultural reference frames and constitutes acts of memory that may generate meaningful narratives; call “for political and cultural solidarity in recognizing the traumatized party’s predicament;” and, by doing so, may be “potentially healing.”¹⁰²

The function of mediators highlights the role of media in performing cultural memory. Actual memory performances may take the form of art works, installations, poetry and prose, school curricula, museum collections, theory, historiography, to name a few. Cultural memory is therefore open to different media. In turn, different media shape (and gender) cultural memory.

⁹⁷ Derrida, *Archive Fever*, pp. 11 and 16-17. See also Aleida Assmann, who distinguishes between political archives and historical archives. The former are important tools of power; the latter are storages of information without immediate use. Still, having momentarily lost their *Sitz im Leben*, they can be re-contextualized in a “second life.” Aleida Assmann, ‘Canon and Archive’, in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 97-107 (103).

⁹⁸ Ann L. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 49.

⁹⁹ For the aim of archives to create records to the end of using them in the future, rather than merely preserving them, see Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p. 11-17.

¹⁰⁰ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. x.

¹⁰¹ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. x.

¹⁰² Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. x.

Both “My Life Part 2” and 1 Chronicles 1–9 hold two different mediation positions, namely of internal (inner-filmic and inner-textual) mediation, and of external mediation through the viewer and reader.

In “My Life Part 2”, the issue of mediation is characterized by the autobiographical character of the film. The film mediates between Levi’s mother and other participants of the traumatizing scene of the Holocaust, and the viewer. Narrating the past takes place in audio records and interview footage, in which Levi’s mother and grandmother tell their stories. But only when these narratives are taken up in Levi’s cinematic memory performance are they mediated to the contemporary viewer. At the same time, the film narrates the story of the filmmaker herself. As an artist who creates an autobiographical work, Levi takes on the double role of the subject of the traumatizing scene through postmemory, and of the mediator who witnesses and facilitates memory. Against this backdrop, Angelika Levi’s decision to second personhood in the memory act comes to the fore as her response to the traumatic past she has inherited.

In 1 Chronicles 1–9, the issue of mediation is characterized by 1 Chronicles 1–9 being a religious canonical text. This implies a third position of mediation in addition to the internal mediation of the text and the external mediation of the reader. This third position is based on its mediation through processes of transmission and interpretation, as well as of liturgical performance.¹⁰³ 1 Chronicles 1–9 is at the margin of the reception and liturgical performance of biblical literature. But it nevertheless constitutes part of it and participates in this third position of mediation.

Prosthetic Memory

An important approach that explicitly takes into consideration the role of mass culture in mediating memory is Alison Landsberg’s concept of prosthetic memories.¹⁰⁴ In contrast to the viewpoints of Bal, Hirsch and Smith, the concept of mediation significantly changes in Landsberg’s approach. Here, testimonies are replaced by medial representations of traumatic historical narratives in the context of “experiential sites” such as the cinema or museums. Encounters of a person with such medial representations forge memories that are prosthetic, but nevertheless essential to the production and articulation of a person’s subjectivity.¹⁰⁵ Landsberg’s approach gives up notions of natural ownership and authenticity of memories.¹⁰⁶ Instead, experiential sites offer spectators from different backgrounds and ancestries the possibility to inhabit subject positions and pasts to which they have no original connection and add them to their own body of experiences.¹⁰⁷ According to Landsberg, prosthetic memories, as sensual engagements with the past, have the political potential to produce empathy and social responsibility and to provide impulses for political alliances across boundaries of ethnicity/race, class, gender, and nationality.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ The book of Chronicles in general and its nine chapters of genealogies in particular have only come into the center of scholarly attention in the last 10–20 years (see Pancratius C. Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (SSN, 52; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008), pp. 1–13). Likewise, they have a marginal place in the pericopes that are read in the liturgical church year.

¹⁰⁴ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*.

¹⁰⁵ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁶ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁸ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 2. See also Caruth, who argues that “[i]n a catastrophic age, that is, trauma itself may provide the very link between cultures: not as a simple understanding of the past

The shift in perspective as implied in the notion of prosthetic memory becomes apparent when comparing two well-known films on the Holocaust, namely *Schindler's List* (Steven Spielberg, US 1993) and Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (France 1985).¹⁰⁹ While *Schindler's List* plainly represents events from the German camps, *Shoah* solely works with interviews with survivors and shots of the present-day sites of the camps. *Shoah* reflects the argument that consciously granting "the pastness and irretrievability of the past, the irreducibility of the other, and the untranslatability of the story of trauma" is a critical aspect of activist listening and counter-present memory acts.¹¹⁰ From this perspective, the argument that (prosthetic) memories of the Holocaust may be acquired through a sensory encounter with a film such as *Schindler's List*, may seem to allow for inadequate appropriations. On the other hand, *Schindler's List* is a typical example of a mass media representation of the Holocaust, which may forge prosthetic memories that induce political alliances across given social frames.¹¹¹

The notion of prosthetic memories can be transferred to the issue of genealogy composition, thereby highlighting the function of including ancestors who transcend primarily given heritages, as well as imagined ancestors. Adding such 'externals' to a genealogy assumes that ancestors may serve as a prism for historical narratives beyond the biological or historical-cultural community to which they pertain in the first place. Taking in 'externals' risks inadequate appropriations. However, such 'prosthetic ancestors' may take the role of representing voids; of actively engaging otherwise unrepresented experiences; or of claiming—or rejecting—political positions linked to the inheritance. This may add to a genealogy's potential to clarify identities in the present and to tap into the healing potential of the genealogical memory act. Moreover, it may serve as a starting point for new political alliances in the present. Cultural memory in general and the notion of prosthetic memories in particular point to the location of genealogies between arranging and appropriating the past on the one hand, and giving impulses for engaging descent and legacies with a view to political alliances and commitments on the other.

In this Chapter, I have discussed the notions of cultural memory that I think to be critical for conceptualizing genealogies as memory performances, especially in view of their capacity to respond to fractured pasts. Conceptualizing gendered genealogies as cultural recall in the present provides an essential basis for the subsequent close readings of the case studies. Moreover, explaining my understanding of cultural memory has established the analytical frame in which socializing the two case studies will take place. In the introduction, I only briefly indicated what the concept of socializing implies. Therefore, after having set the analytical frame, I move further to methodology. The next chapter will address how to bring the analytical frame and the case studies into a productive dialogue; in other words, it will introduce the methodology of socializing.

of others but rather, within the traumas of contemporary history, as our ability to listen through the departures we have all taken from ourselves." Caruth, 'Introduction I', p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ See also Thomas Elsaesser on this controversy, Thomas Elsaesser, 'Subject Positions, Speaking Positions: From *Holocaust*, *Our Hitler*, and *Heimat* to *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*', in *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event* (ed. Vivian Sobchack; New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 145-181.

¹¹⁰ Hirsch and Smith, 'Feminism and Cultural Memory', p. 13.

¹¹¹ See my discussion of Elsaesser's analysis of the capacity of *Schindler's List* to provoke affects of concern in Chapter 5: *Genealogy Composition in "My Life Part 2"*, pp. 115-151 (145-149).

Chapter 2 Socializing Bible Texts and Films: Methodological Considerations

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have conceptualized gendered genealogy composition in response to fractured pasts as a form of cultural memory performance, and thereby set the analytical framework in which I will investigate my actual case studies. These case studies, 1 Chronicles 1–9 and “My Life Part 2”, perform gendered genealogies in extremely different ways. Therefore, before diving into the actual close reading, I will explain what I expect from choosing such contrasting cases, and on which methodological grounds I will read them together.

In order to do so, I will first outline the hermeneutical context for reading a Bible text in conjunction with a cultural object such as a film. Next, I critically review previous research on the Bible and film and locate my research in the debate. I will then introduce the notion of intertextuality as the basis for reading my case studies together. However, I will also show the limits of the concept of intertextuality for reading together sources as disparate as I am engaging here. As a consequence, and as the final step of the chapter, I will propose an alternative reading strategy, namely the strategy of socializing as a productive methodology for investigating gendered genealogy performance in response to fractured pasts across a Bible text and a documentary film.

Throughout the chapter, I will use the terms ‘film text’ and ‘close reading’ with regard to the film analysis. This is somewhat reductionistic, as the medium of film also includes sound and images, as well as the context of seeing, the *dispositif*.¹ However, having its basis in literary analysis, film analysis often refers to the film as appearing on the screen as ‘film text’, and describes its analysis as ‘close reading’. My analysis will include the audio-visual dimensions of the film, but for the sake of clarity, I stick to the terms ‘film text’ and ‘close reading’.²

2.2 Hermeneutical Starting Points

In the introduction, I have argued that reading 1 Chronicles 1–9 in conjunction with “My Life Part 2” is prompted by the fragmentary character of the female-gendered references in the biblical genealogies. This fragmentary character calls for a counterpart that features gendered genealogies in a more central place, establishing a balance that enables a fuller understanding of the role of gender in genealogy’s responses to fractured pasts. This rather pragmatic reason for the setup of the research is embedded into my broader understanding of key challenges recent Bible studies have to face. As a first key challenge, I see the challenge to determine the role and status of the Bible alongside, rather than before, other

¹ See Jean-Louis Baudry’s conceptualization of the screening situation in terms of the *dispositif*, as well as Frank Kessler for a current interpretation of it. Jean-Louis Baudry, ‘Le Dispositif: approches métapsychologiques de l’impression de réalité’, in *Communications* 23 (1975), pp. 56-72; Frank Kessler, ‘The Cinema of Attractions as *Dispositif*’, in *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded* (ed. Wanda Strauven; Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), pp. 57-69.

² For a discussion of the notion of text in cinema studies, see Astrid Söderbergh Widding, ‘From Grammar to Graphics: The Concept of Text in Cinema Studies’, in *Travelling Concepts: Text, Subjectivity, Hybridity* (eds. Joyce Goggin and Sonja Neef; Amsterdam: ASCA Press, 2001), pp. 67-77.

elements that have a share in the formation of religious and sociocultural identities. As a second key challenge, I see the challenge to deal with a plurality of interpretative strategies.

The role and status of the Bible concerning the formation of religious and sociocultural identities can easily be determined negatively: the Bible has long ago lost the status of absolute authority. However, it is not as easy to be indicated positively.³ In (post-)secular societies, individuals and communities need to negotiate a plurality of subject and inheritance positions together with the biblical inheritance in order to perform their (religious) identities. Hence, the importance of the Bible needs to be determined alongside and in dialogue with—rather than before—other elements that have a share in the formation of religious and sociocultural identities.

The challenge to determine the status of the Bible as a participating rather than primary element of sociocultural discourses is complemented by the recent interpretative situation of biblical texts. While the first half of the twentieth century was characterized by a broad, historical-critical consensus of biblical scholarship, “the postmodern interpretative situation” is coined by a major “unsettlement” of interpretative strategies and contexts.⁴ In the face of a plurality of methods and reading contexts, the need to stay in dialogue about exegetical methods and interpretative strategies has taken centre stage. This center has displaced the aim to set up a new authoritative canon of methods.⁵

At the basis of my research is the contention that the change in the Bible’s status and the plurality of its interpreters’ strategies and contexts is a basically positive development. It is positive inasmuch as it challenges us to actively negotiate the role of the Bible on both a personal and a sociopolitical level, and to develop alternative reading strategies that are able to disclose the relevance of biblical texts in interaction with other religious, cultural, and political utterances. Accordingly, the reading strategy I am suggesting here aims at meeting these challenges. Proceeding from a status of the Bible alongside rather than before other cultural and religious utterances, I propose to read biblical texts together with cultural objects that are independent from the text and do not directly relate to particular biblical notions. Instances of such cultural objects are art works, museum collections, or films. Building on the notion of intertextuality, I suggest reading a biblical text and a cultural object in conjunction, on the basis of a theme both objects have in common, as well as within a shared analytical frame.

In this research, the joint theme is gendered genealogy performance in response to fractured pasts. The Bible text under consideration is the genealogy composition in 1 Chronicles 1–9, which I pair with the documentary film “My Life Part 2”. Joint theme, Bible text and film are analyzed in the shared analytical frame I have established through notions of cultural memory and of gender in the previous Chapter 1. Joint theme and shared analytical frame allow for reading the disparate objects in view of each other while

³ In my view, the recent marginalization of Bible studies at Dutch universities is an indicator for the difficulty Bible studies have to positively determine the role of the Bible in recent academic and sociopolitical discourses on societal ethics, traditions, and identities.

⁴ Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), p. xv. More specifically, Brueggemann discusses the new postmodern interpretative situation in reference to “the end of a cultural period that was dominated by objective positivism that made a thin kind of historical scholarship possible, and that granted interpretative privilege to certain advantaged perspectives.” Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 61.

⁵ Eep Talstra, *Oude en Nieuwe Lezers: Een inleiding in de methoden van uitleg van het Oude Testament* (Kampen: Kok, 2002), p. 111.

maintaining their difference. Reading Bible texts and independent cultural objects together in this setting—*socializing* them, as I will call it—creates an intellectual and emotional space in which secular, cultural, and biblical notions can meet. It provides the basis for developing new horizons of understanding for the respective biblical texts and cultural objects, which would otherwise remain uncovered.⁶

This setting likewise aims at meeting the hybrid reality of many Bible scholars who have to integrate various subject and inheritance positions in the formation of their scholarly, religious, and cultural identities. Taking up the image of intellectual spaces, I envision creating a space in which Bible scholar and other informed readers may dwell in order to wrestle with their Bibles in reference to other aspects that make up their hybrid identities.⁷

As my second cultural object besides the Bible text, I employ film. Film is an audio-visual medium and allows linking up with the priority of image and sound in modern and postmodern societies. The audio-visual aspect is important in the context of cultural memory, because cultural memory acts strongly involve the affective qualities of (moving) images and sound, for example in museum exhibitions, art works, and commemoration practices. More specifically, the audio-visual aspect is central for genealogy composition. Recent genealogies have a strong basis in photographs, be it in the form of collections of private family photographs in the living room, or in the form of photography based genealogies in public spaces.

An example for a public photography-based genealogy is the design of the windows of the Church of the Apostles (*Apostelkirche*) in the city center of Hamburg. After a fire in 1977, the previous stained-glass windows were rebuilt with clear glass, on which three columns of black and white filmstrip run with photographs of six men and six women of different confessions in the twentieth century. These persons are presented as modern apostles on the basis of their personality and lifework.⁸ The design of the church windows actualizes a segment of the sociopolitical as well as spiritual genealogy of the churches in a

⁶ The aim of creating a new interpretative space for reading biblical texts builds on George Aichele and Richard Walsh, who argue that the intertextual reading of scripture and popular film is a process that opens up a space in which new questions, ideas, and associations are possible. George Aichele and Richard Walsh, 'Introduction: Scripture as Precursor', in *Screening Scripture: Intertextual Connections between Scripture and Film* (eds. George Aichele and Richard Walsh; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002), pp. vii-xvi (xiii). For the potential of intertextual readings to create a space for interplay and dialogue, see also Jonathan Z. Smith, 'In Comparison a Magic Dwells', in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (ed. Jonathan Z. Smith; Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 19-35.

⁷ My understanding of hybridity is based on Homi Bhabha. Bhabha uses the notion of hybrid identities in reference to the post-modern situation of disturbance and disorientation, as well as in reference to the post-modern condition and its poly-cultural normality, in which dissimilar sources feed the process of identity-formation. In this situation, not a sure clear-cut cultural tradition, but an awareness of the "subject position" of, for example, race, gender, generation, and location "inhabits any claim to identity in the modern world." Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 1.

⁸ The three columns of filmstrip show photographs of Sophie Scholl, Hermann Stöhr, Martin-Luther King, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer; of Simone Weil, Ernst Barlach, Albert Schweitzer, and Mathilda Wrede; and of Arnulfo Romero, Anna Paulsen, Elise Averdick, and Dorthée Day.

<http://www.kirche.eimsbuettel.de/kg.root/kg.1123301410.22/kg.1123301410.22.2/index.html> (accessed June 08, 2013).

mainly visual way. The use of photographs engages the fact that we identify differently with text on the one hand, and with images, sound, and moving pictures on the other. It is easier for us to identify with the human form, and this identification provokes affect in a nuanced mirror.⁹ On this basis, the visual genealogy of the church windows invites identification and initiates a process of recognizing the well-known persons on the one hand, and of enquiring about the less-known ones on the other. This process invites reflection on ethics, resistance, and agency in the history and recent self-conception of the churches.

Calling in a film, and especially a documentary film, as second cultural object allows for exploring the role of audio-visual genres for the formation of cultural memory in general and genealogy performance in particular. Moreover, choosing a film as a second cultural object alongside the Bible text allows me to build on ongoing research on Bible and film. This ongoing research marks the central area of recent research in which Bible and cultural objects are engaged beyond reception history.

2.3 Previous Research on the Bible and Film

To date, Bible scholars have primarily investigated films that either retell and actualize biblical texts, such as Cecil DeMille's "The Ten Commandments" (1956), or engage biblical themes, motives, or characters, consciously or unconsciously, e.g. Paul Thomas Anderson's "Magnolia" (1999).¹⁰ These two major approaches are reflected in the setup of the representative anthology "The Bible in Film – The Bible and Film" from 2006.¹¹ The anthology is divided into two parts. The first part includes contributions in the tradition of providing analyses of films "that retell or re-present the biblical story (from the biblical epics of the 50s and 60s to the recent extraordinarily successful *The Passion of the Christ*) or recast it (e.g., *Jesus of Montreal* and perhaps, arguably, *The Life of Brian*)."¹² The second part focuses mainly on the analysis of "[biblical] themes and allusions or character types in

⁹ For the discussion of media studies' reception of neuroscientific research on mirror neurons, which play an important role in developing "affective relations," see Julia Noordegraaf, 'Iterating Archival Footage and the Memory of War', in *The Archive: XVIII International Film Studies Conference* (eds. Alessandro Bordina, Sonia Campanini and Andrea Mariani, Udine: Forum, 2012), pp. 265-272 (267-268).

¹⁰ The former approach is predominant in, for example, J. Cheryl Exum, *Plotted, Shot, and Painted: Cultural Representations of Biblical Women* (JSOTSup, 215; Gender, Culture, Theory, 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); Adele Reinhartz, *Scripture on the Silver Screen* (Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 2003); and Freek L. Bakker, *Jezus in beeld: Een studie naar zijn verschijnen op het witte doek* (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Van Gruting, 2011). For the latter approach see, for example, Larry J. Kreitzer, *The Old Testament in Fiction and Film: On Reversing the Hermeneutical Flow* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994); Melanie J. Wright, *Moses in America: The Cultural Uses of Biblical Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Françoise Mirguet, 'Implicit Biblical Motifs in Almodovar's *Hable Con Ella* and *Volver*: The Bible as Intertext', *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, 23.1 (2011), pp. 27-39.

¹¹ J. Cheryl Exum (ed.), *The Bible in Film—The Bible and Film* (repr. from *Biblical Interpretation*, 14.1-2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006).

¹² Exum, *The Bible in Film—The Bible and Film*, p. vii.

mainstream cinema, often, though not necessarily, where viewers themselves seem to find them (such as in *The Matrix* or *Star Wars*).¹³

Alongside these main foci, a third group of studies on the Bible and film has joined the field. These studies do not concentrate on films that are directly linked to the Bible in one way or the other. Instead, they focus on films that share key themes with selected Bible texts. For example, George Aichele reads together the Gospel of Marc and the film “Minority Report” (Steven Spielberg, US 2002), on the basis of the joint guiding theme of the paradox of blindness and seeing/insight.¹⁴ Another example is Ralph J. Brabban’s intertextual reading of “Midnight Cowboy” (John Schlesinger, 1969) and the Book of Ruth on the basis of the shared theme of alienation and sadness.¹⁵

In this third group of studies that are as exceptional as they are innovative studies, the joint guiding theme serves as a prism for reading together a Bible text and a film text that have no other obvious connections. Searching for more obvious connections would miss the point of these readings, because their originality is based precisely on the absence of an obvious connection of Bible text and film text. Even if the films contain allusions to biblical issues, these allusions are not at the center of attention. Again, the example of Brabban’s reading of “Midnight Cowboy” and the book of Ruth: the film “Midnight Cowboy” provides ample references to Jesus and his teachings. Brabban ignores these links and centers instead on the guiding theme of alienation and sadness, thereby making an important contribution to the understanding of the book of Ruth.¹⁶

My own research is clearly located in the third category of studies. The documentary film “My Life Part 2” provides distinct allusions to biblical notions. For example, the main protagonist, Ursula Levi, presents the biblical Levites as central reference point for her Jewish identity on the basis of her surname Levi. However, this is not the reason why I decided to work with the film. Instead, reading this particular film together with the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 is grounded in my observation that both film and text engage the joint theme of gendered genealogies in order to address disturbing memories and a fractured past.

Reading a Bible text and a film text together on the basis of a joint theme transports this approach into the vicinity of the field of theology and film. Here, film analyses likewise embark from a theme rather than from a parallel with a Bible text. Still, the lack of bringing back the film analysis to the interpretation of a specific Bible text constitutes a major difference between the two approaches. Important publications in the

¹³ Exum, *The Bible in Film—The Bible and Film*, p. vii. As a rule, both foci center on the analysis of feature films. An additional, yet entirely different category of films that engage biblical texts and motifs are documentaries on biblical themes such as the Garden of Eden and its supposed location. These documentaries are mainly produced for television and are both informational and pedagogical in character. See for example, “The Bible’s Buried Secrets III: The Real Garden of Eden” (BBC Two, March 2011) and “Decoding the Past: The Mysteries of the Garden of Eden” (History Channel April 2009).

¹⁴ George Aichele, ‘The Possibility of Error: Minority Report and the Gospel of Mark’, in *The Bible in Film—The Bible and Film* (ed. J. Cheryl Exum; repr. from *Biblical Interpretation*, 14.1-2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), pp. 144-157.

¹⁵ Ralph J. Brabban, ‘Alienation, Sex and an Unsatisfactory Ending: Themes and Features of Stories Old a New’, in *Screening Scripture: Intertextual Connections between Scripture and Film* (eds. George Aichele and Richard Walsh; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002), pp. 58-76.

¹⁶ Brabban, ‘Alienation, Sex and an Unsatisfactory Ending’, pp. 58-76.

field of theology and film are the anthology “Explorations in Theology and Film”, edited by Clive Marsh and Gaye Ortiz, a book that investigates how (rather than if) Christian theology converses with film, as well as the book series “Film und Theologie” by the international research group *Film and Theology*. For example, their recent publication “Seeing Beyond Death: Images of the Afterlife in Theology and Film” aims at revisiting biblical eschatological notions in interrelation with cinematic images of an afterlife in view of developing an eschatology that is able to resonate with Western sociocultural discourses.¹⁷ An important monograph that, independently from my research, proposes a comparable setting of analysis is Ulrike Vollmer’s “Seeing Film and Reading Feminist Theology: A Dialogue”. Vollmer starts out from a question (“what does it mean to see and to be seen?”). She pursues this question in philosophical discourses on seeing, in feminist theologies of relatedness, and in a detailed analysis of three films. Finally, she engages these three components in a dialogue that allows her to develop her own theology of seeing.¹⁸

Engaging films from the angle of Bible studies or theology involves the question of how films are selected and on which basis they are read together. Aichele and Walsh highlight the intuitive component of choosing to pair off a Bible text and a film text. They claim that the starting point for an actual “intertextual” reading is the scholar: “The ‘real’ (material) justification for any connection between Scripture and film is the scholar whose specific experience and interpretative reading alone supplies the connection.”¹⁹ As a consequence, they conclude that the selection of cinematic intertexts cannot be more or less correct, but only more or less interesting and provocative.²⁰ I agree with Aichele and Walsh’s emphasis on the intuitive as well as the experimental impulse at the origin of reading a Bible text and a film text together, especially if the latter does not directly relate to the former. Still, I follow Athalya Brenner in her insisting that a critical reflection on the initial impulse for the choice of case studies is possible and in order.²¹ With regard to my research, such a critical reflection will include questions such as, How will the case studies contribute to analyzing the genre of genealogies, especially in view of its capacity to respond to traumatic pasts? How do the case studies contribute to understanding notions of gender in genealogy composition? In which cultural and political discourses are the case studies located and how will they disclose those discourses for the reading? And, Which aspects does the film contribute over the Bible text?

In addition, to achieve a critical reflection on the initial impulse for selecting a particular film, Matthew Rindge urges to consider “foreign, independent, and older films” for the selection of films, rather than merely focusing on (Hollywood) films which are

¹⁷ Clive Marsh and Gaye Ortiz (eds.), *Explorations in Theology and Film: Movies and Meaning* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 4; Christopher Deacy and Ulrike Vollmer (eds.), *Blick über den Tod hinaus / Seeing Beyond Death: Bilder vom Leben nach dem Tod in Theologie und Film / Images of Afterlife in Theology and Film* (Film und Theologie, 18; Marburg: Schüren-Verlag, 2011).

¹⁸ Ulrike Vollmer, *Seeing Film and Reading Feminist Theology: A Dialogue* (Yew York: Palgrave Macmillan 2007).

¹⁹ Aichele and Walsh, ‘Introduction: Scripture as Precursor’, p. xi.

²⁰ Aichele and Walsh, ‘Introduction: Scripture as Precursor’, p. xi.

²¹ Athalya Brenner, ‘Foreword’, in *Culture, Entertainment and the Bible* (ed. George Aichele, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 7-12 (8-9).

overwhelmingly “made by white males, and for white audiences.”²² From his US perspective, he argues that “[p]airing biblical texts solely with Anglo films has the same effect as reading biblical texts solely through the lens of white, American male interpreters. The method in each case is inherently limited.”²³ Rindge likewise argues for considering a multitude of genres for the selection of case studies, for example thriller, fantasy, comedy, western, and musicals in addition to drama and science-fiction.²⁴

My own research interest is in line with Rindge, Runions, and Ascough. I am mainly interested in alternative films over mainstream cinema, whereas ‘alternative’ refers to the sociopolitical contexts and perspectives of both filmmaker and the film’s protagonists and contents; to the economical condition of the production; and the aesthetics of the film. This interest runs parallel to my interest in alternative perspectives in and on the Bible. “My Life Part 2” matches this interest throughout. “My Life Part 2” is an European low-budget film made by a female filmmaker. Filmmaker and protagonists bring to the fore experiences that are at the fringe of self-conceptions in post-war Germany. Moreover, their experiences in and memories about Nazi Germany and the Holocaust have a marginal position in the discourse on post-Shoah memory in Germany and beyond it.

My interest in alternative films continues in the selection of a documentary film, thus in the choice of genre. Working with a Bible text and a documentary film is pioneering work. It significantly adds to enlarging the scope of studies on the Bible and film toward films that engage alternative perspectives and feature experimental aesthetics. Erin Runions’s reading of the documentary “Paris is Burning” (Jennie Livingston, 1990), a chronicle of the drag queen ball culture in New York City, together with the book of Micah is one of the few other examples that engage biblical literature and documentary film, and works in a similar direction.²⁵

Next to the selection of films, the question on which basis film text and Bible text are read together is crucial. Concepts that are often referred to are the concept of intertextuality and the notion of dialogue. For example, Aichele and Walsh argue that the intertextual reading of scripture and popular film is a process that opens up a new interpretative space. In the center of this process is the dialogue between text and film, which is conducted by the author/scholar.²⁶ The notion of dialogue reoccurs in methodological reflections on bringing a Bible text or a theological theme together with a film, where it functions, among others, as an indicator for the aim to take a film seriously rather than to use it only illustratively.²⁷ In this context, “understanding a film in its own aesthetic integrity, and thereby discerning a film’s unique voice, texture, and potential meanings” is understood as precondition for analyzing a film on its own terms and in its

²² Matthew S. Rindge, Erin Runions and Richard S. Ascough, ‘Teaching the Bible and Film: Pedagogical Promises, Pitfalls, and Proposals’, in *Teaching Theology & Religion* 13.2 (2010), pp. 140-155 (144). (The article consists of a text by Rindge and by two responses by Runions and Ascough.)

²³ Rindge, Runions and Ascough, ‘Teaching the Bible and Film’, p. 145.

²⁴ Rindge, Runions and Ascough, ‘Teaching the Bible and Film’, p. 142.

²⁵ Erin Runions, *How Hysterical: Identification and Resistance in the Bible and Film* (New York: Macmillan, 2003), pp. 93-114.

²⁶ Aichele and Walsh, ‘Introduction: Scripture as Precursor’, p. xiii.

²⁷ For example, Ulrike Vollmer, ‘Sprechen, Hören, und dann? Film und Theologie im Dialog’, *Medienheft* (07.04.2003), pp. 1-10; Vollmer, *Seeing Film and Reading Feminist Theology*, pp. 4-6; and Rindge, Runions and Ascough, ‘Teaching the Bible and Film’, pp. 142-146.

own voice, and hence for entering into an effective dialogue with it.²⁸ In addition to the focus on doing justice to the film, Runions emphasizes the equal need to read the Bible text on its own terms. In concrete terms, she advocates to read the Bible text in its textual context, in order to understand, “how and why the film might be molding or manipulating that text to its own ends.”²⁹

My own research shares the concern with perceiving both film text and Bible text as integral whole, and with analyzing them on their own terms. However, rather than focusing on the dialogue between the two texts as guided by the scholar, I pursue this concern in the general setup of my research. Specifically, I anticipate the elements of a joint guiding theme (and genre) and of a shared analytical frame to establish a setting that works toward granting the integrity of the film, as well as toward a transparent process of reading them together (see below).

In line with other studies in the field of the Bible and film, my research is based on notions of intertextuality. Therefore, in a next step, I will discuss different aspects of the concept of intertextuality in order to access its productivity as well as its limits for the actual research.

2.4 Intertextuality

The notion of intertextuality refers to the general understanding of texts as part of a broad web of texts and sociopolitical discourses. Moreover, in the context of Bible studies, intertextuality refers to a particular method of reading.³⁰ These two aspects of intertextuality have different places in this research. Intertextuality as an indicator for the location of texts in a broad web of texts and discourses is important for the methodological setup of the project. Intertextuality as a particular (exegetical) method of reading is important for the close reading of the biblical genealogies because it brings to the fore their being embedded into the broader context of biblical literature. In this section, I first introduce the broader notion of intertextuality and discuss its contribution and limits with regard to reading a Bible text and a film text together. In a second step, I discuss intertextuality as a reading strategy within Bible studies and point to its relevance for the close reading of 1 Chronicles 1–9.

The notion of intertextuality is based on the work of Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975). Bakhtin understands text as a structure that presses beyond single voice accounts, toward both internal dialogue and the participation in social dialogue.³¹ This conceptualization of text as an essentially dialogical structure provides important impulses for the actual research. First, Bakhtin argues that text is inclined to handle multiple positions without losing its main focus.³² This argument is an important basis for confronting a Bible text and a film text with a dialogical process in which different aspects of them will be addressed in order to tease out their complex meanings. Next, Bakhtin

²⁸ Rindge, Runions and Ascough, ‘Teaching the Bible and Film’, p. 145.

²⁹ Rindge, Runions and Ascough, ‘Teaching the Bible and Film’, p. 150.

³⁰ Ellen van Wolde, ‘Intertextuality: Ruth in Dialogue with Tamar’, in *A Feminist Companion to the Bible: Approaches, Methods and Strategies* (eds. Athalya Brenner and Carole Fontaine; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2nd edn, 1997), pp. 426–451 (426–432).

³¹ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, ‘Discourse in the Novel’, in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin* (ed. Michael Holquist; Texas: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 259–422.

³² Bakhtin, ‘Discourse in the Novel’, p. 276.

assumes that text performs inner dialogues.³³ This assumption provides an important starting point for external dialogue with a second text or cultural object. Third, Bakhtin highlights the text's capacity for complex interaction with its rhetorical contexts, as well as its active participation in social dialogue.³⁴ This capacity allows confronting a Bible text and a film text with themes of their respective rhetorical context, as well as with the rhetorical context of their recent readers. Finally, Bakhtin's insistence on the sociopolitical location of literary communication denotes that the more the sociopolitical context of the texts is brought into play, the more radical and effective the reading together of most different materials may become.

Bakhtin's propositions have been taken up by the French-Bulgarian theorist Julia Kristeva (*1941). Kristeva engaged Bakhtin's propositions in the French academic context and coined the term *intertextuality*.³⁵ Building on Bakhtin's argument that literary structures do not simply exist, but are generated in relation to other structures, Kristeva describes the literary word as an "intersection of textual surfaces" and a dialogue between the writer, the addressee, and the cultural context (which she describes as the exterior text) rather than as a static point with a fixed meaning.³⁶ This dialogue takes place on a horizontal axis between subject and addressee, as well as on an intersecting vertical axis between text and context. As a consequence, each text intersects with other texts. It is constructed as a mosaic of quotations and always absorbs and transforms other texts.³⁷ Understanding texts as intersections of subject and addressee, as well as of text and context locates texts in a broader semiotic texture, which she calls the cultural-historical text. This texture includes the readers as well as other texts.³⁸

Of Kristeva's rich theory of intertextuality, especially two aspects are central to my research, namely her insistence on the productive, rather than descriptive character of intertextuality, and her related claim that the meaning of texts primarily emerges in intertextual perspective. Kristeva emphasizes that intertextuality does not end with describing series of relationships within texts. Instead, the space of a given text is a space in which utterances taken from other texts intersect.³⁹ The investment of the text in discourses contributes utterances to it that are different from the one of the author. This provokes a shift from a discursive to a textual level of utterances, as well as from an informational and

³³ Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', pp. 273-274.

³⁴ Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', pp. 272-274. See also Graham Allan, *Intertextuality: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 21.

³⁵ Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. Leon S. Roudiez; trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez; Blackwell: Columbia University Press, 1980).

³⁶ Julia Kristeva, 'Word, Dialogue and Novel', in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. Leon S. Roudiez; trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez; Blackwell: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 64-91 (64-65). See also Kirsten Nielsen, 'Intertextuality and Hebrew Bible', in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998* (eds. André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø; VTSup, 80; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), pp. 17-31 (17).

³⁷ Kristeva, 'Word, Dialogue and Novel', p. 65.

³⁸ Julia Kristeva, 'The Bounded Text', in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. Leon S. Roudiez; trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez; Blackwell: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 36-63 (36).

³⁹ Kristeva, 'The Bounded Text', p. 36.

communicative level to a level of productivity.⁴⁰ With regard to my research, Kristeva's insistence on the productive character of intertextuality highlights that intertextuality does not end with comparing texts and cannot simply be grasped in terms of sources, influences, backgrounds, and contexts. In the same way, the intent of reading together gendered genealogy performance in 1 Chronicles 1–9 and in "My Life Part 2" is not primarily descriptive. Instead, its intention is production, transformation, and creation of knowledge. Here, the notion of intertextuality points to a process of the production of meaning, and by doing so, to a movement which has the potential to alter its constituent.

Kristeva takes her argument on the productivity of intertextuality one step further with her claim that the meaning of text primarily emerges in intertextual perspective. She argues that history and morality, which she sees as central factors in the production of the meaning of a text, can thus be only disclosed through "a practice of a signifying structure in relation or opposition to another structure."⁴¹ As a consequence, no extra-textual reality exists that may provide reference points for understanding the meaning of a text. Texts only exist in the mesh of the general social-historical texture, and "meaning and reference are possible only in relation to this network, as functions of intertextuality."⁴² With regard to my research, the claim that meaning of texts is only possible in reference to the broader network of texts anticipates the expectation that reading 1 Chronicles 1–9 and "My Life Part 2" together holds the potential to generate an understanding of gendered genealogies in response to trauma that would otherwise remain hidden.

In conclusion, notions of intertextuality are at the basis of this research. They enable it, point to its aims, and indicate its promising potential. In particular, the idea of an overreaching texture (the social-historical text), enables placing texts side by side that differ in terms of genre, theme, and cultural-historical context. It effectively widens "the thinking- and living environment of (biblical) texts,"⁴³ and works toward projects as proposed here.

At the same time, the idea of an overreaching texture marks the limits of the use of the broad concept of intertextuality for this research. In particular, Kristeva and Roland Barthes' argument that a text is "not a stable, self-identical, enduring object but a place of

⁴⁰ Kristeva, 'The Bounded Text', p. 46. See also Daniela C. Caselli, *Beckett's Dantes: Intertextuality in the Fiction and Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 1–9.

⁴¹ Kristeva, 'Word, Dialogue and Novel', p. 65.

⁴² Bible & Culture Collective (eds.), *The Postmodern Bible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 130. The idea that the meaning of texts (only) emerges in intertextual perspective as well as in the context of an overall semiotic texture was taken up by Roland Barthes (1915–1980). Barthes proposed that literary works are not containers of fixed meaning, but spaces in which never ending numbers of potential relations coalesce. In the center of this process is the reader, who initiates interferences of a text with other texts. However, in this role, the reader (as well as the author, who is herself conceptualized by Barthes as a context-bound reader) is not an autonomous subject but is herself constituted as a plurality of texts. See Roland Barthes, 'From Work to Text', in *The Rustle of Language* (trans. Richard Howard; Berkeley: California Press, 1989), pp. 56-64 (especially 59-60); Roland Barthes, 'The death of the Author', in *The Rustle of Language* (trans. Richard Howard; Berkeley: California Press, 1989), pp. 49-55 (especially 53); Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (trans. Jürgen Hoch; Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1976), especially p. 14; and Ellen van Wolde, 'Trendy Intertextuality?', in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel* (ed. Sipke Draisma; Kampen: Kok, 1989), pp. 43-49 (47).

⁴³ Wolde, 'Trendy Intertextuality?', p. 45.

intersection in a network of signification”⁴⁴ is problematic. Defining 1 Chronicles 1–9 and “My Life Part 2” as intersections in a network of signification may too easily lead to dissolve the actual texts into a homogeneous notion of textuality. Given how extremely disparate the texts are in terms of medium, genre, and sociohistorical background, it seems important to conceptualize their relation to each other in a way that keeps their differences in focus. As a consequence, I methodologically embark from the notion of intertextuality, but in a second step propose the concept of socializing to generate an analytical setting that is stronger in meeting the distinctiveness of my case studies.⁴⁵

Before diving into the concept of socializing, however, I will discuss the development of the intertextuality concept within Bible studies, where it has developed into an analytical tool or reading strategy.

Intertextuality as a Reading Strategy

Intertextuality, understood as an actual reading strategy, constitutes part of the canon of exegetical methods. It describes a reading strategy, which reads Bible texts as embedded into the broader context of biblical literature, and factors in the many references and dependencies within this corpus of texts.⁴⁶ As Michael Fishbane puts it, a canon such as the corpus of biblical literature “presupposes the possibility of correlations among its parts, such that new texts may imbed, reuse, or otherwise allude to precursor materials—both as a strategy of meaning-making, and for establishing the authority of a given innovation.”⁴⁷ References between texts carry out meaning in the reading process, whereas stylistic means of the text (e.g. theme words, motifs, or genres), as well as external, comparative issues from the larger cultural context, help to perceive “latent networks of intra- and intertextual meaning.”⁴⁸ Intertextuality as an exegetical reading strategy focuses on the biblical textual community and its “inner-community conversation.”⁴⁹ Here, the interaction of texts is

⁴⁴ Bible & Culture Collective, *The Postmodern Bible*, p. 130.

⁴⁵ In view of comparing biblical literature with literature from the ancient Near East, William Hallo has proposed a contextual approach, which partly runs parallels to a broad notion of intertextuality. He understands “a piece of literature in terms of what it owes to or reflects of all of its contemporaneous context.” I do not pursue Hallo’s approach because the reference frame for his contextual approach remains the “comparative evidence (positive or negative)” of the “broader ancient Near Eastern matrix.” William W. Hallo, ‘Compare and Contrast: the Contextual Approach to Biblical Literature’, in *The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature* (eds. William W. Hallo, Bruce William Jones and Gerald L. Mattingly; New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), pp. 1-30 (4).

⁴⁶ Van Wolde, ‘Intertextuality: Ruth in Dialogue with Tamar’, pp. 426-451. See also George Aichele and Gary A. Phillips (eds.), *Intertextuality and the Bible* (Semeia, 69/70; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); Manfred Pfister and Ulrich Broich, *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, Anglistische Fallstudien* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1985); Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); and Yair Zakovitch, ‘Inner-Biblical Interpretation’, in *Reading Genesis: Ten Methods* (ed. Ronald Hendel, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 92-118.

⁴⁷ Michael Fishbane, ‘Types of Biblical Intertextuality’, in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998* (eds. André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø; VTSup, 80; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), pp. 39-44 (39).

⁴⁸ Michael Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), pp. XI-XII.

⁴⁹ Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 76.

understood as a process that generates “a realm of discourse, dialogue, and imagination that provides a world in which to live in.”⁵⁰

1 Chronicles 1–9 involves a dense web of intertextual references, as I will explain in the introduction to 1 Chronicles 1–9 in Chapter 3.⁵¹ Here, intertextuality concerns, among others, the use of earlier biblical genealogies as *Vorlage* of particular genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9, as well as references to biblical narratives, such as the reference to Genesis 38 at the beginning of the genealogies of Judah (2:3–4).⁵² These intertextual connections weave the genealogies into the intertextual fabric of the Hebrew Bible, feed into their meaning, and are crucial clues to understanding them. As a consequence, intertextuality as a method of reading will have a place in the research when it comes to the close reading of the Bible text and its complex references to and modifications of inner-biblical intertexts, especially in Chapters 4 and 6.⁵³

Intertextuality also plays a role for the analysis of “My Life Part 2”. On the one hand, the film establishes intertextual connections within the film: its characteristic assembling and presenting of materials leads to layers of meaning in which images, motifs, or sounds reoccur, for example the reoccurring motif of family photographs taken at the beach of the Baltic resort Boltenhagen. On the other hand, “My Life Part 2” engages external intertexts, such as television footage on central instances of the German debate on post-Shoah memory. These external intertexts link the film to particular cultural and political discourses and add to determining its political standpoint (see Chapter 5⁵⁴).

In both cases, 1 Chronicles 1–9 and “My Life Part 2”, the strength of intertextuality as an actual reading strategy is based on reflection of concrete interconnections and modifications of texts whose literary and sociohistorical contexts overlap. Intertextuality as a reading strategy thus pertains to the individual close readings of the case studies in their respective contexts. It makes less sense for reading 1 Chronicles 1–9 and “My Life Part 2” together. Hence, I conceptualize the general setup of the project as a process of socializing.

2.5 Socializing Bible Texts and Films

The notion of *socializing* a Bible text and a film text relates to reading together two disparate constituents that share a joint guiding theme within a shared theoretical framework. The term socializing is used in order to indicate that the two disparate constituents are read in close association and, in the process of reading, mutually accompany each other.

The term *socializing* or *co-housing* in English, *vergesellschaften* in German, derives from biology where it refers to *co-housing* animals or plants that have no natural

⁵⁰ Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 76.

⁵¹ Chapter 3: *1 Chronicles 1–9 and its Gendered Fragments*, pp. 67-91 (70-74).

⁵² For the use of earlier genealogies in 1 Chron. 1–9 see Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien 1: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (SKG.G, 18.2; Halle: Niemeyer, 2nd edn, 1943), pp. 116-122.

⁵³ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (93-98); Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192 (182-184).

⁵⁴ Chapter 5: *Genealogy Performance in “My Life Part 2”*, pp. 115-151.

close coexistence.⁵⁵ In the natural sciences, socializing animals or plants is a concern of applied community ecology, as well as of zoo studies. In the former case, it concerns the management of altered or reconstructed communities, for example the biomanipulation of water quality or the management of multispecies fisheries.⁵⁶ A central concern of socializing animals or plants is whether the different parties will continue to do well under the new artificial conditions (will they continue to eat, breed, socialize, and stay healthy, or will they develop problematic behaviors such as (auto)aggression, illness, or depression).⁵⁷ An additional challenge in co-housing animals or plants is to enable the parties to change in reference to each other and, by doing so, to foreground characteristics and develop strategies to benefit from the new situation.⁵⁸ Beyond the natural sciences, the term socializing also connotes socializing in the sense of coming together for communication, networking, and enjoyment, as well as the image of society as a location that potentially provides space for different parties.

Borrowing the term socializing from the natural sciences and using it metaphorically for reading a Bible text and a film together foregrounds the following aspects: First, the notion of socializing points to the artificial setting of bringing together a Bible text and a film text, two objects that have no ‘natural’ coexistence beyond their existence in the same cultural environment. Next, the term emphasizes the concern for doing justice to the objects involved. Both Bible text and film text need to be analyzed adequately and according to the requirements of the disciplines they belong to in order to successfully socialize them. Next, the term socializing stresses the anticipation of a surplus that should result from the particular setting. Bringing the disparate constituents of the research together in a process of socializing is done in anticipation of insights into their character and meaning that would otherwise remain hidden. Finally, the term socializing expresses the wish to provide an analysis that is enjoyable to researcher and reader.

The process of socializing a Bible text and a film text comprises five central elements: joint theme, analytical frame, case studies, the process of socializing, and finally the presentation of its results. Each element contributes differently to kicking off a process of enabling, pursuing, and abandoning questions, ideas, and insights, in a back and forth between the elements involved. Each element contributes differently to consciously guiding this process and to make it communicable and transparent. Finally, each element contributes differently to doing justice to the integrity and difference of the case studies involved.

1. The joint guiding theme: The starting point for socializing is a particular theme rather than a specific Bible text. This guiding theme should have a basis in biblical literature as well as in recent sociocultural discourses. For example, gendered genealogies in response to fractured pasts are a traditional biblical theme from the primeval narratives in Genesis 1–11 to the New Testament genealogies of Jesus. At the same time, gendered

⁵⁵ David. C. Wareham, *Elsevier's Dictionary of Herpetological and related Terminology* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005), p. 44. See also *Leo Englisch-Deutsch Wörterbuch*, Forum, “vergesellschaften”, 26.04.2004, 20:49, <http://dict.leo.org/forum/viewUnsolvedquery.php?idThread=176430&idForum=1&lp=ende&lang=de> (accessed June 08, 2013).

⁵⁶ Peter J. Morin, *Community Ecology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Science, 1999), pp. 366-375 (340-348).

⁵⁷ N. Dorman and D.C. Bourne, ‘Canids and Ursids in Mixed-species Exhibits’, *Int. Zoo Yb.* 44 (2010), pp. 75-86 (77).

⁵⁸ Dorman and Bourne, ‘Canids and Ursids in Mixed-species Exhibits’, pp. 76-77.

genealogies in response to fractured pasts are part of recent discourses on changing family conceptions, migration processes, diasporic identities, and cultural hybridity.

In this research, the joint guiding theme involves the joint genre of gendered genealogies. Sharing a genre, thus “a compositional type conforming to a given pattern and serving a specific function,”⁵⁹ strongly accelerates the process of socializing. Even though the case studies realize the genealogy genre in quite different ways, referring the actual genealogy performances back to the genre with its distinct forms and functions, as well as to the question how it functions in response to traumatic pasts, helps to guide the process and to make it transparent.

2. The analytical frame: Socializing takes place in a particular analytical space, which is set up by the analytical frame. The analytical frame conceptualizes the guiding theme in reference to the wider academic debate and keeps the analysis focused. It provides a framework in which the guiding theme as well as Bible text and film are analyzed both independently and in relation to each other. By means of indicating reference points for focusing the individual constituents on the same issues, questions, and hypotheses, the analytical frame supports the integrity of each text, while at the same time stimulating a dialogue between them. Next, the analytical frame guides and limits the process of socializing. For example, defining gendered genealogies as memory performances relegates other possible roads of inquiry to the back benches. For example, anthropological or historical approaches to genealogies are apprehended but not fully played out in the actual close readings. In conclusion, clearly conceptualizing my object of research from the outset, and thereby establishing an analytical frame, significantly adds to keeping socializing transparent and communicable.

3. The case studies: The case studies are selected in view of their expected contributions to understanding the guiding theme. Moreover, they need to provide sufficient common ground to serve as a starting point for reading them together, as well as enough differences that can serve as rubbing surfaces for a promising reading. The film may take up biblical motives or passages. However, the presence of the Bible in the film is not the criteria for socializing the two. Instead, Bible text and film text are linked through the joint theme and analytical frame. The case studies are analyzed according to the requirements of their respective disciplines, that is Bible studies and media studies.

The first impulse for engaging the documentary “My Life Part 2” was based on the film’s additional perspectives on the issue of gender and fractures in relation to genealogy composition. While 1 Chronicles 1–9 features gendered fragments, “My Life Part 2” centers on a female lineage and engages in a project of genealogy composition. The film also provides additional perspectives to the issue of fractures in genealogy performances. While 1 Chronicles 1–9 provides a multilayered network in which fissures occur, are then restricted, and resurface again, “My Life Part 2” addresses the break of its central lineage in a straightforward way and clearly engages the notion of discontinuity in its genealogy performance. In both cases, gender as well as fractures, the additional perspectives of the film provide important impulses for broadening the matrix against which I analyze gendered genealogy performance in response to fractured pasts. Hence, the initial impulse to engage “My Life Part 2” paid off throughout the research.

In this context, the genre of documentary film likewise plays a central role. The genre of documentary film features characteristics that significantly add to the theme of my

⁵⁹ Hallo, ‘Compare and Contrast’, p. 8.

research. Most important in this respect is the need for documentaries to negotiate and make productive the dialectic relation between reality on the one hand, and image, interpretation, bias, and representation on the other.⁶⁰ The same challenge is at the core of genealogy composition. In fact, finding a balance between recounting the past to one's best knowledge on the one hand, and creative appropriation of the past in a performance that makes sense for the present on the other, is for me the most fascinating challenge of genealogy composition in response to trauma. Hence, this feature of documentary film, as well as others, contributes to the core of the research project.⁶¹

The next important argument in favor of "My Life Part 2" was that the film contributes the notion of the archive and relates it to the theme of gendered genealogy performance in response to traumatic pasts. With the archive concept come issues of alternative archives and counter-present genealogies, of appropriating a traumatic legacy, as well as of contested knowledge production and power as active in genealogy composition. The film's engagement of the archive concept interlocks with the heterogeneous character of 1 Chronicles 1–9, which can be likewise described as an archive. Hence, "My Life Part 2" contributes a notion that is not only rich in itself, but also provides a key for an understanding of how the genealogy performances in 1 Chronicles 1–9 are meaningful in response to its fracturing past.

The film's performing of an archive intrigued me for yet another reason. "My Life Part 2" builds its central lineage using photographs, documents, audiotapes, and other memorial objects such as ancient herbaria of the filmmaker's mother, laundry labeled with the name of her grandmother, and a silver goblet that was handed down in the family.⁶² This takes the idea of genealogies beyond the medium of the text and points to the possibilities of both audio-visual and three-dimensional genealogy performances.

Finally, "My Life Part 2" contributes themes to the research that I think to be crucial for understanding the explosive force of the genealogy genre today. Before all, the location of the film's genealogy performance at the intersection of personal and public memory and the connected issues of mediation and agency in performing genealogical memory acts were important arguments in favor of this specific film.

4. The actual process of socializing: Socializing as an actual process of reading together the case studies in view of a guiding theme and in reference to the analytical frame takes place in a spiral movement. This movement runs through phases of theoretical reflection on the guiding theme and the analytical frame; through phases of separate analyses of the case studies; and through phases of synthetic interpretations of the constituents of the process in view of each other. In the latter phase, one text is read from the perspective of the other, which, in turn, coins the interpretative horizon of the other. The process of socializing involves scheduled confrontations between the respective constituents as well as their informal interaction in the course of the process. Both formal

⁶⁰ Bruzzi, Stella, *New Documentary: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 6.

⁶¹ Other aspects of the genre of documentary film that contribute to the analysis of gendered genealogies in response to trauma are the relation between past and present, the notion of framing, the role of editing, the role of the narrative and voice-over, and the performative character of documentary film. See Bruzzi, *New Documentary*; and Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

⁶² For the notion of memorial objects see Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, 'Testimonial Objects: Memory, Gender, Transmission', *Poetics Today* 27.2 (2006), pp. 137-163.

and informal socializing entails moments of highlighting, as well as of repressing themes. The actual process of reading together the case studies is close to an intertextual reading. Yet, I understand intertextual readings as readings that engage connections between texts in a more direct way. While the intertextual reading pursues links, quotes, and shared locations between the texts, the metaphor of socializing assumes more indirect connections that are conveyed by the shared theme and analytical frame.

5. Presentation: Socializing comprises a step from the spiral process of socializing to the presentation of its results in compacted blocks of analysis both concerning the guiding theme and the case studies. Presenting the analyses in compacted chapters is another important element in keeping the socializing transparent. Throughout the research, I do not take the reader into the spiral movement from one round of analysis to the next one, which might easily become unclear and confusing. Instead, I provide the reader with compacted analyses of the individual cases against the backdrop of the process of socializing. Especially the film analysis is presented in one coherent chapter. This presentation not only provides the reader with a condensed and concise analysis. It also supports the balance between independently analyzing the individual cases and reading them in close relation to each other. Such balance works toward an integral analysis of each genealogy performance against the backdrop of the perspectives opened up by the theoretical frame and the process of socializing. It functions as anchor in the socializing process and supports its transparency.

In conclusion, the model of socializing is based on a broad understanding of intertextuality, as proposed by Kristeva, but differs from it in critical aspects. Most central in this respect are the joint guiding theme and the analytical frame as necessary additional building blocks for the setup of socializing. The whole endeavor is broader than an intertextual reading and eventually targeted at gaining insight into a theme, rather than into a specific text. The theme is a biblical theme, but also reaches beyond it. As a consequence, socializing requires actual close readings and adds to the analysis of the texts under consideration, but it neither begins nor ends there. A second important difference is the quality of the assumed connections between Bible text and film text. While intertextuality implies more direct links between the two texts, socializing emphasizes the discontinuity between the case studies, as well as the artificial setting in which they are brought together. This does not mean that the analysis neglects any direct connection between the texts, but in general, it engages links in reference to shared theme and analytical frame, which provides the analytical categories to qualify and assess the texts' similarities and differences.

I anticipate that the methodology of socializing results in a deeper understanding of the genre of genealogies, how it functions in response to fractured pasts, and which role gender plays in this. Specifically, I anticipate contributing a historical perspective to the use of gendered genealogies in the context of a recent crisis of memory transfers, especially in view of traumatic pasts. Moreover, I anticipate a deeper understanding as to why genealogies are such a strong genre in the Bible, and which functions gender has in this context. I also anticipate contributing to the reception of "My Life Part 2" through the presentation of the film in film-series and on film festivals, as well as in academic

publications.⁶³ Here, the genealogy perspective is critical for appreciating the importance of the film.

⁶³ For example Hilde Hoffmann, 'Mein Leben Teil 2–My Life Part 2 (2003): Reflections about Recent Autobiographical Documentaries', in *Gendered Memories: Transgressions in German and Israeli Film and Theatre* (eds. Vera Apfelthaler and Julia B. Köhne; Vienna: Turia & Kant, 2007), pp. 128-143.

Chapter 3 1 Chronicles 1–9 and its Gendered Fragments

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter on the methodology of socializing, I have emphasized that socializing aims, among others, at assuring the characteristics of and differences between Bible text and film text. Part of this serves to apprehend the case studies in their sociohistorical contexts and to analyze them according to the standards of their disciplines. Accordingly, this chapter aims at contextualizing the gendered fragments of 1 Chronicles 1–9 within their literary and sociohistorical context, and to bring into focus the key issues of the exegetical debate relating to them.

Contextualizing the gendered fragments of 1 Chronicles 1–9 includes three main aspects. First, it concerns the placement of the composition at the beginning of a retold story that has already been recounted in Samuel-Kings. Second, it concerns the sociopolitical location of Chronicles in the late Persian period province Yehud, with the then predominant discourses on exile and return, as well as on mixed marriages. Third, it concerns the challenge to meet the heterogeneous character of the genealogies which is in strong contrast to its conceptual coherence, and to make sense of this tension, a challenge that I will propose to meet with a synchronic reception-oriented reading and by means of conceptualizing 1 Chronicles 1–9 as an archive.

Prior to discussing these main issues, the question which passages of 1 Chronicles 1–9 indeed contain female-gendered references needs to be addressed. My criterion for considering a passage as female-gendered reference is the occurrence of a female figure, identified as such either through a female name, a female verb form, and/or a relational term such as “wife” or “daughter.” This criterion leads up to 38 text passages that refer to approximately 60 individual women and 5 female groups.¹ However, especially the criterion of a female name turns these numbers into round figures rather than unambiguous numbers. As Marie-Theres Wacker has pointed out in one of the earliest contributions to 1 Chronicles 1–9 from a gender perspective, names in Ancient Israel were less clearly linked to gender than they are nowadays.² As a consequence, Chronicles provides many gender-

¹ 1 Chron. 1:5–6; 1:32–33; 1:36; 1:39; 1:50; 1:51b–54; 2:3–4; 2:16–17; 2:18–19; 2:21; 2:24; 2:26; 2:29; 2:34–35; 2:46; 2:47–49; 2:50; 3:1–9; 3:19; 4:3; 4:4; 4:5–8; 4:9; 4:17–18; 4:19; 4:27; 5:29a; 7:4; 7:8; 7:13; 7:14–19; 7:23; 7:24; 7:30; 7:32; 8:8–11; 8:29; 9:35. A survey of the references to women in 1 Chronicles 1–9 is given in *Appendix 1*. In her five page long entry on 1 and 2 Chronicles in “The Women’s Bible Commentary”, Alice Laffey takes the time to list all the women that occur in 1 Chronicles 1–9 by name and to indicate relational terms, intertextual references, indication of descendants, and/or specific activities. This list is impressive even though it ‘only’ includes 42 women. Alice L. Laffey, ‘1 and 2 Chronicles’, in *The Women’s Bible Commentary: Expanded Edition with Apocrypha* (eds. Carol Ann Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1998), pp. 110–115 (112–113).

² Marie-Theres Wacker, ‘Die Bücher der Chronik: Im Vorhof der Frauen’, in *Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung* (eds. Marie-Theres Wacker and Luise Schottroff; Gütersloher Verlagshaus: Gütersloh, 3rd edn, 2007), pp. 146–155 (148). For a survey of Hebrew female names see J.J. Stamm, ‘Hebräische Frauennamen’, in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner* (eds. G. W. Anderson et al; VTSup, 16; Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1967), pp. 301–339.

ambiguous names such as Shelomith or Abijah, which are attested for both males and females.³ In many cases, the textual context allows to determine the gender of a character. For example, Shelomith is listed as sister in 3:19, and Abijah is introduced as wife in 2:24. Other cases are less clear. They are open to the reader's gender projections and require interpretation.

An example for a gender-ambiguous reference is the reference to Oholibamah among the town chiefs of Edom (1:52). Oholibamah is known from the Genesis genealogies, where she is listed as one of the wives of Esau (Gen. 36:2, 14, 18, 25). This identification of Oholibamah as a female name is supported by the emphasized final ׀ֿ, which often points to a female form. The same Genesis genealogy lists Oholibamah as one of the town chiefs of Edom (Gen. 36:41). In this context, the name is gender-ambiguous. 1 Chronicles 1–9 does not include Esau's wives. But it adapts the list of town chiefs including Oholibamah and Timna, presumably another female name in the list (1 Chron. 1:51–52). Should Oholibamah be considered a female name and the list of town chiefs counted among the passages that provide references to women? Answers vary. For example, in the Anchor Bible Dictionary, Ulrich Hübner identifies Oholibamah as female in accordance with the literary context and grammar.⁴ In contrast, Martin Noth identifies Oholibamah as a male name, a decision that is based on the argument that a woman could not fulfill the role of a town chief, and, hence, on a particular interpretation of the sociohistorical background of the text.⁵

As a conscious counter-reading of exegetical politics and traditions, I suggest a reading praxis that, for a start, takes names that are clearly identified as female at one point of the text as indeed female ones. This presupposition will then have to be carefully checked in the respective case. Such reading practice is especially reasonable for the text unit in question. 1 Chronicles 1–9 lists women in positions that may easily collide with readers' gender expectations: Sheerah builds three cities (7:24), Sheshan's daughter passes on the family line in a problematic situation (2:34–35),⁶ and Zeruah "fulfils the role of a (male) head of her section of the family."⁷ In these instances, the literary context makes sure that we are dealing with women. Other passages may refer to women as clan chiefs or "sons" without making it explicit.⁸ Of course, this practice does not lead to unambiguous data. Additional women might be listed 'undercover' and only surface in the reading process. Others might become male again.⁹

³ Shelomith is male in 26:25 and female in 3:19; Abijah is male in 13:21 and female in 2:24.

⁴ Ulrich Hübner, 'Oholibamah (Person)', *ABD* V, p. 10.

⁵ Martin Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928), pp. 158-159.

⁶ See Antje Labahn and Ehad Ben Zvi, 'Observations on Women in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9', *Biblica* 84 (2003), pp. 457-478 (465-466).

⁷ Labahn and Ben Zvi, 'Observations on Women', p. 473.

⁸ For example, 1 Chron. 4:17 lists a certain Miriam among the "sons" of Bithiah daughter of Pharaoh.

⁹ Examples that go further than my own survey of female figures in the text are Japhet, who suggests that 1 Chron. 2:49 might list Shaaph as another concubine of Caleb due to the related feminine verb form, see Sarah Japhet, *I&II Chronicles: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1993), p. 87; and Curtis, who discusses whether Achlai, the "son" of Sheshan should be understood as a female name (2:31), because 2:34 states that Sheshan had no sons but only daughters, see Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC, 11; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1952), p. 82.

Next to the identification of female names, female-gendered passages are characterized by female verb forms and female relational terms. An excellent overview in this respect has been provided by Antje Labahn and Ehud Ben Zvi. Labahn and Ben Zvi describe their article as “preliminary, basic observations” about the references to women in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9.¹⁰ In fact, however, they present not only a thorough, but to date also the only comprehensive survey that encompasses a short analysis of each of the more than fifty passages under consideration. Labahn and Ben Zvi organize their survey through categorization qua role models and distinguish between traditional family and lineage roles, such as mother–wife, mother–divorcee, and the identity as daughter or sister, and roles that are usually attributed to mature males, for example, women as heads of the family and women building cities. They argue that women in 1 Chronicles 1–9 are construed as fulfilling a variety of roles in society, and conclude that even though the text “reflects a patriarchal point of view, it contains references that indicated to the early readers of the book that ideologically-construed gender expectations may and have been transgressed in the past and with good results.”¹¹

Labahn and Ben Zvi’s article is strong in showing the abundance and complexity of the references to women in 1 Chronicles 1–9. However, it requires further elaboration concerning an assessment of the findings. In my view, Labahn and Ben Zvi suggest a clearer patriarchal point of view than the texts actually advance. As a consequence, their survey has the tendency to domesticate the subversive potential of the female-gendered passages by means of re-inscribing an unquestioned patriarchal perspective to the text on the one hand, and defining text-inherent interferences with this perspective as exceptional transgressions only. Still, this does not undo that Labahn and Ben Zvi laid an important foundation for any further work on women in 1 Chronicles 1–9.

For the purpose of contextualizing the gendered fragments of 1 Chronicles 1–9 with their literary and sociohistorical contexts, as well as to delineate the main exegetical debates, I will not (again) itemize categories of names, role models, verbal forms, or intertexts. Instead, I will discuss key issues such as eponymous names of wives or female involvement in formulaic language in relation to the introductory issues the chapter addresses.

To sketch some main threads: Discussing the placement of the composition at the beginning of a retold story will take account of the absence of many biblical women in 1 Chronicles 1–9. Locating Chronicles in the late Persian period province Yehud, with the predominant discourses on exile and return as well as on mixed marriages, will comprise the occurrence and function of foreign wives and of wives with eponymous names, as well as the issue of female inheritance. And conceptualizing the heterogeneous yet conceptually coherent genealogy composition as an archive will include an analysis of formations and formulaic language as means to label, structure, and frame archival contents and the involvement of female-gendered passages into this process.

Part of contextualizing the gendered fragments with the exegetical debate is to discuss the (few) studies that approach 1 Chronicles 1–9 from an explicit gender perspective. At the end of the chapter stands an assessment of these studies and the conclusions I draw for the subsequent close reading.

¹⁰ Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, p. 457.

¹¹ Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, p. 457.

3.2 Genealogy Composition at the Beginning of a Retold Story

Chronicles' Creative Engagement with the Literary Tradition

1 Chronicles 1–9 stands at the beginning of a retold story: the book of Chronicles recounts the history of Israel's monarchy, a well-known story that has already been narrated in the Books of Samuel and Kings.¹² In doing so, Chronicles does not merely copy the earlier account, but in “creative literary involvement”¹³ and as “an integral part of a larger pattern of interpreting and applying older texts to a new context and literary setting,”¹⁴ reworks and recontextualizes passages toward adding own perspectives and settling distinct priorities. Interplaying intertextual references to older (authoritative) texts and critical subject matters of its own time allow the text to establish its own ideological agenda.¹⁵ In the process of telling anew, Chronicles appears as a voice that is highly knowledgeable in reading, assessing, and relating to each other authoritative books such as Samuel–Kings, Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy and Jeremiah.¹⁶

In contrast to the narrative parts of Chronicles, the initial genealogy composition has no predecessor in Samuel–Kings.¹⁷ Instead, the genealogies engages biblical intertexts, supposed extra-biblical sources, and own literary creation into a genuine composition.¹⁸

¹² After the genealogies in 1 Chron. 1–9, the book recounts the history of Israel under David and Salomon (1 Chron. 10–2 Chron. 9) and the history of the kingdom of Judah from the separation of the northern tribes (2 Chron. 10–36). Chronicles ends with the Cyrus edict that consented to the return of groups of deportees to Judah, and to rebuilding Jerusalem and the Second Temple (2 Chron. 36:22–23).

¹³ Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), p. 405.

¹⁴ Gary N. Knoppers, ‘Comments’, in *Chronicles and the Chronicler: A Response to I. Kalimi, An Ancient Israelite Historian: Studies in the Chronicler, His Time, Place and Writing* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers; *JHS* 6.2 (2006)), pp. 26-35 (28). See also Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Israelite History in Chronicles*, pp. 407-408.

¹⁵ See for example Yairah Amit, ‘Araunah’s Threshing-floor: A Lesson in Shaping Historical Memory’, in *Performing Memory in Biblical Narrative and Beyond* (eds. Athalya Brenner and Frank H. Polak; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), pp. 13-23.

¹⁶ Ehud Ben Zvi, ‘The Book of Chronicles: Another Look’, *SR* 31 (2002), pp. 261-281 (269). Chronicles strongly refers to Samuel–Kings but also provides own materials. Possible sources for these materials are separate sources, oral traditions, an expanded canonical form of Samuel–Kings, and “creative imagination of the Chronicler.” Brevard Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), pp. 645-646. William Johnstone suggests a common source for Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, William Johnstone, *Chronicles and Exodus: An Analogy and Its Applications* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

¹⁷ In rabbinical tradition, the exceptional genealogy composition earned the book the designation as “the book of genealogies” alongside the common Hebrew name “the events/words of the day.” Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 1.

¹⁸ Potential biblical sources for 1 Chron. 1–9 are genealogies (and narratives) from Genesis and Numbers, as well as from Exodus, Joshua, Samuel–Kings, Ezra–Nehemiah, and Ruth. Chronicles’ genealogies have a greater affinity to the Genesis materials than to the contemporary materials of Ezra–Nehemiah. For example, genealogies in Chronicles and Genesis are typically segmented and advance the idea of “all Israel,” while Ezra–Nehemiah provides linear lineages and restricts Israel to Judah, Levi, and Benjamin. Tamara C. Eskenazi, *In an Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra–Nehemiah* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), pp. 24-25. The importance of Numbers as source for 1 Chron. 1–9 has been rightly highlighted by Martin Noth. Basically, Noth understands Num 26 as

The genealogies anchor the subsequent narrative in the broader history of Israel and prepare some of its key themes. Without explicitly discussing the details of the history of Israel, the genealogies run along many of its key moments. For example, they stretch back to creation and ancestral time (1:1–2:2). They refer to the leading figures of the Exodus and the time in the wilderness (5:29). They enfold the history of the twelve tribes in the land (2:3–8:40). They reflect on the emergence of monarchy and cult (3:1–23 and 5:27–6:38). And they lead the lineages through exile and return (9:2–34). By doing so, the genealogy composition situates the subsequent story of the monarchy in a broader historical frame and anchors it “in the social organization and composition of Israel.”¹⁹ Moreover, 1 Chronicles 1–9 introduces basic concerns of the subsequent narrative, most importantly the priority of Judah, the Davidic monarchy and Jerusalem,²⁰ as well as the emphasis on “all Israel.”²¹ In conclusion, I assume that the genealogies belong to the book of Chronicles from the beginning.²² They rework, assess and recontextualize biblical intertexts as skillfully as Chronicles’ narrative sections do, and engage both literary and oral traditions in a new systematic genealogy composition.²³ For example, the genealogy of the nations (1:1–2:2) reworks and condenses large parts of the Genesis genealogies in a way that highlights the continuous succession from Adam to Israel and establishes the ancestral period as an authoritative starting point for the subsequent lineages.²⁴

The Absence of Biblical Women in 1 Chronicles 1–9

Analyzing how the genealogies refer to earlier texts is practicable and reasonable. Things become more difficult when it comes to the lack of references. Reading 1 Chronicles 1–9 for its references to women, it is striking that many female figures known to the informed reader from the Pentateuch and beyond are missing. For example, Sarah and the other

blueprint for 1 Chron. 1–9. Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien 1: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (SKG.G, 18,2; Halle: Niemeyer, 2nd edn, 1943; repr. 1957), pp. 116–122.

¹⁹ Ben Zvi, ‘Another Look’, p. 270.

²⁰ Ben Zvi, ‘Another Look’, p. 272; Manfred Oeming, *Das wahre Israel: Die „genealogische Vorhalle“ 1 Chronik 1–9* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), pp. 115–116.

The term ‘Genealogische Vorhalle’ has been first used by Rothstein/Hänel, was then taken up by Rudolph, and has been eventually coined as a standard description of 1 Chronicles 1–9 by Oeming. J. Wilhelm Rothstein and Johannes Hänel, *Das erste Buch der Chronik übersetzt und erklärt* (KAT, 18,2; Leipzig: Deichert, 1927), p. 3; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT, 21; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1955), p. 6.

²¹ Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ, 9; Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1997), pp. 267–351, in particular 278–285.

²² So also Willi, who describes 1 Chron. 1–9 (10) as sum, basis, and fundament of the book of Chronicles (Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, p. 9); as well as Williamson, H.G.M., *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB, 20; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), p. 39; and Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, pp. 8–9.

²³ Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, p. 72. Accordingly, Willi suggest explaining contradictions in the composition by the attitude of the author toward the tradition rather than by differences between redactor and sources. Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, p. 72.

²⁴ In general, lineages are traced from their eponymous ancestor thereby referring to and putting emphasis on the ancestral period, Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 12; New York: Doubleday, 2003), p. 261. For a general introduction into the role of scribes in the transmission of biblical literature see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 23–43.

Genesis matriarchs are passed over, just as the women of the priestly lineages, Jochebed, Elisheba, and the daughter of Putiel (Ex. 6:14–25). It is more than likely that the author(s) of Chronicles knew a version of Genesis that included the matriarchs. Here, their “creative literary involvement” with the literary tradition meant to actively leave out this material.²⁵ Passing over many women of the ancestral period is especially striking because the reference to the ancestral period plays an important role in 1 Chronicles 1–9. Hence, reflecting on absence and silence is an important part of analyzing how Chronicles’ genealogies interplay familiar texts and critical subject matters of its own time toward its own account of Israel’s history and identity. Moreover, the few references to female figures from the Pentateuch need to be looked at with special attention. This concerns the references to Keturah (1:32–34), to Bath-shua and Tamar (2:3–4), to Achsah (2:49), Miriam (5:29), Bilhah (7:13), and to the daughters of Zelophehad (7:15).

Instead of the “great women” of the tradition, the genealogies include several minor characters from the Pentateuch, for example Abraham’s secondary wife Keturah (1:32–33), as well as a significant number of women from Samuel–Kings, for example Zeruah and Abigail (2:16–17), Tamar (3:9), Bathsheba (3:5), Ahinoam the Jezreelite and Abigail the Carmelite (3:1).²⁶ In addition, the text features a large number of women that are otherwise unknown in biblical literature: 1 Chronicles 1–9 lists 29 women and three female groups that are distinct to this genealogy composition.

In a short article from 2011, Willemien van Wieringen discusses the question why some women were included while others were left out, especially in view of the wives of Abraham and of David. Van Wieringen argues that those women were included who played “productive roles in the continuation of their lineages.” In the genealogical context, having (many) children rather than profession, social status, religious status, or intertexts would have been relevant.²⁷ This would have been supported by the genre’s interest in a “purely ‘historical’ account” of the past, rather than in narratives.²⁸ Van Wieringen concludes that women such as Sarah and Hagar, who feature in narrative intertexts but do not have many children, were of little relevance for the text, while Abraham’s secondary wife Keturah, a mother of several descendants, indeed was in the center of attention.²⁹

In my view, Van Wieringen unnecessarily narrows down the functions of gendered references in 1 Chronicles 1–9 rather than meeting their complexity. She does so by means of highlighting the role of mothers to a point, which is not justified by the complexity of the fragments in general and the multilayered descriptions of wives and mothers in particular. Moreover, women of the tradition who indeed have many children, such as Leah, are likewise left out. The narrowness of her interpretation continues in her understanding of

²⁵ In the case of books, whose date of origin and canonization is less firm, for example in the case of the book of Ruth, the author(s) of Chronicles might not have known the text.

²⁶ Pancratius C. Beentjes, *1 Kronieken* (Verklaring van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel; Kampen: Kook, 2002), p. 24. Many but by no means all women from Samuel–Kings are listed. For example, Van Wieringen points to the absence of Saul’s wife Michal, Willemien van Wieringen, ‘Why Some Women Were Included in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9’, in *Rewriting Biblical History: Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honour of Pancratius C. Beentjes* (eds. Jeremy Corley and Harm van Grol; DCLSt, 7; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 291–300 (299).

²⁷ Van Wieringen, ‘Why Some Women Were Included’, p. 299.

²⁸ Van Wieringen, ‘Why Some Women Were Included’, p. 296.

²⁹ Van Wieringen, ‘Why Some Women Were Included’, p. 296.

genealogies as mainly historical account, thereby sidestepping the ideological and performative character of the genealogies.

Against Van Wieringen's analysis, my own focus is on the function of the intertextual references to women, which 1 Chronicles 1–9 indeed includes, as well as on the question what functions women fulfill in the genealogies that can be better, or even only achieved by women who have no pre- or afterlife in biblical literature. Important functions in this respect are the functions of wives to identify, distribute, and other descendants, as well as to explicitly negotiate geopolitical claims as I will demonstrate in Chapter 6.³⁰

The Place of 1 Chronicles 1–9 at the End of the Hebrew Bible Canon

The character of Chronicles as a rewritten story is reflected in its placement within the last part of the Hebrew canon, the Writings.³¹ The location within the Writings points to yet another alternative perspective on the text. In her analysis of intertextual connections between the books of Ruth, Esther, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes on the one hand, and the book of Genesis on the other, Klara Butting has proposed that the Writings comprise a selection of books that, often from a rather late date of composition, spin webs of intertextual references into the first and second sections of the Hebrew canon, Torah and Prophets, and develop meaning in close reference to earlier authoritative literature.³² Butting concludes that the tripartite structure of the Hebrew Bible enables a pattern of (critical) inner-biblical communication. In this pattern, texts from the canonical fringe take up and thereby interfere with main lines of biblical traditions, for example concerning power and gender.³³

Butting's convincing approach draws attention to the genealogical frame of the Hebrew Bible. With Genesis at the beginning and Chronicles at the end, the Hebrew Bible is framed by two books in which genealogies stand central. This frame highlights the significance of the elaborate genealogy composition at the beginning of Chronicles, specifically the relevance of the genre of genealogies for the formation and utterance of memory and identities. In addition, Butting's approach emphasizes both directions in which 1 Chronicles 1–9, as small but powerful element of the Writings, operates. On the one hand, the composition is in dialogue with earlier texts by means of reworking their lineages and narratives in the compacted form of genealogies. On the other hand, the composition responds to actual sociopolitical and religious discourses and related power claims of its sociohistorical context, a process that is linked to the intertextual dialogue but does not end with it.

An example of a dialogue between 1 Chronicles 1–9 on the one hand and Torah and Prophets on the other are the intertextual references to Genesis 38, 1 Samuel 11, and 1 Samuel 13 in the genealogies of Judah. The Chronicles passages refer to Tamar and Bathshua in a short embedded narrative (2:3–4), and list Tamar and Bathsheba, who is here also

³⁰ Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192 (153-170).

³¹ Within the Writings, Chronicles had a somehow fluid position until the book finally settled at the end of the section, where it concludes the Hebrew Canon (Steins, *Die Chronik als kanonisches Abschlußphänomen: Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie von 1/2 Chronik* (BBB, 93; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1995), p. 80). Septuagint and Vulgate locate Chronicles among the historical books after Kings, a tradition that has been adopted in Christian canons (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 2).

³² Klara Butting, *Die Buchstaben werden sich noch wundern: Innerbiblische Kritik als Wegweisung feministischer Hermeneutik* (Wittingen: Erev Rav, 2nd edn, 1998).

³³ Butting, *Buchstaben*, pp. 13 and 163.

called Bath-shua, as members of the Davidic house (3:5–9). My analysis of the latter references in Chapter 6 proposes that the process of composing already known lineages and related narratives anew allows the genealogies to relate the three intertexts to each other and to comment on them in view of the respective other.³⁴

3.3 The Late Persian Period Context

The Discourse on Exile and Return

I have suggested understanding genealogies as performances of memory and identity that involve negotiations of contested knowledge and power. Such contests are necessarily linked to specific sociohistorical contexts and their ideological, political, and religious discourses. Hence, it is necessary to ask how central discourses of the time of Chronicles may have impacted and gendered 1 Chronicles 1–9 in general and its gendered fragments in particular, as well as how the genealogies themselves may have functioned as active agents in these discourses. In line with Rüdiger Lux, I understand genealogies as a genre that is accessible for a heterogeneous audience that can access the contents of a genealogy composition on different levels of information and complexity. Hence, even though the composers of the genealogies probably are to be located in the scribal context of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, they did not produce “insider-literature.”³⁵ On the contrary, the genealogy genre appears “as an open form of speech, which, due to its high level of formalization, is able to integrate an audience that is pluralistic in terms of cultural and social difference, as well as concerning its level of education.”³⁶ This formal capacity of the genealogy genre to integrate a pluralistic audience qualifies 1 Chronicles 1–9 to function as active agent in the discourses at the time in the first place.

³⁴ See Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192 (182-184).

³⁵ Rüdiger Lux, ‘Die Genealogie als Strukturprinzip des Pluralismus im Alten Testament’, in *Pluralismus und Identität* (ed. J. Mehlhausen; VWGT, 8; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), pp. 242-258 (247-249).

For the identification of the composers of the genealogies as scribes of the Jerusalem elite see Oeming, *Das Wahre Israel*, pp. 206; and Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, pp. 162-164. Against Yigal Levin, who claims that the *Sitz im Leben* of 1 Chronicles 1–9 would be the “tribal, village society” at the time, rather than the urban Jerusalem elite. Yigal Levin, ‘Who was the Chronicler’s Audience?: A Hint from His Genealogies’, in *JBL* 122.2 (2003), pp. 229-245 (245). See also Isaac Kalimi for a discussion whether the author(s) of Chronicles should be identified as Midrashist, exegete, theologian, or historian—whereas Kalimi opts for the latter. In my view, the important result of Kalimi’s discussion is that the author has to be seen as a “creative artist” with “sophisticated writing methods at his disposal,” howsoever he is labeled. I use the terms ‘scribe’ or ‘scribal context’ as open reference to a context in which literature was perceived, discussed, and produced in such a creative and knowledgeable atmosphere. Kalimi, Isaac, ‘Was the Chronicler a Historian?’, in *The Chronicler as Historian* (eds. M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund and Steven L. McKenzie; JSOTSup, 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 73-89.

³⁶ “Aufgrund der bisherigen Überlegungen stellt sich die die zunächst so streng geschlossen wirkende Genealogie als eine offene Sprachform dar, die durch ihren hohen Formalisierungsgrad dazu in der Lage ist, eine kulturell, sozial und in ihrem Bildungsstand pluralistische Adressatenschaft zu integrieren.” My translation. Lux, ‘Die Genealogie als Strukturprinzip des Pluralismus’, p. 248-249.

Chronicles is to be situated in the first half of the Second Temple period, probably in the late Persian period in the Persian province Yehud.³⁷ At the time, the Levant belonged to the Trans-Euphrates satrapy, with governors in the provinces of Yehud and Samaria. In the provinces, the elders as well as priests and temple administrators, were two factors with significant influence.³⁸ While the political framework was set, the question which groups claimed political and religious offices and authority as well as related land claims was subject to continuous contest. Large parts of the population, who had remained in the territory of Judah in spite of deportations and the destruction of Jerusalem, faced groups of returnees from Babylonia who were now formative for the Jerusalem elite. At the same time, Samaria formed a parallel political and religious center. Last but not least, emigrants and deportees who remained in Babylonia or Egypt developed great diasporic centers.³⁹ Contests between these groups concerned the constitution of Israel and its religious, political and territorial identities. For these concerns, the discourse on exile, return, and restoration was central.

In Bible studies, the notion of ‘the exile’ serves as an umbrella term for a group of events at the beginning of the sixth century BCE that included the Babylonian siege warfare against Judah and the destruction of state and temple, as well as deportations to and exile in Babylonia of a part of the population of Judah. As I have explained in Chapter 1, I refer to these events when I discuss 1 Chronicles 1–9 as a genealogy performance in response to a fractured and traumatic past.⁴⁰ The notion of the exile refers to historical events on the one hand, but also to a contemporaneous discourse about these events on the other.⁴¹ At this

³⁷ For the date, I follow Knoppers and Japhet. Knoppers sets a time frame from late fifth to mid-third century BCE. Within this frame he argues for a rather late date. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, pp. 101–117. Japhet likewise argues for a late date at the end of Persian/beginning of Hellenistic period, Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 28. A relatively early date has been proposed by Bob Becking, who dates the book of Chronicles in the last decade of the fifth century, see Bob Becking, ‘Zedekiah, Josephus and the Dating of Chronicles’, *SJOT* 25.2 (2011), pp. 217–233 (231). Relatively late dates have been assumed by Konrad Schmid, who dates Chronicles to the third century BCE, see Konrad Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), pp. 187–190; and by Israel Finkelstein, who dates Chronicles to period of the Hasmonean rule in the second half of the second century BCE. Israel Finkelstein, ‘The Historical Reality behind the Genealogical Lists in 1 Chronicles’, in *JBL* 131.1 (2012), pp. 65–83 (83). For an introduction to the historical context of the Persian period see Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Israel in der Perserzeit: 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (BE, 8; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005).

³⁸ Rainer Kessler, *Sozialgeschichte des alten Israel: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), pp. 139–140.

³⁹ Kessler, *Sozialgeschichte*, p. 139; For competing sociopolitical groups in the Persian period see also Lester L. Grabbe, ‘Introduction’, in *Leading Captivity Captive: ‘The Exile’ as History and Ideology* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 11–19 (14); and Philip Davies, ‘Exile? What Exile? Whose Exile?’, in *Leading Captivity Captive: ‘The Exile’ as History and Ideology* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 128–138 (135).

⁴⁰ Chapter 1: *Conceptualizing Gendered Genealogies as Cultural Recall in the Present*, pp. 29–47 (39–43).

⁴¹ Historical events and contemporaneous biblical discourses may differ. For example, the return of exiles from Babylon is usually depicted as a uniform mass-return, whereas it probably took place in waves that lasted for over a century. See Bob Becking, ‘In Babylon: The Exile in Historical (Re)construction’, in *From Babylon to Eternity: The Exile Remembered and Constructed in Text and*

point of my argument, my focus is on the notion of exile and return as a discourse at the time, moreover as a discourse of a highly ideological character. The ideological character of the discourse arises from the idea that a normative pre-exilic Israel could be reconstructed, and that a legitimate inheritance of this normative Israel could serve as a basis for actual religious, political, territorial, and economical claims and related conceptions of identity.

In concrete terms, groups that identified as returnees from Babylonian exile claimed to be the legitimate successors of the monarchic pre-exilic Israel and consequently gave ideological priority to the notion of exile and return. The book of Chronicles contributes to this effort. For example, it emphasizes the exile as a watershed by means of ending its history with the prospect of the return (rather than with an account of the historical situation in which the text was probably written).

The factual impact of exile and return on the majority of Jewish communities probably stood in sharp contrast to this ideological priority. Instead, it reflects successful claims to constitute authoritative memory and identity on behalf of particular groups within Judah. As Philip Davies puts it,

‘Exile’ is not an episode in the ‘history of Israel’; it is an ideological claim on behalf of a certain population element in the province of Judah during the Persian period. ... This group has successfully achieved its claim. They produced literature that has been canonized in Christianity and Judaism and have thus gained a historical authority they do not deserve in the first place. ... The uniqueness of the event is not based on the historical events, but on the successful claim of a group to be exiles and their self-definition as continuation of monarchic Judah (and Israel).⁴²

Highlighting the ideological character of the discourse on exile and return is especially important for understanding the genealogy composition in 1 Chronicles 1–9. Key issues of the discourse concerned the role of the Davidic dynasty and the status of Jerusalem, priestly traditions and cult, as well as the role of extended family and tribes, thus issues that play a central role in 1 Chronicles 1–9, where they are linked to notions of inheritance, continuity, and identity.⁴³ In this context, the book of Chronicles and its genealogies may be understood as an important agent in negotiating identity conceptions and religious-political claims within the first half of the Second Temple period. Jonathan Dyck uses the convincing picture of Chronicles as an important “window” to its time, which may be understood “not as an opening on a reality lying beyond, but as an element which makes up that reality.”⁴⁴ Constructing Chronicles as such an agent or window acknowledges that its account of pre-exilic Israel is in dialogue with other texts/voices of the time. Moreover, the genealogies are especially qualified to negotiate ideological identity claims that were then central. As a form of memory, genealogies recall the roots of a community; they address intergenerational transfers of traditions, knowledge and subjectivity. Genealogies map continuity and aim at negotiations of territorial, cultural, and religious claims in the present

Tradition (eds. Bob Becking, Alex Cannegieter, Wilfred van de Poll and Anne-Mareike Wetter; London: Equinox, 2009), pp. 4-33 (30-31).

⁴² Davies, ‘Exile? What Exile? Whose Exile?’, pp. 136-137.

⁴³ See Lester Grabbe for a discussion of the link between claims of continuity and notions of ethnicity, Lester L. Grabbe, ‘Reflections on the Discussion’, in *Leading Captivity Captive: ‘The Exile’ as History and Ideology* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 146-156 (148).

⁴⁴ Jonathan E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), p. 3.

and future. They are thus an apt means to constitute a normative past; legitimate authority claims that base on continuity and inheritance; and conceptualize collective identity with a focus on defining the self and the other, insiders and outsiders. It is thus more than consequent that Chronicles so heavily employs the genre of genealogies and uses it in order to make a strong initial statement on the issues indicated above before diving into the subsequent history of the monarchy.

1 Chronicles 1–9 in the Discourse on Mixed Marriages

A second central discourse at the time is the discourse on mixed marriages, which likewise concerns authoritative claims on identity. 1 Chronicles 1–9 does not address the issue as directly as for example Ezra–Nehemiah does in its straightforward attack on mixed marriages and on foreign women and children (Ezra 9–10 and Nehemiah 13).⁴⁵ However, the discourse forms an important background to the inclusion of numerous wives, as well as to the frequent ethnic and territorial identifications of women, for example by means of eponymous names. Moreover, it concerns the issues of the continuation of the jeopardized lineage, and of female inheritance, which in 1 Chronicles 1–9 is linked to the role of daughters.

Eponymous Names and Foreign Wives/Mothers of Sons

The most basic means to identify the women in 1 Chronicles 1–9 is by their names. At the same time, names are a major source for identifying the ethnic and territorial descent of women, and especially wives. The impact of the generally intelligible names in the Hebrew Bible is debated. On the one hand, names are understood as the essence of the name bearer and her identity.⁴⁶ On the other hand, it is claimed that one can only speak of a general “sensitivity to the *appropriateness* of the names of persons” while “in many cases the relation between the name and specific features of the person named may have been a somewhat casual, partial and accidental one.”⁴⁷ In my view, one must differentiate between the actual naming of newborn children, and the naming of a character of a story, which may relate to historical persons but has a focus on the presence of the character in the narrative. In the latter case, names may indeed give additional information about the character; serve as a means to set the tone of a narrative; and trigger association processes.

The role of names in genealogies is particularly delicate since the lists largely lack narrative context in which the meaning of a name could resonate. For example, one of the women in the genealogies of Manasseh bears the name Hammolecheth, which means ‘she who reigns’ (7:18).⁴⁸ On first sight, the name is extremely interesting and may convey that

⁴⁵ For the discussion of mixed marriages in Ezra–Nehemiah see Katherine Southwood, *Ethnicity and the Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9–10: An Anthropological Approach* (Oxford Theological Monograph Series; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Bob Becking, *Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Construction of Early Jewish Identity* (FAT, 80; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 58-73.

⁴⁶ So for example Karla Bohmbach. Bohmbach differentiates between names that express the identity of a person, eponymous names that “identify a real or created person for whom a place, clan, or tribal group is named,” names that function as a symbol for the whole people, e.g. the names of the children of Hosea and Gomer (Hos. 1:4–9); and names that are linked to a certain person and are used in order to activate this link, e.g. the common reuse of Mary in reference to the prophetess Miriam. Karla G. Bohmbach, ‘Names and Naming in the Biblical World’, in *WiS*, pp. 33-40 (36).

⁴⁷ James Barr, ‘The Symbolism of Names in the Old Testament’, *BJRL* 52 (1969/70), pp. 11-29 (21), emphasis in original.

⁴⁸ Julia Myers O’Brian, ‘Hammolecheth’, *WiS*, p. 89.

the text includes a woman who indeed reigned. But then, the text in its typical genealogical scarcity deprives the reader of this character's story. Still, the text provides clues: Hammolecheth presides over a lineage of descendants. She is introduced as sister rather than as wife, the father of her children not being mentioned. The textual evidence is too small to prove that the passage recalls a tradition of a sister in Manasseh who reigned in one way or the other. What can be said is that the name Hammolecheth can serve as a starting point for the observation that the text accumulates evidence that could be interpreted in this way; no more, but also not less.

One reaches firmer ground when it comes to the large group of eponymous names, especially in the genealogies of Judah. Eponymous names are names that "identify a real or created person for whom a place, clan, or tribal group is named."⁴⁹ In general, boundaries between personal names, place names, and ethnic names in 1 Chronicles 1–9 are fluid.⁵⁰ Hence, eponyms, such as Maacah (2:48), Bilhah (7:13), or Sheerah (7:24) affect ethnic and territorial identities and imply geopolitical claims. Especially wives whose names simultaneously serve as place names or ethnic names have important functions in negotiating identity and alterity in segmentation processes. For example, the name of Caleb's secondary wife Maacah probably represents a link between the Calebites and Maacah, the territory and people in the northern Transjordan, which hold the same name (2:48).⁵¹

The function female eponymous names have in negotiating ethnic and territorial identities is also given for wives, who are listed with additional information about their ethnic and/or territorial provenance.⁵² For example, the nameless Aramean secondary wife of Manasseh (7:14) links the genealogy of Manasseh to Aram (and attributes it with a secondary place due to the qualification of the mother as secondary wife). In turn, the Aramean presence in the lineage is continued and supported by additional women of the lineage, who bear Aramean names, e.g. Maacah.⁵³

On a more general scale, wives and secondary wives form the largest group of women in 1 Chronicles 1–9.⁵⁴ Most (secondary) wives are mothers of sons (and in few cases also of daughters).⁵⁵ Descriptions of women as wives or secondary wives are both

⁴⁹ Bohmbach, 'Names and Naming', p. 36.

⁵⁰ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, p. 307.

⁵¹ D.G. Schley, 'Maacah (Place)', *ABD* IV, p. 430.

⁵² For example the Canaanite woman Bath-shua (2:3), Ahinoam the Jezreelite and Abigail the Carmelite (3:1), and the Aramean secondary wife of Manasseh (7:14).

⁵³ Sara Japhet, 'Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles', *JBL* 98.2 (1979), pp. 205-218 (216).

⁵⁴ 1 Chronicles 1–9 lists 19 women and one female group as wives (אשה). Four women and one female group are listed as secondary wives (פילגש). Four women are described as being married by means of verb forms of the roots לָקַח (married/took as wife) or בָּוֹא (came to/had intercourse with).

⁵⁵ Maacah, the wife of Jeiel the father of Gibeon is an example of a women who is listed as wife but does not have children (8:29//9:35). Examples of women who have daughters are Matred, mother of Mehetabel (1:50), and Hammolecheth, mother of Mahlah (7:18). In addition to the (secondary) wives who have children, four women who have children are listed as sisters (2:16–17; 4:19; 7:18). In most cases, having children is indicated by verb forms of the root יָלַד qal (to give birth). In seven cases women are identified as heads of a segment of descendants by means of the opening or closing formulas (2:16–17; 2:18; 4:5–7; 4:18 MT; 4:19). Only two women are directly identified as mothers (מֵאָה).

relational and functional in character.⁵⁶ For example, the description of (secondary) wife is relational inasmuch as it defines a woman in relation to her husband and his lineage, as well as, often, in relation to her descendants. However, the description also indicates functions of the (secondary) wives in the genealogy composition. On the one hand, they have the function to procreate. Here, the high number of wives and mothers is in line with the patrilinear reproduction matrix of the genealogies. On the other hand, (secondary) wives have the function to distribute and qualify segments. In this context, mothers play an important role for identifying t descendants.

It is important to note that the explicit listing of wives and mothers, many of them related to ethnic and territorial reference points, is only characteristic for particular parts of 1 Chronicles 1–9, especially for the genealogies of Judah (and to a lesser extent for Manasseh). Other sections of the genealogies do without reference to wives and mothers, for example the genealogies of Reuben, Gad, and Levi. In the genealogies of Judah and the house of David, exogamous marriages with Canaanites, Ishmaelites, Arameans, Egyptians, and Moabites among others are referred to.⁵⁷ This presence of foreign wives (and husbands⁵⁸) is in line with a large number of non-Israelite individuals and groups, who are associated with and incorporated into Judah.⁵⁹ In conclusion, Chronicles advances a “multilayered depiction of Judah that underscores its ethnic and social diversity.”⁶⁰

In his discussion of the ethnic and social complexity of Judah, Knoppers brings the discussion back to the issue of mixed marriages. In a final comparison between the genealogies of Judah and Ezra–Nehemiah, he concludes that while “in Ezra (9:10–15) the people’s fragile existence in the lands is threatened by the phenomenon of mixed marriages, in Chronicles the phenomenon of mixed marriages is one means by which Judah expands and develops within the land.”⁶¹ I agree with Knoppers that 1 Chronicles 1–9 conceptualizes Judah as ethnically and socially complex and that women, especially (secondary) wives, play an important part in bringing this concept into action. Here, one important function of the gendered references in Judah becomes visible, namely to identify, distribute, and other segments of the genealogies. In my view, however, inclusiveness and complexity are only one side of the coin. The genealogies of Judah evolve around the lineage of the house of David, which constitutes a strong power center. Distributing lineages always takes place in view of this power center, and the concept of inclusiveness and complexity represents the flipside of strong hierarchies and othering. Moreover, instances of opening the patrilinear succession toward agents who bring in ethnic, social, and gendered complexity, for example the embedded narrative on Sheshan’s daughter and the Egyptian slave Jarha (2:34–35), are regularly intertwined with attempts to restrict openness as soon as it is granted, as I show in Chapter 4.⁶² In conclusion, inclusiveness and complexity are indeed important aspects of the genealogical self-conception of Judah.

⁵⁶ See Anna Kiesow, *Löwinnen von Juda: Frauen als Subjekte politischer Macht in der jüdischen Königszeit* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2000), p. 51.

⁵⁷ Gary N. Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah’, *JBL* 120.1 (2001), pp. 15-30 (22).

⁵⁸ 1 Chron. 2:17, 2:34-35.

⁵⁹ Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, pp. 23-27 and 30.

⁶⁰ Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, p. 28.

⁶¹ Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, p. 30.

⁶² Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (98-101).

However, these aspects need to be interpreted as elements that function in the larger discourse on authoritative definitions of Israel past and present, as I will propose in Chapter 6.⁶³

Mixed Marriage in the Context of Female Inheritances

In her analysis of texts from Ezra–Nehemiah and Elephantine in view of the life of Jewish women in the postexilic period, Tamara Eskenazi relates the discourse on mixed marriages to the issue of female inheritance.⁶⁴ In the center of her analysis are references to women in the book of Ezra–Nehemiah, as well as documents that concern women in the archives from the Jewish community in Elephantine.⁶⁵ Eskenazi shows that the documents from Elephantine sketch legal and social roles for women that are not usually ascribed to biblical or postexilic communities. Among them are activities such as divorcing husbands, buying and selling, and especially important here, the possibility of inheriting as a daughter even if there are sons available.⁶⁶ Eskenazi argues for continuity between the situation in Elephantine and the Persian province Yehud, which were both under Mesopotamian influence and Persian rule. She supports this argument with her reading of Ezra–Nehemiah. Here, she suggests understanding Ezra–Nehemiah’s position against mixed marriages as concern about the loss of land through inheritance, a concern that makes most sense if women were in fact entitled to inherit as it was the case in Elephantine.⁶⁷ As backdrop for this claim, Eskenazi parallels the postexilic period with the pre-monarchic one. In reference to Carol Meyers’ sociohistorical research on the pre-monarchic period, which equates a strong position of the family with more influential positions for women,⁶⁸ Eskenazi argues that the pioneer conditions of the return, as well as the resurgence of the household as the fundamental socio-economic and political unit in the postexilic era “likewise lead to a greater power for women than was available during the monarchy.”⁶⁹

In my view, the link between the polemic against mixed marriage and the issue of female inheritance is plausible and suggests a look at the daughters and the issue of female

⁶³ Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192 (186-192).

⁶⁴ Tamara C. Eskenazi, ‘Out from the Shadows: Biblical Women in the Post-Exilic Era’, in *A Feminist Companion to Samuel and Kings* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 252-271).

⁶⁵ Bob Becking has challenged the characterization of the community at Elephantine as Jewish and suggested the alternative term Yehudi. His argument is that the materials under consideration stem from the fifth century BCE, thus from a period that is characterized by a transition from Yahwism to Judaism, and antedates the existence of Jewish communities, which he would only term as such from the Hellenistic period onwards. Hence, he argues that labeling the Elephantine community as Jewish would be an anachronism. Becking, *Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Construction of Early Jewish Identity*, pp. 123 and 129. In contrast to Becking, Eskenazi describes the fifth and fourth century BCE communities in both Elephantine and Yehud as Jewish communities. As this is consistent and in line with her emphasis on the continuity between the two contexts, while presenting her argument, I stick to her vocabulary, and use the term Jewish community.

⁶⁶ Eskenazi, ‘Out from the Shadows’, p. 259.

⁶⁷ Eskenazi, ‘Out from the Shadows’, p. 263.

⁶⁸ Carol Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 173-181, especially 174.

⁶⁹ Eskenazi, ‘Out from the Shadows’, pp. 260-261.

inheritance in 1 Chronicles 1–9. In the genealogies, the second most frequent characterization of women is the characterization as daughter (בת).⁷⁰

In many cases, daughters are introduced in relation to their fathers as well as to the place and ethnicity he is linked to; for example, 2:21 lists the nameless daughter of Machir, father of Gilead. In her research on Jewish names in the Second Temple period, Rachel Hachlili shows that the full name of a person, male or female, was composed of a personal name (such as Mariame or Shlamzion) and a patronymic one, i.e. the indication of the father for men and the indication of the father, husband, or son for women.⁷¹ Hachlili emphasizes that the full name was the official and formal name of a person that was commonly used in burial inscriptions⁷² as well as on legal documents, specifically on storage jars.⁷³ Against this background, the use of the patronymic for the daughters under consideration exposes a patriarchal structure in which women are defined through a male relative, but likewise attests to the formal status of the woman thusly introduced. The assumption of a formal status of these daughters especially makes sense concerning a diplomatic marriage between David and Maacah, the daughter of king Talmai of Geshur (3:2), as well as for a reference to Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh (4:17), thus to women who had high social positions and likely had goods at their disposal. Whether this included inheritance or not is not an issue the text addresses.

The issue of inheritance is more clearly addressed in a short reference to the daughters of Zelophehad (7:15), as well as in the reference to Caleb's daughter Achsah (2:49). The respective intertexts recount that Zelophehad's daughters successfully claim a share of their father's inheritance (Num. 27:1–11 and 36:1–12). Achsah does not explicitly inherit land, but claims arable land to live on from her father (Judg. 1:11–15 and Josh. 15:15–19). The references indeed link the occurrence of daughters to the issues of female land claims and inheritances. However, the fragmentary character of these references seems to repress the issue more than it is likely to highlight it. In my view, 1 Chronicles 1–9 is not interested in giving a voice to the issue of female inheritance, whether linked to the issue of mixed marriage or not.⁷⁴

Even though Eskenazi's argument on female inheritance practices as sociohistorical backdrop for the polemic against mixed marriages does not especially resonate with 1 Chronicles 1–9, her sociohistorical reconstruction of women's lives in the postexilic period is highly relevant for the genealogies. Eskenazi shows that patriarchal societies at the time were quite complex, and that 'patriarchal' is not to be equated with the

⁷⁰ Women who are listed as daughters are Mehetabel (1:50); Matred (1:50); the nameless daughter of Machir, father of Gilead (2:21); the nameless daughters of Sheshan (2:34); the nameless daughter of Sheshan (2:35); Achsah (2:49); Maacah, daughter of King Talmai of Geshur (3:2); Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh (4:18); six daughters in Simeon (4:27); Zelophehad's daughters (7:15); and Sheerah (7:24).

⁷¹ Rachel Hachlili, 'Hebrew Names, Personal Names, Family Names and Nicknames of Jews in the Second Temple Period', in *Families and Family Relations as Represented in Early Judaism and Early Christianities: Texts and Fictions* (eds. Jan Willem van Henten and Athalya Brenner, Leiden: Deo Publishing, 2000), pp. 83–115 (84–85).

⁷² Hachlili, 'Hebrew Names', p. 84.

⁷³ Hachlili, 'Hebrew Names', p. 86.

⁷⁴ So also Wacker, who rightly emphasizes that the text is more interested in the issue of a possible continuation of the lineage through females, especially daughters, for example in the case of Sheshan's daughter (3:34–35). Wacker, 'Die Bücher der Chronik: Im Vorhof der Frauen', p. 149.

absence of complex sociopolitical realities of women's lives. By doing so, she provides an important counterpoint to approaches that postulate that, from a sociohistorical viewpoint, women did not play a role for the context of 1 Chronicles 1–9.⁷⁵

3.4 Reading 1 Chronicles 1–9 as an Archive

Heterogeneity versus Conceptual Coherence

As a last introductory issue I will address the heterogeneous character of 1 Chronicles 1–9. Heterogeneity is a basic characteristic of this genealogy composition. Heterogeneity concerns its type and origin of materials. For example, the genealogies include linear and segmented lineages, town lists, and short narratives. Materials stem from biblical literature, extra-biblical sources, and own literary engagement.⁷⁶ Heterogeneity concerns length and character of the genealogies of the individual tribes. For example, Judah covers one third of the text while Dan's lineage can only be reconstructed from a fragment in 7:12,⁷⁷ and Levi features foremost linear lineages and includes numerous town lists, while Issachar and Asher process military census lists.⁷⁸ In sum, the heterogeneous character of 1 Chronicles 1–9 comes to the fore in what appears on first sight to be an extremely inconsistent and random entanglement of its lineages and other components. Accordingly, the composition has been often qualified as “garbled, disorderly, corrupt, and incoherent.”⁷⁹ On the level of methodologies, the composition's heterogeneity has led to a focus on source and redaction criticism, and with that, on diachronic readings.⁸⁰

Against this focus, Knoppers has objected that it may expose the heterogeneity of 1 Chronicles 1–9 as such, but it cannot explain why supposed composers and redactors did not work toward a greater consistency of the text.⁸¹ As a consequence, he advocates a reading of 1 Chronicles 1–9 that understands the text as a deliberate composition and recognizes heterogeneity as a central characteristic that has to be made sense of.⁸²

Knoppers' plea for research in the conceptual coherence of the composition has hit a nerve: more recent research on 1 Chronicles 1–9 has indeed focused on tracing a deliberate structure of the composition, which confirms that (genealogical) materials have been assessed, reworked, structured, and supplemented within a complex composition.⁸³

In general, 1 Chronicles 1–9 is divided into three parts: the genealogies from Adam to the sons of Israel (1:1–2:2); the genealogies of the tribes of Israel (2:3–9:2); and the account of the return and the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem with an appendix of the

⁷⁵ So for instance Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, p. 209.

⁷⁶ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, pp. 14-26.

⁷⁷ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, pp. 453-454.

⁷⁸ Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (SNTSMS, 8; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 65.

⁷⁹ Gary N. Knoppers, “Great among His Brothers,” But Who Is He?: Heterogeneity in the Composition of Judah’, *JHS* 3, article 4 (2001), no pages (section 1.3). A classical example in this respect is Martin Noth who describes 1 Chron. 1–9 as being in great untidiness and confusion: “[Ein Text.] der sich in seiner überlieferten Form im Zustand einer ungewöhnliche großen Unordnung und Verworrenheit befindet.” Noth, *Überlieferungs-geschichtliche Studien*, p. 117.

⁸⁰ Knoppers, “Great among His Brothers”, sections 2-5.

⁸¹ Knoppers, “Great among His Brothers”, section 6.8.

⁸² Knoppers, “Great among His Brothers”, section 7.1.

⁸³ So for example Beentjes, *1 Kronieken*, pp. 23-24; Knoppers, “Great among His Brothers”, section 6; Willi, *1 Chr 1-10*, p. 72; Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, pp. 112-116.

genealogy of Saul (9:3–44).⁸⁴ In the second part, the genealogies of the tribes, the tribes are listed in a geographical order that takes a circular shape and brings Jerusalem as a center into focus (2:2–9:2).⁸⁵ As a rule, lineages of the tribes are traced back to the ancestral period, thereby putting emphasis on the authority of this period, as well as on the continuity between the ancestral period and postexilic Israel.⁸⁶ Concerning the tribes, the composition puts emphasis on Judah (2:3–4:23), Levi (5:27–6:66 MT), and Benjamin (7:6–11; 8:1–40; 9:35–44) at the beginning, center, and end.⁸⁷

From the viewpoint of the gendered fragments in 1 Chronicles 1–9, it is striking to what degree the references are unevenly distributed, even though particular patterns are traceable. The leading genealogies of Judah and the house of David (2:3–4:23) contain references to 34 individual women and two female groups. This represents more than half of the references to women in the entire composition. Hence, the prominent position of Judah and the house of David at the beginning of the genealogies of Israel overlaps with a noticeably high number of women. This is in strong contrast to the second main tribe, Levi. The genealogies of Levi hold an outstanding position due to their length and their position at the center of the composition. Still, they include only one woman, Miriam, who is listed among the *banîm* / ‘sons’ of Amram (5:29). In contrast to Judah, Levi’s prominent position at the center of the genealogy composition comes together with the absence rather than the presence of references to women.

The genealogies of Levi are framed by two groups of tribes that likewise stand out through absence rather than presence of women: the descendants of Simeon (4:24–43) and the Transjordanian tribes (5:1–26) on the one hand, and the genealogies of Issachar,

⁸⁴ Structuring 1 Chronicles 1–9 entails two problematic points. First, verse 9:2 might be allocated either to the second or to the third part of the composition. Second, the last part of chapter 9 (9:35–44) might be considered as part of the genealogy composition or as part of the subsequent story of Saul (10:1–14). In line with Japhet, I allocate 9:2 to the second part of the genealogy composition and consider 9:1–2 as conclusion of the genealogies of the tribes. Likewise in line with Japhet, I consider 9:35–44 as an appendix to the genealogy composition in 1 Chronicles 1–9, which makes part of the larger composition. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, pp. 8–10. This is against Knoppers, who allocates 9:1 to the second part and 9:2, the account of the return, to the third part of the composition (Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, pp. 487–488). Moreover, Knoppers allocates 9:35–44 to the subsequent story of Saul (10:1–14). Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 509–511.

⁸⁵ Tribes are listed in the following order: Judah opens the list (2:2–4:23) followed by Simeon to the South (4:24–43), and by the transjordanian tribes Reuben (5:1–10), Gad (5:11–22), and Half-Manasseh (5:23) to the East. This is followed by Levi in the center of the composition (5:27–6:66 MT), as well as by the northern tribes Issachar (7:1–5), Benjamin (7:6–11), [Dan (7:12)], Naphtali (7:13), Manasseh (7:14–19), Ephraim (7:20–29), Asher (7:30–40), and again Benjamin (8:1–40). Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, pp. 9–10. A lineage of Dan is not explicitly mentioned but is often reconstructed. See Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, p. 16.

⁸⁶ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 261

⁸⁷ 1 Chron. 1–9 operates with different concepts and numbers of tribes. For example, 2:1–2 orders the tribes according to their mothers, a structure that runs alongside the geographical order. Different numbers of tribes in 2:3–8:40 occur because the text replaces Joseph through Ephraim and Manasseh, counts Manasseh twice (plus Half-Manasseh), and skips Dan and Zebulun. In addition, Levi is counted twice (Levites and priests). Magnar Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in I Chronik 1–9* (CBOTS, 28; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989), pp. 117–118. I agree with Japhet that the composition thereby synthesizes different views of the identity of the twelve tribes. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, p. 281.

Benjamin, Dan and Naphtali (7:1–13) on the other, list only three women and two female groups.⁸⁸

This again has a counterpart in a group of small tribes at the end of the inner composition that provide a strikingly dense occurrence of gendered fragments: the genealogy of Manasseh lists seven women and provides a hint to Zelophehad's daughters in no more than five verses (7:14–19). The following genealogy of Ephraim (7:20–27); the summary of the dwellings of Manasseh and Ephraim (7:28–29); the genealogy of Asher (7:30–40); and the genealogy of Benjamin (8:1–9:1) include eight women. Many of them hold noteworthy positions and names, for example Sheerah the builder (7:24) and Hammolecheth, the one who reigns (7:18).⁸⁹

The Synchronic Reception-oriented Approach

While broad consensus surrounds the idea of conceptual coherence of 1 Chronicles 1–9 (even though, in detail, structures have been identified differently), the challenge to explain why a coherent composition features such significant heterogeneity on the level of forms, genres, and semantics has not yet been met. Central questions in this respect are how one may analyze the unity of a text that encompasses significant inconsistency; which linking elements put the text's disparate elements together in a composition, and in view of my particular research question, which role the female-gendered passages play in this process. In view of these questions, I propose a twofold strategy. First, I suggest a synchronic reception-oriented close reading of the gendered fragments.

The synchronic reading is concerned with the existing text as a communicative composition rather than with the text's components, history, and provenance, without, however, neglecting the latter.⁹⁰ It emphasizes that biblical texts are literary works, and that "their authors have exercised consummate and imaginative creativity in their carefully arranged and rhetorically powerful discourse."⁹¹ In addition, my synchronic approach is reception-oriented inasmuch as it focuses on the communication between text and reader. In terms of literary studies, it is a reception-aesthetical text analysis.⁹²

The synchronic reception-oriented approach alone does not meet the challenge to make sense of the heterogeneity of the composition. Therefore, as a second aspect of my reading strategy, I suggest conceptualizing 1 Chronicles 1–9 as an archive.

1 Chronicles 1–9 as Archive of Genealogies

A productive impulse for dealing with the composition's heterogeneity results from the process of socializing: the film "My Life Part 2" takes the form of an archive. The form of an archive allows the filmmaker to present disparate contents in a meaningful way and to

⁸⁸ 1 Chron 5:29; 7:8; 7:13; 4:27; 7:4.

⁸⁹ The last part of 1 Chronicles 1–9 lists the first inhabitants of Jerusalem (9:3–34) and provides an appendix of the genealogy of Saul (9:35–44). The list of inhabitants of Jerusalem does not list women at all. The genealogy of Saul (9:35–44) mentions a single woman who already occurred earlier (8:29 // 9:35).

⁹⁰ Uta Schmid emphasizes that the synchronic analysis of texts in their final canonical form indeed involves the apprehension of the sociocultural background of the texts, for example by means of the close reading of the Hebrew text, which leads to perceiving the strangeness and particularity of the text in detail. Uta Schmidt, *Zentrale Randfiguren: Strukturen der Darstellung von Frauen in den Erzählungen der Königsbücher* (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 2003), p. 55.

⁹¹ Carol Meyers, *Exodus* (NCamBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 2.

⁹² Thomas Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis* (HBS, 39; Freiburg: Herder, 2003), pp. 15–17.

engage heterogeneity as a form of storytelling, especially in a posttraumatic context. Transferred to 1 Chronicles 1–9, I claim that the challenge to meet both conceptual coherence and factual heterogeneity of the genealogy composition can be met by reading 1 Chronicles 1–9 as an archival text.

Archives are per definition collections of potentially heterogeneous materials that are structured according to a specific taxonomy on the basis of particular interests and ideologies. Archives collect, store and make available knowledge, but by doing so concurrently produce, contest and negotiate it.⁹³ Reading 1 Chronicles 1–9 as an archive allows reading the text as an integral composition without neglecting its disparate constituents. In addition, understanding the genealogy composition as a site of knowledge production and a cross-section of contested power rather than a mere storage of more or less poorly assembled genealogies brings the text's subject character to the fore. It acknowledges that 1 Chronicles 1–9 may have functioned as an initial statement on Israel's origins and identities, which kicks off Chronicles' account of the history of Israel's monarchy. Finally, conceptualizing 1 Chronicles 1–9 as an archive puts emphasis on engaging knowledge that is repressed or only implicitly present, a focus that may provide a key for analyzing gendered absence in the text. Archive theory may thus be expected to provide important impulses for analyzing how 1 Chronicles 1–9 responds to its traumatic past and which role the gendered fragments play in this response, a thesis that I pursue in Chapter 6.⁹⁴

Conceptualizing 1 Chronicles 1–9 as an archive involves the question in which respect the composition can be understood as an archive. In Chapter 1, I have discussed the different dimensions of the archive notion, first, as collection of documents, often in the context of institutions, and second, as human drive and cultural impulse.⁹⁵ 1 Chronicles 1–9 is indeed based on a collection of records that are assembled according to a specific system of appraisal and classification. For example, earlier genealogies, town lists, census lists, inner-biblical intertexts, and oral traditions on particular tribes are arranged according to a hierarchical classification of tribes, which privileges Judah and Levi. However, this collection is presented in the form of a literary text. This literary text is conditioned by the collection—or archive—, but also exceeds it: it is a memory act that presents or performs the underlying archive in the form of a literary text. As such, 1 Chronicles 1–9 demonstrates the fundamental degree to which the archival impulse is at work in society in general and in the production of cultural and religious utterances in particular. Moreover, it shows the diverse forms that the exterior place of an archive can take beyond

⁹³ Ann L. Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science* 2 (2002), pp. 87-109 (87).

⁹⁴ Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192. Independently from my research, Kathleen O'Connor pursues a comparable approach with regard to analyzing the "literary disorder" of the book of Jeremiah. Reading Jeremiah as response to the trauma of siege warfare, destruction of state and temple, and deportations, O'Connor argues that the book's literary disorder aims at supporting the reader's coming to terms with the traumatic past. For example, the confused structure would assign the task of meaning-making to the readers. Kathleen M. O'Connor, *Jeremiah: Pain and Promise* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), pp. 128-134.

⁹⁵ Chapter 1: *Conceptualizing Gendered Genealogies as Cultural Recall in the Present*, pp. 29-47 (43-45).

institutionalized archives.⁹⁶ Art works such as the documentary “My Life Part 2” express the cultural impulse of archiving in a similar way.

In conclusion, I understand 1 Chronicles 1–9 as expression of a fundamental archival impulse. However, because 1 Chronicles 1–9 also is a manifestation of this impulse at an exterior place, where it collects, appraises, labels, highlights, and represses contested knowledge of Israel’s past and present of the time of its composition, I think it to be adequate to indeed speak of 1 Chronicles 1–9 in terms of a genealogical archive.⁹⁷

Formulas as a Means to Structure Archival Content

A critical device for labeling and structuring the contents of 1 Chronicles 1–9 is the strongly formalized language of the genealogies. Particular verbal forms and phrases reoccur over and over again and establish characteristic repetitive language patterns and formulas. Patterns and formulas pertain to particular genealogical forms, for example to segmented or linear forms, as well as to particular groups, for example to fathers or sisters. In line with Thomas Willi, I understand the formulaic character of the genealogies as a major device in the purposeful design of 1 Chronicles 1–9.⁹⁸ Reoccurring phrases and formulas provide structure and establish hierarchies. They frame the disparate contents of the composition and make it accessible.

Formulas in 1 Chronicles 1–9 come with variations. These variations do not diminish the force of the formulaic language to structure the composition. On the contrary, variations are an important means to play out a given formal repertoire and allow the text to emphasize, minimize, or subvert its principles of recall.

Two basic formulas in 1 Chronicles 1–9 are the opening and closing formulas, for example the closing formula in 7:8b: *כל־אלה בני־בכר*, ‘All these were the sons of Becher’.⁹⁹ The opening and closing formulas convey that a lineage pertains to a name/person. By doing so, these formulas induce what Julie Kelso calls “genealogical ownership,” thus the attribution of a segment of a genealogy to a particular name, which functions as owner of this segment of the lineage.¹⁰⁰ As a rule, opening and closing formula attribute lineages to males. However, in some cases, women are the subjects of the formulas. For example, 1:33b concludes the list of the sons of Keturah with the closing formula: *כל־אלה בני קטורה*,

⁹⁶ For the priority of the consignment of an archive in an exterior place, see Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (trans. E. Prenowitz; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 11; and my Chapter 1: *Conceptualizing Gendered Genealogies as Cultural Recall in the Present*, pp. 29-47 (44).

⁹⁷ With regard to text collections of the ancient Near East, the distinction is often made between archives and libraries. As a rule, archives would include most diverse types of documents that were used to record day-to-day activities of the time. In contrast, libraries would include mostly literary texts and were linked to the existence of a scribal class that maintained, controlled, and preserved the literary texts. Against this distinction, Jaqueline du Toit argues for a continuum between the different types of text collections of the time (archives, libraries, genizas, foundation deposits, etc.) and suggests referring to them by the umbrella term “textual deposit.” Jaqueline S. du Toit, *Textual Memory: Ancient Archives, Libraries and the Hebrew Bible* (The Social World of Biblical Antiquity, Second Series, 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011), pp. 79-81 and 153.

⁹⁸ Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, pp. 72 and 99.

⁹⁹ Other instances of the closing formula are 1:23; 1:33; 2:23; 4:4; 4:6; 5:14; 7:8; 7:11; 7:17; 7:33; 7:40; and 8:38/9:44.

¹⁰⁰ Julie Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?: An Irigarayan Reading of the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2007), pp. 112-113.

‘All these were the sons of Keturah’.¹⁰¹ In these instances segments pertain to women who function as genealogical owner of the concurrent lists of descendants.

The occurrence of women in the opening and closing formulas undergoes a striking marginalization in the exegetical discussion. For example, the references to the co-wives Helah and Naarah, who are both listed in opening and concluding formulas, which attribute lists of descendants to them (4:5–7), are regularly passed over without any comment.¹⁰² If the passage is discussed, scholars seem to apply double standards in their assessment of linguistic patterns and formulas: both Japhet and Knoppers argue that the passage provides no formulas at all,¹⁰³ as assessment that falls short of their otherwise detailed and thorough commentaries.

Next to formulas, which usually pertain to men, the genealogies provide typically female formulas, for example the sister formula in 3:19b: **וּבְנֵי-רֵבְבֵל מֶשֶׁלֶם וְהַנְּנִיָּה וְשִׁלְמִית** **אָחוֹתָם**, ‘The son(s) of Zerubbabel: Meshullam and Hananiah; and Shelomith: their sister’.¹⁰⁴ Listing sisters in a reoccurring formalized pattern draws attention to them and suggests relating the individual fragments to each other.¹⁰⁵ This is all the more the case as the formula determines their being sisters in a somewhat laborious way. Instead of directly listing them as daughters of PN1, the formula identifies them as sisters of the sons of PN1.¹⁰⁶

One reason for the identification of women as sisters is the relation of the sister role to the linear structures of the genealogies. Sisters belong to the lineages of their fathers and brothers and potentially relate their descendants to these lineages. For example, Zeruiah is introduced as a sister of David, who presides over a segment of descendants, which are attributed to her by means of the opening formula (2:16–17). In this case, the combination of the sister formula and the opening formula attribute the descendants of Zeruiah to the Davidic lineage, as I will argue in Chapter 4.¹⁰⁷

The function of attributing descendants to the lineage of the sisters is only relevant in the case of sisters who indeed have children (four out of eleven). It is difficult to account for the function of the remaining larger part of the sister group. In the subsequent close readings, I will approach them by means of exploring the function of gaps in the composition.

Another element of the formulaic language of the genealogies is the identification of men—and sometimes women—as sons of PN1. In the text, seven women are listed as בָּנִים

¹⁰¹ See also 4:6b (Naarah); and 7:13 (Bilhah).

¹⁰² For example Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, p. 105.

¹⁰³ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 105; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 345.

¹⁰⁴ See 1:39 (Timna); 2:16 (Zeruiah and Abigail); 2:49 (Achsah / daughter); 3:9 (Tamar); 3:19 (Shelomith); 4:3 (Hazzelponi); 7:18 (Hammolecheth); 7:30 (Serah); and 7:32 (Shua). See also 1:19 for the use of the same phrase to list a male as a brother, Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁵ The group of sisters (**אָחוֹת**) forms the third largest group of women after the groups of (secondary) wives and of daughters. It entails ten named and one nameless woman, four of which have sons and daughters. Six out of e sisters only occur in 1 Chronicles 1–9.

¹⁰⁶ Wacker devotes a section of her discussion of women in 1 Chronicles 1–9 to the sisters of brothers. She likewise points to the long-winded form in which the sisters are introduced and concludes that research on the functions of these sisters is still open. Wacker, ‘Die Bücher der Chronik: Im Vorhof der Frauen’, p. 150.

¹⁰⁷ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93–113 (104–107).

/ *ben* ('son'), or appear in lists of non-gender-specific descendants, which mostly include sons. Most prominent among them is Miriam, the sister of Aaron and Moses (5:29). Miriam is neither listed as sister, nor as daughter, even though numerous biblical references make clear that she is a female figure. Instead, the text lists Miriam as *ben* of her father Amram. In my view, it is appropriate to translate בן, 'son', consistently as *son* / *ben* rather than with a gender neutral term such as *descendant* or *child*.¹⁰⁸ The gender-neutral translation would be imprecise—the text does use the terms sisters and daughters in other instances. Moreover, a gender-neutral term would tend to obscure a power structure inherent in the genealogical language that tends to privilege males and to make females invisible.¹⁰⁹ In addition, some interesting details might get lost. For example, female *banîm* are the only category of women in 1 Chronicles 1–9, that does not include women who are married or have children. Finally, thinking about female 'sons' emphasizes the functional character of the term and foregrounds the question whether under particular circumstances, daughters may have been formally considered as a 'son' / *ben*.

The Verb ילד / yld as Central Framing Device

As an alternative to my focus on formulas, Julie Kelso has suggested that occurrence and use of the verb ילד / *yld* (to bear / to beget) is a central element in framing the contents of 1 Chronicles 1–9.¹¹⁰ Kelso argues that the occurrence of both the verb *yld* and of women induces a discourse—or fantasy—of a solely male genealogical (re)production and transmission, which goes hand in hand with a repression of the maternal body.¹¹¹

Kelso reads the book of Chronicles against the background of the feminist philosophers Luce Irigaray and Michelle Boulous Walker. Kelso's central argument is that, in Chronicles, women are first of all silenced by their association with maternity and the concurrent repression and disavowal of the maternal body. The latter aims at allowing the male subject to imagine himself as a sole producer of his world.¹¹²

In her analysis of 1 Chronicles 1–9, Kelso focuses on what happens to language and its production when women appear; specifically, what effect the occurrence of the verb *yld*, which she understands to mean 'to bear' in all of its modifications, has on the genealogical form and its contents.¹¹³ Kelso concludes that the sense of continuity of meaning, according to her a central concern of the genealogies, breaks down around both

¹⁰⁸ So also Wacker, 'Die Bücher der Chronik: Im Vorhof der Frauen', p. 147.

¹⁰⁹ Against Van Wieringen who argues that an inclusive rendering ('children' or 'descendants') is appropriate in many cases. Van Wieringen, 'Why Some Women Were Included', p. 293-294.

¹¹⁰ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, pp. 115-166.

¹¹¹ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 162. See also Anne-Mareike Wetter, who compares the use of the root *yld* in Chronicles and Samuel–Kings. Wetter observes that while Samuel–Kings uses the verb before all with a female subject, Chronicles has an overwhelming part of male subjects. Anne-Mareike Wetter, 'Verschuivende Visies: De Kronist over de rol van de vrouw', in *Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift* 65.3 (2011), pp. 227-241 (229-230).

¹¹² Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 161. To date Kelso provides the only monograph on Chronicles from an explicit feminist perspective. In her reading, Kelso applies the approach of Irigaray by using a specific mode of analysis in which she addresses the text in direct speech. This psychoanalytic "You–I" discourse aims at enabling the silences of the masculine discourse to be heard. It alternates with a chorus-like poem that shall generate "a sense of the [missing] mother–daughter relationship" in the text (113). Her study thus presents an intriguing interplay between highly theoretical philosophical reflection and an experimental close reading of the Hebrew text.

¹¹³ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 112.

the appearance of women and the verb *yld*. The breakdown includes grammatical and/or syntactical breakdowns, contradictions, and a breakdown of reality.¹¹⁴ The breakdowns occur in the context of constructing women as mothers of sons and the concurrent dominant discourse of masculine (re)production. The discourse of masculine (re)production is based on the overwhelming dominance of masculine subjects of the verb *yld*. Moreover, it is supported by the discourse of a generative succession of male names that represses any recognition of corporeal maternal origins.¹¹⁵ Masculine (re)production is thus presented as the standard procedure. At the same time, text-inherent breakdowns expose the repression and disavowal of the maternal body. This comes along with “*the phantasy of mono-sexual, masculine (re)production*” and the conception of male-only reproduction and transmission.¹¹⁶

Kelso’s most important contribution to understanding 1 Chronicles 1–9 is her observation that women often appear in text passages that are text-critically unclear and difficult to make sense of. She shows in a convincing way that something happens with respect to the text structure when women and the verb *yld* appear. However, her interpretation of the phenomenon is less convincing to me. Kelso’s strong focus on maternity and the maternal body draws away attention from the more complex description of women in 1 Chronicles 1–9. It thereby fails to meet the ambiguity of their appearance. In this context, her methodological frame also shapes up as a two-sided coin. On the one hand, the engagement of Irigaray and Brousselle Walker is extremely productive. It allows her to contextualize the few passages that include women with the overall genealogy composition and to expose its androcentric agenda. In addition, it allows her to reveal the performative character of the genealogies and to analyze the text as a site of production of knowledge, memory and subjectivity—in this respect, her suggestion to use the verb *yld* as a framing device for the genealogical contents makes sense. On the other hand, her theoretical frame seems to narrow her analysis. The text seems to fit in too easily with the theoretical philosophical discourse she unfolds. Kelso matches text and theory so closely that the multidimensionality of the text tends to fall out of sight. It seems that she does away too easily with contradictions, ambiguities, and nuances within the corpus of gendered fragments, rather than working out a way of understanding them.

3.5 Assessment with Regard to the Close Reading

Ambiguity as Guiding Notion

The survey of gendered fragments in 1 Chronicles 1–9 brought into focus an abundance of interesting materials, as well as the complexity of the references to women. Reasons as to why the women are included became visible as diverse. Some roles are easier to understand than others. But in any case, the large number of women suggests understanding the functions these references fulfill as an integral part of the composition’s memory and identity performance.

Looking at the two elaborate studies that approach 1 Chronicles 1–9 from an explicit gender perspective, Labahn/Ben Zvi and Kelso, it becomes clear that they share a discussion of ideological claims made through the female-gendered references. However, the studies show a striking dissent in their evaluation of implied ideologies. Labahn and

¹¹⁴ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 113.

¹¹⁵ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 162.

¹¹⁶ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 162, emphasis in original.

Ben Zvi hold that references to women contest one-dimensional gender constructions in favor of individual successful transgressions within a patriarchal frame. In contrast, Kelso claims that the references to women bring forward a misogynic discourse of mono-sexual, masculine (re)production. The dissent in evaluation alerts us to a possible two-sidedness of the references. References to women may be analyzed for both their potential to support and re-inscribe ideological aims of the text and their potential to interfere with these very aims. In conclusion, contextualizing the gendered fragments within the exegetical gender-related debate calls attention to notion of ambiguity. Inherent ambiguities and contradictions may thus be considered as an important heuristic tool.¹¹⁷

Judah as Main Text Basis for the Close Reading

An excellent text basis for pursuing my initial interest in fractures and discontinuity as well as the issue of ambiguity are the genealogies of Judah. The genealogies of Judah contain the main part of gendered references, but they are also important in terms of quality: they comprise important references, such as the main part of gendered embedded narratives, many of the intertextual references to biblical women, and ample gendered formulaic language. Most importantly, however, the genealogies of Judah contain both gendered fragments that are in line with the patrilinear setup of the texts, for example its many wives and mothers, and gendered fragments that disturb and potentially subvert the patrilinear flow, for example the women who own lineages, and the protagonists of the narratives on the patrilinear succession at risk. In other words, the genealogies of Judah will allow exploring the ambiguity of the gendered fragments; their complex character will significantly add to understanding how the genealogies of Judah, but also the larger composition 1 Chronicles 1–9 performs gendered genealogies in view of responding to a fractured past.

Focusing the close reading on the genealogies of Judah has an additional reason. Judah is not only a central part of 1 Chronicles 1–9, but also central in respect to the sociohistorical context of the composition in the late Persian Yehud. This context makes the interplay between memory performance and self-conception in the present especially important for this section of the genealogies.¹¹⁸

The focus on exploring the ambiguity of the gendered passages brings the presence of women into focus. And Judah is indeed about the presence of women. This focus implies that in the following close readings, the issues of absence, forgetting, and repression of women, as for example represented by the genealogies of Levi, take a back seat. Rather than focusing on the presence and absence of women as central antagonists for

¹¹⁷ Labahn and Ben Zvi argue in the same direction with their claim that it is a typical feature of Chronicles that “theological or ideological claims advanced in some, or even many accounts are informed and balanced by contrasting claims advanced elsewhere in the book.” Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, p. 473. See also Ehud Ben Zvi, ‘A Sense of Proportion: An Aspect of the Theology of the Chronicler’, in *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (Ehud Ben Zvi; London: Equinox, 2006), pp. 160-173.

¹¹⁸ For the exposed position and the representative role of the genealogies of Judah in the larger composition of 1 Chronicles 1–9 see Thomas Willi, ‘Late Persian Judaism and its Conception of an Integral Israel according to Chronicles: Some Observations on Form and Function of the Genealogy of Judah in 1 Chronicles 2.3–4.23’, in *Second Temple Studies: 2. Temple Community in the Persian Period* (eds. Tamara C. Eskenazi and Kent H. Richards; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 146-162 (160-162).

understanding the role of gender in the composition, I focus on the ambiguity of the gendered passages, and thus on different, potentially contradictory forms taken by the presence of women. In view of the broader frame of socializing, the focus on the ambiguous presence of women in the genealogies ties in with “My Life Part 2”. The film works toward unearthing the past and likewise centers on the presence of gender.

In conclusion, I will provide two chapters of close readings of passages of 1 Chronicles 1–9, which will frame the intermediate chapter on the film analysis. In Chapter 4, I will investigate a sample of passages that allow me to address gendered fragments linked to fractures and discontinuity in the patrilinear organization of the memory performance. This first round of close reading focuses on cracks in the smoothly functioning patriarchal succession. It investigates indications of social, ethnic and gendered complexity within the continuation of the line and reflects on how the texts deal with this complexity. By doing so, it focuses on the subversive potential of the gendered fragments, specifically in interrelation with notions of ethnicity and of social/legal status (e.g. widows, slaves). The text basis for this first round of close readings are the genealogies of Judah, specifically two narratives that address a thread to the continuation of the line of Judah (2:3–4 and 2:34–35); two sets of passages that introduce Ephrathah and Zeruiah in genealogical key roles and by means of genealogical formulas (2:19; 2:50; 4:3 and 2:16–17); and two passages that feature breakdowns of syntactical coherence and meaning around a cluster of references to women (2:18–19 and 4:17–18).¹¹⁹

After these first close readings, I will turn to the film and provide an analysis of “My Life Part 2”, with a focus on the films’ dealing with gender as well as with fractures and discontinuity in the genealogy performance.¹²⁰

I will then turn back to the Bible text and investigate gendered fragments in Judah on a more structural level and with the additional perspectives gained from the film, as well as notions from anthropology and sociology (e.g. concerning identity and alterity). In this part, the genealogies of Judah are again the primarily reference frame for the close reading, especially for the investigation of structures in this central part of 1 Chronicles 1–9. In the synthetic interpretations of the materials, however, I will broaden my perspective and draw lines into the larger web of gendered fragments in 1 Chronicles 1–9. In this section, wives and mothers on the one hand and sisters on the other will take center stage. Moreover, I will take up the archive notion and show how it supports advancing my specific research question.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113.

¹²⁰ Chapter 5: *Gynealogy Composition in “My Life Part 2”*, pp. 115-151.

¹²¹ Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192.

Chapter 4 Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession

4.1 Introduction

Contextualizing the gendered fragments of 1 Chronicles 1–9 in their literary and sociohistorical context, as well as assessing the gender-related exegetical debate about them, has resulted in attention to the ambiguity of the passages. The female-gendered references seem to be in line with the patrilinear flow of the genealogies in some cases, and interfere with this very flow in others. Starting out from this observation, I begin the close reading with three sets of texts that indicate fissures in the patriarchal succession. These texts consist of two embedded narratives on the jeopardized lineage (2:3–4 and 2:34–35); a set of passages that refer to Ephrathah and Zeruah as eponymous ancestor (2:19; 2:50–51; 4:4) and head of lineage (2:16–17), respectively; as well as passages whose difficult text-critical situation obscures the agency of women (2:18–19 and 4:17–18).

The notion of patrilinear succession is a key notion of transfer in the genealogical memory performance of 1 Chronicles 1–9: names and affiliations, continuity and identity, offices and inheritance rights—in short, the *line*—is passed down from father to son(s). As a consequence, patrilinearity designates males as central agents for the continuation of the line. It communicates the idea of a patriarchal society that reserves central sociopolitical and economical positions for male adult Israelites and sustains the power of its beneficiaries. Hence, the patrilinear succession is likewise a patriarchal one.¹ As the patrilinear/patriarchal succession is a central notion for the transfer of memory as performed in the genealogies, fissures in this succession are situated at the core of the transfer. They are central in view of how the text performs Judah’s memory and identities.

Given the centrality of the notion, this chapter investigates the character of fissures in the patrilinear succession and analyzes how the text deals with these fissures. It explores the interplay of fissures and form, embedded narratives on the one hand and genealogical formulas on the other. And it discusses the impact of the fissures on the character and status of the patrilinear succession as a key notion of transfer in the Judah genealogies and beyond, specifically in view of their ability to contest and break open the priority of patrilinear succession for the memory and identity performance on the one hand, and on their supporting and confirming it on the other.

4.2 Narratives on the Jeopardized Lineage

The genealogies of Judah provide two short embedded narratives that address a threat to the continuation of the patrilinear line.² The first narrative tells a short version of the story of

¹ Kelso goes even further and argues that the genealogical discourse in Chronicles would not only present patrilineage as the standard but would “present masculine reproduction as the standard through the overwhelming dominance of masculine subjects of the verb ‘to bear’.” Julie Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?: An Irigarayan Reading of the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2007), p. 162.

² Short embedded narratives are a genuine part of genealogies. As original elements of a larger genealogy composition, they are to be found in Mesopotamian, Israelite, and Greek genealogies. These traditions likewise feature a “basic pattern of interlacing lineages with stories and explanatory

Tamar and Judah in Genesis 38. The second is distinct to Chronicles and addresses the endangered continuation of the lineage of sonless Sheshan.³

Tamar

Before the first lineage of Judah is properly spelled out, the text immediately enters into a small embedded narrative (2:3–4). It reads as follows:

2:3 The sons of Judah: Er, Onan, and Shelah; these three were born to him by Bath-shua the Canaanite. And Er, the firstborn of Judah, was displeasing to YHWH, and he put him to death. 4 And Tamar his daughter-in-law bore to him Perez and Zerah. All sons of Judah: five.

The narrative closely refers to two Genesis passages: the genealogy in Gen. 46:12, and the narrative in Genesis 38. Even though Gen. 46:12 has been emphasized as a *Vorlage* for 2:3–4,⁴ I would like to stress the importance of Genesis 38 for the analysis of the passage under consideration.⁵ In contrast to Genesis 46:12, 1 Chron. 2:3–4 refers to names and characteristics of Bath-shua the Canaanite and Tamar the daughter-in-law of Judah.⁶ By doing so, the text directly refers to Genesis 38. Moreover, 2:3b quotes Genesis 38:7. The quote explains why Judah's firstborn Er is not able to continue the line. It also emphasizes JHWH's agency in this critical situation for the succession.⁷

Let me briefly recall Genesis 38 from a viewpoint that is primarily interested in the genealogical aspect of the story. Judah and his wife, the Canaanite daughter of Shua, have three sons. Firstborn Er is married to Tamar (38:1–6). However, the lineage that might be expected to spring from this marriage is threatened. The subsequent plot unfolds this threat in three steps. In the first step, Er, being “displeasing to YHWH” (רע בעיני יהוה), is brought to death, and Tamar stays behind as a sonless widow (38:7). In the second step, Tamar is given to her brother-in-law Onan, so that he may fulfill the duty of levirate and beget a son for Er.⁸ The relation aims at the continuation of the lineage of Er. Onan is told: “bring about

comments.” Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 12; New York: Doubleday, 2003), p. 256.

³ The genealogy of Levi in 1 Chron. 23 provides a third embedded narrative on the jeopardized lineage: 1 Chron. 23:22 recounts that Eleazar died without having sons, but only daughters, and that the daughters married their cousins. Wacker argues that the marriage of Eleazar's daughters with their cousins implied that they remained in the extended family and contributed to their continuance. Marie-Theres Wacker, ‘Die Bücher der Chronik: Im Vorhof der Frauen’, in *Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung* (eds. Marie-Theres Wacker and Luise Schottroff; Gütersloher Verlagshaus: Gütersloh, 3rd edn, 2007), pp. 146-155 (149).

⁴ For example Sarah Japhet, *I&II Chronicles: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1993), p. 69.

⁵ So also Thomas Willi, *1 Chr 1–10* (BKAT, XXIV/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), pp. 84.

⁶ Strikingly, Oeming in his standard monograph on 1 Chronicles 1–9 entirely passes over the mentioning of Bath-shua and Tamar. Manfred Oeming, *Das wahre Israel: Die „genealogische Vorhalle“ 1 Chronik 1–9* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), p. 211.

⁷ Verse 3b quotes Gen. 38:7 word by word with the only difference that it leaves out the second occurrence of the Tetragrammaton (“he put him to death” instead of “JHWH put him to death”). Compare 5:1–2 which explains how Ruben dismissed the status of firstborn. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, p. 303.

⁸ The text assumes the institution of a levirate duty which aims at a son for the deceased husband, but does not necessarily imply a levirate marriage. Claus Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (BKAT, I/3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), p. 46.

offspring for your brother” (והקם זרע לאחידך) (38:8). Onan refuses to properly act out the levirate and JHWH likewise brings him to death. Tamar remains a sonless widow once again (38:8–10). In the last step, Judah keeps his third son from fulfilling the levirate duty with Tamar and thus puts the continuation of the lineage further off (38:11). Now, the focus of the narrative shifts from Judah to Tamar.⁹ Tamar brings about an unexpected move of the narrative: she does not submit herself to the fact that she has been deprived of the right of levirate. Instead, the marginalized widow engages her resources —her wit and cunning, her social relations and argumentation skills, her body and sexuality— and takes the course of action into her own hands: Tamar dresses up as a prostitute. She has sex with Judah who does not recognize her, but leaves an unmistakable pledge with her. Tamar becomes pregnant. When Judah demands her death for adultery, she can reveal to him his identity as father of the expected child. Judah recognizes Tamar’s point: “she is more righteous than I am / she is righteous in relation to me” (צדקה ממני) (38:26).¹⁰ The narrative ends with the birth of Tamar’s twins Perez and Zerah and their naming through a ‘he’ (Judah) or a ‘she’ (Tamar or the midwife).¹¹

The text-critical decision between a male or a female subject of the naming is important from a genealogical viewpoint. If Judah is understood as the one who names the twins, this naming may concurrently imply legally recognizing them as his sons. So Jürgen Ebach, who consequently understands “the genealogical-legal incorporation of the sons of Tamar as sons of Judah” as a basic theme of Genesis 38: 27–30, which is then taken up in later texts such as 1 Chron. 2:3–4.¹² In my view, Ebach is right in pointing out the genealogical dimension of the narrative. However, his claim of a genealogical climax of the narrative overstretches the text critically debated naming of the boys by Judah. Moreover, this claim loses sight of the fact that the plot critically centers on doing justice to Tamar and the name of her deceased husband Er.

In conclusion, Genesis 38 provides a complex narrative that, along with the theme of the genealogical succession, addresses issues of outsiders and social justice, of ethnic difference, of sexuality, female agency, and female tricksterism. The short version in 1 Chron. 2:3–4 brings the genealogical aspect of the story into focus, without losing sight of the other issues addressed in Genesis 38.

Comparing the original narrative in Genesis 38 and its short version in 1 Chron.2:3–4, three important shifts stand out. First, the intention underlying the efforts to bring about a son by Tamar changes. While Genesis 38 primarily aims at producing offspring for Er in the context of the levirate institution, the Chronicles’ account suggests that the sons of Tamar are sons for Judah (“All sons of Judah: five”). In the context of setting out the lineage of Judah, the receiver of offspring through Tamar thus shifts from Er

⁹ Jürgen Ebach, *Genesis 37–50* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2007), pp. 134-135.

¹⁰ מַמְנִי may be translated with a focus on the comparative aspect or with a focus on the relational/connective aspect of the utterance. Ebach, *Genesis 37-50*, p. 150.

¹¹ Different text witnesses and editions have the root קָרָא as qal perfect singular masculine (*BHS*) or qal perfect singular feminine (e.g. few Hebrew manuscripts, Samaritan Pentateuch, Peshitta, and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan).

¹² Ebach, *Genesis 37–50*, pp. 152-153. My translation of the German original.

to Judah.¹³ This shift was already prepared in Genesis 38; however, it is only completed in the Chronicles' account.¹⁴

The shift regarding the receiver of offspring through Tamar implies a second one. Not the firstborn but the fourth-born of Judah is the one to continue the line. The primacy of the firstborn is thus suspended, as in Genesis 5.

The third shift concerns the agency of the protagonists of the narrative. Genesis 38 foregrounds the agency of Tamar and introduces numerous additional agents, e.g. Judah's friend Hirah and the midwife. In contrast, Chron. 2:3–4 emphasizes the agency of JHWH and Judah's owning of sons.

Beyond these shifts, 1 Chron. 2:3–4 links up with central themes of Genesis 38, namely ethnic difference, social justice, and female tricksterism. These themes are mainly communicated through the references to Bath-shua and Tamar. This is noteworthy, especially since the genealogical notice in Gen. 46:10 leaves out the women altogether.

The issue of ethnic difference is introduced by Bath-shua, who is introduced as "the Canaanite" (2:3). Bath-shua the Canaanite stands at the beginning of the genealogies of Judah (and thereby of the genealogies of the tribes), immediately after the genealogies of the nations (1 Chron. 1:1–2:2). In the genealogies of the nations, ethnic groups provided the context in which the central lineage emerged and eventually led to Israel.¹⁵ The reference to the Canaanite Bath-shua at the beginning of the Judah genealogies brings in another focus. It establishes the fact that ethnic differences play a role within, rather than before or alongside Judah/Israel.¹⁶

The reference to Tamar, possibly also a Canaanite, adds to the same issue, but reaches further.¹⁷ Tamar is characterized as daughter-in-law of Judah. Identifying her as the daughter-in-law of the father of her sons recalls the unusual circumstances of her pregnancy and broaches the issue of social justice, legislation for widows, and the levirate. Moreover, it engages the theme of tricksterism as related to female sexuality and agency.

The notion of tricksterism in biblical literature refers to "characters of low social status who improve their situation through use of their wit and cunning."¹⁸ Tamar may be

¹³ The same shift is made in Gen. 46:12: "Judah's sons: Er, Onan, Shelah, Perez, and Zerah—but Er and Onan had died in the land of Canaan; and Perez's sons were Hezron and Hamul." (Translation according to the JPS).

¹⁴ Against Ebach, who claims that the end of the Genesis narrative (Genesis 38: 27–30) is genealogically motivated, and is as such the actual target of the narrative. Ebach, *Genesis 37–50*, p. 150.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the genealogy of the nations see Gary N. Knoppers, 'Shem, Ham and Japheth: The Universal and the Particular in the Genealogy of Nations', in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honour of Ralph W. Klein* (eds. M. Patrick Graham, Steven L. McKenzie and Garry N. Knoppers; London: T. & T. Clark, 2003), pp. 13-31.

¹⁶ Knoppers emphasizes that the text does not moralize against the important role that non-Israelites played in the memory of Israel but calls attention to it. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 302.

¹⁷ For the identification of Tamar as a Canaanite see Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 303 and Athalya Brenner, *I am... Biblical Women Tell Their Own Stories* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), p. 134. Against Ebach, *Genesis 3–50*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁸ Melissa Jackson, 'Lot's Daughters and Tamar as Tricksters and the Patriarchal Narratives as Feminist Theology', in *JSOT* 98 (2002), pp. 29-46 (29). See also Susan Niditch, *A Prelude to Biblical Folklore: Underdogs and Tricksters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); and Ann W. Engar,

read as a trickster inasmuch as she achieves offspring and thus a living for herself through her wit and readiness to take unconventional action. As Jackson puts it, “[a]s with Lot’s daughters, Tamar’s character has the traits of a trickster. She has little status, and so uses the means she has—her cleverness and her sexuality—to secure her future.”¹⁹

Reading Tamar as a trickster meets the exceptional way in which Genesis 38 contextualizes female sexuality with female originality and agency. Rather than displaying Tamar as an immoral harlot or a helpless victim, she is sketched as a resourceful agent who counters her marginalization to the benefit of herself, her deceased husband Er, and the Judah line as such.

Reading Tamar as a trickster is but one possibility that is offered by the text. However, the impact of the presence of Tamar and her story in 1 Chronicles 1–9 with all its overtones should not be underestimated. Tamar is not written out of the text, as for example in Genesis 46:12. Instead, her name and her identity as daughter-in-law of the father of her children recall female subjectivity in the ancestral age. Apart from Keturah (1:32–34) and Bilhah (7:13), Bath-shua and Tamar are the only women of the ancestral period to be listed in the entire genealogy composition in 1 Chronicles 1–9. Tamar is thus *the* matriarch in the composition. The text, which broaches, among others, the themes of female resistance to disenfranchisement as well as of female sexuality and tricksterism thus provides a critical key to the memory of the matriarchs. Tricksterism is not restricted to Tamar, but is characteristic for a row of biblical figures, among them Abraham, Jacob, Rebecca, and Ruth.²⁰ The embedded narrative on the jeopardized lineage engages the themes of resistance, tricksterism, and humor²¹ as vital elements of the memory and hence identities of Judah.

What does 1 Chron. 2:3–4 imply for the patriarchal succession as a key notion of the memory transfer in 1 Chronicles 1–9? Genesis 38 and its reflection in 1 Chron. 2:3–4 provide ample indications of cracks in the patriarchal succession: the primacy of the firstborn is renounced. The levirate malfunctions; instead, a widow achieves offspring through her father-in-law. A central lineage is blocked and only restored through female agency and tricksterism. Finally, Judah is essentially linked to the Canaanites.

How are these fissures dealt with in the text? On the one hand, 1 Chron. 2:3–4 overtly exposes them. Listing Bath-shua as a Canaanite and Tamar as the daughter-in-law of Judah keeps open fissures that already appeared in Genesis 38 and sharpens them in view of the genealogical succession. Here, 1 Chron. 2:3–4 appears as an exponent of ethnic,

‘Old Testament Women as Tricksters’, in *Mappings of the Biblical Terrain: The Bible as Text* (eds. Vincent T. Tollers and John Maier; Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1990), pp. 143–157.

¹⁹ Jackson, ‘Lot’s Daughters and Tamar as Tricksters’, p. 34. For the typical link between female biblical tricksters and the issues of sexuality and female agency, see Jackson, ‘Lot’s Daughters and Tamar as Tricksters’, p. 32. See also Susan Niditch, ‘Genesis’, in *The Women’s Bible Commentary* (eds. Carol Ann Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1998), pp. 13–29, especially pp. 24–26.

²⁰ Typical trickster narratives are the three “Wife-Sister Tales” (Gen. 12:10–20; Gen. 20:1–18; Gen. 26:1–11) and many of the stories about Jacob, e.g. Gen. 27 (Niditch, *A Prelude to Biblical Folklore*, pp. 23–69 and 93–125). See also Rachel (Gen. 31:19–35) and Ruth (Ruth 3) (Engar, ‘Old Testament Women as Tricksters’, pp. 147, 159–150).

²¹ Jackson shows convincingly that the trickster story of Tamar (and of Lot’s daughters) may be read as comic. Jackson, ‘Lot’s Daughters and Tamar as Tricksters’, pp. 44–46.

social and gendered complexity. On the other hand, 1 Chron. 2:3–4 closes with a statement that sharply counters such assessment. The summary formula states “All sons of Judah: five” (2:4b). It thereby unambiguously attributes to Judah all five sons, who are then not distinguished from each other anymore.²² By doing so, the summary brings an end to all irregularities that became apparent in the embedded narrative. The offspring of a complex and ambiguous situation is clearly attributed to the pater familias. The text thus provides a dynamic to channel complexity and ambiguity in a way that seems to include its devitalization. Fissures are exposed but at the same time put into perspective or even closed down again.²³

The Nameless Daughter of Sheshan

The second story that addresses the patriarchal succession at risk is distinct to Chronicles. It takes its starting point from the absence of sons who might continue the lineage.

2:34 Sheshan had no sons, but daughters. And Sheshan had an Egyptian slave and his name was Jarha. 35 And Sheshan gave his daughter as wife to his slave Jarha. And she bore him Attai.

The narrative on sonless Sheshan takes up a motif that has already been prepared in the preceding verses. Twice, a lineage ends with sonless males, a circumstance that is laconically expressed by a final “no sons” (2:30; 2:32). The theme comes to a climax in the narrative under consideration. In contrast to the preceding instances of sonlessness, where lineages stop, the sonlessness of Sheshan opens out into a small narrative.²⁴ Sheshan has no sons but daughters. Moreover, his household comprises the Egyptian slave (עבד) Jarha. Sheshan draws on the persons at his disposal in order to bring forth a solution to his problem. He marries one of his nameless daughters to his slave Jarha. She bears Attai “to him.” Attai will be the first link in the subsequent, noteworthy long linear genealogy (2:36–41).

The text recalls Genesis narratives in which slave women (שפחה / אמה) are given to the husband of their mistresses in order to procreate, for example Genesis 16. Genesis 16 recounts that Sarah gives her Egyptian slave Hagar to Abraham, so that she could achieve offspring through her.²⁵ The passage closely parallels Genesis 16, but features a reverse gender constellation. An Egyptian male slave is given to a woman of the Judahite lineage. The Israelite insider is thus female, the Egyptian outsider male. While the son of Hagar clearly belongs to Sarah and Abraham, the attribution of Attai is less clear. 1 Chron. 2:35a

²² 2:4b is the only part of 2:3–4 that is not worked out in closely relation to Gen. 46:12 or Gen. 38 (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 70). The verse thus sets an original accent and ending to the story.

²³ In accordance with my assessment, Labahn and Ben Zvi call attention to the tendency to “tame” the character of Tamar in later literature, for example in Pseudo-Philo (D.C. Polanski, ‘On taming Tamar: Amram’s rhetoric and women’s roles in Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 9’, *JSP* 13 (1995), pp. 79-99). Antje Labahn and Ehud Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9’, *Biblica* 84 (2003), pp. 457-478 (470 and FN 44).

²⁴ The preceding list mentioned a certain Sheshan and his son Ahlai (2:31). This reference has given rise to various theories about the relation between the two Sheshans and the provenance of the passages. I follow Knoppers who argues that it may be most useful to accept that we indeed have a contradiction, which, however, does not have to be dissolved. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 310.

²⁵ See also Bilhah and Zilpah, who are given to Jacob by their mistresses Rachel and Leah (Gen. 30). The status of Hagar, Bilhah, and Zilpah is described with the terms שפחה and אמה (slave-woman/maidservant). For Jarha, the term slave/men-servant (עבד) is used.

does not clearly specify whether Sheshan's daughter bears Attai to her husband Jarha or to her father Sheshan. 2:35 reads:

ויתן ששן את־בתו לירחע עבדו לאשה ותלד לו את־עתִי

And Sheshan gave his daughter as wife to his slave Jarha. And she bore *him* Attai.

The verse leaves open to whom Attai belongs in terms of genealogical ownership. The ambiguity has provoked different interpretations of the identity of the genealogical owner of Attai. For example, Antje Labahn and Ehud Ben Zvi argue that, “structurally speaking,” the narrative provides Sheshan's daughter with the role of the son who passes on the line.²⁶ This argument seems to suggest that she bears Attai to her own generation and thus to Jarha. In contrast, Sara Japhet argues that Sheshan's daughter bears Attai to her father. He remains the owner of the son of his slave Jarha.²⁷ In this reading, Sheshan's daughter gives birth to the generation of her father; her own generation is skipped.

Japhet's argument seems to be more convincing. First, identifying Attai as the son of Sheshan has a strong basis in the syntax of the passage. Throughout the passage, Sheshan is consequently kept in the position of the subject of action. He is the dominant *major participant* in the narrative.²⁸ As major participant, Sheshan can be referred to by means of a pronoun or inflectional affix, even if local instances of other potential referents stand closer to the pronoun under consideration.²⁹ Even though the minor participant Jarha stands closest to the suffix pronoun *him* (ל), the pronoun is most likely assigned to Sheshan, who has been established as major participant in the preceding sentences.³⁰ Identifying Attai as the son of Sheshan also ties in with the parallels in Genesis. Here, the son of Hagar remains the son of her masters.³¹ Finally, it ties in with the namelessness of Sheshan's daughter. The namelessness reduces the subjectivity of the daughter throughout the narrative, especially since all other protagonists bear personal names. The reduction of subjectivity easily ties in with the role of carrier of her father's son. It fits less to interpreting her as the one to continue the lineage.

²⁶ Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, p. 465.

²⁷ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 84.

²⁸ For the concept of major and minor participants in Hebrew Bible texts see L.J. De Regt, *Participants in Old Testament Texts and the Translator: Reference Devices and their Rhetorical Impact* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1999). Thank you to Arian Verheij for pointing me to De Regt's approach.

²⁹ De Regt, *Participants in Old Testament Texts*, p. 24. Minor participants would more likely be referred to by proper names that would then “be reserved for re-establishing antecedents into a central role.” (De Regt, *Participants in Old Testament Texts*, pp. 23-24).

³⁰ For a parallel case, see Judge 15:19. The sentence וישת ‘and he drank’ refers back to Samson even though other potential referents are in greater proximity. As De Regt puts it: “In such a global strategy, the pronoun or affix is assigned to one of the major participants early in the story and is retained throughout the discourse as referring to this entity, even if there are intervening local instances of other potential referents.” De Regt, *Participants in Old Testament Texts*, p. 44.

³¹ Japhet and Willi analyze the passage on the backdrop of Israelite slave legislation. Japhet refers to Exod. 21:4, which states that the children of a Hebrew slave belong to his master, as the legal basis for attributing Hagar's son Ishmael to her mistress Sarah, as well as for attributing Attai to Sheshan. (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 84). Willi argues that the text more probably refers to Lev. 25:39–54, which distinguishes between Israelite and non-Israelite slaves, because it makes explicit the Egyptian identity of Jarha. Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, p. 98-99.

The genealogical attribution of Attai to his grandfather Sheshan constitutes a parallel to the narrative of Tamar, whose sons are also attributed to their grandfather-father Judah. Both stories seem to suggest a similar way of dealing with fissures in the patriarchal succession. Twice, a narrative addresses blockage in the ongoing genealogical stream. Twice, it suggests a solution that involves unusual agents (women, foreigners, slaves) and unconventional actions (marriage between a Jehudite and an Egyptian slave; female agency and tricksterism). Twice, proposed solutions bring about sons who continue the line. And twice again, both sons are eventually attributed to their grandfather-generation while the parent-generation is skipped.

Giving Birth for the Father Generation: Establishing and Cutting Back Complex Genealogical Agents

Reading the two narratives together reveals a dual-dynamic pattern of dealing with fissures that holds a twofold dynamic. On the one hand, the narratives openly admit that the patriarchal succession might be endangered through inadequate male behavior and cases of sonlessness. As a solution, they suggest opening up the patriarchal succession toward engaging additional members of the sociopolitical life of Israel who may contribute to overcoming deadlock and break-up. In this respect, the texts perform the identity of Judah as complex and inclusive. On the other hand, sons that spring from this opening are eventually attributed to the Israelite male patriarch of their grandfather's generation. The generation that represents a multifaceted identity performance is dispossessed of offspring and collapses. As a consequence, new genealogical agents are deprived of the possibility to coin their own generation; their potency to effect ongoing change is substantially weakened. Instead, admitting fissures, proposing unconventional solutions, and drawing on complex agents eventually opens into a growth of potency on the part of the pater familias. The texts thus display ambiguity toward their own proposed solution; developments are, to an extent, withdrawn.³²

The scenario just described concerns gender positions but also ethnic and social difference. The genealogical agency of an Egyptian and possibly a Canaanite, as well as of a slave and a widow, is recognized, but its potential is mitigated. In the narratives on the jeopardized lineage, ethnic and social difference is introduced through individual figures. Beyond these individual agents, the text addresses ethnic difference and social stratification of larger groups that make part of Judah. Groups that are depicted as independent from Judah in other places are listed as fully integrated to Judah (e.g. the Jerahmeelites in 2:25–33) or loosely affiliated to it (e.g. the Qenizzites in 4:13–14).³³ The integration of these groups seems to likewise challenge an exclusive patriarchal succession from Israelite male to Israelite male in favor of a broader picture of subjectivities constitutive for the memory and identity of Judah. Accordingly, Knoppers claims a concept of “ethnic diversity and social complexity” in the genealogies of Judah.³⁴ However, against the backdrop of the close readings done so far, the questions arise, which type of genealogical participation

³² A similar dynamic is active in 1 Chron. 2:21–23, the lineage of Caleb and the daughter of Machir. The latter belongs to a different tribe and territory and is thus an exponent of the complex identity of Judah. Her descendants, however, are eventually attributed to the generation of her father: “all these were the sons of Machir.” (2:23).

³³ Gary N. Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah’, *JBL* 120.1 (2001), pp. 15-30 (26-27).

³⁴ Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, pp. 29-30.

does this broader picture involve, and how do interests and agency of groups at the periphery become audible? Beyond the picture of social and ethnic stratification, genealogical segmentation and ramification bring about a process of hierarchization between periphery and center. This includes othering groups by means of detaching them from the main lineage as I will show in Chapter 6.³⁵ The double movement of granting complexity and concurrently devitalizing its impact on the level of individual agents thus seems to have a parallel on the level of larger groups.

The text's inherently ambiguous pattern of dealing with fissures through female-gendered references impacts character and authority of the constructed notion of patrilinear succession. On the one hand, patrilinear succession appears as a concept that is self-reliant enough to deal with shortcomings self-critically and effectively. This implies the ability to involve different participants of the community in view of complex and effective solutions. Moreover, it contains the ability to refer to the memory of the group and to activate it in view of actual memory performances. Patrilinear succession thus appears as a potent and authoritative notion which is able to acknowledge and flexibly respond to crisis. In the passages under consideration, this potential becomes especially apparent in the form of embedded narratives and intertextual references. These genealogical forms are employed to stimulate discussion, to trigger themes virulent in the narrative intertexts, and to forward possible solutions.

On the other hand, the ambiguous pattern of dealing with fissures has a flipside, which highlights another aspect of the potency of the patrilinear succession concept. It is constructed as able to withdraw power from new genealogical agents in favor of the pater familias. Here, especially the form of genealogical formulas is used to restrict complexity and to overtly re-institute the patriarchal order. This also includes the ability to deactivate and repress potential for sociopolitical change, which may evolve from the solutions the texts themselves suggested. In other words, the notion of the patrilinear succession serves as a basis to regulate the impact and potency of admittedly complex genealogical agents that are brought into the textual action.

In conclusion, the ambiguous take on fissures in the patrilinear succession exposes a balancing act between its different qualities. Positively speaking, patrilinear succession appears as a notion of transfer that secures a given structure and order, which enables mapping roots and relationships of the community over a longer time span. Part of this order is to involve different group members in times of crises and change. Negatively speaking, patrilinear succession appears as an authoritarian concept. It reduces the richness of transfer by repeatedly depriving involved agents of their genealogical agency, participation, and power, as soon as their gain/contribution has been adduced. From the latter perspective, the concept only pretends to be flexible and innovative. But in practice, it brings the transfer to the limits of being relevant beyond a certain group whose privileges it secures.

4.3 Women as Eponymous Ancestors and Heads of Lineages

The narratives just discussed are embedded in formalized genealogical language, but, as embedded narratives, also transcend it. Moreover, they feature protagonists who constitute part of Judah/Israel, but who are also outsiders due to gendered, ethnic, and social difference. Other passages refer to women in regular genealogical formulas and provide

³⁵ Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192 (156-170).

them with positions at the core of the lineage. In the next step, I will complement the previous analysis with such examples and discuss the passages on Ephrathah, eponymous ancestor of a major Davidic clan (2:19; 2:50; 4:3), and Zeruah, sister of David and head of a segment of the Davidic genealogy (2:16–17). Both characters hold key genealogical positions. Moreover, they are referred to in given genealogical formulas. By doing so, female characters seem to fill classical genealogical positions and forms usually reserved for men.³⁶

Ephrathah

Ephrathah stands out as eponymous ancestress of the clan of the same name. The clan settled in and around Bethlehem and brought forth the Davidic dynasty.³⁷ As an eponymous ancestor, Ephrathah may be identified as a “real or created person for whom a place, clan, or tribal group is named.”³⁸ In the genealogical context, eponymous ancestors specifically function as founding ancestors of lineages. The occurrence of Ephrathah in the genealogies of Judah pools traditions, narratives, and places that are linked to her name. Among them are the location-bound origins of the Davidic dynasty and one of various traditions on Rachel’s tomb.³⁹ In addition, other biblical texts place Ephrathah so closely to Bethlehem that Ephrathah appears as an alternative name for Bethlehem (e.g. Gen 35:16–20).⁴⁰

The genealogies of Judah refer to Ephrathah three times.⁴¹ The first reference to Ephrathah introduces her as wife of Caleb and mother of Hur (2:19b).

2:19b And Caleb took for him Ephrath. And she bore him Hur.

The second reference to Ephrathah lists her in connection to Caleb and Hur again (2:50–51).

2:50a These were the sons of Caleb.

50b The sons of Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah: Shobal, the father of Kiriath-jearim, 51 Salma, the father of Bethlehem, Hareph, the father of Beth-gader.

In this second reference, the relations between the protagonists change slightly. Ephrathah and Caleb are linked through Hur but are no longer identified as husband and wife. Hur is listed after Caleb and thus possibly as his son. However, there is no logical transition from v. 50a to v. 50b. Instead, the passage makes sense when v. 50a is read as a concluding summary of the previous section, the lineage of Caleb (2:42–49). Hence, in accordance

³⁶ Labahn and Ben Zvi, argue that “1 Chronicles 1–9 presents some women in roles that were commonly assigned to mature males in the society,” before all the role of head of the family and of builder of cities. Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, pp. 473–475.

³⁷ For an introduction to the traditions related to Ephrathah as a person and as a place, see Lamouette M. Luker, ‘Ephrathah (Person)’, *ABD* II, p. 557; Lamouette M. Luker, ‘Ephrathah (Place)’, *ABD* II, pp. 557–558; and Aaron Demsky, ‘The Clans of Ephrath: Their Territory and History’, *Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University* (1986.1), pp. 46–59.

³⁸ Karla G. Bohmbach, ‘Names and Naming in the Biblical World’, in *WiS*, pp. 33–40 (36).

³⁹ Luker, ‘Ephrathah (Place)’, pp. 557–558.

⁴⁰ See also Judg. 19 for the strong connection between Ephrathah and Bethlehem Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 82.

⁴¹ See also the occurrence of the place Caleb-ephrathah in 2:24. It reads that Caleb’s father Hezron died in Caleb-ephrathah. An alternative text-critical interpretation suggests reading that Caleb went into Ephrathah after the death of Hezron, e.g. Knoppers. *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 299.

with Knoppers and the JPS, I take v. 50b as opening formula that marks a beginning.⁴² If v. 50a is attributed to the previous section, the connection between Caleb and Hur and concurrently between Caleb and Ephrathah takes a back seat. In contrast, the passage closely relates Ephrathah and Hur. While Hur is listed as the son that Ephrathah bore to Caleb in 2:19b, the actual passage introduces him as the firstborn of Ephrathah. This identification is repeated in the third reference to Ephrathah (4:4).

4:4 And Penuel, the father of Gedor, and Ezer, the father of Hushah. These were the sons of Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah, the father of Bethlehem.

The passage confirms the status of Hur as the firstborn of Ephrathah as a critical feature of his identity. This is supported by the reference to Bethlehem. Verse 4b identifies either Ephrathah or her firstborn Hur as “father” of Bethlehem.⁴³ In both cases the tradition to link/identify Ephrathah and Bethlehem is activated in view of determining Hur’s identity.

The shifting connections between Ephrathah, Hur, and Caleb shed light on the different ways the text deals with Ephrathah’s position as eponymous ancestor. Where emphasis is on the relation between Ephrathah and Hur, the text recognizes Ephrathah as mother of Hur with far reaching implications. Ephrathah is identified as the one who provides Hur with the status of firstborn and links his identity to Bethlehem. Hur is primarily qualified as the son of his mother and only secondarily as the son of his father. Ephrathah appears as a mother with the potency to qualify her son as a/her firstborn and to link him to a central place.

Where emphasis is on the relation between Ephrathah and Caleb the text seems to pursue another picture of Ephrathah. She is then introduced as the wife of Caleb, and Hur appears as primarily linked to Caleb: Caleb takes Ephrathah for him and she bears him Hur (2:19b).⁴⁴ However, the arrangement appears clumsy in 2:50–51 and disappears altogether in 4:4. The assertion that Ephrathah bore Hur to Caleb (2:19b) is countered by the double formula in 2:50 and 4:4 (“Hur firstborn of Ephrathah”). The image of Ephrathah as (dependent) wife of Caleb again takes a back seat in favor of her characterization as a potent founding mother.

Shifting connections may be read as an attempt to channel and limit Ephrathah’s authority by way of depicting her as relational to her husband Caleb and attributing her firstborn to him (2:19b). However, this attempt is not successful. Instead, in their entirety, the references bring into focus that Ephrathah occupies a central position in the genealogies of Judah. As Knoppers puts it: “One of Judah’s major clans is matriarchal in nature (2:50b–55; 4:4).”⁴⁵ Moreover, her repeated occurrence in the genealogies activates the pool of traditions, narratives, and places evolving around her. It makes this pool available as a

⁴² So Knoppers (Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, pp. 310–311) and the JPS. Against the Masoretic text demarcation, which, by means of a *setuma*, suggests reading 2:50a as a—rather clumsy—opening phrase to the subsequent lineage of Hur.

⁴³ Strictly speaking, 4:4b lists Ephrathah as the father of Bethlehem (בני־חור בכור אפרתה אבי בית לחם). Considering Hur as the one who is meant to be the father of Bethlehem would function by interpreting “the firstborn of Ephrathah” and “the father of Bethlehem” as two appositions to Hur. The *BHS* apparatus deals with the problem by introducing הִיא and deleting בִּי (בי would then be read as a dittography). This would result in the reading “that is Bethlehem.”

⁴⁴ Willi understands the marriage between Ephrathah and Caleb as expression of the fact, that Caleb gains influence in Northern Judah. Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, p. 95.

⁴⁵ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 358.

resource for the formation and enunciation of memory and identities. Ephrathah is a female figure who is provided with the critical genealogical position of eponymous ancestor, equipped with formalized genealogical language (“Hur firstborn of Ephrathah”), and bound to central traditions of Judah. The references to her bring into focus a challenge to the exclusiveness of patrilinear succession that is at the center of the Judah traditions and narratives.

Zeruiah

The second example of a female-gendered passage that centers on a woman in a key genealogical position and employs formalized genealogical language is a passage on Zeruiah. Zeruiah appears with her sister Abigail at the end of a lineage that reaches from Hezron to the generation of David (2:9–15). The lineage terminates with a list of David and his brothers. At its end is a reference to their sisters Zeruiah and Abigail (2:16a).⁴⁶

2:9 The sons of Hezron who were born to him: Jerahmeel, Ram, and Chelubai. 10 Ram begot Amminadab; Amminadab begot Nahshon, prince of the sons of Judah. 11 Nahshon begot Salmon; Salmon begot Boaz; 12 Boaz begot Obed; Obed begot Jesse; 13 Jesse begot Eliab his firstborn. And Abinadab the second; Shimea the third; 14 Nethanel the fourth; Raddai the fifth; 15 Ozem the sixth; David the seventh. 16a Their sisters: Zeruiah and Abigail.

The reference to Zeruiah and Abigail is set in a standard formula that recurs throughout 1 Chronicles 1–9.⁴⁷ Zeruiah pertains to the five out of 11 sisters, who are known from inner-biblical intertexts. In addition, the genealogies themselves elaborate on her position in the lineage. The text continues as follows:

2:16b The sons of Zeruiah: Abishai, Joab, and Asahel, three. 17 Abigail bore Amasa. And the father of Amasa was Jether the Ishmaelite.

2:16b marks a new beginning with the opening formula and lists the sons of Zeruiah: “The sons of PN1: PN2, PN3, PN4, three.” This is followed by a note on the son of Abigail and his Ishmaelite father (2:17). At this point in the text, the sons of Zeruiah and Abigail are the only ones to carry the lineage from Hezron to David into the next generation.

The list of the sons of Zeruiah is noteworthy. It employs the opening formula that is regularly used for listing male heads of a lineage and their sons (see e.g. 2:6; 3:23; 4:1). In 2:16b Zeruiah occupies the formal slot of father and head of lineage. In addition, the father of the sons of Zeruiah, in other words the one who might be expected to be listed as head of the lineage, is not referred to.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The view that Zeruiah and Abigail were Jesse’s daughters contradicts 2 Sam. 17:25, which recounts that Abigail was the daughter of Nahash. The same passage also mentions a different father of Abigail’s son Amasa. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 77.

⁴⁷ See Chapter 3 for the details of the formula and of the sisters occurring in this formula, Chapter 3: *1 Chronicles 1–9 and its Gendered Fragments*, pp. 67–91 (87).

⁴⁸ Wacker emphasizes that the sons of Zeruiah regularly occur as “sons of Zeruiah” (e.g. 2 Sam. 18). For example, Joab, commander of David, is always referred to as “son of Zeruiah” (e.g. 1 Chron. 11:6, 39; 18:15; 26:28; 27:24). Wacker, ‘Die Bücher der Chronik: Im Vorhof der Frauen’, p. 150. For Zeruiah and her sons see also Athalya Brenner, ‘My Sons, the Generals; I Am Zeruiah Sister of David’, in *I am...: Biblical Women Tell Their Stories* (Athalya Brenner, Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), pp. 147–154.

Parallel cases are passages that list mothers in comparable formulas, for example Helah the mother of Zereth, Izhar, and Ethnan (4:7), and Naarah the mother of Ahuzzam, Hopher, Temeni, and Haahashtari (4:6).⁴⁹ However, in these instances, the father (and husband) is listed as well. The only other sister and mother listed without any reference to the father of her children is Hammolecheth, the sister of Machir (7:19).

It is difficult to assess the implications of the occurrence of Zeruah (and other women) in the formal position of head of a lineage. Labahn and Ben Zvi summarize the duties attributed to the position of a head of the family as including the duty “to lead the family, represent it in public, manage its properties and the goods it produces, participate in trades as required and the like,” and to participate in the “local, ‘political’ life of their community.”⁵⁰ Among these tasks, they consider it probable that women were in exceptional cases responsible for the “economic life of the household” and held “decisive authority within the household on internal matters.” In contrast, they consider it less likely that women could represent the family in the public sphere and in political positions.⁵¹ In conclusion, the passage may hint to a possible exposed position of sisters (of the King) in terms of political, administrative, economical and/or territorial autonomy, competence and possessions. However, this must be discussed in a broader textual framework as well as in light of extra-biblical sources.⁵² On the level of the genealogy composition, however, the text is quite clear. Zeruah fills the key genealogical position of head of lineage. This implies genealogical ownership of her sons—they are attributed to her name. Moreover, her name and position as sister of David serve as central reference points for the identity of her sons, comparable to the position of Ephrathah as reference point for the identity of her firstborn son Hur.

Exceptions that Prove the Rule versus Exceptions that Set New Rules

Zeruah and Ephrathah are intriguing figures who indicate fissures at the center of Judah’s patrilinear succession. They make sure that key genealogical and power positions that are usually attributed to men are not exclusively reserved for them. The positions of eponymous ancestor and head of lineage are ‘male mostly’ rather than ‘male only’ positions. Maleness appears as a quality that is regularly but not necessarily required to adequately fill such positions.

The explosive potential of the references to Ephrathah and Zeruah is in sharp contrast to the manner in which they are presented in the text. The text seems to handle their presence in the genealogies as a matter of course. They are listed without further characterization or comment. Instead, the text uses available formulas in order to position them in the lineages. The matter-of-fact integration of Zeruah and Ephrathah may easily result in understanding the passages as exceptions that prove the rule. And indeed, secondary literature often qualifies the passages under consideration as exceptions or

⁴⁹ Helah is likewise listed in the opening formula. In the case of Naarah, the concluding formula summarizes the list of her sons: “All these were the sons of Naarah.” See also 1 Chron. 1:33.

⁵⁰ Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, pp. 473-474.

⁵¹ Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, pp. 473-474.

⁵² For a careful assessment of the status of women at the Jerusalem court, especially of female kin and spouses of the king and of female administrative personnel, see Anna Kiesow, *Löwinnen von Juda: Frauen als Subjekte politischer Macht in der jüdischen Königszeit* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2000), pp. 80-95.

selected transgressions.⁵³ Against this assessment, I claim that the text actively works toward presenting the women figures as exceptions that prove the rule, thereby downplaying their impact. This claim starts out from the significant differences between the passages on Ephrathah and Zeruiah and the embedded narratives on Tamar and the nameless daughter of Sheshan.

In a comparison between the two sets of passages, several aspects stand out. First, Ephrathah and Zeruiah are referred to in formalized genealogical language rather than in embedded narratives.

Next, Ephrathah and Zeruiah occur in instances of functioning patrilinear successions rather than in instances of blocked or jeopardized lineages. In this context, Ephrathah and Zeruiah occupy respectable patriarchal positions (eponymous ancestor and head of lineage). They are insiders and located at the center of the self-conceptions and power of Judah and the house of David. In contrast, Bath-shua, Tamar, and the nameless daughter of Sheshan occupy genuine female roles (mother, wife, and daughter). Moreover, the women as well as the Egyptian slave Jarha hold insecure social positions (foreigner, widow, nameless daughter, and slave). They are outsiders in terms of gendered, ethnic and social difference.

Finally, Ephrathah and Zeruiah do not represent their generation (this is done by Caleb and by David) but coin the next generation: their sons are identified as firstborn and sons of Ephrathah and Zeruiah, respectively. In contrast, Tamar, the daughter of Sheshan, and Jarha temporarily represent their generation but are deprived from coining the next one.

The comparison highlights features in the actual passages that allow for smooth integration of Ephrathah and Zeruiah into the text. The use of formalized genealogical language in the context of functioning patrilinear succession provides an excellent setting for slipping in women such as Ephrathah and Zeruiah in an inconspicuous way. Moreover, situating them at the center of self-definitions of Judah, providing them with respectable patriarchal positions, and pairing them with male protagonists who unambiguously represent their generation decreases the provocative potential inherent in the narratives. All these features work toward introducing Ephrathah and Zeruiah in a way that makes it easy to read them as exceptions and by doing so, to downplay their impact.

The mechanism of downplaying the explosive potential of woman figures such as Ephrathah or Zeruiah kicks off yet another dynamic. The integration of women in central positions as a matter of course recurs throughout the genealogies of Judah and beyond. The references to Ephrathah and Zeruiah thus constitute a wider web of passages in which the fissures they indicate provoke echoes.

The fissures echo in two directions. First, the passages link up with woman figures who likewise occupy the syntactical position of head of lineage.⁵⁴ Second, the passages connect Zeruiah with a structure of sisters throughout the genealogies of Judah and beyond. The references to Zeruiah and Ephrathah significantly gain power through these echoes in the wider context of 1 Chronicles 1–9. Echoes are sustained by the use of the same genealogical formulas that confirm and elongate fissures evolving around the woman figures under consideration. They indicate scopes for female agency and challenge the status of exceptions toward permanent fissures in the patriarchal succession.

⁵³ See for example Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, p. 358; and Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, pp. 458, 473.

⁵⁴ For example, 1:32 (Keturah); 4:6 (Naarah); 4:7 (Helah); 4:18 (Bithiah).

The mechanism of dealing with outstanding female figures by means of integrating them as exceptions that prove the rule provokes a delicate balance in the texts. On the one hand, the concept of patrilinear succession appears as a leading concept that easily links up with central constituents of the genealogies in order to advance their interest. Most important in this respect is the use of formalized genealogical language. On the other hand, the notion of patrilinear succession appears as permeated by ‘exceptions’ that unfold a dynamic to duplicate their impact by means of echoing throughout the genealogy composition. Again, formalized language is crucial for this process. Patrilinear succession thus remains a leading notion of the genealogical memory transfer. However, its authority is fragile. Echoes of the references to Ephrathah and Zeruiah bring numerous comparable passages to the fore. Brought into focus, they may permeate patriarchal succession to a point that its authority may risk losing control.

4.4 Obscured Female Agency in Text-critically Difficult Passages

The last set of female-gendered passages that indicate fissures in the patrilinear succession stands out through the collapse of syntactical coherence and meaning around a cluster of references to women (2:18–19 and 4:17–18). The examples thus adhere to the centrality of form and formalized language. However, they do so by reflecting on instances of deconstruction of formalized language within the text. At the same time, the theme of a potential loss of control is pursued on the level of language.

My analysis of 2:18–19 and 4:17–18 builds on Julie Kelso’s observation that women often appear in text passages that are text-critically unclear and difficult to make sense of. In this context, Kelso likewise elaborates on 2:18–19,⁵⁵ which serves as an important basis for her argument that in 1 Chronicles 1–9, the occurrence of women, as well as of the verb *yld*, induce “grammatical and/or syntactical breakdowns,” “contradictions,” and “a breakdown of realism.”⁵⁶ However, while for Kelso, observations on breakdowns of grammar, coherence, and realism are part of her larger conclusion that the text advances a fantasy of male mono-sexual (re)production,⁵⁷ my interest in the passages that feature women in the context of text-critically difficult passages is the question how these passages address female agency and the matter of fissures in the patriarchal succession. My argument will be that these passages attest to an interest in actively obscuring negotiations at the basis of the texts and to prevent the texts being contested, now or in the future.

Women in 1 Chronicles 2:18–19

Let me begin with 1 Chron. 2:18–19:

2:18 And Caleb son of Hezron begot (with) Azubah, a woman, and (with) Jerioth. These were her sons: Jeshar and Shobab and Ardon. 19 And Azubah died; and Caleb took for him Ephrath; and she bore him Hur.

V. 18a starts out with the recurring phrase “PN1 begot PN3.” The phrase is frequent to 1 Chronicles 1–9.⁵⁸ As a rule, it begins with a masculine subject followed by the verb לָדָר

⁵⁵ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, pp. 129–139.

⁵⁶ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 156.

⁵⁷ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 162.

⁵⁸ See for example 2:10–13 and 2:36–41.

hiphil (to beget).⁵⁹ This is followed by one or several direct masculine objects, often marked by the object-marker אֵת. In the passage under consideration, the phrase is modified inasmuch as the object-marker אֵת is followed by two feminine objects, Azubah and Jerioth. One of them, Azubah, is explicitly identified as אִשָּׁה (woman/wife). V. 18b continues with the opening phrase “these were her sons” followed by a list of sons. The subject of the opening phrase is indicated by means of a suffix pronoun in the first person feminine singular (בְּנִיהָ). The pronoun may refer to Azubah or to Jerioth. V. 19a records Azubah’s death. It is the only instance in 1 Chronicles 1–9 that records the death of a listed woman. After the death of Azubah, Caleb marries Ephrathah, who bears Hur to him (2:19b).

The passage raises plenty of questions. Does the text indeed record that Caleb begot Azubah, a woman, and Jerioth, and recall that a row of sons was attributed to one of them? If so, which status does Azubah have as a character of which the text makes sure to state that she is a female, whose death is recorded, and who is succeeded as wife of Caleb by Ephrathah, mother of Hur? As an alternative reading, the object marker אֵת may be regarded as preposition (with).⁶⁰ This may be combined with the text-critical reconstruction of the apposition “a woman” as “his woman/wife.”⁶¹ In this alternative reading, either Caleb would beget with Azubah and with Jerioth, or Caleb would beget Jerioth with Azubah. The modification raises additional questions. If Azubah and Jerioth are indeed listed as wives of Caleb with whom he fathered sons, what impact has the fact that this information is given in a phrase that is usually reserved for fathers who beget sons? How is the agency of reproduction divided between Caleb, Azubah and Jerioth in this form of collaboratively begetting sons? The same questions have to be raised if one assumes that Caleb and Azubah begot Jerioth, who would then appear as a daughter who continues the line and owns the subsequent list of sons.

The benefits of modifying and text-critically reconstructing the passage seem to be limited. Alternative readings are not able to entirely sort out the relationships between Caleb, Azubah, Jerioth, and Ephrathah. Nor do they succeed in entirely clarifying role and agency for the women involved. Instead, the syntax of the passage remains odd. The genealogical associations of its protagonists remain ambivalent. The problems of interpretation are displaced. The ambiguity of the passage makes it difficult to analyze the position of the women it refers to. One may advance assumptions about their position and reputation. However, the complicated condition of the passage keeps them hypothetical. Azubah may have been an important ancestress in the Calebite lineage—or just a wife of Caleb. Jerioth may have been a daughter who passed on the line—or just a secondary wife of Caleb. Ephrathah may have been Azubah’s successor in an exposed position—or just another wife of Caleb. The difficult condition of the text primarily communicates ambiguity toward the gendered position and agency of the protagonists in question.

⁵⁹ Kelso translates the hiphil form of *yld* causatively as “caused to bear,” Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, pp. 130-131 and 160.

⁶⁰ For example Jacob M. Myers, *I Chronicles* (AB, 12; New York: Doubleday, 1965), p. 10; and Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 72. Against this reading, Kelso argues that in all other cases in which the hiphil of *yld* is used, the direct object of the verb is marked with an אֵת. As a consequence, she reads the passage as “a slip pointing to the fantasy of male birth; in this case, a man bears those who ‘in reality’ are the only ones who can bear.” Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 160.

⁶¹ *BHS* apparatus suggests reading אֵת אִשָּׁהּ instead of אֵת אִשָּׁהּ with reference to the Peshitta, Targum, and Arabic Translations.

The Women in 1 Chronicles 4:17–18

The unclear state of 2:18–19, and its link to the ambiguous presentation of its female agents, seems to be mirrored in a passage within the second part of the genealogies of Judah. 1 Chron. 4:17–18 is even more difficult to understand and has a similarly elaborate history of text-critical reconstruction. The text reads as follows:

4:17 The son of Ezra: Jether, Mered, Ephraim, and Jalon. She conceived Miriam, Shammai, and Ishbah, the father of Eshtemoa. 4:18 His wife, the Judahite, bore Jered, the father of Gedor, Heber, the father of Soco, and Jekuthiel, the father of Zanoah. These are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered married.

Verse 17 begins with a list of sons, including Mered who reappears at the end of the passage. Verse 17a announces only one son (בן, singular), however, a list of sons follows. Verse 17b states that a certain “she” conceived (תהר, qal imperfect narrative third feminine singular), and opens a second list of descendants. Among them are Miriam, probably a daughter, and Ishbah, the “father” of a place. The verb תהר (to conceive) disturbs the reading process and raises questions. First of all, it is not clear who the female subject of the verb is. Second, תהר qal is a verb that does not expect a direct object as for example ילד (to bear) would. It is thus an odd replacement of the verb ילד (to bear), which is dominant in the context. The subsequent verse is even more striking. It begins with a row of sons, all three also being “fathers” of a place. They are born by “his” wife, the Judahite, whereas “his” identity again remains obscure. Even more striking is the fact that the list of the sons of “his” wife, the Judahite, is summed up by a formula that attributes these very sons to Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh and wife of Mered.

I am once again not primarily interested in an attempt to reconstruct a more meaningful version of the text.⁶² Rather, I am interested in the parallels to 2:18–19. As in 2:18–19, difficulties in terms of coherence and meaning appear in a passage that provides a dense web of references to women. Difficulties concentrate around the gendered references. 4:17–18 additionally involves the issues of ethnicity and place. As in 2:18–19, female agency in procreation and female genealogical ownership are hinted at. And as in 2:18–19, an assessment of this agency and ownership has to remain provisional and ambiguous.

Collapses of Genealogical Forms and the Patriarchal Succession in Crisis

Both passages hint at fissures in the patriarchal succession inasmuch as they allow for assumptions about female agency in procreation and for the attribution of lineages to women. The women under consideration are recipients of male begetting or themselves involved in begetting a daughter (Azubah); they identify segments of a lineage (Jerioth, Bithiah); they conceive sons and daughters (“she”); they represent ethnic and territorial

⁶² For a common reconstruction see Japhet: “The generally accepted reconstruction of these lines is that proposed by Curtis (111, following Berthau and others). The words ‘These are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered married’ are transposed from v. 18b to after v. 17a, ‘son’ (17a) becomes ‘sons’ (following some MSS and the Versions), and in v. 17b *wattēled* (‘and she bore’) is added, for the reading ‘and she conceived and bore Miriam, etc.’” (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 114). The NRSV translates accordingly: “17 The sons of Ezra: Jether, Mered, Ephraim, and Jalon. These are the sons of Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered married; and she conceived and bore Miriam, Shammai, and Ishbah father of Eshtemoa. 18 And his Judean wife bore Jered father of Gedor, Heber father of Soco, and Jekuthiel father of Zanoah.”

interests in the Judahite lineage (the Egyptian Bithiah);⁶³ they build up successions between mother and daughter (Azubah–Jerioth; “she”–Miriam); they embody links to related tribes (Ephrathah to Benjamin); and as eponymous ancestresses they pool foundational traditions (Ephrathah). By attesting to all these activities, the passages reveal a dense web of fissures in the patrilinear succession. However, fissures remain intangible and vague due to an extremely difficult and incoherent syntax. The occurrence of what Kelso terms “grammatical and/or syntactical breakdowns,”⁶⁴ establishes ambiguity and a lack of transparency. It counters female genealogical agency and ownership by means of rendering it fragmentary and invisible. As a result, gender-related interests and power dynamics are not openly negotiated. The passages do not make a clear statement concerning the identities and positions of Azubah, Jerioth, Ephrathah, Miriam, the Jehudite wife, Bithiah daughter of Pharaoh, and several other “shes.” Instead, intangibility obscures possible negotiations and contest at the basis of the texts. In the same way, ambiguity represses potential negotiations on the level of the textual reception.

The passages thus expose a double dynamic and ambiguity in how the text handles fissures in the patrilinear succession through female-gendered references. The passages let the reader gaze at fissures in the patrilinear succession but at the same time show mechanisms for closing or obscuring these fissures and for devitalizing their impacts.

The collapse of syntactical coherence and meaning in the passages may attest to an interest in actively obscuring negotiations that undergird the texts. It may also be a means to prevent the texts being contested, now or in the future. Such interests would testify to an authoritarian dimension of the patrilinear succession.

However, the double dynamic of the passages also points in another direction. In the passages, formalized language is in crisis. Given phrases and formulas are not adequately filled and appear emptied from meaning. At the same time, the coherence of the passages’ content (names, genealogical attributions, places) falls apart. Logic and coherence of the patrilinear succession are in crisis as well. The moment patrilinear succession and formalized language fall apart, in other words, the moment in which patrilinear succession loses formalized language as a partner in the memory transfer seems to mark a crisis of its authority and meaning. This crisis is characterized by uncertainty in judgment and weakness in positioning. The lack of positioning in interplay with the crisis of form and logic hints at a crisis of authority of patriarchal succession as a key notion of transfer.

4.5 Conclusion

The Pattern of Exposing Fissures and Restricting their Implications

The analysis of three exemplary sets of female-gendered passages in the genealogies of Judah has exposed fissures in the patrilinear succession. Even though the passages address dysfunctions and limits of the patrilinear succession in distinct ways, a general pattern may be traced: the passages admit to fissures in surprisingly explicit ways. At the same time, they feature movements to limit, downplay, or obscure them—more or less successfully.

In the first sample of passages, the narratives on the jeopardized lineage, the text meets the threat of a dead end of patriarchal succession by means of integrating

⁶³ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 350.

⁶⁴ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, p. 156.

genealogical agents that involve gendered, ethnic, and social complexity. However, this opening is countered by depriving these agents of the descendants they bring forth, thereby cutting back the impact of their integration.

In the second sample of passages, the text admits to the presence of women in central genealogical roles that are usually reserved for men, namely the role of eponymous ancestor, and the role of head of house and owner of lineages. However, the text presents the women as exceptions that prove the rule, thereby downplaying their impact.

Finally, in the third sample of passages, the text allows a glimpse of negotiations concerning the presence of women as important genealogical agents. However, these negotiations are obscured by the unclear syntax and difficult text-critical situation of the passages.

The attempt to restrict the impact of fissures in the patriarchal succession is not always successful. For example, in the passage on Zeruihah, both her presentation as sister and her presentation as owner of a segment of the Davidic lineage provoke echoes in the larger composition of 1 Chronicles 1–9. These echoes undermine the tendency to cut back the impact of fissures and work toward the subversion of the notion of patrilinear succession.

The characteristic back and forth between admitting to fissures and countering their implications confirms my hypothesis that ambiguity is a leading notion for memory performance in 1 Chronicles 1–9. The use of form and formalized language, as well as the constitution of a gendered subtext are central to playing out this ambiguity.

The Primacy of Form

Skilful use of genealogical forms frames the contents of the passages under consideration. It is significantly involved in establishing the interplay between admitting to fissures and acknowledging the contribution of complex agents on the one hand, and cutting back their impact on the other.

In the passages on Tamar and the daughter of Sheshan (Set 1), the form of embedded narrative is used to stimulate discussion and suggest solutions. In this context, a narrative intertext is employed to communicate viewpoints and connotations beyond the possibilities of genealogical structure. On the other hand, genealogical formulas are used to restrict complexity and to overtly re-institute the patriarchal order.

In the passages on Ephrathah and Zeruihah (Set 2), standardized formulaic language is used to inconspicuously integrate outstanding women into the genealogical structure. Genealogical form is used to restrict the impact of women by labeling them as exceptions. At the same time, the use of classical forms provokes echoes, which may bring the phenomenon of exceptions to a point where they may develop a life of their own.

In the passages that attest to a breakdown of coherent form around the mentioning of Azubah, Jerioth, Bithiah and others (Set 3), formalized language is used as a basis to vary and even shatter form. By doing so, formal breakdowns obscure possible negotiations about the position of women in the genealogical memory performance. At the same time, the shattering of form occurs at the expense of taking clear stances and weakens the authority of patrilinear succession.

The text uses different formal tools of the genre of genealogy. None of the forms as such work fully and successfully against or in favor of exposing fissures in the patrilinear succession and related female-gendered agency. Strict formal patterns seem to work against women in Set 1 and 2, but also release powerful echoes within the genealogical structure

and prompt potent memories such as the female tricksterism of the matriarchs. In turn, embedded narratives and ‘syntactical chaos’ work in favor of conceding complexity but are also open to counter-movements in the shape of clear-cut formulas. In conclusion, the use of genealogical forms in order to handle fissures and complexity is done in a multilayered and powerful manner. Still, it results in a tightrope walk between remaining in charge and risking a loss of control over echoes that, as part of a gendered subtext, develop a life of their own.

Ambiguity and the Female-gendered Subtext

Fissures in the patriarchal succession establish a gendered subtext that adds complexity to the memory performance and challenges the primacy of the notion of patrilinearity. The subtext changes the genealogy composition. It makes clear that women participated in the continuation of the lineage within and beyond their reproduction capacities, both at the center and at the margins of the genealogy composition. It adds a multilayered dimension to the genealogical memory act and makes it more rich and interesting. In this respect, different groups must have been able to identify with the genealogical memory performance. In fact, the genealogies of Judah may be read as an invitation to various groups to integrate.

But the subtext is also problematic. The text seems to work toward an opening of the patriarchal succession and toward granting complexity only as long as this serves the purposes of the main text and its leading notions. As the close readings have demonstrated, admitting to fissures and granting complexity triggers counter-dynamics that restrict them as soon as their aims are fulfilled. This leads to the problematic dynamic of inviting complex agents and then silencing them.⁶⁵ In other words, the subtext has a function for the main text and is in danger to be exploited by it.

Even though the subtext has a somewhat ambivalent status in the text, I hold that it unfolds a dynamic in the genealogies that cannot be entirely monopolized. Countering and trying to exploit the subtext does not undo it. In this context, the third dynamic that evolves in the process of a back and forth between admitting to complexity and cutting down its impact is critical. Gendered fragments that are rendered as exceptions but echo throughout the genealogical composition deconstruct the authority of the patriarchal succession from within as do gendered fragments whose meaning is obscured at the cost of taking clear stances. This third dynamic bears an important potential for subversion.

Authority and Ambiguity of the Patrilinear Succession

Focusing on fissures in the patrilinear succession through reference to women informs character and functions of the notion as constructed in the texts. On the one hand, the patriarchal succession as a key notion of the memory transfer allows for a relatively complex memory act. The notion of patriarchal succession seems to involve the ability to actively address crises in the ongoing lineage and to employ different members of the community to develop solutions. This goes hand in hand with an ability to recognize the diversity of the community and to integrate its diverse participants. Next, the patrilinear succession seems to be able to establish and maintain a certain symbolic order. This order seems to coherently correlate Israel’s past to its present in a way that is relevant for different groups and interests within the community. Analyzing fissures in the patrilinear

⁶⁵ A similar dynamic occurs in the genealogies of Ruth 4: after Ruth’s marriage and the birth of her son, Ruth and Naomi disappear from the genealogy.

succession thus reveals how much patriarchal succession benefits from the gendered fragments and the complexity they contribute to the memory act.

On the other hand, patriarchal succession comes into focus as a notion that tends to tilt toward the authoritarian and diminishes the relevance of the genealogical act of memory. This backlash, as it becomes apparent in the various counter-movements of the relevant texts, undermines the authority of the patrilinear succession and diminishes its relevance as the key notion of transfer. It tends to reduce genealogical transfer to an act of memory that is only relevant to those who are privileged by the patriarchal structure.

Finally, patriarchal succession appears as a notion that struggles for a balance between a movement of opening and a movement of restriction. This struggle is brought into action by means of the text's skilful handling of genealogical forms. It is successful inasmuch the main text retains control over the subtext. However, there is also a tendency to lose control in what I have described as a third dynamic, evolving from the ambiguity of back and forth between opening and restriction. Reading the genealogies of Judah from the perspective of its female-gendered references highlights fissures in the male mirror. At the same time, it points to the fragility of the material of the mirror itself.

While the genealogy composition in 1 Chronicles 1–9 features gendered fragments that are embedded in a male memory act and self-conception in the present, the film “My Life Part 2” performs its genealogical memory act by means of establishing a female lineage. How does this female mirror function? What are its key notions of transfer, and how are its contents structured and framed? What do the fissures in the female mirror reveal, and how does it respond to the traumatic past?

Chapter 5 Gynealogy Performance in “My Life Part 2”

5.1 Introduction

This film analysis focuses on the memory performance of the documentary film “My Life Part 2”, specifically on how the film conceptualizes and uses gendered genealogies.¹ By doing so, and in accordance with the film’s intent to unearth the past, I focus on genealogical memory production rather than on forgetting, repression and displacement of memories. Moreover, in line with the context of socializing “My Life Part 2” and Chronicles 1–9, I draw special attention to the role of fissures and fractions in the genealogy performance, as well as to the issue of ambiguity, both themes that came to the fore in the previous text analysis.

The chapter develops five themes. Section 1 surveys the contents and formal elements of the film and provides information about the filmmaker. By discussing the film’s use of time and space, it introduces the intersection of personal and public memory performances and notions of the paradox as key coordinates for the film’s gendered genealogies. Section 2 addresses the quality of gendered genealogy performance of “My Life Part 2”. It depicts the main lineage of the film, namely the lineage of Levi women, and explains why it can be appropriately identified as a *gynealogy*. Section 3 highlights fraction and discontinuity at the center of the lineage, as they complicate the film’s gynealogy performance. In the film, discontinuity mainly relates to the challenge of answering to the Shoah. Hence, I will suggest understanding the film as a gynealogical memory project that aims at answering to the legacy of the Shoah. I will argue that the film brings discontinuity to the fore without abandoning the genealogy project, thereby locating discontinuity within rather than outside the genealogy notion. Section 4 emphasizes the moment of mediation of cultural memory and focuses on the film’s reception and the role of the viewer. It discusses the film’s ability to open up spaces of otherness and to convey affects of concern. An emphasis on the role of film as a medium will lead me to suggest political agency and shared identities as a second setting for gendered genealogies in response to trauma, along with the setting of identity formation and utterance. Section 5 assesses the film’s contribution to the understanding of gendered genealogies in response to trauma and identifies themes central to the crossover to 1 Chronicles 1–9.

¹ Original title: *Mein Leben Teil 2*, Germany 2003; original version: German; subtitled version: English. Screenplay, director, and editor: Angelika Levi; production: Angelika Levi/*celestefilm* in cooperation with ZDF (*Das Kleine Fernsehspiel*); distribution by ZDF and *celestefilm* (Metzer Straße 20, 10405 Berlin, Germany). Additional information about the film at http://www.berlinale.de/external/de/filmarchiv/doku_pdf/20031008.pdf, and http://www.arsenal-berlin.de/forumarchiv/forum2003/katalog/mein_leben_teil_2.pdf (accessed June 08, 2013). Trailer and an interview with the filmmaker on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IMarqtWlOwY>, and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OneLtUTdJ3o> (accessed June 08, 2013).

5.2 “My Life Part 2” and its Location in Time and Space

Contents of “My Life Part 2”

“My Life Part 2” covers the filmmaker’s family history as well as political history from the beginning of the twentieth century to the mid 1990s. Its central locations are Germany and Chile. The story is told chronologically, but events are illuminated by home-movies, audio records, and interviews from different time periods. Ursula Levi, mother of the filmmaker and main protagonist, is born in Hamburg in 1926 to Karla Levi Heins, who was raised without confession, and Robert Levi, the son of a wealthy Jewish merchant’s family. For Ursula, the family name Levi constitutes a link to the biblical Levi and serves as a powerful element of self-conception. Ursula’s father emigrates to Chile in 1938. Rather than placing his emigration into a political context, the film explains that he had to leave Germany because of a non-Jewish lover, an incoherence that is never resolved. Threatened by deportation, Ursula’s grandmother commits suicide. The other paternal family members are murdered by the Nazis. A virtual memorial album commemorates the dead with photographs and voice-over testimonies. Ursula, her mother Karla, and her brother Jürgen (born in 1924) survive the Nazis in Germany. Photographs from the beach at the Baltic resort of Boltenhagen and an audio record of Karla from the 1980s only hint at this period. The film repeatedly emphasizes that neither Ursula’s daughter Angelika, the filmmaker, nor her husband know exactly how Ursula, Karla and Jürgen survived. As an adult, Angelika encounters the time of persecution in distorted ways. For example, she finds a yellow sifter in a Hamburg office building, where an uncle of hers worked until the 1930s. Angelika recognizes the mesh as a Star of David pattern. She cleans it and takes a photograph.

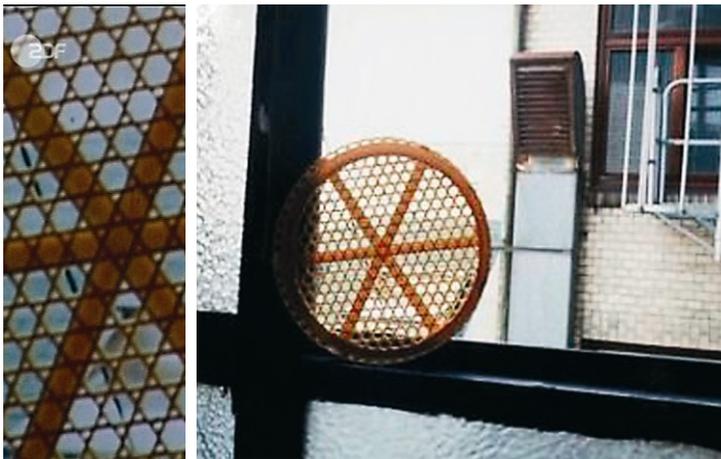


Fig. 1 The yellow sifter (“My Life Part 2”, 00:07:45)

In 1947, Ursula and Karla join Ursula’s father in Chile. After ten years of separation and vastly different experiences, their reunion proves difficult. Moreover, Ursula perceives her situation between being Jewish and being non-Jewish as extremely problematic. In Chile, she studies biology and becomes the country’s first female ecologist. She researches plants that survive in extreme conditions through adaptation to their environment. In 1956, Ursula’s brother Jürgen dies in a car accident in the United States. The time period is represented by a series of photographs that Ursula and Karla took of each other at the same location and in the same postures. Two years later, Ursula and Karla return to Germany on

a research grant from the Alexander-von-Humboldt foundation. The return is marked by a photograph of the Polylepis tree Ursula does research on. The photograph shows a pile of gnarled tree trunks beside a barrack. It strongly resembles the photographs of piles of corpses taken at the Nazi concentration camp Bergen-Belsen after the liberation in April 1945. In a voice-over, Angelika identifies the photo as a turning point, causing Ursula's return to Germany, "back to the site of her trauma."



Fig. 2 Cut Polylepis trees ("My Life Part 2", 00:37:45)

In Bonn, Ursula meets her future husband, a Protestant minister. His name, Johannes Becker, does not appear in the film, but is given in the credits. The church approves of their marriage as an act of reconciliation. They have two children, Angelika (born in 1961) and her younger brother Thomas (date of birth not given; name given in the credits only). Ursula turns from Jewish émigré and scientist to a minister's wife.

Shortly after the wedding, Ursula falls ill. For several years, her complaints are put down as hysterical. Finally, however, she is diagnosed with Hodgkin lymphoma. Throughout long hospital stays, chemotherapy, and the diagnosis that she will shortly die, Ursula meticulously documents her physical and emotional condition. She falls into a severe depression and is pushed to spend time in a psychiatric institution before eventually coming home. Back in the family, Ursula feels extremely isolated. The traumatic past resurfaces and deeply influences the family situation. Ursula perceives housework as an unbearable charge put onto her as a means to tantalize her. She cries while cooking, and her daughter Angelika, fearing that the tears might poison the food, cannot eat anymore. Ursula accuses her husband of planning to kill her by psychological torture. She insults herself with Nazi terms such as "Jewish pig." The account of these years is complemented by interviews with Angelika's father and Ursula herself, providing retrospective reflections. Ursula links her current situation to the years of persecution by the Nazis. The subjective similarity of excessive distress and pain causes her to associate the situations and reenact the trauma.

At this point Ursula's story disappears from view. The plotline shows a gap concerning her development in the 1980s and early 1990s. Instead, a meta-discourse is inserted. Television footage of the German discourse about the Nazi past is juxtaposed with further domestic scenes from the 1970s. Television footage includes Margarete

Mitscherlich's plea for working through the past after the screening of the *Holocaust* series in 1979; Martin Walser's justification of a culture of looking away in 1998; and Guido Knopp's public opinion poll on whether Germans should put away the past (50% positive, 44 % negative). The footage is contrasted with a Christmas feast where Ursula gives her children the necessary documents and money for a flight to Chile. The meta-discourse continues with an interview with Berlin Rabbi Rothschild, who reflects on ways to cope with the Shoah and on being Jewish. He suggests having children and going on with life as one possible answer to the Shoah; life / *Chaim* as another. Angelika reflects on these suggestions in a voice-over. She wonders whether she is the answer of her mother and also of her father to the Shoah. Her own answer will not be a biological one. She and her brother are lesbian and gay, without a wish for children.

The plotline continues with Angelika's journey to Chile in the 1990s. The journey deeply challenges her views of her mother and her own political agenda. Visiting old family friends, who are Jewish emigrants like her grandfather, Angelika discovers that many of them sympathized with Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. Angelika recounts that the clash between anticipation and reality broke open her fixed perpetrator-victim scheme and allowed her a fresh perspective on her mother's story. After this turning point, the film carefully takes up earlier themes, slightly alters them and brings them to a close. The yellow sifter with the Star of David pattern reappears as a bread basket in a café in Santiago de Chile. The beach of early family photographs at Boltenhagen transforms to shots of Angelika among women friends at the Chilean beach. Interview sequences with Ursula readdress themes such as the impact of the name Levi. Whenever themes are taken up, a change in atmosphere occurs.

The film ends with Ursula's résumé of her life: it was her life, and it was ok. Ursula died in 1996 at the beginning of Angelika's work on the film.

Formal Elements of the Film

"My Life Part 2" uses specific formal elements. It presents its story as a montage of archival materials. Materials include photographs, home-movies and television footage, objects and documents, interview sequences and audio records. Among the archival material, family photographs, home-movies and objects are most characteristic. The silent home-movies of the 1960s and 1970s represent the domestic sphere as a place of traumatic recall and the struggle for coming to terms with loss, grief, and isolation. Domestic scenes are juxtaposed with public footage, e.g. the television footage on the contemporary German debate on National Socialism. The juxtaposition embeds the family story in its cultural-political context. Domestic realities are contrasted with public debates, and the interplay of private and public processes in the formation of cultural memory is emphasized.

Objects play an important part, for example the yellow sifter, underwear with name boards, pages of Ursula's herbarium, official documents, letters, notebooks, and a silver goblet. These objects serve as prisms for points the filmmaker wants to make. For example, the silver goblet is a family heirloom that Leon Levi received as a gift of honor from the city of Neustadt in 1871. In the 1930s, Ursula's grandmother asks the girl Ursula to bring her the goblet so she can use it to commit suicide. In the 1990s, Angelika travels to Neustadt, where she finds a continuity of anti-Semitism and racism, which she identifies as typical for West Germany before and after reunification. The goblet serves as a symbol for the widespread ignorance of the past in contemporary West Germany.

The use of archival material is combined with a second critical element of the film, the voice-over. The personal voice-over explains the archival material and serves as the main narrative device of the film. Most characteristically, “My Life Part 2” is an extremely personal film, in which the personal is accompanied by a meta-level history it both recounts and produces.

Additional narrative devices of the film are audio records and interview sequences, notably an interview with Ursula from the early 1990s. The interview introduces and reflects key themes of the film before bringing them to a close. It also serves to both indicate and bridge a gap in the film. The development of the mother in the 1980s is not directly addressed. But the interview shows Ursula narrating and reflecting on the past, thereby indicating that she went through a process of overcoming traumatic reenactment and depression. The viewer learns about the outcome of a process that has not been directly addressed or explained.

A last critical element of the film is its soundtrack, which mainly consists of spoken language and voice-over and sparingly used guitar music. The guitar music includes a characteristic theme that reoccurs throughout the film: a poetic melody, picked on a classical guitar. It occurs four times at central moments of the film. For example, during the opening scene, Angelika Levi recounts how she and her brother used to look at the memory objects of her mother and the photographs of relatives murdered by the Nazis. The first recurrence to the traumatic experiences of the mother is concluded by the guitar theme. The film then uses additional guitar music, for example a single stroke, to indicate the turn from a seemingly happy family to the cancer diagnosis and the resurfacing of the trauma. Along with voices and guitar music, the film includes frequent sequences with either barely audible sound (e.g. wind or clapping beach chairs) or silence.

The Filmmaker

The Filmmaker Angelika Levi was born in Bonn in 1961. She studied film at the German Film and Television Academy Berlin (dffb, 1986–1992). Levi lives in Berlin where she works as a filmmaker and film editor. Her films include six short films and two documentary features.² All of Levi’s documentary features start out from personal relationships, which are then located in the context of political and cultural discourses. This is true for her most recent film “Absent Present” (D 2010). The film traces the journey of a friend from Namibia, who was deported from Germany after reunification. Starting out from the story of a friendship, the film addresses migration, illegalizing people, and globalization in Germany and beyond. In a similar way, “My Life Part 2” addresses the legacy of the experience of the Shoah in the second and third generation against the foil of her own family story.

² “Ariel” (short, 1984); “S.A.R.K. or Traversing the Block as Stations on the Cross of the Footpath” (“S.A.R.K. oder die blockdurchquerende Fusswegachse als Stationenweg”, short, 1987); “Fist in Your Eye” (“Faust aufs Auge”, short, 1988); “Off We Go. But Where?” (“Auf geht’s. Aber wohin?”, short, 1989); “The Little Object a” (“Das kleine Objekt a”, short, 1992); “Desireé & Polylepis” (short, 1994); “My Life Part 2” (“Mein Leben Teil 2”, documentary feature, 2003); and “Absent Present” (documentary feature, 2010). Source http://www.german-films.de/app/filmarchive/film_view.php?film_id=975 (accessed June 08, 2013).

Time in “My Life Part 2”: Cultural Memory Performance at the Intersection of Private and Public Time

The female-gendered genealogy of “My Life Part 2” is intimately interwoven with the film’s uses of time and space. Analyzing how they are used is imperative to identify central coordinates of the genealogy and to understand its function and meaning.

The most specific aspects of time in “My Life Part 2” concern the use of archival footage, especially home-movies. The use of archival footage in documentaries involves the date of the archival record, the period of compilation during filmmaking, and the time of viewing. Intervals between the time layers need to be bridged in the attempt to correlate past and present. The use of home-movies increases the significance of the interval between the date of the recording and the moments of compilation and viewing. It usually involves the difference between the home-movie’s orientation to the personal and private, and the filmmaker and viewer’s interest to contextualize it in the light of historical developments and public discourses.³ The ignorance of the future of those posing on holiday shots or in home-movies stands in particularly strong contrast to the historical knowledge of both filmmaker and viewer.⁴ One possible way of dealing with the contrast is to expose it. For example, “The Maelstrom” by Péter Forgács (1997) repeatedly superimposes the historical time of the compilation onto the personal time of the home-movie, working toward a “staged clash” between personal and historical time.⁵

“My Life Part 2” likewise uses the strategy to contrast personal and historical time. However, its main focus is on interrelating different time layers. This is initiated through involving additional time layers. First, the film adds a period of trauma reenactment in the 1960s and 1970s. During this intermediate time layer, Ursula’s trauma resurfaces and unfolds its power a second time, as manifested in home-movies from this period. The same home-movies show the childhood of the next generation, thus not only pertaining to Ursula’s trauma, but also to the next generation’s present. The displacement of the trauma from the past to the present of the next generation creates a situation in which the trauma can be passed on from parent to child.

The second additional time layer is the layer of recollected time. It encompasses the personal family story as well as its historical context; it suggests perspectives from which to look at the personal and the historical time periods. Those additional time layers work toward intermeshing past and present, personal and historical, linear and distorted time. The use of time in “My Life Part 2” highlights the continuity and interconnectedness of all time layers involved.

Working with home-movies and other private materials, such as photographs or personal objects, entails the potential of using “alternative archives of amateur film.”⁶ These archives can provide accounts that serve as an alternative to dominant history and memory

³ Malin Wahlberg, *Documentary Time: Film and Phenomenology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp. 112-113.

⁴ Wahlberg, *Documentary Time*, p. 113.

⁵ Ernst J. van Alphen, ‘Toward a New Historiography: Péter Forgács and the Aesthetics of Temporality’, in *Resonant Bodies, Voices, Memories* (eds. Anke Bangma et al.; Rotterdam: Piet Zwart Institute, 2008), pp. 90-113 (103).

⁶ Wahlberg, *Documentary Time*, p. 109.

established by official representations of political events.⁷ In “My Life Part 2”, alternative archives pertain to the filmmaker’s own family. The film’s most characteristic way of editing the material is Levi’s autobiographical voice-over. The voice-over relates family story and historical elements from a personal and engaged insider perspective. This insider perspective chronicles the family story, while reflecting on political history and juxtaposing it with public footage and discourses. The result is a film that is extremely personal but likewise “fully entangled with public discourses.”⁸ In this characteristic aspect of the film, the use of amateur film archives works toward emphasizing the productivity of crossing private and public perspectives of history, memory, and politics. Not the contrasts, but the crossing points between the personal time of the private home-movies and the historical time of the retrospective perspective of the filmmaker are brought into focus. The film’s uses of time suggest that intersections between personal and historical time, and between private and public discourses, are productive locations of cultural memory production.

Space in “My Life Part 2”: Slipping In and Out of Homeland and Exile

The story of “My Life Part 2” unfolds between two critical places, Germany and Chile. Germany is the native country but also the site of the trauma. It’s the place where Ursula and Angelika are at home but also alienated—insiders and outsiders at the same time. Ursula expresses this paradox through her choice of citizenship. Even while living in Germany, she keeps her Chilean passport under the name of Ursula Levi Heins de Becker (00:26:33⁹):

I have no interest in becoming a German citizen again. No, I feel different, even now. Yes, I was born here and I speak the language. And yes, I’m at home here. Germany is my home, of course. But still ... I just couldn’t.¹⁰

Germany is the place of the traumatic past, and the place haunted by displaced trauma. It is also the place where the fear of a recurrence of the terror dwells: When Ursula provides her children with the necessary money and documents for a possible flight to Chile, her gesture expresses her fear. At the same time, it constructs Chile as a safe place.

In contrast to Germany, Chile appears as the place of exile and of the reunion of the family in 1947. It is the place of Ursula’s studies and pride; the place Angelika returns to in the 1990s. But just like Germany, Chile holds a paradox. Home to an important part of the Jewish diaspora, it is also the place of the Pinochet dictatorship. During her first journey to Chile in the 1990s, Angelika painfully encounters this paradox. She realizes that many old friends of her family there sympathized with the Pinochet regime (01:13:50).

Chile and Germany are constructed as antagonists. Throughout the film, the transition between the two places is marked as a dramatic and radical experience. It

⁷ Wahlberg, *Documentary Time*, p. 102. See also Karen L. Ishizuka and Patricia R. Zimmermann (eds.), *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories* (London: University of California Press, 2008).

⁸ Hilde Hoffmann, ‘*Mein Leben Teil 2—My Life Part 2* (2003): Reflections about Recent Autobiographical Documentaries’, in *Gendered Memories: Transgressions in German and Israeli Film and Theatre* (eds. Vera Apfelthaler and Julia B. Köhne; Vienna: Turia & Kant, 2007), pp. 128-143 (132).

⁹ Time indications mark the beginning of the sequence in question. The sequences are to be found back in the scene protocol (Appendix 2).

¹⁰ All English quotes are according to the English subtitles of the subtitled version of “My Life Part 2”.

indicates central moments for the development of relationships, stories, and memory. When Ursula and Karla emigrate from Germany to Chile in 1947, Ursula's father resents the close bond between mother and daughter, which makes the reunion of the family extremely problematic. Ursula experiences the rejection as major shock: "a bigger shock even than the Nazis. I don't know, I'd almost say it made me into a different person" (00:28:14). When the women return to Germany ten years later, footage of transatlantic ships and the voice-over on the journey back is suddenly replaced by a black-and-white photograph of piles of gnarled corpse-like shapes beside a barrack. Only after a few painful seconds does the voice-over explain that the photograph shows piles of cut *Polylepis* trees. The voice-over explains that, for Angelika, this is the photograph that brought her mother back to Germany, back to the site of her trauma. And indeed, Ursula's marriage and life in Germany will become the site of her illness and depression, of the re-enactment of her trauma and the recurring fears.

Ursula and Karla do not go back to Chile, but Angelika travels there in the 1990s, embarking on a transition that deeply affects her perception of her mother as well as her political stance. Finding that many German exiles had sympathized with Pinochet disrupts the black-and-white scheme in perceiving past and present. Angelika always thought of her mother as wanting to go back to Chile. For her, her mother was not German but Jewish and a survivor. There was no way to explain her return to Germany except than as a victim (01:13:15). Angelika's journey to Chile unsettles this perception: "This contradiction changed my view, my black-and-white notions of victims and perpetrator" (01:13:50). The change in perspective indicates the second critical turning point in the film.

Germany and Chile accommodate Ursula and Angelika's experience and self-conception of being alienated at home, of concurrently belonging and being apart. Both places hold the paradox of a homeland that is likewise a kind of exile. To move between the two places facilitates the enunciation of a paradox moment in the story and the identity of the women and their lineage, beyond a diffuse feeling of being different. In addition, slipping in and out Germany and Chile is a central engine to exploiting the paradox for processes of identity performance and emotional and political developments. In this way, the paradox serves as an impulse for development and change.

Slipping in and out of homeland and exile provides an important link to the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 and beyond. Being at home but still returnee, returnee but still alien is a motif both film and text share. However, the situations are not entirely in parallel. The biblical returnees from Babylonian exile eventually take a central role in the memory and present of the biblical community,¹¹ while the Levi family remains at the fringe of both the post-Shoah and the German memory discourse. Still, the parallel alerts to the paradoxical challenge of belonging to a home community in which one is alien as a possible driver for gendered genealogy performance in response to trauma.¹²

¹¹ See Bob Becking, 'Exilische identiteit als post-exilische ideologie: Psalm 137 opnieuw gelezen', *Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift*, 64.4 (2010), pp. 269-283.

¹² The book of Ruth is another example for a biblical text that combines the motif of slipping in and out homeland and gendered genealogy composition. Here, Naomi is the returnee, who belongs to her home community at Bethlehem but is also alien to it.

5.3 Gynealogy Composition: The Lineage of Levi Women Unfolds

Gynealogy Performance versus Gendered Fragments

Genealogy composition in “My Life Part 2” encompasses the filmmaker’s maternal lines, the Heins and Levi lineages and her paternal line, the Becker lineage. The genealogy is established through narratives on and by family members of different generations and through audio-visual family trees. The audio-visual family trees assume the simple and skeleton-like form of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9: photographs are switched one for the other, while the voice-over provides names and dates. Photographs and an extremely limited set of information condense the narratives. The resulting audio-visual ancestor trees reach beyond the form of family saga.

In addition to the family lineages, the film as such revolves around a central symbolic lineage, the lineage of Levi women. The central lineage integrates the stories of the main female characters into a thread that runs throughout the film. It is based on kinship but goes beyond it, as it is likewise constituted by shared identities, political commitments, and the dedication to recall. A critical element of the film, the lineage of Levi women is a central structuring device that serves as a prism for the film’s most vital themes. Its protagonists are Angelika Levi’s great-grandmothers Sophie Cecilia Heins and Recha Levi, her grandmother Karla Levi Heins, her mother Ursula Levi Heins de Becker, and Angelika Levi herself. Even though the women come from the Heins, the Levi and the Becker families, the central lineage is a Levi lineage. The name Levi stresses that belonging to a Jewish German family has an ongoing impact on the women’s lives, memory, and self-conceptions. Speaking of a lineage of Levi women then accounts for its being constituted as a female-gendered and as a Jewish lineage.



Fig. 3 Family photographs at Boltenhagen beach from the 1940s to the 1990s (“My Life Part 2”, 00:20:28 and 00:23:16)

While the female-gendered genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 appeared as female-gendered fragments within a predominately male-gendered genealogy, the female-gendered genealogy in “My Life Part 2” has women at its very center. Here, gendered genealogies appear as strings of women standing in a biological, symbolical, and/or ideological succession. The succession is characterized by the subjectivity and agency of its female

protagonists. What is a foremost male and androcentric project in 1 Chronicles 1–9, is reconceptualized as a female endeavor.

To highlight the fundamental difference between the female-gendered genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 and those in “My Life Part 2”, I suggest the term *gynealogy* for the women-centered female-gendered genealogy of the film. The notion of *gynealogy* stands in opposition to the female-gendered fragments of 1 Chronicles 1–9: while the female lineage is a visible and central aspect of the film’s genealogy project, the gendered fragments of 1 Chronicles 1–9 are hidden in the overwhelmingly male-oriented text. Beyond the two cases, it indicates the performance of a *gynealogy* that has female subjectivity and agency at the center of succession. In this respect, it is also opposed to the concept of genealogy performance, which I understand as inherently male-gendered. Just as male-gendered genealogies are not exclusively male, the *gynealogy* of “My Life Part 2” is not exclusively female. On the contrary, the murdered members of the family, male and female, and the figure of biblical Levi play central roles. Moreover, gender is intimately interwoven with additional subject positions such as Jewish identities. Still, at its core, the film’s *gynealogy* establishes a space in which the complex and often complicated memory, subjectivity, and agency of the participating women can take central stage.

Grandmother–Granddaughter Relationships: Unearthing the Trauma

The central lineage of Levi women is handed down in the relationships between the women of the family. The grandmother–granddaughter and the mother–daughter relationships involve political empathy and bodily practices that I will discuss in the next sections. They are decisive building blocks of the film’s *gynealogy* performance.

“My Life Part 2” puts special emphasis on the grandmother–granddaughter relationships between Ursula and her grandmother Recha, and between Angelika and her grandmother Karla. Both relationships are imprinted with the experience of the Nazi terror and expand between silence and solidarity.

The relationship between Ursula and her grandmother Recha is addressed in the first minutes of the film. Ursula documents the events around the suicide of her grandmother Recha on audio tape (00:07:50). When Recha receives the call for deportation to Theresienstadt, she addresses Ursula, as Ursula recounts it:

Ursula, in the cupboard at home, there’s a lovely wine goblet, that used to belong to grandfather, a large one. Could you bring that along tomorrow? I want to put the pills in there and drink from that lovely old goblet when I die.

Ursula does not dare to tell anyone but decides not to take the goblet to her grandmother.

I just looked at the goblet and thought, “If you take it, she’ll kill herself. If you don’t, maybe she’ll think about it and go to Theresienstadt after all.”

But Recha, seeing that her granddaughter comes back without the goblet, looks at her sadly and says: “Oh, child, now I have to drink it out of a toothbrush glass.” The following day, the family learns that Recha has indeed died of an overdose. Ursula’s recount underlines her speech- and helplessness in the face of the threat of Nazi terror. At the same time, it testifies to the attempt to recall and overcome silence.¹³

¹³ The wish of Ursula’s grandmother to drink from the special goblet when she dies revokes the death of Socrates as recounted in Plato’s “Phaedo”, as well as the prayer of Jesus on the eve of his

Later, in the voice-over to the footage of an early amateur film of hers, Angelika describes how the traumatic incident wanders down the lineage (00:56:52).

This footage of the stairwell dates from much later. I wanted to evoke how I had slid down the red banister as a little kid. But the mood expressed is another. My mother tried to commit several times suicide with pills, like her grandmother in 1942.

When Angelika embarks on a journey to Neustadt, planning to donate the family goblet to the local museum, she finds that the museum is located in the former seat of the Nazi's district office. From there, Joseph Bürkel organized the deportation of the Jews of the region (00:10:44). At the fun fair of the traditional Neustadt wine festival, she bumps into a booth with a tin can alley. Balls are thrown at cylinders of stereotyped Black, Jewish, and Roma figures. The employee advertises it as a game from the grandparents' time. (00:11:57).

Try your luck at winning prizes! Play along and win! A game for the whole family, for young and old! Who wants to play with me? Stay for a minute and check it out! A game our grandparents played. Just hit three hats with four balls. Play along, join in the fun! Don't get left out!

Not only the trauma of the Nazi terror, but also German everyday anti-Semitism wanders down the lines. The film links the silver goblet to two very different moments in German history. It is central to the relationship between a Jewish girl and her grandmother threatened by the Nazis. At the same time, it points to widespread ignorance of the past in contemporary West Germany. Juxtaposing the situations counters silence and repression. But this time, Angelika's political analysis provides a strong impulse for unearthing the past.



Fig. 4 Tin can alley booth at the Neustadt fun fair ("My Life Part 2", 00:11:57)

Political analysis and solidarity play an even more explicit role in the grandmother-granddaughter relationship between Angelika and her grandmother Karla. Again, the

death "Let this cup pass from me" (Mark 14:36). However, the reference is not made explicit in the film.

relationship is dominated by anti-Semitism, past and present. The key scene deals with the voices Karla started to hear in her old age (00:24:06).

In 1991, my grandmother began hearing voices. They threatened her, talking and singing their way into her thoughts. She called the voices "Telekom." She called me often, believing that, as long as we were on the phone, the voices couldn't come through the line. But they were also in the wall by her bed, taunting her. They were Nazis, insulting her and saying things like, "Off with her arms and her legs! Off into the pond!" ... In 1994, she dropped the name, Levi, in favor of her maiden name, Heins. That subdued the voices somewhat.

The voice-over comes with sequences that show Angelika on the telephone, talking to her grandmother, and of an elderly Karla in a wheelchair, with Angelika caressing her forehead. The voice-over contextualizes the voices with the political situation in Germany after reunification. In this situation, nationalism recurs in tandem with anti-Israel sentiments in the Gulf War and first reports of neo-fascist violence. The resurfacing trauma is again related to a continuity of anti-Semitism in post-war Germany. While Ursula tries to reenact the suicide of her grandmother and later starts to break the silence, Angelika tries to express solidarity and to actually support her grandmother. For this strategy, her political analysis and her second-generation position are critical. They allow her to contextualize the resurfacing trauma and assume a more distant position.

The Daughter–Mother Mirrors

The relationships between mother and daughter are likewise affected by the traumatic experience of the Nazi terror and by the tension between silence and recall. As an additional aspect, they initiate the gynealogy in a concrete bodily form, the practice of mirroring. "My Life Part 2" provides two parallel scenes in which mother and daughter assume similar poses, gestures, and facial expressions. The first pertains to Karla and Ursula. The scene plays in Chile, just before their joint return to Germany (00:36:17). The mirror consists of a series of photographs, on which Ursula and Karla assume the same position standing at a window, beside a tree, on a bridge, and on a square, feeding doves. The order of photographs changes: twice, the photograph of the mother is shown first, and, twice, the one of the daughter is shown first. The mirror is followed by shots of the first pages of Ursula's scientific work, all dedicated to her mother, and by an account of their return to Germany. The characteristic poetic guitar theme, which reoccurs throughout the film, is added to the sequence. Photographs, dedications, and the joint return convey an extremely close relationship between mother and daughter. As Ursula puts it in an interview sequence: "We had almost become one person" (00:28:14). Yet, the bodily practice of the mirror also facilitates distance. The closeness of the duo isn't represented in biological terms but in the form of staging intimacy. The staging has an artificial component, which implies distance. The mother–daughter mirror indicates the moment at which mother and daughter risk to fall into one. At the same moment it facilitates distance and keeps generations apart.



Fig. 5 The first mirror: Ursula and Karla standing at the window sill ("My Life Part 2", 00:36:17)

In the second mother–daughter mirror the focus shifts from play to entanglement. It pertains to footage from a Dutch summer cottage in 1993. In the kitchen, Ursula and Angelika filmed each other with a Bolex (00:02:58). The duo again assumes similar poses. Both women are bent over. Both sport a dark, curly, and somehow wild haircut. Both hands are busy, cutting bread and switching on the cooker. While the first mirror plays with the question of who takes the posture of whom, the second mirror has a more determined hierarchy. Ursula sets posture and haircut: she is bent over the cooker in the fashion of an elderly lady, a posture that exposes her wild hair. Angelika has her hands in her hair and tousles it in what may seem to be an attempt to bring it into a shape that resembles her mother's. The second mirror seems to quote the first one. However, while the first mirror expresses a relationship that conveys closeness on equal terms, the second mirror expresses Angelika's desperate attempt to belong to her mother and communicates entanglement or even compulsion in the process of mirroring.

Angelika's attempt to resemble her mother resumes in a subsequent home-movie from the 1970s. The footage shows her as a girl, sitting at a table and drawing black curls onto a photograph that shows her with straight brown hair. The voice-over explains that she always wanted to resemble her mother and to share attributes that were Jewish in her mother's eyes, "Hair, names, noses, words, humor, facial expressions and gestures" (00:06:41).

The mirror as a bodily practice between mother and daughter is ambivalent. On the one hand, it matches extreme closeness with a sense of play and initiates gynealogy in a way that accommodates intimacy but also facilitates distance between the generations. On the other hand, it conveys entanglement and compulsion in a relationship in which trauma is transferred from mother to daughter. In the first case, the duo went through the trauma together. In the second case, the duo must deal with the crossover from experience to postmemory.

Compared to the grandmother–granddaughter relationship, the mirrors convey the presence of trauma in a less outspoken and more bodily way. Only the two-generation distance of the grandmother–granddaughter relationship seems to provide the necessary

space for unearthing trauma and meeting it with political analysis.¹⁴ Yet, the film as such deals with unearthing the past in the context of a relationship between mother and daughter. Here, the genealogical structure of the film supports opening the mirrors toward recall and reflection.

The different relationships between the female protagonists of the lineage of Levi women form the context within which processes of unearthing the past emerge. Important aspects of these processes are political perspectives, love and affection. Moreover, adding relationships that extend over more than one generation to the central mother–daughter relationship between Ursula and Angelika provides an important impulse toward taking distance, telling stories, and forging cultural memory.

"My Life Part 2" provides a third mirror scene, in which Angelika and her father walk on the beach (00:42:26). Father and daughter sport similar outfits and walk synchronically. However, the voice-over does not frame the sequence in a way that would pair it with the other two mirrors. On the level of gestures, Angelika seems to seek distance. While her father closes his hands behind his back, she has her hands in the pockets of her trousers. Still, in its ambiguous way, the footage is a trace of a subtext to the dominant mother–daughter narrative.

The Jewish Identity of the Lineage of Levi Women

The lineage of Levi women is handed down in the relationships between its members. The contents of transmission are strongly linked to the trauma of the Nazi terror, to the political perspective on it, and to ways of responding to it. All these aspects are related to the Jewish identities of the women. The latter are not easy to define. The women belong to a Jewish family. At the same time, they also have non-confessional and Protestant lines of descent. These lines are responsible for Karla and Ursula's surviving the Nazis; they forge experiences that differ from those of the Jewish part of the family. The film addresses the complicated Jewish identity of the women by interplaying their given and their imagined ancestors, namely the murdered relatives and the biblical figure Levi.

Commemorating the Murdered Relatives

The dead of the family are present in photographs and narratives. A central sequence in this respect is the *virtual memorial album* that commemorates the murdered relatives of the Levi family (00:18:40). The virtual memorial album consists of photographs, portraits and snapshots, which are explained by the voice-over. The series starts with a portrait of Angelika's great-grandmother Recha:

Recha Levi, née Bodenheimer. Committed suicide.

The following portrait shows Angelika's great-grandfather Eugen:

Her husband Eugen Levi. Thrown down a flight of stairs by the Nazis.

At the center of the virtual memorial album is a postcard sent to Franz Levi. It shows the *Reichstag* with the caption "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!" The voice-over comments:

I often wonder what happened to the anger, the fear, the despair of those who were murdered?

¹⁴ This ties in with Paul Connerton, who identifies the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren as the central location for the transmission of memory. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 38.

The next photograph shows Angelika's uncle Franz in a rowing boat.

Their sons ... Franz Levi, murdered in Dachau.

The following snapshot shows her uncle Rudolf, standing on a beach promenade, smiling at the woman beside him.

Rudolf Levi, deported to Lodz. May 10, 1942, deported to Chelmno.¹⁵

The virtual memorial album makes a political statement by listing the names together with the circumstances of violent death and murder. Not the dead per se, but the murder victims are commemorated. The memorial album, a small genealogy on its own, makes the murder victims visible and honors them. It reinstalls their place in the lineage and bestows them with the role of ancestors.

The virtual memorial album is framed by two sequences about the sons of the family, Robert Levi and Rudolf Levi. The preceding sequence recounts the journey of Ursula's father Robert to Chile in 1938. The subsequent sequence recounts the deportation of her uncle Rudi (00:19:29). In an audio record from the 1970s, Ursula recalls a scene at Hamburg central station, the assembly point for deportation: a girl of her age clung to her and repeatedly asked why she, as daughter of a non-Jewish mother, did not have to go. The focus of the account is entirely on Ursula herself. Rudolf's situation and emotions remain out of perspective. The dead of the family are recalled in view of the survivors and inheritors of the traumatic past coming to terms with past and present.

The Imagined Lineage from Biblical Levi to Ursula Levi

For the women of the Levi lineage, coming to terms with past and present is linked to sorting out a both Jewish and non-Jewish past in Nazi Germany and post-war Germany. The difficult situation between the lines forms the backdrop of taking biblical Levi into the genealogy. On the basis of the name Levi, Ursula draws a lineage from the biblical figure to herself and establishes Levi as her ancestor. The opening of the film introduces the link by reading from a paper with ten principles Ursula passed on to her daughter (00:00:00).

Item one read: "The meaning of life lies in evolving toward perfection. Nothing that is created and is good should be discarded. Build on what's already been achieved. You are descended from Joseph's brother Levi, who lived 3000 years ago."

The following interview sequence takes up the issue (00:00:56).

Ursula: "The two of one, Ruben and Levi, twins; sons of Jacob; there the story begins."

Interviewer: "So the Name has a power for you?"

Ursula: "Yes, a real power. I feel it in my jeans/genes."

The interviewer continues to talk but Angelika and Ursula start to laugh.

Ursula: "Yes it is in my genes. It is there."

Angelika: "I thought you feel it in your jeans."

¹⁵ From the perspective of the Chronicles genealogies, the last photograph in the memorial album stands out. Uncle Rudolf and an unidentified woman look at each other smiling. They may be friends, kin, or even husband and wife. The woman remains bare of name and story, as many of her biblical counterparts in 1 Chronicles 1–9. But whereas the latter are introduced as sisters, wives, or daughters, thus in relation to someone, the film as a visual medium allows for presenting the woman without indicating her relational status.

Ursula: “In my genes—how do you say that?”

Interviewer: “Yes it is genes.”

Ursula laughs again: “This is too funny I even don’t own any jeans.”

Interviewer: “That’s correct English.”

Ursula addresses the descent from biblical Levi again at the end of the film. (01:21:27).

The Levis weren’t a tribe you know. The other brothers all got their own tribe. Each brother founded a tribe, most of which were later lost. Levi is the only one without a tribe. He became a priest.

In the scenes, Ursula describes Levi in close relation to his brothers and father. Their family cohesion marks the beginning of “the story.” On the other hand, Ursula identifies Levi as being clearly set off from his brothers. They founded tribes, but Levi did not. Most of the tribes got lost in time, but Levi became a priest, and this tradition lives on until today.

The biblical account confirms Ursula’s sense for Levi’s belonging to the house of Israel while at the same time being set apart. Levi is one of the twelve sons of Jacob and eponymous ancestor of a substantial part of Israel. As opposed to Ursula’s account, however, the Levites did form a tribe. Yet, they did enjoy special status. They did not receive their own territories but inhabited cities in the territories of the other tribes. Moreover, they were appointed for service at the sanctuary and as priests. Their demarcation from the other tribes was substantially based on their privileges and duties as Levites.¹⁶

Establishing a lineage up to biblical Levi on the basis of her last name allows Ursula to link herself to the heart of the Hebrew Bible and Jewish tradition. The lineage confirms Ursula’s Jewish identity. However, things are more complex. The imagined lineage links Ursula to a very particular element in the Jewish tradition. In the Hebrew Bible, priests and Levites belong to Israel, but likewise hold a special status that sets them apart. Linking herself to the bearers of this tension allows Ursula to confirm her Jewish identity while leaving space for the experience of difference and separation. Constructing the lineage on the basis of the name Levi serves an additional function. It runs across the traditional affiliation criterion in Judaism (Jewish is who is the child of a Jewish mother) and therefore provides an alternative mode of affiliation. Being Jewish per orthodox rule is replaced by being Jewish per invented lineage on the basis of a name. Still, both modes of affiliation remain abstractions. In concrete terms, Ursula’s Jewish identity has mostly to do with actual family bonds, shared histories, and the experience of persecution.

Angelika confirms the importance of the link to biblical Levi in a sequence on the name change of various family members. After German reunification, she assumed the maiden name of her mother, Levi, as an artist name (*Künstler- und Ordensname*) in order to express a difference. She adds, “Somehow this was also in accord with the tribal ideology of my mother, the descent of the tribe of Levi” (00:26:13). The scene confirms the importance of the Jewish name, Levi, for Angelika. It demonstrates her Jewish heritage and allows her to enunciate the complexity of her identity. In a twisted way, this again includes

¹⁶ John R. Spencer, ‘Levitical Cities’, *ABD* IV, pp. 310-311 (310); and Merlin D. Rehm, ‘Levites and Priests’, *ABD* IV, pp. 297-310 (300-305). For the distinction between the Levites and the other tribes, see also Claudia V. Camp, ‘The Problem with Sisters: Anthropological Perspectives on Priestly Kinship Ideology in Numbers’, in *Embroidered Garments: Priests and Gender in Biblical Israel* (ed. Deborah W. Rooke; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), pp. 119-130 (121).

the situation of belonging (to German society), while at the same time being set apart (as member of a partly Jewish family). Including the tribe of Levi to the lineage of Levi women contains a paradox. It incorporates the extremely male-gendered priestly Levi tradition into the ancestry of a gynealogy performance.

Given and imagined ancestors are both important for the gynealogy composition of “My Life Part 2”. They intersect in the struggle of the main protagonists to develop Jewish German identities that can meet their multilayered subject positions and the complexity of the family story. The interplay between given and imagined ancestry also highlights that gynealogy composition in “My Life Part 2” does not merely follow traditional ways of kinship. Instead, political commitment, imagination, and ideology play major roles.

Standpoint-based Gynealogy Composition

Along with the specific relationships and references to the ancestors, the lineage of Levi women is decisively shaped by the subjectivity and agency of its female protagonists. A particular way of meeting past and present lives pertains to the different protagonists of the lineage. Features such as political sensibility and humor are characteristic for the women in a general sense, even though they are individually brought into action. In order to understand the character of the gynealogy and its function in the film, it is important to fully acknowledge its ideological foundation. Kinship ties between the women are given and important. However, shared subjectivities are critical to establish, confirm, and engage the succession in view of identity and memory formation.

The women’s characteristic take on past and present first of all concerns what Madeleine Bernstorff calls their “political sensibilities.”¹⁷ The term “sensibilities” is appropriate, since it points less to direct political engagement than to denying a certain normality to take over. This becomes explicit in Karla’s refusal to divorce her Jewish husband during Nazism, as well as in the many instances in which Ursula and Angelika expose continuities between Nazism and post-war Germany. A case in point is Ursula’s reflection on two colleagues from the local paper’s senior citizens page, where she publishes her stories (01:20:33).

Among those who write for the paper, there are two Nazi women. I wanted to quit at first. There are two who keep saying, “Things used to be much better.” “There was no crime.” Right, there was no crime.—Pauses, then laughs—Ha, that’s a laugh!

Rejecting a normality that tolerates latent anti-Semitism and downplays continuities between German fascism and post-war Germany goes hand in hand with the commitment to recall. At the basis of the film is a family story that contradicts the story constructed as the norm in post-war Germany, and which reflects a non-Jewish perspective. Recalling this very family story is an act of counter-present memory and a political statement. Working against neglecting and silencing the past is not self-evident, not even within the Levi-Becker family. The film repeatedly emphasizes that Angelika and her father do not have intimate knowledge of the past. For example, Angelika does not know if the family of her grandfather tried to emigrate and did not manage to do so in time (00:17:19). Recalling is also a struggle against a dynamic of silence, pain, and maybe shame.

¹⁷ Madeleine Bernstorff, ‘MEIN LEBEN TEIL 2 von Angelika Levi, D 2003’ (download available at http://www.madeleinebernstorff.de/seiten/leben_tx.html; accessed June 08, 2013).

Shared subjectivity and agency are closely linked to the women's sense of humor. Ursula and Karla, the two Levi women who survived the Nazi terror, meet the challenge to recall and recount with their characteristic humor. Ursula's humor and infectious laughter are introduced in the opening interview. Ursula explains that she feels the power of the name Levi in her genes—misunderstood by Angelika as “in her jeans.” Ursula turns the confusion into a joke, “that's too funny, I don't even own any jeans,” and bursts into laughter (00:00:56). The same humor goes with Ursula's account of her colleagues at the newspaper. In both cases, Ursula's laughter pertains to existential issues. The power of the name Levi is bound to Ursula's struggle for her Jewish identity. The incident at the local newspaper concerns the fragile visibility of her subjectivity within West German society. Humor and laughter are coping strategies and tools for the balancing act required by recounting and reflection. Part of this is a moment of self-irony, which becomes especially visible in the genes/jeans scene.



Fig. 6 Ursula laughs about the jeans/genes joke (“My Life Part 2”, 00:00:39)

Karla's humor comes through in her account of a flight to Austria on an audio recording from the 1980s. Karla recounts how she and her children had to flee after a confrontation with an SS officer. Finding her destination crowded with Nazis, she takes her children to the best hotel on site and claims a room. The receptionist refuses because of her name, but when she explains that Levis with an “i” are all “Aryan,” they indeed get a room (00:20:28). The story is a typical trickster story in which she faces a live-threatening situation with all her wit and cunning. Karla plays on the absurdity of racial politics and acquires a place, as safe as possible, right in the lion's den. Karla's ironic account ridicules the Nazis and highlights her own agency. Her humor is crucial in the actual situation, as well as in regards to the difficult task of recall. This becomes visible in Karla's late name change from Levi back to Heins. She was able to establish an ironic distance to the haunting memories in the 1980s. But in her old age, and under the pressure of the political developments in the 1990s, the spell of her courageous joke delivered on the hotel staff in Austria breaks, and she has to look for yet other ways of dealing with the past.

For Angelika, humor takes a slightly different shape. It comes with home-movies of the girl/teenager Angelika, who plays the guitar, dances and fools around, and plays the clown together with her brother. Adding this footage to the film testifies to a self-irony that

resembles the self-irony in which Ursula comments on her missing jeans. Still, her clownish ways are quite different from the humor of her mother and grandmother. For them, humor seems to facilitate recall. For second-generation Angelika, humor seems to be a means to dispel the haunting specter of the traumatic past. In one home-movie, Angelika's father joins in the clownish dance. He, too, has a sense of humor. Without explicitly commenting upon it, the visual footage aligns him with the Levi women and sets another note in the male-gendered subtext underlying Angelika Levi's gynealogy.

The women of the lineage actively deal with trauma. At the same time, they are deeply affected by what they experienced or inherited. The film presents its protagonists as complex personalities: humorous and headstrong on the one hand, injured and uncompromising on the other. It does not ignore that trauma may turn a person into someone who is everything but nice and easy to get along with. The women are the heroines of the film. At the same time, they are anti-heroines, making it difficult for the audience to extend quick empathy and solidarity. "My Life Part 2" exposes the multilayered and sometimes complicated personalities of its female protagonists. At the same time, it takes them seriously and guarantees their integrity.

Complex Layers of Reality beyond a Strict Reality–Representation Divide

Classical documentary filmmaking and theory clearly distinguishes between reality and representation. Reality is expressed by a record that touches on the recorded events as closely and factually as possible. In contrast, representation is expressed by the narrative as a place for interpretation, subjectivity, and invention.¹⁸ However, this strict distinction has increasingly been questioned. Film theorist Bill Nichols has argued that performative documentaries, such as "My Life Part 2", give up the reality / representation divide in favor of communicating a sense of complexity of the world. This is linked to combining the actual with the imagined, highlighting "the subjective qualities of experience and memory that depart from factual recounting."¹⁹ Film theorist Stella Bruzzi goes a step further by questioning the differentiation between reality and representation as such. Bruzzi critiques the hierarchy inherent in such differentiation and claims that the document at the heart of the documentary film is always open to "reassessment, re-appropriation and even manipulation without these processes necessarily obscuring or rendering irretrievable the document's original meaning or content."²⁰

"My Life Part 2" likewise rejects a strict boundary between reality and representation. It is less interested in facts than in subjective realities and memory production. This stance toward the discourse on reality and representation is a major strategy in warranting the integrity of the anti-heroines of Angelika Levi's gynealogy. The film carefully establishes the space for different layers of reality within the family, especially as perceived by the mother and grandmother. An example is how the film addresses the hostility of the family, as perceived by Ursula during her time of illness and

¹⁸ Stella Bruzzi, *New Documentary: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 13.

¹⁹ Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), p. 131. See also Chris Lorenz, *De constructie van het verleden* (Amsterdam: Boom Uitgevers Amsterdam, 1998).

²⁰ Bruzzi, *New Documentary*, p. 16. For the negotiation of reality and representation in the depiction and interpretation of biblical figures such as the figure of King David, see Bob Becking, 'David between Evidence and Ideology', in *History of Israel between Evidence and Ideology* (eds. Bob Becking and Lester L. Grabbe; *OTS*, 59; Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 1-30.

depression. The voice-over reads aloud from Ursula's diary, in which she accuses her family to let her do endless housework because they are too cowardly to "immediately kill the Jewish pig." Angelika Levi's lending her voice protects Ursula in this difficult statement and works against exposing her perception as fictitious. In addition, the scene is followed by a retrospective interview, in which Ursula describes her attitude then as one of psychological "association." The diary notes are placed in the context of traumatic reenactment. It is made clear that they are not about 'objective' facts. However, by letting Ursula reflect on the events, her personhood and truth is taken serious. The film never denounces the subjective reality of Ursula as wrong or unreal. Instead, it highlights the powerful impact of experiences. Traumatic experiences are particularly apt to create realities whose vitality depends on other factors than their factuality.

The Male Protestant Becker Line

The lineage of Levi women is strongly female-gendered. It is carried by the stories and struggles of the women of the family; female relationships and female succession are central to the lineage. Men do play vital roles when it comes to determining the Jewish identity of the lineage. Both the murdered male family members and the biblical Levi figure are installed as important ancestors. Other males, especially Angelika's father and brother, have a quite different status. Both remain without name—their names are given in the credits only—and the family of the father is never mentioned. Instead of his own lineage, the father brings the Protestant tradition into the family. Footage shows him as a minister during church service, and interview sequences sketch him as rooted in Protestant tradition. In addition, the church seems to supplement his family and lineage. At the wedding at the Protestant seminary at Bad Kreuznach, his male colleagues function as his family (00:41:15). The sense of a family also emerges in his critical reflection on the minister who baptized Ursula in 1940 (00:39:19). Here, he conducts a dispute typical for the Christian German post-war generation and its parents.

The lack of name and proper lineage together with his identification with the Protestant church *others* Angelika's father and his tradition. The process of othering has a strong gender aspect: the central lineage is female-gendered, while the Protestant context of the father is exclusively male. In addition, the process of othering involves the contrast between the Jewish and the Protestant side of the family. The latter is not restricted to the family, but also links Protestant tradition, as embodied in the father, to dominant West German culture. In an interview, the father articulates the wish to let grow a "healing thing" on the past: "Why should we bring up things that are so deeply disturbing? It's better to let by-gones be by-gones so that healing can take place" (00:59:03). In a voice-over, Angelika assesses this position as a "sentimental desire for reconciliation, but blindness toward the actual effects of divergent histories" (01:08:07). The position of the father is aligned with German mainstream interest in repressing the past. Othering the father and the Protestant line keeps this position outside the dominant story line of the family.

Along with processes of othering, other traces point to a subtext that interferes with the division between the dominant lineage of Levi women and the male Protestant line of the other. The subtext becomes visible through the visual materials. Many photographs and home-movies are far more gender-inclusive than the voice-over narrative would have it. In addition, the subtext appears in allusions to relationships across the male / female and the Jewish / Protestant divide, e.g. in the third mirror between Angelika and her father. Finally, it surfaces between the lines of the narrative. One example is a short sequence

about Angelika's grandfather. The voice-over narration relates that he visited his family in Germany every other year. In his view, it was anything but surprising that Ursula would become ill in Germany. Why would she go back? Later in the film, Angelika herself asks the same question in an elaborate reflection on her attitude toward her mother. A perspective unfolds from which the short sequence about her grandfather becomes apparent as a trace to an affinity within the family, which runs across the much foregrounded succession of headstrong, humorous, and original women. The trace testifies to the complexity of the genealogy established by Levi and hints to its possible subversive layers.

Malin Wahlberg defines the trace as the "presence of absence and as an incentive for both imagination and historical representation."²¹ The trace is part of the poetic enactment of a documentary film, but also of its selection of source material, and of the narrative strategies of representing and invoking the past. As historian, the filmmaker uses material vestiges of the past to recreate and narrate the historical event. Recorded images and sounds are framed as mnemonic signs.²² As part of the creative work of the documentary filmmaker, the trace is less an imprint of what happened in the past than "a constituting sign in the narrative reinvention of history."²³ Understood as such, the traces to the male-gendered subtext are signs in the narrative—and gynealogical—reinvention of the family story. They enforce the process of othering but at the same time hint to a subversive subtext in the gynealogy performance. The trace of a subtext suggests understanding othering and subversion as two sides of the same coin. The male-gendered subtext in "My Life Part 2" mirrors the female-gendered subtext in the Chronicles' genealogies. In both cases, gender is significantly involved in processes of othering and hence in establishing the 'us'. In addition, in both gendered genealogies, further categories are linked to the gender category. They concern ethnicity, religion, culture, and/or social position. Gender seems to function as a category that takes the lead in differentiating, othering, and subverting more complex circumstances.

5.4 Discontinuity with and Inscription to the Lineage of Levi Women

Discontinuity with the Mother Role

The lineage of Levi women conveys a strong sense of continuity: continuity between biblical traditions and present conceptions of being Jewish; continuity between the murdered and those who live in their memory; continuity between the years of persecution and the time of the trauma coming back to haunt; continuity between the women's struggle to survive and their struggle to recall. Yet, "My Life Part 2" also holds impulses of discontinuity. On a most practical level, the Levi and Heins lineages are about to come to an end. Ursula is the last member of her generation. Her children, Angelika and Thomas, chose not to have children of their own. The actual situation of the Levi lineage seems to be an expression of a more profound sense of discontinuity that gleams through the prevailing sense of continuity.

The impulse or even desire for discontinuity is articulated by both Ursula and Angelika. Ursula articulates her longing for letting the line go in an interview (01:08:46):

²¹ Wahlberg, *Documentary Time*, p. 103.

²² Wahlberg, *Documentary Time*, p. 101.

²³ Wahlberg, *Documentary Time*, p. 103.

Ursula: "I am the last, the last from the family." —Laughs— "Except for them." —Pauses—"The last of the family who went through all that."

In her statement, Ursula refers to the actual shift from first to second generation. Her children, she hopes, will not go through the same traumata. On a second level, the sequence communicates an end that extends the actual shift in generation. The difference in experience is perceived as a divide between her and "them." It leads to a moment in which the sense of belonging together as a family takes a step back. It is replaced by an impulse of not tracing the family line further, but rather letting go of the line, bringing the attempt to forge a family to an end. Ursula does not give up family and lineage, but utters a moment of letting it go.

Angelika takes up the sequence in a statement about the film. She quotes her mother, but not fully: "'I'm the last member of my family,' my mother said. 'And now they come along.' She was referring to my brother and I."²⁴ Skipping her mother's explanation adds a moment of distance and exclusion to the scene. It confirms the impulse of letting go of the line, along with a sense of discontinuity. The film combines the interview with home-movie footage of Angelika and her brother, which slowly fades into close-up views of trees and sky. "They" are shortly touched upon but then die away. The characteristic reoccurring guitar theme is added to the footage. The theme indicates central stations of the film: Angelika's confrontation with the traumatic family story in the opening scene (00:01:42); the performance of gynealogy in the first mirror between Ursula and Karla and the subsequent return to Germany as the site of trauma (00:36:17); Ursula's impulse to let go of the line in the sequence under discussion (01:08:46); and the eventual blurring of images and memories on a video screen in a hotel room in Santiago in the closing scene (01:27:28). Combining the guitar theme and the impulse of letting go of the line highlights the latter and integrates it into the thematic key triangle of trauma, gynealogy performance, and memory.

Ursula's statement on being the last one of the family is part of a larger scene about the challenge to answer to the Shoah and on Jewish identities (Scene Eight). It comprises the interview with Berlin Rabbi Rothschild and further reflections by Ursula and Angelika. The scene begins with the Rothschild interview (01:07:25):

The answer of many survivors was to marry and have children. I am the answer of my parents to the Shoah. I was born in 1954 and carry the name of my grandfather who was in Dachau. It is possible to mourn and complain the whole life long, have problems and struggle for one's identity. Or I can say, it was really shit what happened but I will build something new for the future. Founding a family, having children – not everybody wants it, not everybody can do it, but it is a matter of a positive view.

The scene shifts to a home-movie of the Levi–Becker family. Angelika, age 13 or 14, is playing the guitar with a fast and rhythmic beat. Her brother and father dance around wildly, playing clowns. The voice-over responds to Rothschild (01:08:07):

Am I my mother's answer to the Shoah? Was voluntary adaptation, starting a family with my father, her answer? Am I also my father's answer? With his sentimental desire for reconciliation, but blindness toward the actual

²⁴ For the statement as well as a longer interview with the filmmaker see <http://home.snafu.de/fsk-kino/archiv/Mein%20Leben%20Teil%202.htm> (accessed June 08, 2013).

effects of divergent histories? I decided my answer would not be biological. My brother's wasn't either. We were girl and boy, according to plan, and today we're both gay and don't want any children.

The next sequence is the one in which Ursula states that she is the last of the family. The scene then shifts to a discussion of the meaning of being Jewish.

Horizontal Memory Production versus Vertical Genealogical Reproduction

Scene 8 marks a moment in which the film's gynealogy opens into a horizontal same-generation dimension after the voice-over announced a rejection of the biological reproductive continuation of the lineage of Levi women. The horizontal dimension accompanies or even replaces the vertical linear dimension of the gynealogy that prevailed so far. The rejection of a reproductive kinship-based continuation of the lineage is presented as a second-generation decision. Ursula states that, with her, the line of those who experienced Nazi persecution ends. Angelika takes the point further and marks the shift from first to second generation with the decision to work out a different genuine answer to what is not her experience but her legacy.

The horizontal dimension allows a distancing from the vertical succession as embodied in the intergenerational relationships between grandmother and granddaughter and between mother and daughter. It involves a chosen rather than given community. The horizontal dimension focuses less on what is handed down by whom and in what way, or on how the past puts a stamp on the present. Instead, it explores the present in view of discovering which communities, social frames, and discourses are helpful to create a present that can hold past traditions and traumata, but goes beyond it. In other words, passing on what one receives steps back in favor of interpreting, interfering, and bringing about change. This is conceived as an intra-generational dynamic. It takes place in one generation, which is in communication with previous and later generations. In "My Life Part 2", the horizontal dimension is also conceptualized as a homoerotic, particularly lesbian context. The lesbian community stands for the production of relationships, culture, and memory beyond reproduction. Alison Landsberg has suggested analyzing homoerotic intergenerational relationships as a productive context for memory performances. In situations in which memories would be too pain- and too shameful to pass on between parents and children, homoerotic intergenerational relationships may occur as productive sites for recall, narrative, and memory acts.²⁵ Landsberg emphasizes that the homoerotic dimension of such a context is critical inasmuch as it releases the generation of memory from the "heterosexual matrix." The generation of memory is then located in the logic of production and not in the heterosexual logic of reproduction.²⁶

In "My Life Part 2", the conception of production rather than of reproduction relates to the notions of demarcation, innovation, and transformation. Demarcation is decisive in view of the past of the family as well as in view of the present of German memory discourse. Innovation refers to the need to create patterns of relationships and cultural expressions that are able to meet the past, form the present, and think about forms to pass on the lineage beyond the heterosexual mainstream. Transformation refers to the need to involve and rethink patterns, symbols, and stories of the past.

²⁵ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 85.

²⁶ Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory*, p. 85.

In “My Life Part 2”, the horizontal homoerotic dimension does not become manifest in a single relationship. Instead, footage of the moving hands or the streaming hair of women friends and/or lovers hint to its present and mark the inner development of Angelika while pursuing her gynealogy. The footage pertains to the second part of the film, after Angelika’s first journey to Chile initiates a process that challenges and eventually breaks open a fixed victim-perpetrator scheme that had prevailed in the perception of Angelika’s mother so far. After this turning point, the film takes up themes introduced at the beginning of the film. For example, the yellow sifter with the Star of David pattern reappears as a bread basket in a café in Santiago de Chile. The yellow sifter, shot as a static object on a window sill in the first minutes of the film, initially symbolized Angelika Levi’s imperative as being bound to the family story and the pressing experience of disenfranchisement and murder. Now, the yellow sifter reoccurs as a basket filled with bread, touched and explored by the moving hands of women friends. Here the horizontal lesbian dimension of the gynealogy composition comes in as a force to transform and animate the symbols of the past.



Fig. 7 The yellow sifter reappears as bread basket (“My Life Part 2”, 01:19:09)

In a similar way, the motive of the beach is taken up. In the first part of the film, the Boltenhagen beach family photographs convey the pain of absence and stand for the attempt to establish continuity between the generations. Among the Chile footage is a sequence at the beach with women friends that is all wind, water, streaming hair, movement, and light. The footage recalls the static Boltenhagen materials, but adds a dimension of swiftness, flexibility, and movement. Both the footage of the moving hands and streaming hair do not afford a clear view of its bearers. The lesbian horizontal dimension of the gynealogy is spelled out as a location inhabited by potential and plural relationships rather than as a site of clear-cut bonds and family. It serves above all as a hint to a site of memory that interrupts the established gynealogy and at the same time enables the gynealogy to be productive in the face of its traumatic contents.

The lesbian context allows to conceptualize relations between women in the genealogical context beyond the mother-daughter or grandmother-granddaughter pattern and beyond relations that depend on the heterosexual matrix e.g. sisters or sisters-in-law. In

this respect, the lesbian context is a consequent follow-up to the gynealogy project, which constitutes a lineage of women. Still, “My Life Part 2” does not suggest that the horizontal dimension of gendered genealogies necessarily has to be a lesbian one. What the film does is challenge the viewer to imagine and create the present in a way that accounts for formulating, engaging, and passing on legacy and character of lineage in a more comprehensive way than a merely kinship-based genealogy can.

The Answer of Chaim (Life)

The discussion between Rothschild and Angelika involves an additional possibility of answering to the Shoah and beyond, namely life or *Chaim*. Rothschild addresses Angelika and suggests (01:11:36):

A ‘dose’ of Jewishness might be good for you if it helps you to solve your problem. Otherwise, you might seek for other answers. One traditional Jewish answer has been *Chaim*: Life.

The statement is followed by sequences of a live recording of the lesbian rock band Subsonic in Berlin (Blockschock, live 1984), which takes turns with another live recording of a lesbian SM performance (maybe another performance of Subsonic). The next sequence shows Angelika in a winter cloak at the beach, arms stretched out and slowly spinning round. A wind turbine casts the shadow of its rotating blades at the spot where Angelika spins round. The shadow and Angelika rotate in opposite directions, so that blades and stretched arms form a dance pattern. Both sequences remain uncommented—a rarity in the film. They seem to illustrate what *Chaim* might mean for Angelika. However, in their uncommented way, they test possibilities rather than seizing them. Both facets of life are kin to Angelika—diving into the urban lesbian subculture as well as the concentrated enunciation of individuality that becomes visible in the shadow dance. Still, *Chaim* is beyond what Angelika Levi is aiming at in her film. “My Life Part 2” is about building a lineage and responding to the legacy of her mother’s traumatic memories. Angelika Levi seeks to understand the past of her family and how it affects her life and perception. She seeks to find an answer to her legacy, which makes sense at the intersection of family story and political history, and which allows her to draw her gynealogy into her own generation.

The Answer of Levi’s Gynealogy Project

One way the filmmaker Angelika Levi’s answers to her legacy is the actual film “My Life Part 2”. In the following, I propose to analyze Angelika Levi’s decision to engage her position as artist and filmmaker in view of addressing her family story and mediating it to the public cultural discourse as a response to her legacy and as a continuation of the gynealogy she establishes. This gynealogical memory project encompasses the aspects of recalling, of appropriating the past, and of flinging the appropriated past to the future in a mediated memory act. All three aspects are intimately interwoven through the making of the film. They are especially linked to its personal female voice-over, to its archive performance, and to its location at the intersection of family story and public discourse.

Recall as Facilitated by the Personal Female Voice-over

Recall, the first aspect of Angelika Levi’s genealogical memory project, takes place on different levels. For example, interviews and audio-recordings include direct accounts and testimonies, and archival records carry stories and facilitate memory. However, the main narrative device of the film is the personal voice-over of the filmmaker.

The voice-over in “My Life Part 2” is personal, subjective, reflexive, and female. It is in overt contrast to the “voice-of-God commentary” of classical documentary film.²⁷ The personal voice-over marks “My Life Part 2” as a performative documentary. Nichols highlights that performative documentaries use the personal voice-over to support their emphasis on the intersection between private and public processes as the location where knowledge is produced and negotiated.²⁸ Knowledge and memory are presented as subjective, embodied and gendered. In turn, their contingency is identified as a critical starting point for further political analyses.²⁹ The category of performative documentary helps understand the concept of recall in “My Life Part 2”. In the film, knowledge largely refers to knowledge of the past. The personal voice-over is a critical means to stress the contingent character of this knowledge of the past and hence cultural memory. In “My Life Part 2”, the contingent and subjective character of cultural recall involves the filmmaker’s viewpoints. However, it is likewise related to her mother and additional protagonists of the film. Successfully engaging their perspectives is mainly due to the multilayered character of the voice-over. First of all, the voice-over chronicles the family story and relates it to political history. It provides the context for all other recounts. In addition, the voice-over presents the mother’s materials by means of carefully placed explanations, and lends her its voice. Presenting her materials accommodates Ursula’s characteristic way of re-collecting and presenting her story in the form of an archive. It lets the materials speak and acknowledges the mother’s ways to recall beyond direct testimonies. One way of presenting her mother’s materials consists of the filmmaker lending her voice to Ursula by reading aloud from journals and letters. This is especially used in sensitive cases. For example, the voice-over reads from the diary entries in which Ursula links the attitude of her family to her to the treatment of the Nazis. Lending voice lends the authority of the filmmaker to the statement. Later on in the film, Ursula herself will reflect on the statement, but for the time being it is under the guard of the authority of the voice-over.

The voice-over communicates how her mother recalls, but also conveys the viewpoint of the filmmaker herself. It integrates the perspective of the daughter Angelika into the film and provides space for philosophical and political reflections of the filmmaker. The analytical character of those reflections makes sense in the context of categorizing “My Life Part 2” as an “informal film essay.”³⁰ Erik Barnouw describes the informal essay film as a form of compilation documentary that combines historical footage with testimonies of the surviving participants to the documented events.³¹ Part of this is achieved by combining the use of historical footage and testimonies with first-person narrative and observations.³² Understanding “My Life Part 2” as an essay film defines the film’s strategy of recall as a strategy that advances a contingent take on memory performance while insisting on an understanding of personal recall in the context of political history and public discourses on memory. Hence, recall as the first aspect of Angelika Levi’s genealogical memory project encompasses the subjective contingency and the structural political dimensions of

²⁷ Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, p. 101.

²⁸ Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, p. 101.

²⁹ Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, p. 133.

³⁰ Erik Barnouw, *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1993), p. 336.

³¹ Barnouw, *Documentary*, p. 319.

³² Barnouw, *Documentary*, p. 336.

knowledge and memory production. The personal, subjective, reflexive, and gendered voice-over serves to open these different dimensions of recall.

Archive Performance as Appropriation of a Traumatic Legacy

The second aspect of Angelika Levi's genealogical memory act is her appropriation of the family story.³³ Appropriation is essentially linked to the film's uses of archival footage. The use of archival material in documentary is usually analyzed along two lines, either illustratively or critically.³⁴ Used illustratively, archival material completes the narrative of the voice-over or interview. The viewer absorbs the material while she follows the narrative.³⁵ Used critically, archival material is a distinct part of the argument. Extracts of reality are re-contextualized and juxtaposed to effects of polemics, irony, absurdity, or confrontation.³⁶ Angelika Levi uses archival materials to both ends. For example, Angelika Levi juxtaposes German television footage of Martin Walser justifying a culture of looking away with home-movies of the Levi-Becker family dominated by the oppressive presence of the traumatic family past. Contrasting such materials exposes a public discourse dominated by the legacy of perpetrators and bystanders and points to the marginalization of the memory of the victims.³⁷ The confrontation makes a strong point on its own, which also confirms the voice-over narrative.

Angelika Levi uses archival materials in a third most characteristic way. She combines existing archival footage and original footage toward establishing a new archive, the documentary "My Life Part 2" in itself. In the new archive, archival materials serve particular functions. For example, the film includes photographs and home-movies of the family at Boltenhagen beach from the 1940s until the 1990s. Over the course of the film, they come to symbolize the lineage of Levi women from its roots in the 1940s to its performance in the 1990s. In the process of archiving, the materials acquire this specific meaning through repetition, variation, and juxtaposition. The visual motif of the family at Boltenhagen beach also prepares a later contrast with the Chile beach footage, which indicates the shift from the vertical to the horizontal dimension of genealogy performance.

The notion of archive in relation to "My Life Part 2" as such was first introduced by Bernstorff.³⁸ However, Bernstorff stresses the archive Angelika inherits from her mother. She suggests understanding "My Life Part 2" as a process in which Angelika Levi leads the viewer through the archive of her mother.

She inherited a huge archive from her mother and now guides us through this archive with her film. The vehicles of memory are BASF C60 audiotapes from the seventies, 16 mm film, super8 film, digital video, S-VHS video, photographs, written documents, a cup, a sieve, diaries, pieces

³³ By appropriation, I refer to a process of bestowing meaning to something and adopting it for one's own purpose. For example appropriating information means to adapt and integrate information in a way that makes it meaningful for oneself and allows using the achieved knowledge as one's own.

³⁴ Bruzzi, *New Documentary*, p. 26.

³⁵ Bruzzi, *New Documentary*, p. 26.

³⁶ Bruzzi, *New Documentary*, p. 27.

³⁷ For a critical reflection on the German post-war discourse about National Socialism and the Shoah with a focus on the notions of continuity, genealogy, and generation see Sigrid Weigel, "'Generation' as a Symbolic Form: On the Genealogical Discourse of Memory since 1945", in *The Germanic Review* 77 (2002), pp. 264-277 (specifically on Walser see p. 273).

³⁸ Bernstorff, 'MEIN LEBEN TEIL 2 von Angelika Levi, D 2003'.

of laundry, pressed and dried plants: tokens that point into history at the transition between the material and the immaterial. She comments on this in her conversations with the collected, selected, and precisely organized material, keeping the suspense between the unspoken and that what can be said.³⁹

In contrast to Bernstorff, I find it crucial to emphasize that “My Life Part 2” does not primarily represent the moment in which Angelika Levi leads through the archive of her mother. Instead, the film stands for the moment in which she sets up her own archive. This new archive contains materials beyond the archive inherited from her mother. It also draws on public archives, e.g. television footage, as well as on the family archive in a broader sense, e.g. the home-movies shot by Angelika’s father, and on Angelika’s own archive. The new archive also includes footage pertaining to the production of the film itself. This footage is often not entirely in focus, filmed on 8 mm films. It is rendered as archival material and supports the understanding of the film as such as an archive.

In her new archive, Angelika Levi appropriates the family past, in an effort to give her own account of it. The process of appropriating the family story and presenting it anew can be best described as a performance of the archive. With this identification, I tie into a broader tendency in archive and memory studies to use notions of performance and performativity in order to conceptualize archives.⁴⁰ Claire Waterton has highlighted that engaging notions of performance and performativity in archival theory can be seen as an expression of a move toward focusing on contingencies and politics virulent in the archive, and as an expression of taking the “guts of our archives” into the center of analysis.⁴¹ This refers to both what archives reveal and hide.⁴² The notion of performativity especially communicates ideas of process, activity, open end, and change. It conveys that archiving is about producing rather than merely describing reality.⁴³ As Waterton emphasizes in reference to Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, understanding archives as performances conveys that archives are not only about depicting the world but also about creating the conditions under which new things come into existence.⁴⁴ As Ann Laura Stoler puts it, archives are not storerooms of knowledge, but sites of contested knowledge production.⁴⁵

Conceptualizing “My Life Part 2” as an archive performance highlights the fact that Angelika Levi, while collecting, re-contextualizing, and arranging her materials, sets

³⁹ Bernstorff, ‘MEIN LEBEN TEIL 2 von Angelika Levi, D 2003’, “Sie hat von ihrer Mutter ein großes Archiv geerbt und führt uns nun mit ihrem Film durch dieses Archiv. Erinnerungsträger sind Audiokassetten von BASF C60 aus den 70er Jahren, 16 mm Film, Super8-Film, digitales Video, S-VHS-Video, Fotografien, Schriftstücke, ein Becher, ein Sieb, Tagebücher, Wäschestücke, gepreßte Pflanzen. Zeichen, die an den Übergängen vom Materiellen zum Immateriellen in die Geschichte ragen. Im Gespräch mit dem angesammelten, ausgewählten und präzise geordneten Material kommentiert sie dieses, ohne der Spannung zwischen dem Ungesagten und dem Sagbaren auszuweichen.” Translation Marianne Löwisch, Jutta Brettschneider, and Barbara Becker.

⁴⁰ Claire Waterton, ‘Experimenting with the Archive: STS-ers As Analysts and Co-constructors of Databases and Other Archival Forms’, in *STHV* 35.5 (2010), pp. 645-676.

⁴¹ Waterton, ‘Experimenting with the Archive’, p. 647.

⁴² Waterton, ‘Experimenting with the Archive’, p. 648.

⁴³ Waterton, ‘Experimenting with the Archive’, p. 650.

⁴⁴ Waterton, ‘Experimenting with the Archive’, p. 653.

⁴⁵ Ann L. Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance’, *Archival Science* 2 (2002), pp. 87-109 (87).

up something genuine and new. “My Life Part 2” goes beyond presenting the story of the filmmaker’s mother and family. The moment of performance implies a process of appropriating and digesting family narratives and memory objects in view of performing a memory act that responds to the past to which they bear witness. Performing her archive takes her from narrating the traumatic story of her mother to claiming it as her own legacy; to appropriating it; and to linking it to her own story, ideas, and political position. In other words, performing her archive presents a powerful memory act that opens up the private family story to the public discourse on the memory of the Shoah.

Mediating Cultural Memory at the Intersection of Family Story and Public Discourse

The third aspect of Angelika Levi’s genealogical memory act pertains to the film’s function as mediator of cultural memory. Angelika Levi performs her memory act as an artist and filmmaker. This position allows her to fling the appropriated past at public cultural discourse. As a publicly screened film, “My Life Part 2” mediates the family past to the public discourse and discloses Angelika Levi’s answer to her legacy to the next generations. Angelika Levi mediates the past of her family and beyond to present and future. Mieke Bal has convincingly emphasized the importance of the mediation of cultural memory in literature, media, and artworks for the recall of traumatic histories.⁴⁶ Mediation implies an active choice for the second personhood in the memory act. Artists or critical readers who bear witness and facilitate memory as second persons create artworks, photographs, or published texts that function as mediators between “the parties to the traumatizing scene and between these and the reader or viewer.”⁴⁷ Such mediation takes place in sociocultural reference frames and may constitute an “act of memory that is potentially healing, as it calls for political and cultural solidarity in recognizing the traumatized party’s predicament.”⁴⁸

Bal’s notion of mediation works with a clear distinction between the first and the second personhood involved in the memory act. The second personhood of those who mediate cultural memory is characterized by witnessing and confirming the testimony and narration of those who hold the first personhood. In “My Life Part 2”, the distinction between first and second personhood in the memory act is not clear cut. Angelika Levi takes on a double role. As filmmaker, she takes the position of second personhood. As daughter, she is affected by the impact of the trauma on her mother’s life. In an indirect way, she participates in the traumatizing scene and holds the position of first personhood. The voice-over explains the motivation for the film accordingly: “I wanted to understand how a trauma I hadn’t experienced myself was passed on to me and colored my perception” (00:03:24). Angelika Levi shares her position between first and second personhood of the memory act with a number of mostly female filmmakers of the second generation, who likewise address their complex family stories in “autobiographical documentaries” that combine family story and public history.⁴⁹ Hilde Hoffmann’s comparative analysis suggests

⁴⁶ Mieke Bal, ‘Introduction’, in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer; Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. vii-xvii.

⁴⁷ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. x.

⁴⁸ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. x.

⁴⁹ Hoffmann, “*Mein Leben Teil 2*,” 128. Hoffmann also analyses *Familien Geheimnis: Geschichte einer gefährlichen Liebe* (Anja Krug-Metzinger, D 2002), *IMA* (Caterina Klusemann, D 2001), *Meine ‘Zigeuner’ Mutter* (Therese L. Ràni and Egon Humer, A 1998), and *Unterwegs als sicherer Ort* (Dietrich Schubert and Peter Finkelgrün, D 1997).

an understanding of the legacy of a family story that interferes with dominant narratives of the past as an important driver for working through the personal family story in communication with public discourses. In this context, the position between first and second personhood is made productive in order to “enact identities – fluid, multiple, even contradictory – while remaining fully entangled with public discourses.”⁵⁰

By way of telling the story of her mother, Angelika Levi also relates a facet of her own story. “My Life Part 2” serves as a mediator between the experiences and story of the women of the family lineage and the audience. Angelika belongs to this lineage, but as the one who performs it, she has an intermediate position. This particular constellation of taking the role of mediator of the filmmaker’s own family story operates at the intersection of private and public memory. This intersection has been established as a productive location of cultural recall throughout the film. Here, it acquires an additional critical meaning. Due to the double position as daughter and filmmaker, the mediation of the family story to the public discourse affects Angelika Levi’s position within the family story and family lineage. In my view, the moment in which Angelika Levi performs her memory act marks the moment in which she herself steps into the lineage of Levi women. She decides not to enter the Levi lineage as a mother, but does so as an artist and mediator of cultural memory. While a frequent answer of the first generation to the experience of the Shoah was to have children and build a new life, Angelika’s second-generation answer to the legacy of the Shoah is an act of memory, in which she mediates the traumatizing past of her mother and family to audiences involved in recent public discourse on cultural recall. In “My Life Part 2”, Angelika Levi places the essence of the female lineage at the center of the family story and flings it at a future existence beyond her control in the public discourse. By doing so, the decision against having children and the concomitant break in the lineage is accompanied by another form of continuing the lineage and passing on her legacy to future generations. As a memory act, the film articulates a break and discontinuity. At the same time, it performs an act of enfolding the gynealogy’s very constituents, the commemoration of the murdered, intertwining factual and imagined ancestry, and political resistance, to name a few, and of passing down the line to future generations. The memory act is an answer that addresses ruptures and discontinuity as crucial elements in the continuation of the gynealogical transmission.

Angelika Levi’s way of inscribing herself into the lineage of Levi women implies a double paradox. First, she establishes the lineage of Levi women but then decides not to enter the lineage as a mother. Instead, she lets the lineage end and does something new. Second, the moment of breaking the lineage is exactly the moment in which she steps back into the lineage as an artist and mediator of family story. Strikingly, Angelika Levi’s names seem to represent the double paradox. The filmmaker’s first name, Angelika, means ‘the female messenger’ and seems to have anticipated the role of mediator. A Christian name, it may also connote and symbolize the dynamic of the Protestant Becker lineage and context as it is involved in the paradox of establishing a Jewish female lineage that then opens into something quite different. The second twist is connoted by the name Levi, which the filmmaker assumes as an adult as artist name. Angelika Levi fills the meaning of her first name Angelika by inscribing herself to the lineage of Levi women as an artist and filmmaker.

⁵⁰ Hoffmann, ‘*Mein Leben Teil 2*’, p. 132.

5.5 The Political Impact of Mediating Cultural Memory

Conveying the Space of Otherness

Highlighting Angelika Levi's act of mediation in answering to her legacy of the Shoah puts emphasis on the level of film reception along with the level of film production. The focus on the viewer and on reception will broaden the perspective on the functions of gendered genealogy performances in response to trauma, toward political agency and shared identities beyond the female Levi lineage.

In order to conceptualize the position of the viewer in the film, I am working with Thomas Elsaesser's concept of subject positions and speaking positions in post-Shoah films.⁵¹ Elsaesser aims at exploring possibilities of the cinema to contribute to the process of transforming historical periods and events from arid data into elements of history, memory, and culture. Crucial in this undertaking are strategies of representation that provoke forms of affect which unclose indifference and self-centeredness toward the ability to "reconcile memory and hope, commemoration and forgetting, or mediate between pity, sentiment, and shame"—in other word, strategies of representation able to open up the "space of otherness."⁵² Elsaesser argues that one effective strategy of cinema to do so is to create subject positions for the viewers that disturb and challenge their well-established and coherent identities through "affects of concern" (*Betroffenheit*). Affects of concern are meant to be affects of identification and empathy that involve a contact with the space of otherness and result in empowerment and activity.

This concept ... tries to convey subject positions that lie beyond sentimentality and yet touch a point where the self itself knows and can experience otherness. In the face of narcissistic forms of identification in conventional narrative and fictional dramatization, such an "affect of concern" is meant to break through any coherent and thus comforting subject position and shock the spectator into recognition.⁵³

Elsaesser argues that fiction film and documentary film have different means to sustain ambiguous and disturbing subject positions. Among the two, fiction film is especially able to "shatter" subject positions by means of using its typical tools such as "aesthetic strategies, resources of narration and identification, strategies of contrast, excess, violence."⁵⁴

⁵¹ Thomas Elsaesser, 'Subject Positions, Speaking Positions: From *Holocaust*, *Our Hitler*, and *Heimat* to *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*', in *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event* (ed. Vivian Sobchack; New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 145-181.

⁵² Elsaesser, 'Subject Positions, Speaking Positions', p. 172.

⁵³ Elsaesser, 'Subject Positions, Speaking Positions', p. 173.

⁵⁴ Elsaesser, 'Subject Positions, Speaking Positions', p. 175. For example, Joseph Losey's "M. Klein" (1976), is built around establishing and then shattering a particular subject position: "Identification, historical foreknowledge and the logic of classical narrative have here conspired to lull the senses into 'accepting' the transported Jews as normal, until the moment we want to rescue our hero, and realizing that we need to rescue them all, we are shattered by the knowledge of our total impotence; but which is also the knowledge of our own collusion and complicity." Elsaesser, 'Subject Positions, Speaking Positions', p. 175.

As to documentaries, Elsaesser discusses works by Marcel Ophüls and Claude Lanzmann.⁵⁵ Both filmmakers would create nuanced speaking positions for their protagonists by means of holding back their own emotions and convictions in favor of restricting their role to a “quasi fictional character” (Ophüls) or to “something like his subjects’ super-ego, at once insistent and firm” (Lanzmann).⁵⁶ As a consequence, these documentaries account for the need to create complex subject positions for the viewer and indeed provoke affects of concern because they fill the mind with voices that “will forever speak of a history for which there is neither redemption nor exorcism.”⁵⁷ Still, the documentaries’ speaking positions keep the subject position of the viewer intact and do not threaten the coherence of her identity. Comparing the two genres, Elsaesser concludes that “if fracturing the viewers’ identity is the very condition that makes the radical otherness of an extreme historical experience representable, then there may be a limit to the documentary methods employed by Lanzmann and Ophüls.”⁵⁸

Subject and Speaking Positions in “My Life Part 2”

The documentary “My Life Part 2” works quite differently from the documentaries discussed by Elsaesser. Filmmaker Angelika Levi does not dissimulate her position. On the contrary, she provides the film with a radical personal perspective. From this personal perspective is established through the autobiographical character of the film and is especially enforced by the personal female voice-over. In this personal perspective, the filmmaker creates a fundamentally hybrid speaking position that is located in a sociocultural interim space, characterized by difference. At the same time, by means of providing ample space for the female protagonists to speak in audio records, home movies, and in interview sequences, the film creates speaking positions for the women of the Levi lineage, before all Ursula Levi and Karla Levi. These speaking positions are carried by a clear attitude of sympathy on the part of the filmmaker. On this basis, they can be brought out as complex and ambiguous, as well as located in a sociocultural interim space.

In my view, by doing so, the filmmaker creates a complex subject position for the viewer. This position is not shattered, as Elsaesser describes it for fiction film. But neither does it remain untouched. Instead, this complex subject position is challenged by means of constantly confronting the viewer with the narrowness of her position. The film provokes affects of identification and empathy, but likewise conveys the limitation of these affects and thereby implies a contact with the space of otherness, which may indeed result in empowerment and agency.

On the one hand, the confrontation with the narrowness of the (complex) subject position created by the film evolves from the speaking position of the female protagonists. They are portrayed as humorous headstrong survivors on the one hand, but as injured, difficult, and sometimes unfair anti-heroines, on the other, an ambiguity that challenges continuous affects of empathy.

Moreover, the viewer is confronted with the narrowness of her complex subject position through the film’s full engagement of the filmmaker’s hybrid speaking position.

⁵⁵ Elsaesser discusses “The Sorrow and the Pity” by Marcel Ophüls (1969http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Documentary_film) and “Shoah” by Claude Lanzmann (1985). Elsaesser, ‘Subject Positions, Speaking Positions’, pp. 173-174.

⁵⁶ Elsaesser, ‘Subject Positions, Speaking Positions’, p. 173.

⁵⁷ Elsaesser, ‘Subject Positions, Speaking Positions’, p. 174.

⁵⁸ Elsaesser, ‘Subject Positions, Speaking Positions’, p. 174.

This dynamic becomes visible in the screening and reception of the film, which is not a mainstream cinema film, but a film that has been mostly screened at festivals and in film-series.⁵⁹ The reception of “My Life Part 2” mirrors the subject positions created in the film. Locations of screening, announcements, reviews, and awards document how these positions are assumed, rejected, and transformed by the viewers.

“My Life Part 2” has been screened at festivals that tie in with particular aspects of the hybrid speaking positions of the filmmaker, namely Jewish film festivals, queer film festivals, and women’s film festivals. In this context the complex identities of filmmaker and protagonists come to the fore. For example, the 6th Annual Barcelona Jewish Film Festival in 2004 screened Levi’s film under the headline of complex Jewish identities. The festival advertisement read as follow:

Under the title “Identity, Diversity”, the Sixth Annual Barcelona Jewish Film Festival investigates the deeper meanings of Jewish identity and, paradoxically, the enormous cultural, national and intellectual diversity that exists in its midst. At the same time, the Festival will cover some of the topics that worry, concern and confront Jews whatever their nationality or sociocultural situation.⁶⁰

Including “My Life Part 2” in the program testified to the anticipation that the film would contribute to exploring the complexity and, with that, the otherness of Jewish identities. The film was assessed as being able to convey the recognition of otherness from an inside perspective. For example, Rabbi Rothschild’s suggestion that he would be the response of his parents to the Shoah is a statement with which many Jewish viewers will identify. However, the voice-over then reframes the issue by answering in a very different way, creating a moment in which the viewer can touch the space of otherness.

In a similar way, screening “My Life Part 2” at queer film festivals invites the viewer to identify with the lesbian and gay speaking positions of the filmmaker and her brother. However, the viewer who aligns herself with the subject position of the cosmopolitan and politically engaged lesbian Angelika is quickly confronted with the complexity of Angelika Levi’s speaking position (both as protagonist of the film and as filmmaker). The confrontation challenges viewers to recognize a space of otherness within the perspective of lesbian and gay culture and politics. In both cases, the complexity of the film conveys subject positions where the viewer is confronted with otherness.

Subject positions as conveyed by “My Life Part 2” are also related to the film’s inhabiting of the intersection of personal story and public discourse. As the program of the San Francisco Jewish Film Festival puts it, the film provides the “portrait of a family whose story is both its own universe and a microcosm of European history.”⁶¹ The intersection of

⁵⁹ “My Life Part 2” had its premiere at the *International Forum of New Cinema* of the *Berlinale* on February 11, 2003. It was screened by German public broadcaster *ZDF* and at numerous national and international film festivals. Film festivals between 2003 and 2005 include *San Francisco Jewish Film Festival 2003*; *27. Duisburger Filmwoche 2003* (awarded with the *Preis der Stadt Duisburg*); *5th Jewish Film Festival Jerusalem 2003*; *14. lesbisch schwule filmtage hamburg 2003*; *The 6th Annual Barcelona Jewish Film Festival 2004*; *2nd Jewish Film Festival Warsaw* (awarded with the second price for documentary feature, member of the festival jury in 2005); *8th Women’s Film Festival Seoul 2004*; *Queer Film Festival Vienna 2005*.

⁶⁰ Festival advertisement, http://www.accesomedia.com/display_release.html?id=16885 (accessed November 17, 2010). Unfortunately the text is no longer available online.

⁶¹ <http://www.sjff.org/film/detail?id=2074> (accessed June 08, 2013).

family story and broader cultural and political discourses makes the family story relevant. For the jury of the Duisburg documentary film festival in 2003, which awarded Angelika Levi with *The Award of the City of Duisburg*, the location at this intersection was the major reason for its positive assessment of the film.⁶² At the same time, it provides an entry to the personal story and enables to touch upon its otherness. This works in two ways. Looking at the microcosm from a macroscopic perspective facilitates a more comprehensive understanding of its complexity. Going back from the microcosm to the macrocosm sharpens the view for its structure and dominant discourses. Both movements add to subject positions that evoke the recognition of otherness and might provoke affects of concern.

Looking at the reception of “My Life Part 2” reveals how the complex speaking positions of the film’s protagonists convey subject positions that facilitate recognition of otherness and affects of concern. Getting intellectually and emotionally involved in the film through a specific angle of identification inevitably results in a confrontation with the space of otherness set out by the complexity of Angelika Levi’s speaking position. Entering the dynamics between the microcosms of the family story and the macrocosm of political history conveys affects of concern that challenge one’s worldview and political analysis and raises questions about strategies of political solidarity.

Stimulating Political Alliances and Shared Identities

Angelika Levi performs her gynealogy in communication with cultural memory performances and audiences. This broadens the scope of her gynealogy performances in response to trauma toward political agency and shared identities. In its communication with its audiences, “My Life Part 2” opens up spaces of otherness, evokes affects of concerns, and shatters comforting subject positions. Following Elsaesser, I understand these qualities as a foundation for political activity and coalition-building. An example of this dynamic is the role of the film in the political discourse on the memory of the Shoah and beyond. “My Life Part 2” has been repeatedly screened in film-series that aim at a nuanced form of counter-present memory, either through bringing marginalized positions to the center and/or through bringing together positions that are usually strictly divided. For example, the film-series *Divided History: The Meaning of the Shoah in the Life of the Descendants of Persecutors and Survivors* (Vienna 2004), reflected on the impact of the National Socialist past on second- and third-generation descendants of survivors, perpetrators and bystanders, and of lineages that are situated between the lines.⁶³ The series addressed the powerful impact of the past shared by the different groups while at the same time carefully keeping divisions and differences in focus. It expressed a shared political interest of the second and third generation to perform a transformed and nuanced form of counter-present cultural memory. Such a performance is a highly political act and may feed into shared identities between formerly divided groups and individuals. “My Life Part 2” is an important film in this context because it is able to convey subject positions that touch upon the space of otherness. Moreover, it is relevant in this context because it does not present a completed story, but comprises traces, paradoxes, and open ends that invite discussion, debate, engagement, and conflict.

⁶² <http://www.duisburger-filmwoche.de/festival03/> (accessed June 08, 2013).

⁶³ See for example the film-series *Divided History: The Meaning of the Shoah in the Life of the Descendants of Persecutors and Survivors*, which was screened in Vienna in 2004: <http://www.kinoki.at/mikrokino/pro/p112.htm> (accessed June 08, 2013).

The analysis of 1 Chronicles 1–9 has suggested identity formation and enunciation as central settings for gendered genealogies in response to trauma in “My Life Part 2” and beyond.⁶⁴ The focus on the context of communication with audiences and a shared desire for counter-present acts of cultural memory brings a second critical context for gendered genealogy composition in response to trauma into focus. Mediating the lineage of Levi women to the public discourse on memory introduces the context of political agency and shared identities as a crucial framework for the performance of gendered genealogies in response to trauma.

5.6 Conclusion and Crossover to 1 Chronicles 1–9

Alternative Female Succession

“My Life Part 2” presents a gynealogical memory project in which gendered genealogies are conceptualized as a female succession, which is set up by the subjectivity and agency of its female protagonists. By doing so, the film proposes a notion of memory transfer that is alternative to the notion of patriarchal succession as employed by 1 Chronicles 1–9. The alternative gynealogical succession is established through a consistent focus on a lineage of protagonists who do not stand at the structural junctions of transmission, namely women in a patrilinear genealogy. The succession is characterized by a side by side of kinship- and ideology-based succession and an interplay of given and imagined ancestry from the viewpoint and based on the needs of the female protagonists.

The film’s alternative form of succession complicates both lineage and memory performance and works toward recognizing complexity. Starting from the subjectivity of the female protagonists allows for an emphasis on the continuity of all time and reality layers involved, and involves complex subject positions. By doing so, it provides an entry to the complexity of the traumatic past.

Granting the complexity of the traumatic past and the challenge to respond to it is also supported by the film’s readiness to retain paradoxes and unresolved ends. Paradoxes and open ends convey the character of the gynealogy as multilayered and open. Among others, they concern open ends in the family story; the male-gendered subtext; the tension between wanting to know and not wanting to know; the paradox of establishing a female Jewish lineage of mothers and then doing something new; and the paradox of being alienated returnees at home.

In “My Life Part 2” the complexity of the gynealogy performance is not achieved through fissures in the dominant principals of recall, as in 1 Chronicles 1–9. Instead, complexity is a basic feature of the alternative female succession and an important aspect of the agenda of the filmmaker.

Next to complexity, alternative succession facilitates counter-present memory. Gynealogical succession re-evaluates the story and memory of the female protagonists. Persons, stories, and archives that are at the margins of dominant hegemonic memory discourses come to the fore. The re-evaluation of center and fringe is intimately interwoven with the female-gendered quality of the alternative gynealogical succession. It expresses a clear position concerning negotiations of power relations, gender hierarchies and hegemonic memory discourses.

⁶⁴ See also Hoffmann who likewise takes a strong identity approach to Angelika Levi’s film (Hoffmann, ‘*Mein Leben Teil 2*’).

The counter-present character of the genealogy performance is supported by the form of the film as an alternative archive. The form of an alternative archive draws on materials outside the main sources for historiography and takes in marginal perspectives. Moreover, it allows to juxtapose perspectives and involve layers of meanings beyond the dominant narrative. Here, the presentation of narrative and genealogy in the form of an archive reflects the interest in paradoxes and open ends.

The form of the archive has yet another implication. It shows that the genealogy of the film is fragmentary in character even though it is a female lineage, and that it is in this respect kin to the gendered fragments of 1 Chronicles 1–9. The link suggests understanding female genealogies in the patriarchal context of male lineages of power, authority, and inheritance as fragmentary per definition—yet not necessarily fragmented. For example, the genealogy of “My Life Part 2” resists being fragmented in the way the female lineages of 1 Chronicles 1–9 are. Still, it is based on fragments that are put together in Angelika Levi’s archive performance.

The counter-present character of the memory performance of “My Life Part 2” is in contrast to the ambiguity that became visible in the close reading of 1 Chronicles 1–9 in the previous chapter. Still, a sense of ambiguity may be perceived in the film’s notion of paradox. But where ambiguity in the Bible text pertains to a back and forth between granting openness and cutting it back, and to denying clear stances, the notion of paradox in the film means that two opposing elements are spelled out and simultaneously adhered to. In other words, where the ambiguity of 1 Chronicles 1–9 works toward supporting the patriarchal succession and contesting a multilayered memory act, the paradox in “My Life Part 2” works toward acknowledging the multilayered and contradictory character of the genealogy performance, favoring complexity.

Appropriating the Traumatic Past

The film’s alternative female succession is characterized by yet another feature of the film: the filmmaker does not only establish the lineage of Levi women in the course of the film, but also inscribes herself to it. The process of inscribing herself to the lineage comes into being the moment the filmmaker utters discontinuity with this lineage. Angelika Levi refuses to enter the line by means of becoming a mother herself. But then, paradoxically, this moment of discontinuity does not break the female lineage, but allows the filmmaker to inscribe herself into it and to appropriate the traumatic past as her own legacy.

The centrality of discontinuity for the female succession constitutes a parallel to 1 Chronicles 1–9. Admitting to discontinuity as central element in the gendered genealogy performance in response to trauma is an element that both genealogies share. Moreover, in both cases, breaks, either in the form of discontinuity with the central lineage or in the form of fissures in the patriarchal succession, convey an opening that implies an invitation to protagonists who transgress the norms of the lineages they pertain to. In the case of “My Life Part 2”, breaking the lineage of mothers inheres an invitation to the daughter Angelika Levi to inscribe herself to the lineage of Levi women, an invitation she accepts.

In the film, discontinuity as engine for appropriating the past comes with a focus on horizontal memory production as counterpart to vertical genealogical reproduction. “My Life Part 2” conceptualizes the horizontal intergenerational context of memory performance as a homoerotic one. However, instead of making this homoerotic component imperative, the film challenges to imagine relationships that are able to accommodate and facilitate the production of cultural memory in response to trauma, for example in the context of

friendship, partnership, collegueship, or political cooperation. In 1 Chronicles 1–9, the characteristic occurrence of sisters hints to such a position beyond the genealogical reproduction matrix, and includes traces of the horizontal dimension of genealogy production, as I will argue in Chapter 6.⁶⁵

In “My Life Part 2”, appropriating the past is brought into action through archive performance and through mediating the past to the public discourse on post-Shoah memory. In the film, the archive performance is a means of the filmmaker to appropriate her traumatic legacy rather than to merely presenting it. Hence, the archive performance implies a shift from recounting the past to claiming it as her own, and, by doing so, to linking it to her own story, ideas, and political positions.

The filmmaker performs her archive in the context of mediating the past to the public discourse in the form of a documentary film. The context of mediating memory renders her archive performance into a powerful memory act in which she introduces the family story as her own legacy to the public discourse on the memory of the Shoah. The mediation of memory at the intersection of personal and public memory points to a specific setting of gendered genealogy performance, beyond the setting of self-conception and identity performance, namely the context of political agency and shared identities.⁶⁶

The location of gendered genealogy performance at the intersection of personal story and public discourse cannot be transferred to 1 Chronicles 1–9 one by one, because differentiating between personal and public domains is a modern concept. Still, the shift from identity to agency is also important for understanding the Chronicles genealogies. The shift highlights that genealogy performance does not end proposing identity conceptions, but also has a clear political scope. By doing so, it supports the importance of 1 Chronicles 1–9 in the discourses on exile and return as well as on mixed marriages at the time. It confirms my understanding of genealogy performance as a potent tool in the debate about who owns tradition and past, who is able to appropriate it for her/his needs, and who has the power to (normatively) define identities of Israel at the time.

⁶⁵ Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192 (184-186).

⁶⁶ The shift from identity to agency is important to note, because it alerts to the uses of genealogies, and especially of genealogies in response to fractured pasts, in hegemonic or fascists’ context, for example in the fascist ideology of the Nazis. For the role of genealogy composition in the National Socialist ideology and especially the ancestral proof as a tool of anti-Semitic politics and disenfranchisement see Eric Ehrenreich, *The Nazi Ancestral Proof: Genealogy, Racial Science, and the Final Solution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).

Chapter 6 Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at understanding the structural functions fulfilled by references to women in the genealogies of Judah. Its interest stems from the first round of close reading of the Judah genealogies in Chapter 4, which had two main results. First, it demonstrated that gendered fragments in the genealogies of Judah interrupt and challenge patrilinear succession on a regular basis. By doing so, the fragments establish a subtext to the dominant patrilinear succession, adding complexity to the lineages. However, the analysis also established that complexity is regularly cut back; that outstanding women are presented as exceptions that prove the rule; and that agency of women is obscured. Hence the analysis showed a fundamental ambivalence of the memory act. Second, the sample analysis in Chapter 4 showed that references to women partly occur in standardized formulas. For example, identification of Zeruah as a sister, as well as formal attribution of a lineage to her name, both take the form of a reoccurring formula (1 Chron. 2:16). Selected passages—on Zeruah and others—revealed a larger web of occurrences of the same formula, echoing the single occurrence of the formula and re-enforcing its impact.¹

Both results hint at broader patterns and structures formed by the gendered fragments. My leading interest in this chapter is to describe these structures and to analyze their role in the overall genealogy composition. Working on structures aims at complementing close reading of individual passages in view of a comprehensive and nuanced picture of the functions of female-gendered references in the memory performance of the genealogies of Judah. It will include relevant approaches from cultural studies, for example anthropological notions on exogamous marriage, as well as additional perspectives derived from film analysis, for example the notion of paradox and the focus on the political character of gendered genealogy performance.

The task to investigate fragments in view of their structural functions involves some challenges. First of all, it requires a basis for the interpretation of a handful of fragments as structures pertaining to the core message of the larger composition, whether they are induced by formulas or not. Next, in order to more fully understand the dynamic of interrupting the patriarchal succession and of setting up a subtext, the analysis needs a strategy to investigate in what respect gendered references coincide *with* the patriarchal flow and which functions they fulfill in view of the dominant drive of the text. Finally, it requires an approach that is able to interpret the explosive force of the composition that became apparent in Chapter 4, and which allows to bring back the results to the issue of memory acts in response to trauma.

While the close reading of a sample of female-gendered references in the genealogies of Judah in Chapter 4 left me with an interest in structural functions, the context of socializing 1 Chronicles 1–9 with “My Life Part 2” netted ideas on how to address the challenges involved, namely on how to employ the notion of the archive. I have suggested transferring the archive concept from “My Life Part 2” to 1 Chronicles 1–9 in

¹ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113.

Chapter 3.² There, I analyzed formulas and patterns in the Chronicles genealogies as framing devices within the genealogical archive. Linking up with this argument, I now use the archive as a model of interpretation for analyzing the genealogies of Judah (and the broader composition 1 Chronicles 1–9) in view of the structural functions of the gendered fragments it contains.

Employing the archive concept will permit integrating the corpus of female-gendered fragments into the wider composition by means of understanding patterns of the female-gendered references as instances of the taxonomy of the archive. The taxonomy of an archive is the sum of its structures, labels, organizing principles, and hierarchies.³ It describes the way in which an archive produces knowledge and advances its interest. The close reading in Chapter 4 brought to the fore that female-gendered references form patterns and building blocks of structures.⁴ The perspective of the archive suggests reading these patterns as instances of the taxonomy of the archive of genealogies—specifically of the genealogies of Judah, which constitute a critical part of the larger composition. Doing so integrates them with the overall genealogy composition and is an excellent means to assess both their implications for the presentation of female figures in the text and their impact on the composition as a whole.

In order to keep track of the composition's ambivalence, as well as of the gendered fragments involvement in both generating the subtext and the dominant layer of the text, I follow Ann Stoler, who insists on the need to read archives *along the grain*.⁵ Stoler argues that any attempt to read an archive *against* the grain should be based on a reading *along* the grain. This means to read an archive “for its regularities, for its logic of recall, for its densities and distributions, for its consistencies of misinformation, omission, and mistake” and in view of these principles’ specific production of knowledge.⁶ Stoler insists that such an analysis reflects a critical reading practice that likewise aims at disclosing power dynamics in the text. It acknowledges “that archival production is itself both a process and a powerful technology of rule.”⁷ The approach of reading *along the grain* will allow me to pursue ways in which female-gendered references help to form the dominant dynamic of the text. At the same time, keeping an eye on implicit structures and dynamics, as well as on regular omissions and gaps, will help to simultaneously keep track of the reference's involvement in the subtext.

The decision to employ the archive concept not only concerns general notions of the archive. It is also linked to the specific way in which “My Life Part 2” functions as an archive. In the film analysis, I have argued that A. Levi not only leads the viewer through the archive of her mother, but that she performs her own archive and, by doing so, generates something genuine and new. This act is critical for appropriating the family story, claiming it as her own legacy, and presenting it anew in reference to her own convictions and political positions. The film analysis thus suggests exploring the potential of the archive in the context of memory performance in response to trauma. Hence, using the

² Chapter 3: *1 Chronicles 1–9 and its Gendered Fragments*, pp. 67-91 (82-89).

³ Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives’, pp. 98-103.

⁴ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (101-107 and 110-113).

⁵ Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives’, p. 100.

⁶ Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives’, p. 100.

⁷ Stoler, ‘Colonial Archives’, p. 100.

archive concept for the analysis of female-gendered references in the genealogies of Judah is done on the basis of the following hypothesis: The archival character of the genealogies of Judah (its organized heterogeneity), lets the text reach beyond merely recalling and ordering the tribes and their lineages. Rather, establishing this archive of genealogies is a genuine response to a traumatic past, which makes a strong statement in the discourses on memory, identity, and power of the period.

For the actual text analysis I will use two starting points. First, I will look at the occurrence and frequency of formal/relational terms that define women, for example as wives and as sisters. Here especially, the many wives and co-wives who occur in the genealogies of Judah, as well as their involvement in processes of segmentation, need to come into focus.

The second starting point will be marked by formulas and the structures they induce. Formulas primarily concern the formal affiliation of segments to women, be they wives or/and sisters. This involves the affiliation of segments of the genealogies to the house of David, and with that to the power center of the genealogies of Judah and of 1 Chronicles 1–9 at large. In this context, special attention will be paid to the wives and sisters included in this power center. The second important formula that induces structures is the formula that introduces sisters. Here, my focus will be on gaps and gap filling.

In light of the previous chapter's film analysis, the focus on wives and sisters might be striking. In "My Life Part 2" mothers and daughters are central. Even though most mothers are married, they are approached mainly as mothers and grandmothers. In the genealogies of Judah, the opposite is the case. Most women figures are listed as wives and sisters. The larger part of them also has children. Still, they are introduced as wives and sisters rather than as mothers. The difference in focus, here the focus on sisters and wives, there the focus on daughters and mothers, reflects the different setups of the actual genealogies. Still, it is important to bear in mind that, in each case, the (repressed) roles are implicitly present.⁸

The chapter is divided into four main sections. Section 1 addresses segmentation through wives. I give an overview of the scholarly debate on segmentation through wives, followed by an actual text analysis to respond to it. The text analysis is divided into passages that address segmentation through wives, and others that address segmentation through secondary wives. Section 2 addresses the formal attribution of lineages to women

⁸ In her Irigarayan reading of the book of Chronicles, Julie Kelso meets the absence of the mother–daughter relationship by means of adding to the analysis a chorus-like poem that shall generate “a sense of the mother–daughter relationship” in the text. Julie Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?: An Irigarayan Reading of the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2007), p. 113. For a general reflection on the depiction of the relationship between mothers and daughters in biblical literature, including a discussion of the terms ‘mother’ and ‘daughter’ as metaphors for describing the relationship between God and Israel, as well as a discussion of the term ‘mother’s house’, see Leila Lea Bronner, ‘The Invisible Relationship Made Visible: Biblical Mothers and Daughters’, in *Ruth and Esther: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 3)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 172-191. See also Cheryl Kirk-Duggan for a reading of the stories of Esther and Ruth through the lens of mother–daughter poems and stories by African-American writers, Cheryl A. Kirk-Duggan, ‘Black Mother Women and Daughters: Signifying Female-Divine Relationships in the Hebrew Bible and African-American Mother–Daughter Short Stories’, in *Ruth and Esther: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 3)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 192-210.

on the basis of formulas. I give an overview on the function of the opening and closing formulas to induce genealogical ownership. Then, I respond to it with an actual text analysis, which is divided into passages that attribute lineage segments to wives; passages that attribute lineage segments to sisters; and passages whose text-critically uncertain condition obscures possible attributions of lineages to women. Section 3 addresses the role of sisters. I start with a general discussion of sisters (and wives) in the genealogies of David. I then focus on Shelomith, listed in the succession of kings, and suggest understanding her as the center of a larger structure of sisters in the genealogies of Judah. I then interpret the character of this structure of sisters as a structure of shaped gaps. In a next step, I discuss the issue of gap filling with an exemplary analysis of the references to Tamar and Bathsheba/Bath-shua. Finally, I relate the structure of shaped gaps to the horizontal dynamic of memory production that became visible in “My Life Part 2”. Section 4 provides a concluding discussion of the gendered fragments in 1 Chronicles 1–9. I identify two groups of ideas and discuss them one after another. The first group advances the goal to achieve a monopoly in defining Judah and Israel. The second group conveys the readiness to establish a gendered subtext that introduces complexity, discontinuity, and the paradox to the memory act. I then discuss for a last time the ambiguity of the memory act, and end with drawing conclusions concerning 1 Chronicles 1–9 and the process of socializing 1 Chronicles 1–9 with “My Life Part 2”.

6.2 Segmentation through Wives

Segmentation through Wives in Chronicles Scholarship

Most women listed in the genealogies of Judah are introduced as wives (אשה) and secondary wives (פילגש). Most often these wives induce segmentation—the horizontal, ostensibly contemporaneous branching out of lineages. It indicates interrelations within a community as well as between neighboring communities.⁹ Segmentation expresses relatedness and affiliation on the one hand, demarcation and difference on the other. It works toward performing identity with a focus on conceptualizing the self and the other and establishing complex ‘us’—‘they’ relations.

Segmentation processes in the genealogies of Judah stand out for two reasons. First, they are strongly linked to territorial references and ethnic differentiation.¹⁰ Second, and central for the investigation of the gendered fragments, they are in many instances facilitated by women, especially wives. The strong presence of women involved in the segmentation process is by no means self-understood. As a rule, segmentation in genealogies is realized through males, especially through sons and brothers. Many biblical genealogies realize segmentation in exclusively male terms. For example, the Table of Nations in Gen. 10 or the genealogies of Levi in 1 Chron. 5:27–6:66 bring segmentation into action without the help of females, be they wives, daughters, or sisters.

Within recent Chronicles scholarship, the strong involvement of women in the segmentation processes of the genealogies of Judah has been discussed from the perspectives of integration, of mapping complexity, and of othering. Sara Japhet has proposed to analyze segmentation through wives in terms of integration. She argues that the

⁹ Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogies and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 18-21.

¹⁰ Gary N. Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah’, *JBL* 120.1 (2001), pp. 15-30.

status of wife and secondary wife allows the text to present “non-Israelite elements” as organic parts of Israel:

Indeed, one of the goals of these genealogies is the inclusion, rather than exclusion, of the non-Israelite elements in the people of Israel, by presenting them as an organic part of the tribes, mainly in the status of ‘wives’ or ‘concubines’.¹¹

Segmentation through wives and secondary wives would then not only facilitate integration but also function as a means to absorb more independent groups into mainstream Judah.

In addition to the focus on integration, Gary Knoppers has interpreted segmentation through women, especially through secondary wives, in terms of mapping complexity.¹² This places emphasis on explaining ethnic and social stratification in Judah at the time.¹³ For example, concerning the genealogy of Caleb (1 Chron. 2:42–50), Knoppers argues that “by organizing portions of the Calebite lineages by secondary wives (vv. 46, 48–49) and presumably spouse (vv. 42–45), the writer explains social differentiation within the larger group.”¹⁴

Antje Labahn and Ehud Ben Zvi likewise emphasize differentiation between wives and secondary wives, but do so with an additional focus on othering groups within Judah.¹⁵ They argue that the text uses differentiation between wife and secondary wife to create an “ideological hierarchy.”¹⁶ Listing a wife as a “concubine” (2:42–46) or “other wife” (2:25–26) would then function to other the genealogical segment pertaining to her.¹⁷

My analysis builds on these approaches. However, I think it to be necessary to adapt these explanatory models in two ways. First, any analysis needs to explain when and why the text realizes integration as well as stratification by means of segmentation through wives rather than by means of other features at its disposal. For example, the genealogies also integrate groups into Judah by listing them as sons. The Kenites are a case in point. They are recalled as ethnically distinct from Israel in the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 15:19; Judg. 4:17–21; 5:24–27; 1 Sam. 15:6), but are in the book of Chronicles integrated into Judah by means of listing them among the sons of Salma (1 Chron. 2:55).¹⁸ This move represents an instance of genealogical fluidity: fluidity is given in cases in which genealogies change according to the actual needs of the situation in which they are performed. It implies that different genealogies that process the same data can exist side by side, both being equally true but responding to different contexts and settings.¹⁹ In the case of the Kenites, genealogical fluidity plays a major role in integrating and absorbing this group into Judah. Again, the situation in the Judah genealogies is specific rather than general. It is necessary to ask for the specific impact of segmentation through women, an impact that may not have

¹¹ Sara Japhet, *I&II Chronicles: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1993), p. 74.

¹² Garry Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 12; New York: Doubleday, 2003).

¹³ Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, pp. 19–23.

¹⁴ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 312.

¹⁵ Antje Labahn and Ehud Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9’, *Biblica* 84 (2003), pp. 457–478 (64).

¹⁶ Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, p. 460.

¹⁷ Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, p. 460.

¹⁸ See Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 90; and Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, p. 26.

¹⁹ Wilson, *Genealogies and History*, pp. 27–36.

been achieved simply by segmentation through males and other forms of genealogical affiliation and distribution, for example through fluidity.

Second, I think it to be necessary to adapt the analytical approaches described above with respect to the identity of the addressees of integration, diversification, and othering. In the postexile period, demarcations between the ‘us’ and the ‘they’ were complex. They involved demarcations for foreigners, but likewise concerned the relationship to Samaria, as well as conflicts between the former land-owning aristocracy that returned from exile and the peasants who had remained in the land.²⁰ In other words, demarcations that ostensibly took place between the ‘us’ and the ‘they’ most often concerned demarcation that in fact took place *within* the ‘us’ group. For a nuanced interpretation of segmentation in this context, I follow Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich’s approach to identity.²¹ Baumann and Gingrich conceptualize identity as something that necessarily includes alterity.²² Difference is not to be located outside, but inside of identity. As a consequence, “othering and belonging are mutually constitutive components of identity.”²³ Collective identities are “multidimensional,” “contradictory,” and fluid,²⁴ rather than “stable,” “coherent,” and “almost homogeneous.”²⁵ For the genealogies of Judah, this means that integration, ethnic and/or social stratification, and othering by means of segmentation through wives, will in most cases not pertain to “non-Israelite elements,” as Japhet claims,²⁶ but concern processes that take place within the multidimensional, fluid, and dialogical identities of emerging Judaism.²⁷

Having explained the state of affairs in the exegetical literature, I proceed to the text analysis and discuss passages that realize segmentation through wives. I start out with discussing segmentation through Atarah in the genealogy of Jerahmeel (2:25–33) and then discuss the parallel case of segmentation through Abijah and the nameless daughter of Machir in the genealogy of Hezron (2:9–55).

²⁰ Claudia Camp, *Wise, Strange and Holy: The Strange Woman and the Making of the Bible* (JSOTSup, 320; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), p. 31.

²¹ Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich, ‘Foreword’, in *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach* (eds. Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich; New York/Oxford: Berghan Books, 2004), pp. ix-xiv.

²² Baumann and Gingrich, ‘Foreword’, p. x.

²³ Andre Gingrich, ‘Conceptualising Identities: Anthropological Alternatives to Essentialising Difference and Moralizing about Othering’, in *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach* (ed. Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich; New York/Oxford: Berghan Books, 2004), pp. 3-17 (4).

²⁴ Gingrich, ‘Conceptualising Identities’, p. 6.

²⁵ Gingrich, ‘Conceptualising Identities’, p. 14.

²⁶ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 74.

²⁷ Katherine Southwood makes a comparable argument concerning the mixed marriage crisis in Ezra 9-10, which she locates inside emerging Judaism rather than between Jewish and foreign groups. Katherine Southwood, ‘Die ‚heilige Nachkommenschaft‘ und die ‚fremden Frauen‘: ‚Mischehen‘ als inner-jüdische Angelegenheit’, in *Zwischen Integration und Ausgrenzung: Migration, religiöse Identität(en) und Bildung—theologisch reflektiert* (eds. Johanna Rahner and Miriam Schambeck; Bamberger Theologisches Forum, 13; Münster LIT Verlag, 2011), pp. 61-82 (75-76).

6.3 Segmentation through Wives in the Text Itself

Segmentation through Atarah: Visible Othering in the Genealogy of Jerahmeel (2:25–33)

One of the central passages in the genealogies of Judah that realizes segmentation through women is the genealogy of Jerahmeel (2:25–33):

²⁵ And Jerahmeel, the firstborn of Hezron, had sons: Ram the firstborn, and Bunah, and Oren, and Ozem, Ahijah. ²⁶ And Jerahmeel also had another wife. And her name was Atarah; she was the mother of Onam. ²⁷ And the sons of Ram, the firstborn of Jerahmeel, were Maaz, and Jamin, and Eker. ²⁸ And the sons of Onam were Shammai and Jada. And the sons of Shammai were Nadab and Abishur. ²⁹ And the name of Abishur's wife was Abihail. And she bore him Ahban and Molid. ³⁰ And the sons of Nadab: Seled and Appaim. And Seled died without sons. ³¹ And the sons of Appaim: Ishi. The sons of Ishi: Sheshan. The sons of Sheshan: Ahlai. ³² And the sons of Jada, the brother of Shammai: Jether and Jonathan. And Jether died without sons. ³³ And the sons of Jonathan: Peleth and Zaza. These were the descendants of Jerahmeel.

The passage begins with the opening formula בְּכֹרֵי חֶזְרוֹן בְּנֵי יִרְחֵמֶאֱל, 'And Jerahmeel, the firstborn of Hezron, had sons:'. The formula is followed by a list of five sons, among them Jerahmeel's firstborn, Ram (2:25). The text then introduces Atarah, אִשָּׁה אַחֶרֶת, 'another wife' of Jerahmeel (2:26). The focus of the list that follows is on the descendants of Atarah's son Onam. His descendants reach into the eighth generation, even though some of them remain sonless. The genealogy concludes with the closing formula אֵלֶּה הָיוּ בְנֵי יִרְחֵמֶאֱל, 'These were the descendants of Jerahmeel', which attributes all listed sons to Jerahmeel (2:33).

Of the wives of Jerahmeel, Atarah is the first to be mentioned. While the mother of Jerahmeel's firstborn is passed over, Atarah and her descendants stand out. First, Atarah's name is emphasized with a reoccurring phrase. The text reads וְשֵׁמָה עַטְרָה, 'And her name was Atarah'.²⁸ Next, she is one of only two women in 1 Chronicles 1–9 who are explicitly listed as mother (אִם).²⁹ Finally, she is introduced with the phrase אִשָּׁה אַחֶרֶת, 'another wife' of Jerahmeel.

The phrase is noteworthy because it describes Atarah beyond the distinction between wife (אִשָּׁה) and secondary wife (פִּילִגֶּשׁ).³⁰ The *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* suggests translating אִשָּׁה אַחֶרֶת as another/other/additional wife of Jerahmeel, whereas אַחֶר would indicate a relation of similarity (rather than of contrast).³¹ In contrast, Japhet reads אִשָּׁה אַחֶרֶת, 'another wife', as a title, which would point to the foreign origin of Atarah.³²

²⁸ The phrase that draws attention to the name of a woman likewise occurs in 1:50; 2:29; 4:3, 7:15; 8:29/9:35.

²⁹ Only two women are listed as mothers: Atarah in 2:26 and the nameless mother of Jabez in 4:9.

³⁰ The *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* translates אִשָּׁה as "wife" and adds that the term refers to the "legitimate sexual partner of a man, and mother of his children." 'אִשָּׁה', *DCH*, I, pp. 404-411 (404). It translates פִּילִגֶּשׁ as "secondary wife" with the addition "(rather than concubine);" 'פִּילִגֶּשׁ', *DCH*, VI, pp. 681-682 (681).

³¹ See 'אַחֶר', *DCH*, I, pp. 192-193 (193).

³² Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 74. See also Willi, who qualifies Atarah as "fremde[s] Element" (alien element), Thomas Willi, *1 Chr 1–10* (BKAT, XXIV/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag,

Ethnic expansion in the genealogy of Jerahmeel would then be expressed through “the assimilation of outside elements, designated ‘wives’.”³³ Japhet supports her argument with a reference to the parallel phrase in Judg. 11:2 and 1 Kings 3:22. In these passages the phrase ‘another wife’ would have a negative connotation linked to ethnic difference.³⁴ I agree that the phrase ‘another wife’ has a negative connotation in Judg. 11:2 and 1 Kings 3:22. However, this does not necessarily involve ethnic difference. On the contrary, ethnic otherness for women in biblical literature is usually indicated with the adjective נכרי, “foreign, alien, strange,”³⁵ or with a form of זר, “foreign, forbidden.”³⁶ Neither of these terms is employed to describe Atarah. Moreover, the context of genealogies suggests reading the phrase in parallel to phrases such as אהר זרע, ‘another seed’, in Gen. 4:25 and אהר בן, ‘another son’, in Gen. 30:24, where it has a positive connotation.³⁷ Contextualized as such, the phrase indicates the status of a second—albeit not necessarily secondary—wife without indicating ethnic difference or providing a negative connotation. The emphasis on Atarah’s name, her listing as mother, and the depth of the lineage stemming from her (eight compared to three generations of the main segment of the genealogy of Jerahmeel), as well as her identification as “another wife” highlight Atarah. In my view, at this stage of the text it is not clear to which end she is thusly exposed; it is a question that needs to be pursued further by looking at the lineage deriving from her.

The most striking feature of the lineage deriving from Jerahmeel and Atarah is its link to Edom. The list provides a set of names with striking similarities to names from the Edomite and Seirite genealogies in 1 Chron. 1:35–54,³⁸ leading to an Edomite and Seirite connotation of the lineage. Moreover, the names tie in with extra-biblical evidence of the mutual presence of Edomite and Judean groups in Southern Judah and Edom/Idoumea.³⁹ Knoppers convincingly concludes that the “author’s genealogies and lists may function as a tacit acknowledgement and affirmation of numerous ties between Judean and Edomite (Idoumean) circles.”⁴⁰ The lineage springing from Atarah acknowledges these ties. At the

2009). p. 97. Labahn and Ben Zvi interpret the status of “other wife” in terms of a “lower status.” Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, p. 461.

³³ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 83.

³⁴ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 82. *DCH* translates Judg. 11:2 as “another, other, different,” whereas another refers to a contrast (rather than similarity). ‘אהר’, *DCH*, I, pp. 192-193 (192).

³⁵ *DCH* translates the adjective נכרה (feminine singular) as “foreign, alien, strange,” specifically as “attributively of women” in 1 Kgs 11:1, 8; Ezra 10:2; and Neh. 13:27. It translates the corresponding noun as “foreigner, alien, stranger,” and refers to Ruth 2:10 as an example for a female foreigner. ‘נכרי’, *DCH*, V, p. 695.

³⁶ *DCH* translates the “participle (זר) as adjective” as “foreign (and hence, sometimes, forbidden)” with an explicit reference to women in Prov. 2:16 and 7:5 where it is combined with נכרה; ‘זור’, *DCH*, III, pp. 98-100 (98).

³⁷ *DCH* translates אהר זרע, ‘another seed’ (Gen. 4:25) as “another, other, different” seed in terms of contrast, and אהר בן, ‘another son’ (Gen. 30:24) as “another, other, additional” son in terms of similarity as in the case of ‘another wife’ Atarah. ‘אהר’, *DCH*, I, pp. 192-193 (192-193).

³⁸ For example Onam (Onam in 1:40) and Shammai (Shammah in 1:37). See Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, pp. 309-10, and Willi, *I Chr 1–10*, p. 96.

³⁹ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, pp. 309-310. On the archaeological evidence of Edomite inscriptions in the South of Judah see John R. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites* (JSOTSup, 77; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), pp. 209-211.

⁴⁰ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 310. Knoppers locates these ties in the Persian period while Willi opts for either earlier or later relations. Willi, *I Chr 1–10*, p. 96.

same time, the Edomite groups still belong to genealogies of Esau in 1 Chron. 1:35–54. They remain part of the other, which here, and only at this point of the lineage, is an ethnic other as well.

The link to the Edomite genealogy in 1 Chron. 1:35–54 also evokes the story of the eponymous ancestors Jacob and Esau in the book of Genesis. Hence, the link to Edom not only involves actual sociocultural circumstances but also the mythic/literary memory of Israel. In the memory of Israel, the Edomites are seen as patriarchal brothers through Esau. Esau is the brother who held primogeniture but lost it to Israel—thus to the ‘us’—by fraud but according to God’s will (Genesis 25:29–34 and 27:1–45). The reoccurrence of Esau/Edom in the genealogy of Jerahmeel is a means to express the paradoxical relatedness as well as the necessary differentiation between Judah and Edom/Idoumea. Esau/Edom is the ‘us’ inasmuch as it represents the brother with original primogeniture. But it is also ‘they’, because the primogeniture shifts to the younger brother, who is now the ‘us’.⁴¹

The names in the lineage deriving from Jerahmeel and Atarah do not include place names. Names refer to families or clans, rather than to locations or territories.⁴² The lack of place names has often been interpreted in terms of the semi-nomadic tradition of this branch of Judah.⁴³ However, given the complex concept of identity and alterity involved, the lack of specific locations might also aim at ensuring that the affiliation with Edomite groups has nothing to do with any geopolitical and territorial claims.

The context of paradoxical relatedness and necessary differentiation, based on Israel’s narrative memory, implies a certain ambiguity concerning the ethnic difference of the segment under discussion. There is no clear ethnic othering through Atarah (her name or affiliation to a place) or through territorial references. However, similarities to the Edomite and Seirite names in the genealogies of Esau imply ethnic othering, albeit with a reference to the complex relatedness to this group.

In my assessment of the passage, I agree with Japhet, Knoppers and others that, in the case of Atarah, segmentation through wives takes in an (ethnic) other. However, I disagree with the qualification of this process as an organic one, as Japhet assumes for segmentation through women in general,⁴⁴ or as a tacit acknowledgement of ties, as Knoppers argues for this particular case.⁴⁵ Both Atarah and the segment deriving from her are exposed by means of a formulaic emphasis on her name; by means of listing her as mother; and by the exceedingly long lineage stemming from her son Onam. Segmentation through Atarah indeed facilitates the integration of Edomite groups into the self-conception of Judah. However, this integration is not complete. The identification of Atarah as ‘another wife’ highlights the lineage as a second/ary segment of the lineage of Jerahmeel. It requires the specification of a mother, which is not necessary for the primary segment of the lineage

⁴¹ See also Bartlett who emphasizes the “peculiar relationship” between Edom and Judah. Bartlett argues that Edom is regularly depicted as “a fierce” as well as “particularly treacherous enemy” of Judah, and that the relationship between Judah and Edom seems to have been worse than those to the other Transjordanian states. Still, Edom is called in several places ‘brother’ to Israel and Judah, a position not granted to Moab or Ammon. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, pp. 175–186, especially p. 175.

⁴² Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, p. 96; and Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 83.

⁴³ Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, p. 96. See also 1 Sam. 27:8–10 and 30:26–30; Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, p. 25.

⁴⁴ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 74.

⁴⁵ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 310.

of Jerahmeel, which is listed without the indication of the mother it springs from.⁴⁶ The status of affiliation is not on par with the status of affiliation as a first segment. Hence, segmentation through Atarah facilitates integration into Judah, but the segment remains visible as ‘other’.

My claim that segmentation through Atarah has the quality of explicitly and visibly defining the place of the segment springing from her is supported by the tacit and organic integration taking place concurrently: Jerahmeel himself is recalled as a non-Israelite in other biblical books but is entirely incorporated into Judah in Chronicles.⁴⁷ His integration is achieved by means of listing him as a son of Hezron and by means of fluidity. Fluidity allows integrating Jerahmeel into Judah while concurrently communicating a subtext of ethnic difference. It is here that ethnic affiliation and demarcation are negotiated through implicit and tacit means.

In conclusion, my close reading of the lineage of Jerahmeel *along the grain* results in the following claim about the structural function of segmentation through wives in the Judah genealogies: Lineages springing from segmentation through wives are integrated into Judah by means of an explicit (rather than tacit or organic) discussion of both their ambiguous and paradoxical relatedness to Judah. The explicit character and paradoxical dimension of this integration negotiates identity and alterity in a specific way. Groups are integrated into the matrix of the genealogies of Judah, but are concurrently identified as others. This mechanism is enforced by the parallel integration of males through listing them as sons and through fluidity, which takes place implicitly and tacitly.

Parallels in the Genealogy of Hezron (2:9–55)

In order to further substantiate my conclusion concerning the function of segmentation through wives, I will briefly discuss a second case of segmentation through wives as it occurs in the genealogy of Hezron (2:9–55). The genealogy of Hezron structures the first part of the genealogies of Judah and presents its central families (one of them is the genealogy of Jerahmeel, which I have just discussed). The genealogy of Hezron features segmentation through wives in a way that displays noticeable parallels to the segmentation through the wife Atarah in the genealogy of Jerahmeel.

Hezron has five sons in total. Initially, the text lists his sons Jerahmeel, Ram (the forefather of David), and Chelubai/Caleb (2:9).

⁹ And the sons of Hezron, who were born to him: Jerahmeel, and Ram, and Chelubai.

The existence of their mother(s) is only hinted at by means of the phrase *גולד-לו אשר*, ‘who were born to him’. As sons and brothers, they themselves bring the segmentation of the lineage into action. The text proceeds with the genealogy of Ram (2:10–17) and the first part of the genealogy of Caleb (2:18–20). The text then returns to Hezron and lists further sons: Segub and Ashhur (2:21–24). These additional sons are both introduced with a reference to their mother. Segub springs from the nameless daughter of Machir (2:21), and Ashhur, father of Tekoa, springs from Abijah (2:24). In both cases, the text realizes segmentation through wives.

²¹ And afterward Hezron went in to the daughter of Machir, father of Gilead. And he married her when he was sixty years old. And she bore him

⁴⁶ Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, p. 461.

⁴⁷ See 1 Sam. 30:29 (Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, p. 82).

Segub.²² And Segub begot Jair, who had twenty-three towns in the land of Gilead.²³ But Geshur and Aram took from them the towns of Jair, with Kenath and its daughter villages, sixty towns. All these were descendants of Machir, father of Gilead.²⁴ And after the death of Hezron in Calebphrathah, Abijah wife of Hezron bore him Ashhur, father of Tekoa.

Segmentation through wives in the genealogy of Hezron provides some important parallels to segmentation through Atarah in the genealogy of Jerahmeel. First of all, the genealogy of Hezron likewise provides main and secondary lineages. The primary lineage is listed without a clear reference to its mother(s), while the second/ary lineages are listed with an explicit reference to the wives who induce them. Next, as in the genealogy of Jerahmeel, the secondary character of the additional lineages is indicated by describing them as segments that are later/following/other (אחר) segments: Hezron marries the daughter of Machir after the previously listed events (דואחר בא חצרן אל־בת־מכיר אבי גלעד), ‘And afterward Hezron went in to the daughter of Machir, father of Gilead’), and Abijah gives birth to Ashhur after the death of Hezron (דואחר מות־חצרן), ‘And after the death of Hezron’).⁴⁸

In the case of the daughter of Machir, the segment that springs from her likewise involves groups that are related to Judah both in terms of sociopolitical circumstances and in terms of literary/mythological memory. Given that the daughter of Machir is the granddaughter of Manasseh, the lineage stemming from her marriage with Hezron represents ties between the Hezronites and Manasseh in the northern Transjordan.⁴⁹ Moreover, it claims a Judahite connection to large parts of Gilead, one of the core territories of Manasseh and Machir.⁵⁰ At the same time, the (implicit) reference to Manasseh alludes to both the relation and the difference between Judah and Manasseh as eponymous sons/grandsons of Israel.⁵¹ The lineage springing from the daughter of Machir belongs to Judah, but is also distinct from it—a fact underlined by the eventual attribution of all the descendants to Machir, father of Gilead. The segment is integrated into Judah, but not in terms of full integration but in terms of second/ary affiliation.

Differences between the genealogy of Jerahmeel and the genealogy of Hezron concern the description of the respective wives. While Atarah is listed with a reoccurring phrase that puts emphasis on her name, the nameless daughter of Machir and Abijah is not. In addition, the daughter of Machir remains nameless, but is identified via her father and the place to which he pertains. Differences also concern the involvement or lack of places. In contrast to the genealogy of Jerahmeel, the lineages deriving from the daughter of Machir and from Abijah provide ample references to places. The segment deriving from the daughter of Machir addresses territorial conflicts and has a prominent geopolitical scope.⁵² In the segment deriving from Abijah, her son Ashhur, father of Tekoa, represents ties with northern Judah.⁵³

⁴⁸ However, the characterisation of the events as events after/following a primary event has here a temporal meaning. “אחר”, *DCH*, I, pp. 193-195 (193-194).

⁴⁹ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 80.

⁵⁰ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 80.

⁵¹ See the narrative on Joseph and his brothers in Gen. 37, the birth of Joseph’s son Manasseh in Gen. 41:50–52, and the blessing of the sons and grandsons by Jacob in Gen. 48–49.

⁵² Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 80.

⁵³ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 308.

In conclusion, the genealogy of Hezron confirms the analysis of segmentation through wives in the genealogy of Jerahmeel, in spite of the differences. Most important in this respect is the observation that, in both cases, segmentation through wives qualifies a lineage in complex ways. Again, belonging and alterity are negotiated in an overt process of integrating a segment into Judah, yet keeping it visible as other.

Having analyzed key passages that feature segmentation through wives leads me to a first preliminary conclusion about the structural function of the female-gendered references in the genealogies of Judah. Segmentation through wives provides a means for visibly affiliating groups to Judah, in contrast to implicitly integrating groups by means of granting them the status of sons and by means of fluidity. This visible affiliation allows for integrating segments in an explicit process of othering, which involves negotiating their ambiguous relatedness and difference to the central parts of Judah. Processes of othering concern ethnic difference, geopolitical claims, and determining relationships according to the ancestral narratives. Sameness and otherness are presented as complex, ambiguous and sometimes paradoxical. Being located in both cultural memory and contemporaneous sociocultural relations, they are ambivalent rather than clear-cut. This particular form of affiliation is able to acknowledge and facilitate shades in determining sameness and otherness. By doing so, it contributes a central feature to the genealogical identity performance. The function of segmentation through wives, facilitating shades of determining sameness and otherness, is in line with the broader interest of the text to define position and status of its constituents. It runs along the grain of the overall genealogy composition.

Segmentation through Secondary Wives

So far, I have addressed segmentation through wives that negotiates ambiguous and paradoxical forms of identity and alterity. In a second step, I now focus on cases of segmentation through wives, and especially through secondary wives negotiates identity and alterity of groups more overtly distant from Judah, both in terms of ethnic and territorial difference. An example for such a form of segmentation is the segmentation through Bithiah, who is introduced as the (Egyptian) daughter of Pharaoh and who probably represented traditional Egyptian interests in Southern Judah.⁵⁴

Segmentation through wives that focuses on ethnic and territorial difference occurs against the backdrop of a fundamental interest of 1 Chronicles 1–9 in space and territories.⁵⁵ In the genealogies of Judah, numerous references to places and territories, as well as plenty of toponyms in which personal names, male and female, and names of places and/or communities overlap, expose the intimate link between places and identity conceptions in genealogical memory performance. One central concern of these genealogies is to set up a geopolitical identity map.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, p. 350.

⁵⁵ For the interrelation of notions of space, territories, and identities, see Magnar Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in 1 Chronik 1–9* (CBOTS, 28; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989); and Jon L. Berquist and Claudia V. Camp (eds.), *Constructions of Space I: Theory, Geography, Narrative* (LHBOTS, 481; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2007). For an archaeological study of the places mentioned in 1 Chronicles 1–9 see Israel Finkelstein, 'The Historical Reality behind the Genealogical Lists in 1 Chronicles', in *JBL* 131.1 (2012), pp. 65–83.

⁵⁶ For the interlocking of genealogy, geography and history as constitutive for the description of the tribes see Manfred Oeming, *Das wahre Israel: Die „genealogische Vorhalle“ 1 Chronik 1–9*

In the genealogies of Judah, the most prominent gender position in the context of spatial references is the male-gendered position of the father of a place. Fathers of places are referred to in the formula ‘x father of y’, for example, מכיר אבי־גלעד, ‘Machir father of Gilead’ (2:23). In Chronicles 1–9, the formula is most frequently used in the genealogies of Judah.⁵⁷ Against the background of the formula’s wide use in other biblical books (Genesis, Joshua, Judges), the formula is used here to express relationships between lineages and places, genealogy and geography.⁵⁸ In her nuanced analysis of the formal character of references in the actual text, Japhet argues that the formula maps processes of “expansion, absorption and dispersal, all expressed in the code of genealogical structures.”⁵⁹ She convincingly analyzes the reference to (the descendants of) fathers of places as a particular means for negotiating processes of affiliation and demarcation in view of the text’s geopolitical identity map.

As a rule, fathers of places are listed in the vicinity of women, mainly wives and secondary wives.⁶⁰ The wives are the (grand)mothers of the fathers of places and the places/communities listed as their sons. Many of the ‘grandmothers’ have toponyms or come with attributes that contain spatial and/or ethnic information. For example, Ephah bears the Midianite name of an Arabian tribe (4:46), Naarah carries the name of a town at the border between Benjamin and Manasseh–Ephraim (4:5), and Bithiah is listed as the (Egyptian) daughter of Pharaoh (4:18). Moreover, some of the women are listed as secondary wives and bring in the dimension of social hierarchies and stratification.⁶¹ In many cases, wives and secondary wives thus indicate and specify the context in which

(Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), p. 130. For a general discussion of Chronicle’s attitude to the “Land of Israel,” see Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ, 9; Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1997), pp. 275–307, especially 275–277.

⁵⁷ Of 33 instances of the father formula in 1 Chron. 1–9, 29 instances occur in the genealogies of Judah. Here, fathers of places appear in 12 genealogical segments: 1 Chron. 2:21–23, 2:24, 2:42–50a, 2:50b–55, 4:3, 4:4, 4:5–7, 4:11–12, 4:14, 4:17–18, 4:19, and 4:21–23. The father formula frequently occurs together with a heavy load of toponyms, for example in 1 Chron. 2:42–50a and 2:50b–55. The second name of the formula (‘y’) regularly indicates localities, 16 of which appear as towns also elsewhere in biblical literature. See James T. Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies: Toward an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1–9* (Academia Biblica, Society of Biblical Literature-SBL, 2008), p. 220.

⁵⁸ Willi, *1 Chr 1–19*, p. 100. Against Martin Noth, who suggested that the ‘father formula’ (*Patroniziumsformel*) would point to an originally integral source (*Grundschrift*). This source would have been structured by the ‘father formula’ but was later ripped up and integrated into the Chronicles’ genealogies. Martin Noth, ‘Eine siedlungsgeographische Liste in 1. Chr 2 und 4’, *ZDPV* 55 (1932), pp. 97–124 (100).

⁵⁹ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 85. Against Oeming, who understands the function of the formula to outline the settlements of the early monarchy and as a means to link them to particular tribes. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, p. 129.

⁶⁰ From the passages mentioned above, nine of twelve are linked to women: 2:21–23 is linked to the daughter of Machir, 2:24 to Abijah, 2:46–49 to Ephah and Maacah, 2:50–55 to Ephrathah, 4:3 to the brothers of Hazzelelponi, 4:4 to Ephrathah, 4:5–7 to Naarah and Helah, 4:17–18 to the nameless wife the Judahite and to Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, and 4:19 to the wife of Hodiah sister of Naham. Passages that mention founding fathers without a link to women are 4:11–12, 4:14, and 4:21–23.

⁶¹ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 312. 1 Chron. 1–9 lists four women and one anonymous group as secondary wives: Keturah (1:32–33), Ephah and Maacah (2:46, 48), the secondary wives of David (3:9), and the Aramean secondary wife of Manasseh (7:14).

founding fathers and places/communities are listed. As ‘grandmothers’ they open up a wider geopolitical scope.

Having introduced the priority of geopolitical references and the gendered position of founding fathers as a context for segmentation through secondary wives, I now proceed to the text analysis.

Negotiating Ethnic and Territorial Difference: Segmentation through Secondary Wives in the Genealogy of Caleb (2:42–50a)

The most prominent passage that addresses segmentation in the context of providing a wider geopolitical scope is the second part of the genealogies of Caleb. The genealogy of Caleb is divided into two parts. The first part (2:18–24) has its place among the three main segments of the genealogy of Hezron (2:9–41). The second part occurs as a sort of addendum after these three main segments of the genealogy of Hezron (2:42–50a).

⁴² And the sons of Caleb brother of Jerahmeel: Meshah, his firstborn, who was father of Ziph. And the sons of Mareshah father of Hebron. ⁴³ And the sons of Hebron: Korah, and Tappuah, and Rekem, and Shema. ⁴⁴ Shema begot Raham, father of Jorkeam. And Rekem begot Shammai. ⁴⁵ The son of Shammai: Maon. And Maon was the father of Beth-zur. ⁴⁶ And Ephah, Caleb’s secondary wife, bore Haran, and Moza, and Gazez. And Haran begot Gazez. ⁴⁷ And the sons of Jahdai: Regem, and Jotham, and Geshan, and Pelet, and Ephah, and Shaaph. ⁴⁸ The secondary wife of Caleb, Maacah, bore Sheber and Tirhanah. ⁴⁹ And she bore Shaaph, father of Madmannah, and Sheva, father of Machbenah, and the father of Gibeah. And the daughter of Caleb: Achsah. ⁵⁰ These were the sons of Caleb.

The passage starts out with a list of the sons of Caleb and a woman who is not mentioned (2:42–45). It then segments through Caleb’s secondary wives Ephah and Maacah (2:46–49a). As in the case of Jerahmeel and Hezron, the genealogy begins with the descendants of a woman who remains anonymous. Only the sidelines feature a reference to the wives they spring from. However, in this case, the ‘main’ segment already pertains to an addendum. On this basis, the additional segments undergo a second form of othering through the qualification of their mothers as secondary wives (פילגש).⁶²

The passage contains ample geopolitical references (toponyms, ethnic names, fathers of places). This includes the two secondary wives, whose names entail clear territorial and/or ethnic references. The Midianite name Ephah likewise serves as the name of an Arabian tribe, one of the offspring of Midian.⁶³ The name Ephah thus connotes connections with a related ethnic or political population group in the Southern Transjordan.⁶⁴ Maacah is the name of a Syrian kingdom and connotes relations into the Northern Transjordan.⁶⁵ Hence, the references to Ephah and Maacah open up a space in

⁶² In fact, Ephah and Maacah are the only secondary wives in the genealogies of Judah who are listed by name.

⁶³ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, p. 312.

⁶⁴ Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, p. 24. Knoppers specifies that “Midian” is associated with people to the southeast of Israel, e.g. the Ishmaelites (Judg. 8:24), the Medanites (Gen. 37:28, 36), the Moabites (Num. 22–25), and the Edomites. Sources testify to important links as well as continuous animosities. Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’, p. 24 (FN 43).

⁶⁵ D.G. Schley, ‘Maacah (Place)’, *ABD*, IV, p. 430.

which a particular sector of geopolitical interests and relationships—further elaborated by fathers of places and other geopolitical references— can be negotiated.

In conclusion, the comparison with the afore mentioned segmentation through wives (Atarah, Abijah, and the daughter of Machir) highlights that segmentation through secondary wives as well as the context of opening wider geopolitical spaces works toward positioning more independent territories and related groups. This argument is supported by the parallel case of segmentation through the secondary wife Keturah (1 Chron. 1:32–33). In this passage, Keturah functions as a genealogical reference point for descendants of Abraham, who are associated with “areas to the south and southeast of Israel,” on the basis of their toponymous names.⁶⁶ Interestingly, Keturah is introduced as a belated wife of Abraham in Genesis 25:1 (ויסף אברהם ויקח אשה ושמה קטורה), ‘And Abraham went on. And he took a wife. And her name was Keturah’), but is listed as secondary wife (פילגש) of Abraham in Chronicles.⁶⁷ The shift from wife to secondary wife seems to foreground the distance to Arabia.⁶⁸ Hence, again, segmentation through a secondary wife facilitates more articulate and less ambiguous othering in terms of territorial, ethnic, and mythic relations.

Hints to Female Inheritance and Land Claims in the Genealogy of Caleb and Beyond
(2:49; 7:15; 7:24)

Segmentation through the secondary wives Ephah and Maacah ties in with the aim of the text to establish a geopolitical identity map. The second genealogy of Caleb provides yet another passage that likewise links the gendered fragments to the theme of geopolitical identities and claims, namely the reference to Caleb’s daughter Achsah (2:49). At the very end of the genealogy, the text states that the daughter of Caleb was Achsah.⁶⁹ The reference to the daughter Achsah alludes to the narratives connected to her. Judg. 1:11–15 and Josh. 15:15–19 recount that Achsah claimed arable land from her father after he had married her into the desert.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, p. 280.

⁶⁷ The shift from wife to secondary wife has been also discussed by Willien van Wieringen, ‘Why Some Women Were Included in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9’, in *Rewriting Biblical History: Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honour of Pancratius C. Beentjes* (eds. Jeremy Corley and Harm van Grol; DCLSt, 7; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 291–300 (295).

⁶⁸ The fourth reference to a secondary wife in 1 Chronicles 1–9 is the reference to the nameless Aramean secondary wife of Manasseh (7:14). This nameless Aramean secondary wife opens the genealogies of Manasseh (7:14–19). Here, the status of secondary wife, together with the identification as an Aramean wife, may function to generally setting back the tribe of Manasseh.

⁶⁹ In the case of Achsah, genealogical fluidity is at stake. While the Achsah of Judg. 1:11–15 and Josh. 15:15–19 http://www.lectio.unibe.ch/11_2/brockhaus_monika_2011.html - _edn39 is identified as the daughter of Caleb, son of Jepunneh, Chronicles lists her as daughter of Caleb, son of Hezron. Hence, the inclusion of Achsah makes clear that the Caleb of the conquest is (also) meant. Hence, Achsah, as daughter, identifies and integrates her father to the lineage.

⁷⁰ For a discussion of the narratives in Judges and Joshua see Danna Nolan Fewell, ‘Deconstructive Criticism: Achsah and the (E)razed City of Writing’, in *Judges & Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies* (ed. Gale A. Yee, Minneapolis: Augsburg–Fortress, 2nd edn, 2007), pp. 115–137; Lillian R. Klein, ‘Achsah: What Price this Prize?’, in *Judges: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 4)* (ed. Athalya Brenner, Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1999), pp. 18–26; and Judith McKinlay, ‘Meeting Achsah on Achsah’s Land’, in *The Bible and Critical Theory*, 5.3 (2009), pp. 39.1–39.11.

This narrative background broaches the issue of female claims to land. Moreover, it interrelates with a second reference to daughters outside the genealogies of Judah. 1 Chron. 7:15 lists Zelophehad as one of the descendants of Manasseh and, as a sort of afterthought, adds that Zelophehad had daughters (וּתְהִינָה לְצִלְפְּחָד בָּנוֹת). Without explicitly referring to the story in which the daughters of Zelophehad claim a share of their father's inheritance (Num. 27:1–11 and Num. 36:1–12), the issue of female inheritance is broached.⁷¹ In 1 Chronicles 1–9, the term 'daughter' most often occurs as a substitute for a name (the nameless daughter of Machir) or as a means to qualify a woman (Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh). The explicit listing of women in their function as daughters is rare. It seems to echo issues of female inheritance and land claims.

This possibility is further supported by yet another reference to a daughter: 7:24 lists Sheerah, the daughter of Ephraim (or of his son Beriah) as a builder of the cities Upper Beth-horon, Lower Beth-horon and Uzen-Sheerah.⁷² Sheerah's building of cities might have involved actual, manual labor, or the activity of founding or donating cities.⁷³ Either way, she is referred to as a female who extends her specific legacy to the cities.⁷⁴

In conclusion, the second genealogy of Caleb highlights the interrelation between gendered fragments and the text's interest in spatial references and related geopolitical claims. This is accomplished in different ways, on the one hand along and on the other hand against the grain of the text. Segmentation through secondary wives determines relationships with groups that are ethnically and territorially more distant to Judah, thereby negotiating identity and alterity in the context of broader geopolitical scopes than segmentation through wives does. Like segmentation through wives, segmentation through secondary wives operates along the grain of the text. In contrast, the reference to Caleb's daughter Achsah works against the grain of the text by providing a glance at the negotiation of female land and inheritance claims. The issue echoes in additional references to daughters in the genealogies of Manasseh and Ephraim, but is not elaborated on in the text.

Concluding Discussion

Based on my analysis of the key passages on segmentation through wives and secondary wives in the genealogies of Judah I come to the following conclusions: The close reading

⁷¹ For a discussion of the narratives of the sisters in Numbers see Ankie Sterring, 'The Will of the Daughters', in *A Feminist Companion to Exodus and Deuteronomy* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 88-99.

⁷² Lower and Upper Beth-Horon are among the best known Ephraimite cities (Sara Japhet, 'Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles', *JBL* 98.2 (1979), pp. 205-218 (213); Uzen-sheerah is not attested elsewhere (M. Stephen Davis, 'Sheerah (Person)', *ABD*, V, pp. 1190-1191).

⁷³ For women who engaged in manual building activities see Neh. 3:12, which accounts that the daughters of Shallum worked on the city wall next to their father. In spite of this evidence, Kiesow argues that the reference probably refers to the founding or donating of the cities. Anna Kiesow, *Löwinnen von Juda: Frauen als Subjekte politischer Macht in der jüdischen Königszeit* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2000), p. 50.

⁷⁴ The passage is assessed differently by Labahn and Ben Zvi and Wacker. While Labahn and Ben Zvi interpret the building of cities by Sheerah as a divine blessing, Wacker argues that it could also be negatively connoted in line with negative connotations of building cities in Gen. 4 (the genealogy of Cain) and in Gen. 11 (Babel). Labahn and Ben Zvi, 'Observations on Women', p. 475; and Marie-Theres Wacker, 'Die Bücher der Chronik: Im Vorhof der Frauen', in *Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung* (eds. Marie-Theres Wacker and Luise Schottroff; Gütersloher Verlagshaus: Gütersloh, 3rd edn, 2007), pp. 146-155 (149).

has demonstrated that segmentation through wives and secondary wives allows for addressing identities of and alterity within Judah in a nuanced manner. Facilitating nuanced and multilayered stances is enabled through the visible and explicit character of segmentation through wives and secondary wives. It includes negotiating paradoxical and ambiguous relations in the case of segmentation through wives, as well as correlating and othering more articulate ethnic and territorial differences in the case of secondary wives.

Interpreting segmentation through wives as an overt negotiation of integration and othering gains additional plausibility against the backdrop of Israelite marriage practice. Marriage arrangements then involved “female mobility and male stability.”⁷⁵ Gender-related distribution of mobility and stability pertains to both exogamous marriages between ethnic groups and endogamous marriages between tribes and paternal houses. In both cases, wives are objects of exchange, but subject to crossing community boundaries and negotiated sociocultural values.⁷⁶ Therefore, they mediate, integrate, and channel the other.⁷⁷ Attributing to a respective ancestress a segment of genealogy that involves negotiating ethnic, geographical, and/or cultural boundaries, makes sense against this background. The genealogy composition then takes up a social practice with the aim of forming a genealogical tool that acknowledges and negotiates difference through segmentation. By doing so, the genealogies concurrently point to the sociopolitical and cultural-religious impact of women for communities when they cross community boundaries through exogamous and endogamous marriages.⁷⁸ Thus, in the postexilic period and beyond, wives become visible as critical agents in negotiating and integrating complex identity processes.⁷⁹

Negotiating sameness and otherness through wives exposes female agency in processes of identity formation. However, there are two sides to this coin. Whereas references to wives mediate and channel the other, women are simultaneously othered by being attributed to secondary segments. Wives have an important function in the text, but fulfilling this function links them to marginalized parts of the Judah genealogies. This

⁷⁵ Carol Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 133.

⁷⁶ Meyers, *Discovering Eve*, pp. 184-88. The understanding of marriage as a mode of exchange has been first proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss. He has argued that in small-scale societies, marriage does not only affect the spouses, but constitutes a system of exchange, which involves “material goods, social values such as privileges, rights and obligations, and women.” Marriage as exchange system produces and shapes relations between groups. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (ed. Rodney Needham; trans. J.H. Bell, J.R. von Sturmer and Rodney Needham; Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 115.

⁷⁷ Camp, *Wise, Strange and Holy*, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁸ For the sociopolitical and cultural-religious impact of women’s informal groups or networks, see Carol Meyers, “‘Women of the Neighborhood’ (Ruth 4.17): Informal Female Networks in Ancient Israel”, in *Ruth and Esther: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 3)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 110-127 (especially 116-119).

⁷⁹ The notion of wives as critical agents in negotiating complex processes of identity formation is also relevant for the genealogy composition of “My Life Part 2”. However, discussing the issue would have to be done in a clear historical framework which would allow to contextualize the film with the history of Jewish assimilation in Germany, as well as with NS race politics and the history of ‘mixed marriages’ in Nazi Germany. Such a strong historical focus goes beyond the scope of the actual project.

problematic side of the coin becomes even more apparent in the case of segmentation through secondary wives, where the secondary status of secondary wife adds a second level of othering to the process of othering already being under way through the female-gendered segmentation. In conclusion, the structural function of segmentation through wives adds an important pattern of both explicit and nuanced othering to the genealogical fabric. However, these functions do not change the pattern, but belong to the dominant agenda of the text.

Overt othering through the wives and secondary wives in Judah stands in contrast to the concurrent implicit integration of segments through the status of sons and fluidity. The genealogies use both forms of integration side by side. This double strategy especially makes sense for the genealogies of Judah, thus for an entity whose territorial, ethnic, sociopolitical, and religious constitution was critical for the self-conception of Jewish identities at the time. In this context, segmentation through wives and secondary wives provides a tool to define identity/alterity in a much more nuanced way than a genealogy without gendered passages may have done. This might explain why so many wives are listed in this particular part of 1 Chronicles 1–9.

The passages discussed under the headline of segmentation through wives concern structural and functional matters. Such structural and functional matters are to be achieved most effectively through women figures without preceding stories in the cultural memory reflected in biblical literature. Here, women figures function as road signs for developing a larger genealogical map, rather than as individual female ancestors who pool traditions and can serve as identification figures, as for example Ephrathah. This function may be one clue as to why 1 Chronicles 1–9 lists so many unknown women that are distinct to the genealogy composition.⁸⁰

6.4 Women as Subjects of Opening and Closing Formulas

Formulas that Induce ‘Genealogical Ownership’

While the previous analysis was led by the functional/relational terms of wives and secondary wives, close readings in this section explore structural functions of female-gendered passages that are induced by formulas. The focus of analysis is on the opening and the closing formula, thus on formulas that attribute descendants to a name. As I have explained in Chapter 3, I understand the formulaic character of the genealogies as a significant feature of the genealogy genre in general, as well as a major device in the purposeful design of 1 Chronicles 1–9.⁸¹ In terms of my suggestion to understand 1 Chronicles 1–9 as an archive, I understand the use of formulas as a critical device in structuring, labeling, and framing the contents of the composition, thereby setting up the taxonomy of the genealogical archive. For example, the opening and closing formulas attribute lineages to names, places, and traditions. Moreover, they distribute segments in

⁸⁰ Against Oeming who argues that the lack of the names of the prominent women would reflect the unimportance of women in the postexilic period, especially concerning the cult. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, p. 208.

⁸¹ Chapter 3: *1 Chronicles 1–9 and its Gendered Fragments*, pp. 67–91 (86). My emphasis on the genre, builds on John Barton, who argues that the meaning of a biblical text depends on its genre and suggests “genre-recognition” as a key competence of critical Bible scholarship. John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study* (Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 2nd edn, 1996), pp.16–19 (19).

view of power centers such as the lineage of the house of David. By doing so, the formulas give shape to organization principles, establish regularities, and enact hierarchies. They are an important tool in determining the archive's "logics of recall"⁸² and are critically involved in the genealogical process of memory performance. Analyzing the genealogy composition along its formulas follows these logics of recall and is a form of reading the genealogy composition along the grain—even though the results of the analysis might seem to contradict the predominant aim of the text.

The opening and closing formulas attribute lineages to a name, and thereby establish "genealogical ownership."⁸³ The notion of *genealogical ownership* has been coined by Julie Kelso and refers to the attribution of a lineage to a name.⁸⁴ The name defines and identifies the lineage. In turn, the lineage belongs to the name. Genealogical ownership first of all concerns the distribution of names (rather than of historical persons) and establishes a certain order on the level of (literary) genealogy performance. Sociopolitical circumstances are connoted, but the notion does not aim at describing legal or social relations in the first place.

As a rule, genealogical ownership is induced by opening and the closing formulas. The opening formula attributes a list of descendants to the subject of the formula. For example, the opening formula בני יהודה, 'The sons of Judah' in 1 Chron. 2:3 opens a list of descendants who are attributed to Judah. In a similar way, the closing formula resumes a list by means of attributing the previously listed descendants to the subject of the formula. For example, אלה היו בני כלב, 'These were the descendants of Caleb', in 1 Chron. 2:50a.

In the patrilinear genealogies of Judah, female names are usually attributed to male names. Likewise, genealogical ownership usually pertains to males. However, the genealogies of Judah feature instances in which males are attributed to female names and females occur as owners of lineages. This concerns wives, but also sisters, for example Zeruah, one of the sisters of David (2:16). In the following close readings, I will analyze passages that feature female subjects of opening and closing formulas. The close readings are structured according to passages that induce genealogical ownership of wives; passages that induce genealogical ownership of sisters; and passages in which genealogical ownership of women occurs in text-critically uncertain passages.

Genealogical Ownership of Wives

The most important passage that features wives as owner of lineages is the passage on the co-wives Helah and Naarah (4:5–7). This passage lies at the center of this section. Next to Helah and Naarah, genealogical ownership of wives occurs in passages that are text-critically uncertain. I will discuss the latter in the section on female genealogical ownership in text-critically uncertain passages.

1 Chron. 4:5–7 introduces Helah and Naarah as co-wives of Ashhur and genealogical owners of lineages.

⁵ And Ashhur father of Tekoa had two wives, Helah and Naarah; ⁶ And Naarah bore him Ahuzzam, and Hopher, and Temeni, and Haahashtari. These were the sons of Naarah. ⁷ And the sons of Helah: Zereth, Izhar, and Ethnan.

⁸² Stoler, 'Colonial Archives', p. 100.

⁸³ Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, pp. 112-113.

⁸⁴ Kelso, *Oh Mother Where Art Thou?*, p. 135.

The text states outright that Ashhur, father of Tekoa, had *two* wives (4:5). By doing so, it introduces the co-wives Helah and Naarah without indication of a social, juridical or relational hierarchy.⁸⁵ Naarah gives birth to four sons for Ashhur. All four sons are attributed to her name by means of the closing formula (4:6):

ותלד לו נערה את־אחוזם ואת־חפר ואת־תימני ואת־האחשתי אלה בני נערה

⁶ And Naarah bore him Ahuzzam, and Hopher, and Temeni, and Haahashtari. These were the sons of Naarah.

The next verse begins with the standard opening formula. The formula gives the name of the mother Helah and the list of three sons attributed to her name (4:7).

ובני חלאה צרת יצחר ואתנן

⁷ And the sons of Helah: Zereth, Izhar, and Ethnan.

The text attributes the descendants of Ashhur, father of Tekoa, to his co-wives Helah and Naarah by means of the opening and closing formulas. While these formulas are usually used in the context of males and their sons (for instance in 4:1; 4:4b; 4:13; 4:15; 4:16), they are here used for females and their descendants. This striking feature of the text has led to different interpretations. Willi acknowledges the significance of the use of these formulas in reference to Helah and Naarah and argues that the co-wives represent two main segments of the genealogy of Ashhur. Moreover, he explains this constellation with a reference to Tekoa as a town that maintained a reputation as a home of intellectually superior men and women throughout the monarchy.⁸⁶ Other scholars deny the impact of the formulas. For example, Knoppers states that the passage provides no opening or closing formulas at all.⁸⁷ This surprising statement seems to presuppose that otherwise unambiguous formulas only fulfill their function in the text if they describe the attribution of sons to a male name. In my view, this presupposition is based on extra-textual biases and is not convincingly supported by the Judah genealogies themselves. The text has sufficient linguistic tools at its disposal to indicate segmentation through wives and to attribute sons of several wives to the same father (see above). Still, the genealogy of Ashhur goes beyond this repertoire and unambiguously attributes Ashhur's sons to either Naarah or Helah by means of the relevant formulas. Therefore, in line with Willi, I understand the passage as outstanding example of attributing descendants to wives by means of an opening and closing formula.

Using an opening and/or closing formula for females rather than males adds a new dimension to the issue of segmentation through wives. Even though Naarah and Helah are mothers of sons whose names have strong geopolitical implications,⁸⁸ the genealogy lacks a

⁸⁵ A parallel case occurs in the genealogy of Cain, which lists the co-wives Adah and Zillah (Gen. 4:17–24). Phyllis Silverman Kraemer provides an analysis of biblical women that come in pairs, which unfortunately does not include the genealogical references to co-wives and co-secondary wives, but nevertheless provides an interesting backdrop to the passages. Phyllis Silverman Kraemer, 'Biblical Women that Come in Pairs: The Use of Female Pairs as Literary Device in the Hebrew Bible', in *Genesis: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 1)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 218–232.

⁸⁶ For example, the prophet Amos (Amos 1:1), and the wise woman of Tekoa (2 Sam. 14:2). Willi, *I Chr 1–10*, p. 124.

⁸⁷ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 345.

⁸⁸ See the names of their sons, which indicate the geopolitical impact of the segments: Temeni, and Haahashtari are gentilic names (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 108) and Ethnan might refer to Ithnan (Josh 15:23) in the Negev (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 108).

moment of integrating and at the same time othering segments, which prevailed in the previous cases. Instead, the sons of Ashhur are directly attributed to his two wives, who are introduced without hierarchy, and who preside over two parallel main branches of the genealogy of Ashhur.⁸⁹ In contrast to the strong aspect of othering in the previous cases, here segmentation through co-wives works to express an equal status.

The expression of an equal status has sociocultural impacts with respect to the paternal household (בית־אב / *bēt 'āb*). The text conveys a coequal dimension of the *bēt 'āb* in which two wives and their descendants have equal status. By doing so, it questions the conceptualization of the *bēt 'āb* in strictly hierarchic terms.⁹⁰ This is supported by the parallel mention of the co-wives Adah and Zillah in Gen. 4:17–24 and perhaps also through the mention of the co-secondary wives Ephah and Maacah (2:42–46), as well as through the reference to the co-divorcees Hushim and Baarah (8:8–11).

In conclusion, the passage under consideration unambiguously contributes lineages to the wives Helah and Naarah, who consequently own these lineages. As Helah and Naarah are listed as wives, the passage likewise addresses the issue of segmentation through wives. In this context, the passage stands out for introducing Helah and Naarah as co-wives without indicating a hierarchy between the two. Therefore, the co-wives and owners of lineages bring into action a segmentation that conveys difference on a par. This function significantly differs from the previously discussed cases of segmentation through wives and secondary wives. In this case, the combination of segmentation through wives and formula-induced genealogical ownership adds a dimension on segmentation through wives to the discussion that was not previously addressed.

Genealogical Ownership of Sisters

So far, I have addressed genealogical ownership of wives. In a second step, I shall address genealogical ownership of sisters. The genealogies of Judah attribute lineages to Zeruiah, listed, together with Abigail, as a sister of David (2:16–17), and to the nameless wife of Hodiah, sister of Naham (4:19). I begin with Zeruiah and then proceed to the sister of Naham.

Zeruiah

1 Chron. 2:16–17 introduces Zeruiah and Abigail in the following way:

¹⁶ Their sisters: Zeruiah and Abigail. The sons of Zeruiah: Abishai, Joab, and Asahel, three. ¹⁷ Abigail bore Amasa. And the father of Amasa was Jether the Ishmaelite.

⁸⁹ So also Willi, *1 Chr 1–10*, p. 124.

⁹⁰ For the constitution and importance of the *bēt 'āb* see C.J.H. Wright, 'Family', *ABD*, II, p. 762; and Leo G. Perdue, Joseph Blenkinsopp, John J. Collins and Carol Meyers (eds.), *Families in Ancient Israel* (The Family, Religion, and Culture Series, 7 ; Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1997). For the term 'house of the mother' (*bet 'ēm*) see Bronner, 'Biblical Mothers and Daughters', pp. 187-189; and Athalya Brenner, 'Alternative Families: From the Hebrew Bible to Early Judaism's', unpublished essay based on the paper of the same name delivered at the ISBL in Tartu, Estonia, in July 2010 (download available at <http://www.uva.nl/over-de-uva/organisatie/medewerkers/content/b/r/a.brenner/a.brenner.html>; accessed June 08, 2013).

Zeruiah is listed in the opening formula and assumes the position of head of family, as I have shown in Chapter 4.⁹¹ A most prominent feature in the reference to Zeruiah is that she is listed as a sister and mother of sons without revealing the identity of the father of her sons.⁹² Zeruiah's sons are attributed to her name, whereas she is not attributed to a male husband. Instead, the identification as sister attributes Zeruiah to her original family lineage as represented through her brothers (and sister).⁹³ Zeruiah is introduced side by side with her sister Abigail (2:16–17). Abigail is not listed with an opening or concluding formula. Still, the text makes sure that her son belongs to her lineage by indicating that she gave birth to her son Amasa. This statement integrates Amasa into the Davidic birth line of Abigail. Only then does the text add that Amasa's father was Jether the Ishmaelite. Here, the text does not use a concluding formula, which would eventually attribute Abigail's son to his father. Instead Jether is mentioned in a gloss, which explains the circumstances but leaves attribution of Amasa with his mother.⁹⁴

In the cases of the sisters Zeruiah and Abigail, female genealogical ownership fulfills the function of linking sons to the lineage of their mothers. This does not concern just any given lineage, but the royal lineage of the house of David. Here, female genealogical ownership as realized through sisters achieves situating their descendants in greater proximity to the power center of the genealogies of Judah. The sisters are thus located at a nerve center of the genealogical distribution of power in terms of both domination and participation.

Linking sons to the royal lineage throws a spotlight on the court as a context for possible female agency. The listing of Zeruiah in particular points to a possible presence of women in the political, cultural, religious, and administrative life of the court and beyond it. Even though the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9 do not aim at accounting for particular sociohistorical circumstances, the passages under discussion add to a broader basis for the sociohistorical reconstruction of the situation of women at the court and in the upper-class of exilic and postexilic times.⁹⁵

In conclusion, the passage on Zeruiah and Abigail presents the sisters as owners of lineages to the end of affiliating these lineages to the power center of the house of David. It brings segmentation through females into action, even though in this case, they are not listed as wives but as sisters. Again, the combination of segmentation through females and female genealogical ownership adds a genuinely new aspect to the discussion on genealogical ownership.

The Nameless Wife of Hodiah, Sister of Naham

The second case of genealogical ownership of a sister occurs in the last part of the genealogies of Judah (4:1–23), which includes branches less firmly integrated into Judah than those listed in the first part of its genealogies. In 4:19, the nameless wife of Hodiah, sister of Naham, is the subject of the open formula.

⁹¹ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (104-107).

⁹² A parallel instance of a sister who has sons but is listed without reference to a husband is Hammolecheth, who pertains to the genealogies of Manasseh (7:18).

⁹³ Camp, *Wise, Strange and Holy*, p. 191.

⁹⁴ Jether may be only referred to in a gloss because he is a foreigner.

⁹⁵ For a detailed and nuanced study on the situation of women at the court see Kiesow, *Löwinnen von Juda*, pp. 64-95.

19 The sons of the wife of Hodiah, sister of Naham: the fathers of Keilah the Garmite and Eshtemoa the Maacathite.

The phrase “wife of Hodiah, sister of Naham”⁹⁶ replaces an actual name in the opening formula. The formula attributes to the nameless woman a list of sons, namely the (also nameless) father of Keilah the Garmite and Eshtemoa the Maacathite.⁹⁷ The short lineage belongs to a row of short sequences that are only loosely strung together. The strong geopolitical references enforce the character of loosely arranged sequences with a certain independence from the main lineages of Judah. Attributing the lineage to the wife of Hodiah, sister of Naham, and thus to the birth line of the nameless sister, might tie in with the tendency to indicate independence from the main Judahite lineages.

Female Genealogical Ownership in Text-critically Uncertain Passages

Having discussed genealogical ownership of wives and sisters in passages that unambiguously attribute lineages to these women, I next turn to passages that feature female genealogical ownership in text-critically uncertain passages. The passages under consideration are the passage on Azubah and Jerioth (2:18–19); the passage on Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh (4:17–18); and the passage on the nameless wife of Hodiah, sister of Naham (4:19). In Chapter 4, I have already discussed the first two passages already from the perspective of fissures in the patriarchal succession, and specifically in view of obscured female agency in text-critically difficult passages.⁹⁸ The discussion made clear that these passages are extremely difficult to analyze and that, to a certain extent, their meaning remains hidden.

2:18–19

The first case concerns the unclear attribution of sons to either Azubah or Jerioth. In 2:18–19, the opening formula attributes a list of descendants to an ambiguous ‘she’.

2:18 And Caleb son of Hezron begot (with) Azubah, a woman, and (with) Jerioth. These were her sons: Jeshar and Shobab and Ardon. 19 And Azubah died; and Caleb took for him Ephrath; and she bore him Hur.

The subject of the formula is indicated by a suffix pronoun in the first person-feminine singular (בניה). As the previous sentence is syntactically unclear,⁹⁹ who owns the lineage, Azubah or Jerioth, must remain open.

4:17–18

The second case concerns the unclear identity of the descendants of Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh. In 4:18 MT, the closing formula attributes descendants to Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh.

⁹⁶ The Masoretic Text reads אשת הודיה ‘the wife of Hodiah,’ but the *BHS* suggests reading אשתו ‘his wife the Judahite’ with reference to the Greek translation and the mentioning of a Jehudite wife in verse 18. (See Leslie C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Masoretic Text, Part 2: Textual Criticism* (VTSup, 25.2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), p. 137). In line with Japhet, I remain with the MT (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 103).

⁹⁷ Number and names of the descendants of the sister of Naham differ in the different text witnesses. For an overview see Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 342.

⁹⁸ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (107-110).

⁹⁹ See Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (107-108).

4:17 The son of Ezrah: Jether, Mered, Ephraim, and Jalon. She conceived Miriam, Shammai, and Ishbah, the father of Eshtemoa. 4:18 His wife, the Judahite, bore Jered, the father of Gedor, Heber, the father of Soco, and Jekuthiel, the father of Zanoah. These are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered married.

The passage clearly presents Bithiah as genealogical owner of a row of sons. However, the difficult state of the text makes it difficult to identify who the sons of Bithiah in fact are.¹⁰⁰ As in the passage on Azubah and Jerioth, the explosive force of the fact that women own lineages is defused by the uncertainty of the passages.

Hints to Female Lineages

The uncertain status of the passages has yet another impact. Both passages may contain hints to a female line from mother to daughter. In 2:18–19, Jerioth may be listed as the daughter of Azubah (2:18). In 4:17–18 MT, a certain Miriam may be listed as the daughter of an unidentified “she” (4:17).

The identification of women as mothers of their daughters and vice versa indeed occurs in 1 Chronicles 1–9, yet outside of the genealogies of Judah. The most explicit example are the genealogies of Esau, which list the female succession of Mehetabel, daughter of Matred, daughter of Me-zahab (1 Chron. 1:50).¹⁰¹ But the genealogies of Manasseh also feature a mother daughter relationship when recounting that Hammolecheth bore Mahlah (Chron. 7:18). This passage also stands out because Hammolecheth’s daughter Mahlah holds the name of one of the daughters of Zelophehad, who are briefly referred to in 7:15.

In contrast to these examples, the passages on Azubah and Jerioth, as well as on Miriam and a certain “she,” provide only traces of mother–daughter relationships. However, the uncertain status of the passages prevents this argument from gaining shape. This is especially noteworthy as the daughters in the genealogies of Judah and beyond are related to the issue of the continuation of the succession (Sheshan’s daughter), as well as to the issue of inheritance (Achsah and the daughters of Zelophehad). Repressing the occurrences of daughters also weakens the occurrence of these issues, especially in the genealogies of Judah.

Concluding Discussion

The close reading of passages that attribute lineages to women on the basis of opening and closing formulas has shown that female genealogical ownership works in two directions, depending on whether its protagonists are introduced as wives or as sisters. In the case of wives, specifically the co-wives Helah and Naarah, genealogical ownership facilitates distribution of lineage segments on equal terms. In the case of sisters, specifically the sisters Zeruah and Abigail, genealogical ownership affiliates lineage segments to the power center of the house of David.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (109).

¹⁰¹ Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, p. 463.

¹⁰² A third way of linking the identity of a descendant to a female is his/her naming through his mother. The genealogies of Judah feature one instance of naming through the mother in 4:9–10. Here, the nameless mother of Jabez names her son in a speech act (4:9).

Next to the actual functions fulfilled by the attribution of lineages to women in the text, the occurrence of genealogical ownership holds sociocultural impact. The passages show that the genealogies use references to women to particular ends, and, in the course of doing so, do not shy away from listing them as genealogical owners. Listing women in the position as owners of lineages does not make the text illogical or absurd. It seems that the idea of women who were critically important for the status and identity of their descendants made perfect sense within the horizon of contemporaneous authors and readers.

Attributing segments of a lineage to a name denotes a specific instance of segmentation through women. However, segmentation through wives and sisters who concurrently own lineages is less concerned with visibly negotiating identity and alterity, or explicitly othering groups, than is the case in the examples of segmentation through wives and secondary wives I discussed earlier. Instead, the combination of segmentation through women and female genealogical ownership aims at conveying equal status and at expressing unambiguous affiliation with central lineages. Given the usual discourse on female segmentation in Judah, these latter functions come as a surprise and are not usually remarked upon. Both the functions to convey parity and to affiliate segments with central lineages exceed the classical descriptions of segmentation through women, and round off the task to draw a nuanced picture of female involvement in segmentation processes.

6.5 Sisters and Shaped Gaps

The discussion of formal genealogical ownership has shifted attention from wives to sisters. This shift implies a shift in attention from segmentation and horizontal genealogical structures to depth and vertical linear genealogical structures. Linear structures allow a genealogy to stretch back in time and to potentially expand to the future.¹⁰³ They are formally described as the depth of a genealogy. In the genealogies of Judah and beyond, the depth of a lineage serves to legitimize power claims on the basis of continuity, (male) succession, and reference to ancestral traditions. Such claims might concern public offices and cultic authority, but also normative memory. Especially in ancient Near East cultures, the identities of individuals and groups were intimately linked to their roots and social context. As a consequence, “[c]urrent social relationships or political hierarchies may be claimed, explained, or ratified by recourse to genealogy.”¹⁰⁴

The gendered fragments of the genealogies of Judah involve linear structures and the depth of a lineage in relation to the relational/functional role of sisters. Sisters are related to a given linear segment by birth.¹⁰⁵ They belong to the father/sons cohesion until they relocate themselves to a new cohesion through marriage. In the previously analyzed passage on Zeruiah and Abigail (2:16–17), their participation in linear structures by birth has enabled their attributing descendants to the Davidic lineage.

The shift from wives to sisters also implies a focus on the royal lineage, as demonstrated by the fact that the functions fulfilled by the sisters Zeruiah and Abigail are closely linked to their being members of the Davidic family. Before I turn full attention to the role of sisters in the genealogies of Judah, I will therefore more generally discuss the references to females, both wives and sisters, in the Davidic power center.

¹⁰³ Wilson, *Genealogies and History*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁴ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 251.

¹⁰⁵ Camp, *Wise, Strange and Holy*, p. 191.

The Wives and Sisters of the House of David

The genealogy of the house of David is divided into two parts. The first part (3:1–9) lists wives and sons of David according to their place of birth—Hebron or Jerusalem. While the six wives who gave birth to David’s sons at Hebron are listed one by one (3:1–4a), the mother of Solomon is the only wife listed by name for Jerusalem (3:4b–9). 3:5 lists the mother of Solomon as ‘Bath-shua daughter of Ammiel’ rather than as ‘Bathsheba daughter of Eliam’ as she is called in Samuel–Kings.¹⁰⁶ Both pairs of names, Bath-shua/Bath-sheba and Ammiel/Eliam may be read as variations on the same names.¹⁰⁷ However, rendering Bathsheba as Bath-shua also introduces a subtext, which links the Bathsheba of 2 Samuel 11 to the Bath-shua of Genesis 38 already referred to in 2:3.¹⁰⁸

The first part of the genealogy of the house of David (3:9) concludes with the statement that all these were the sons of David, except for the sons of his secondary wives. It then adds ותמר אחותם, ‘and their sister: Tamar’ (3:9bβ). Like Bath-shua/Bathsheba, Tamar is one of the few women in 1 Chronicles 1–9 who has a pre-life in biblical literature. Listing her at this point adds the narrative of the rape of Tamar by her brother Amnon as recounted in 2 Samuel 13 to the female-gendered backdrop, which has already been introduced by the reference to Bath-Shua/Bathsheba. Moreover, it enforces the reference to 2:3–4, since the genealogies of Judah refer to the pair Bath-shua and Tamar twice.

The second part of the genealogy of the house of David provides a mainly linear genealogy (3:10–24). It includes the list of kings from Solomon to Josiah (3:10–14) and the lineage from Josiah to the sons of Eliezer (3:15–24). The latter includes several sons—and one sister—for each generation. The lineage brings to the fore the vital and unbroken succession of the David lineage.¹⁰⁹ As the “centerpiece” of the genealogies of Judah,¹¹⁰ the succession of Davidic kings and heirs establishes a power center. The sole woman who is listed in this inner power center is Shelomith (3:19). The text introduces Shelomith as the sister of three of the sons of Zerubbabel by means of using the sister formula.

¹⁹ And the sons of Pedaiah: Zerubbabel and Shimei. And the sons of Zerubbabel: Meshullam and Hananiah. And Shelomith: their sister. ²⁰ And Hashubah, and Ohel, and Berechiah, and Hasadiah, and Jushab-hesed, five.

The question why Shelomith is listed in the succession of Davidic heirs can be approached from different angles. A first approach would identify her as a historical person of some importance.¹¹¹ This assumption may be backed up by the Shelomith seal, which stems from the late sixth century and says “Belonging to Shelomith handmaid of Elnathan the governor.”¹¹² The term אמת, ‘handmaid/maidservant’, has been interpreted as the status of a high-standing functionary, parallel to the term עבד, ‘manservant’.¹¹³ This is especially plausible given its find spot, an official archive, where it was found together with the seal

¹⁰⁶ See for example 2 Sam. 11:3.

¹⁰⁷ Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁸ The link has already been highlighted by Japhet (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 96).

¹⁰⁹ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 334.

¹¹⁰ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 336.

¹¹¹ So Japhet, who argues that the listed daughters and sisters are, in general, important figures (but see Hazzeleponi in 4:3 or the sister of Naham in 4:19). Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 100.

¹¹² Kiesow, *Löwinnen von Juda*, p. 95.

¹¹³ Eric M. Meyers, ‘The Shelomith Seal and the Judean Restoration: Some Additional Considerations’, *Eretz Israel* 18 (1985), pp. 33-38 (35).

of the province of Yehud and those of other male dignitaries.¹¹⁴ If the owner of the seal were identical with the Shelomith of 3:19 as suggested by Eric Meyers,¹¹⁵ the genealogical reference would indeed point to a high-ranking female functionary of Davidic descent. In my view, based on available evidence, it is not possible to clearly identify the owner of the seal as the Shelomith of 3:19.¹¹⁶ Still, it is important to bear in mind that individual female figures may have been so important in the presence or in the memory of emerging Judaism that it was not possible to leave them out of the genealogical identity performance.

Willi provides an alternative approach, arguing on a text-immanent level. He explains the listing of Shelomith as a means to explicitly close the first group of sons of Zerubbabel. The reference would then divide the sons of Zerubbabel in two groups, one born in captivity, one born back in Jerusalem, a division that would establish a parallel to the two groups of sons of David, one born in Hebron, one in Jerusalem.¹¹⁷ Willi's argument is interesting, especially because it draws on the formulaic character of the reference to Shelomith, even if not explicitly so. Still, the argument does not explain why the division is not realized by means of a different mother or a direct geographical note. Moreover, it does not contextualize the reference to Shelomith with parallel references to sisters in the genealogies of Judah and beyond, for example with Tamar, who is listed with the same formula in 3:9.

In my view, none of the suggested explanations provides a satisfactory explanation why Shelomith is included on the list. Still, two important preliminary observations are worth noting. First, Shelomith is listed in formulaic language. Second, in its openness, the phrase provokes speculation about the meaning and story behind the reference. In my view, the openness of the passage holds a certain potential, especially in view of its combination with formulaic language. It serves as a springboard for further investigation into the inclusion of seemingly dysfunctional sisters and will eventually lead to my proposition of a structure of shaped gaps.

Sisters in the Genealogies of Judah

Tamar and Shelomith are but two of six sisters in the genealogies of Judah. After the Davidic succession, the text turns back to Judah (4:1a). It first provides a linear lineage from Judah to Ahumai and Lahad with a depth of eight generations (4:1–2). The text then changes style, and provides a row of loosely connected segmented genealogies. The first of these segmented genealogies lists the descendants of the father of Etam, as well as their sister Hazzelelponi (4:3b).¹¹⁸

³ And these were the sons of Etam: Jezreel, Ishma, and Idbash. And the name of their sister: Hazzelelponi.

¹¹⁴ See Kiesow, *Löwinnen von Juda*, p. 186; and Hennie M. Marsman, *Woman in Ugarit and Israel: Their Social and Religious Position in the Context of the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 653–654.

¹¹⁵ Meyers, 'The Shelomith Seal', p. 34.

¹¹⁶ So also Japhet, who notes that Avigad would make the identification, but holds back her own position (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 100).

¹¹⁷ Willi, *I Chr 1–10*, p. 117.

¹¹⁸ I read 4:3a as "And these (are the ones of) the father of Etam: ..." (MT: ואלה אבי עיטם זרעאל וישמא וידבש) without adopting the change of אבי to υτοί in LXX*. See Willi, *I Chr 1–10*, pp. 70 and 111.

Hazzeleponi is introduced in formulaic language and with special emphasis on her name.¹¹⁹ She is not otherwise known in biblical literature.¹²⁰ Again, it remains open why she is included in the genealogy.

The three remaining sisters in the genealogies of Judah are Zeruah and Abigail, sisters of David and mothers of sons, and the nameless sister of Naham, wife of Hodiah and likewise mother of sons (4:19). Zeruah, Abigail, and the nameless sister of Naham were discussed earlier under the theme of segmentation and genealogical ownership. In contrast to Tamar, Shelomith, and Hazzeleponi, who primarily pertain to linear structures, these sisters/mothers engage both linear and segmented structures. As mothers, they enable and determine lineage segments. As sisters, they link these segments to their own birth line. The potential of this double position is acknowledged in the formal genealogical ownership of Zeruah (and Abigail) and of the sister of Naham. Zeruah and Abigail and the nameless sister of Naham are figures who pool the potential of linear and segmented structures. In this context, genealogical agency and ownership inherent to the position of sisters is activated through procreation.¹²¹

In contrast to the sisters who are also listed as mothers, the potential attribution of genealogical agency and ownership to the sisters who do not procreate seems to rest in a gap (Shelomith and Hazzeleponi) or in disenfranchisement (Tamar). Tamar and Hazzeleponi are both listed at the formal transition from segmented to linear structures. Tamar is listed at the transition from the rich and spacious beginnings of the Davidic reign in 3:1–9 to the linear succession in 3:10–24. Hazzeleponi is listed at the transition between the linear structures of the Davidic succession and the second genealogy of Judah in 3:10–24 and 4:1–2 on the one hand, and the segmented, loosely affiliated portions in the remaining 4:3–23 on the other. These positions may allude to the potential inherent in the crossroads between linear and segmented structures, which may possibly—and ideally—be filled by sisters who also identify segments of sons. However, the sisters who stand close to the power center of the genealogies of Judah and the house of David do not fulfill the potential of genealogical agency and ownership. Instead, the power position of sister as related to depth but not segmentation remains void and is indicated by a gap.

The difference between sisters who procreate and own lineages on the one hand, and sisters who are listed as sonless, on the other, can also be traced in the remaining references to sisters throughout 1 Chronicles 1–9.¹²² The genealogies of Manasseh list Hammolecheth as a sister who has children (4:18), and likewise holds a prominent position,

¹¹⁹ 4:3b reads *וּשְׁם אֲחֻתָּהּ הַצִּלְפוֹנִי*, ‘And the name of their sister: Hazzeleponi’. The last element of her name may be a dittography of the following name “Penuel” (4:4). See Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 107.

¹²⁰ Cheryl Exum borrows the name Hazzeleponi for the nameless mother of Samson (Judges 13) in line with Midrash Rabbah on Num 10:5. Exum gives names to the nameless women in Judges in order to “restore” them to their “full subject position.” J. Cheryl Exum, ‘Judges: Encoded Messages to Women’, in *Feminist Biblical Interpretation: A Compendium of Critical Commentary on the Books of the Bible and Related Literature* (eds. Luise Schottroff, Marie-Theres Wacker and Hans Martin Rumscheidt; transl. Lisa E. Dahill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), pp. 112-127 (121).

¹²¹ The potential of the double position of sister and mother may involve issues of inheritance, for example in the case of Zeruah and in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad.

¹²² In addition to the six sisters listed in the genealogies of Judah, 1 Chron. 1–9 lists two sisters in Manasseh (7:15; 18), two sisters in Asher (7:30; 32), and one sister in Edom (1:39).

as I have discussed in Chapter 3.¹²³ In contrast to Hammolecheth, the remaining sisters are listed without indication of descendants: Timna (1:39, part of Edom), Maacah (7:16 and also part of Manasseh), as well as Serah and Shua (7:30 and 7:32, both part of Asher). Additional attributions such as the information that daughter Sheerah built three cities (7:34) are likewise absent. The potential of their position as sisters is not brought into action but remains trapped in a gap.

6.6 The Structure of Shaped Gaps

The Sister Formula

The discussion of the references to sisters in the genealogies of Judah brought into focus the difference between sisters who fulfill functions in relation to their descendants, and sisters whose function in the text has so far remained open. In a next step, I shall focus on the latter category of sisters both within and beyond Judah. 1 Chronicles 1–9 generally includes a significant number of sisters who are listed without further indication of why they are included. Still, they are included and in fact not only by name but in characteristic formalized language. This formalized language constitutes a space in the text, which persists even though it is not filled by further information but remains gapped.

The *sister formula* in 1 Chronicles 1–9 lists sisters as the last item in a row of sons. The name of the sister is then supplemented by an apposition (The noun אָחוֹת with a pronominal suffix 3rd person masculine plural), which identifies her as the sister of the previously listed sons (3:9; 3:19; 7:30; 7:32). Syntactically, the sisters are presented as part of the respective group of sons. Only after having been listed as one of the sons, the apposition qualifies them as a sister. For example, 7:32 reads וְחֵבֶר הַלֵּיד אֶת־יִפְלֹט וְאֶת־שׁוֹמֵר וְאֶת־חֹתָם וְאֶת־שׁוּעָא אֶחָוֹתָם, ‘Heber begot Japhlet, and Shomer, and Hotham; and Shua: their sister’. In a variation, the sister formula first provides the relational/functional term אָחוֹת (again with a pronominal suffix 3rd person masculine s/p), and then provides the name of the sister(s) (1:39; 2:16; 4:3; 7:15; 7:18). In 4:3 and 7:15 וְשֵׁם is added (and *the name* of their/his sister was PN1).¹²⁴

The concurrence of formalized language and a lack of indication of the function of the sisters provoke a phenomenon that I have proposed to term a structure of “shaped gaps.”¹²⁵ The notion of *shaped gaps* does not primarily refer to the often tacit and implicit gaps in the logical progress of the text, as Meir Sternberg has described them.¹²⁶ Instead, the notion refers to gaps that are specifically pointed out to bring them into focus. Shaped gaps indicate formal vacancies in the text. They explicitly mark the absence of information pertaining to the figures in their center.

In the genealogical context, the occurrence of shaped gaps has a particular impact. Segmented and linear genealogies convey the ideas of a genealogical stream that branches

¹²³ Chapter 3: *1 Chronicles 1–9 and its Gendered Fragments*, pp. 67-91 (77).

¹²⁴ In the particular case of 1:39, the reference to Timna, the sister of Lotan, concludes the list of Lotan’s sons (rather than brothers).

¹²⁵ Ingeborg Löwisch, ‘Genealogies, Gender, and the Politics of Memory: 1 Chronicles 1–9 and the Documentary Film “Mein Leben Teil 2”’, in *Memory in Biblical Narrative and Beyond* (eds. Athalya Brenner and Frank Polak; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), pp. 228-256 (243-44).

¹²⁶ Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 186-190, 222-237, 258-263.

out in a process of continuous movement. In contrast, the notion of shaped gaps represents the idea of still-water areas. These still-water areas do not bring the entire genealogical stream to a halt. Rather, they convey a sense of standstill or downtime as part of the movement, a paradoxical dynamic of halt within the genealogical stream.

Claudia Camp has formulated a similar paradox for the sisters of the priestly lineages.¹²⁷ Camp describes the sisters of the priestly line as the other within. They are part of the lineage by birth. At the same time, they are distinct from the ideology of male priestly succession by gender. This paradox is unbearable and as “strangers-within-the-family” the sisters have to be narratively transformed into outsiders. Miriam, sister of Aaron and Moses, is a case in point.¹²⁸ Camp’s analysis is most convincing. In view of Chronicles, it highlights the peculiarity of the structure of shaped gaps in the Chronicles genealogies. Here, the sisters are not (narratively) transformed into outsiders who channel the other. Instead, the structure of shaped gaps keeps open a place for the paradox of belonging to the lineage in terms of birth, while at the same time being the other in terms of gender. Shaped gaps embody a moment of halt in a process that is otherwise presented as movement. The sisters represent something that belongs to the genealogies but is also alien to it.

The example that proves the rule is the reference to Miriam in the genealogies of Levi. Here, Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron, is listed as בן, ‘son’, of Amram (6:3). There, the paradox is not tolerated and Miriam is integrated into the lineage as בן, ‘son’.

The structure of shaped gaps holds another paradox. Shaped gaps repress information. But they simultaneously mark that moment of repression. Shaped gaps thus target two directions. As gaps, they repress the knowledge about the functional and maybe also sociohistorical impact of the woman figures who come as sisters. As visible shaped formulas, they recall that there is more to remember than the texts actually disclose. Recurring again and again, they invite projection and gap filling on the level of reading and reception.

In conclusion, reading 1 Chronicles 1–9 for its use of formulaic language, thus along the grain, shows that in the case of the sister formula, the purposeful use of formulaic language results in a structure of visible and persisting gaps. The explicit character of the gaps suggests gap filling, which enables own interpretations, as well as renegotiating stories and meanings in the process of gap filling. The openness of the shaped gaps and the invitation of gap filling and projection is important because it is an invitation to make sense of repressed memories in an active way. This is especially important for the memory act in response to trauma because it encourages to actively address the past. By doing so it works toward appropriating the past and inscribing oneself to it. In order to demonstrate how this might work, I now focus on one particular shaped gap, the reference to the sister Tamar (3:9), and suggest an exemplary gap filling.

Gap Filling: Tamar and Bathsheba/Bath-shua

Tamar is the sister of the sons of David. She has a pre-life in 2 Samuel 13. Thus in her case, gap filling has a clear starting point. Even though this is not the case in most shaped gaps, the example of Tamar can serve as an example for the powerful impact of gap filling.

¹²⁷ Camp, *Wise, Strange and Holy*, p. 191.

¹²⁸ Camp, *Wise, Strange and Holy*, p. 191.

Tamar is listed at the end of the first part of the genealogy of the house of David in close proximity to Bathsheba, here listed as Bath-shua, daughter of Ammiel (3:5 and 3:9). As pointed out earlier, rendering the name Bathsheba as Bath-shua draws a connecting line to the beginning of the Judah genealogies (2:3–4). Both passages now provide the same name pair, Tamar and Bath-shua. The first pair consists of Tamar and Bath-shua, daughter in law and wife of Judah (2:3–4). The second pair is Tamar and Bath-shua/Bathsheba, daughter and wife of David (3:4b–9). The two woman figures of the family of Judah come to build an intertextual background for the reading of the two woman figures in the house of David.¹²⁹ Part of this background are the related narratives of Genesis 38 (Tamar and Bath-shua), 2 Samuel 11 (Bath-shua/Bathsheba), and 2 Samuel 13 (Tamar). All three narratives have sexuality in their center. Moreover, they all address sexual encounters that go beyond proper normative sexuality.¹³⁰ Yet, the quality of sexuality as addressed in the respective stories is quite different. The narratives of Tamar and Bathsheba in 2 Samuel 11 and 13 are narratives of sexual violence and of neglected female sexual agency and decision-making.¹³¹ In contrast, the story of Tamar in Genesis 38 exposes self-determined female sexual agency and tricksterism.¹³² In the former case, the intertexts address sexual violence at the expense of the woman who is made the object of this violence (2 Samuel 11 and 13). In the latter case, the intertext addresses sexual intercourse that is initiated by the woman herself and forms part of her agency and tricksterism (Genesis 38).

Establishing Genesis 38 as a background for the references to Bath-shua/Bathsheba and Tamar in the genealogies of the house of David leads to an important shift for grasping the quality of the sexuality involved. 1 Samuel 11 and 13 as primary intertexts of the references to Tamar and Bath-shua/Bathsheba in 1 Chronicles 3:5 and 3:9, involve connotations of sexual violence and disenfranchisement. Linking up to Genesis 38 as a further intertext adds connotations of female sexual agency and tricksterism.

The implication of this shift in connotation of sexuality may be analyzed from opposing perspectives. On the one hand it may function, by association, toward imputing sexual agency and tricksterism to the Tamar and Bathsheba of the Samuel stories, as well. From this first perspective, the link between 3:4b–9 and 2:3–4 would reassess the sexual violence in the Samuel narratives as seduction and would easily lead to blaming the victims. It would likewise unburden Amnon and David and trivialize their actions. Such a perspective would tie in with Anne-Mareike Wetter's readings of women figures in 1–2 Chronicles.¹³³ Wetter argues that the book notoriously works in favor of David, thereby

¹²⁹ Japhet explains the occurrence of Bath-shua as the adaptation of the name of Judah's wife "following a general inclination to parallelism between David's household and that of Judah" without further discussing the implication of the adaptation (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, p. 96).

¹³⁰ Susan Niditch, 'The Wronged Woman Righted: An Analysis of Genesis 38', *HTR* 72 (1979), pp. 143-149 (149).

¹³¹ For a thorough analysis of 2 Sam. 11 see J. Cheryl Exum, 'Raped by the Pen', in *Fragmented Women: Feminist (Sub)Versions of Biblical Narratives* (ed. J. Cheryl Exum; JSOTSup, 163; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 170-201. For a pointed analysis of 2 Sam. 13 see Mieke Bal, Fokkelen van Dijk Hemmes and Grietje van Ginneken, *Und Sara lachte: Patriarchat und Widerstand in biblischen Geschichten* (Münster: Morgana-Frauenbuchverlag, 1988), pp. 51-74.

¹³² See my analysis of Gen. 38 in Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (93-98).

¹³³ Anne-Mareike Wetter, 'Verschuivende Visies: De Kronist over de rol van de vrouw', in *Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift* 65.3 (2011), pp. 227-241.

diminishing critical aspects of this figure even at the expense of the female figures connected to him.¹³⁴

From a second perspective, the shift in connotation of sexuality may function as a critical comment on the narratives in 2 Samuel 11 and 13 from the perspective of Genesis 38.¹³⁵ Such a perspective is adopted by Susan Niditch in her reflections on the relationship between 2 Samuel 11 and 13 and Genesis 38. Niditch addresses the shift in sexuality but then focuses on the crucial differences in terms of social fabric. The sexual incidents in 2 Samuel 11 and 13 result in the murder of Bathsheba's husband, Uriah, and in strife and murder within the royal family. They lead to the destruction of the social fabric. In contrast, the sexual incident as provoked by Tamar in Genesis 38 eventually repairs the social fabric and reconstitutes the line.¹³⁶ From this second perspective, establishing Genesis 38 as an intertext to the references to Tamar and Bath-Shua/Bathsheba in the genealogies of the house of David implies the re-empowerment of the women and a critical comment on the house of David.

In conclusion, the dissimilarity in directions the gap filling may take in the case of Tamar and Bath-shua/Bathsheba points out that the gap as such provides scope for diverging interpretations and may serve as a focal point for renegotiations of power. Dealing with the issue on text-critical terms would present yet another position in the (re)negotiation of power. Even though Niditch's focus on the difference in social fabric speaks more to me than Wetter's approach, my interest is not to argue for one of the different possibilities, or to propose a third analysis. Rather than aiming at a coherent analysis, my position is that the openness as such, and with that the not having to take sides, is the function of the shaped gap.

The 'not having to decide' is a quality in the genealogies that is different from the ambiguous back and forth between granting complexity and cutting it back that I brought into focus in Chapter 4.¹³⁷ This new quality is closer to the notion of the paradox that became apparent in the film analysis than to the ambiguity that regularly prevails in the text. In Chapter 4, I have argued that the ambiguous character of the memory act tends to make it relevant only for those privileged by its patriarchal rules of succession. The gaps' openness and the paradoxical character of the structure of shaped gaps set a counterpoint to this tendency and provide a starting point for a counter-present memory act.

Concluding Discussion

In conclusion, references to sisters form a web of references throughout the genealogies of Judah and beyond. The web has strong nodes (the sister-mothers), weak nodes (the disenfranchised sister), and nodes with potential (the shaped gaps). Significant differences exist, between sisters who procreate and sisters who do not. The former embody cross-points between dynamics of segmentation and depth. They fulfill central genealogical functions. The latter pertain to dynamics of depth, but their position and function is difficult

¹³⁴ Wetter, 'Verschuivende Visies', p. 240-241.

¹³⁵ See Fokkelien van Dijk-Hemmes, 'Tamar and the Limits of Patriarchy: Between Rape and Seduction', in *Anti-Covenant: Counter-Reading Women's Lives in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Mieke Bal; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press and the Almond Press, 1989), pp. 135-156; and Niditch, 'The Wronged Woman Righted', pp. 143-149.

¹³⁶ Niditch, 'The Wronged Woman Righted', p. 149.

¹³⁷ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113.

to grasp. However, the use of formulas establishes a structure of shaped gaps, which marks the repression of functions and narratives pertaining to the sisters who do not procreate. The explicit marking of absence leads to the paradoxical character of the structure of shaped gaps. The paradoxical character of the structure continues in its conveying standstill as part of the otherwise dynamic genealogy genre. Finally, the structure of shaped gaps invites renegotiation of power by a process of gap filling.

The context of socializing 1Chronicles 1–9 and “My Life Part 2” provides another perspective for understanding the structure of shaped gaps. The analysis of “My Life Part 2” has highlighted that the filmmaker’s genealogy performance implies a shift from the vertical dimension of genealogical succession and reproduction to a horizontal dimension of memory production. The shift is important because it opens up space for appropriating the traumatic past and eventually for the filmmaker’s inscribing herself to her genealogy. In the film, the horizontal dimension of memory production is conceptualized as a homoerotic intra-generational context, as well as representing a second-generation site of memory performance.

In the Chronicles genealogies, sisters represent a genealogical position that stands offside the vertical dimension of genealogical succession. Being presented as sisters rather than daughters, wives, or mothers (even though they might be married and have children), they are introduced beyond the heterosexual reproduction matrix. The perspective of a horizontal dimension of gendered genealogy composition, as suggested in “My Life Part 2”, invites to reassess their meaning in 1 Chronicles 1–9. Standing outside the genealogical stream, the structure of sisters might symbolize a trace of the idea of a location of the production of memory beyond reproduction. Taking up Malin Wahlberg’s definition of the trace as “a constituting sign in the narrative reinvention of history” rather than as an imprint of what happened in the past,¹³⁸ this line of thought brings this function of the sisters and the accompanying gaps in the text to the fore without diving into historical speculation. Instead, the notion of the shaped gap that conveys a sense of standstill as part of the imagery of a genealogical stream can be reconsidered as a marker for a horizontal dimension of genealogy performance, which can function as a paradoxical counterpart to the vertical focus on the genealogy and historiography of the book.

In conclusion, the reoccurrence of sisters in the genealogies of Judah as well as the structure of shaped gaps throughout 1 Chronicles 1–9 add crucial aspects to the functions of the gendered fragments in the genealogy composition. First, sisters are the women who are most directly related to the linear structures of the genealogy composition. In this position, they attribute descendants to the linear lineages they belong to. Second, sisters feature in the structure of shaped gaps (especially those sisters who do not have children). The structure has a paradoxical character because it represses memories while at the same time pointing to the repression, and because they convey standstill in the genealogical flow. This adds the paradox to the text’s ambiguity that prevails in the text, thereby changing the quality of the memory act. In this context, the structure of shaped gaps enables gap filling and negotiation of interpretations. By doing so, it encourages an active engagement with the past that is especially important for memory acts in response to trauma, as well as for the possibility to appropriating a traumatic past. Finally, the position of the sisters provides a

¹³⁸ Malin Wahlberg, *Documentary Time: Film and Phenomenology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), p. 103. See Chapter 5: *Genealogy Composition in “My Life Part 2”*, pp. 115–151 (135).

trace of knowledge of the importance of a horizontal location of memory production along with the vertical genealogical succession. The functions of sisters in the text are closely linked to the use of formulas. In the case of the sisters, reading along the formulas, and with that along the grain of the text, has led to understanding a new dimension of the text and a critical taxonomical structure of the archive.

6.7 Patterns of the Genealogical Memory Act

Eric Ketelaar has described archives as “repositories of meaning,” which contain obvious as well as manifold hidden meanings. As repositories of meaning, archives are open to finding new significances over and over, and it is in this openness and potentiality of archives that their power lies.¹³⁹ Ketelaar’s definition of the archive is an excellent description of the archive of genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9, as well as of the process I have initiated by reading the genealogies from the angle of its gendered fragments. Exploring the gendered fragments has indeed revealed hidden meanings of a cluster of passages that is usually passed by. Specifically, analysis of the taxonomy of female-gendered fragments of the genealogies of Judah has built up two main groups of ideas active in the archive’s memory performance. In a first group of ideas, female-gendered passages operate in a system of normatively determining relationships. They work in line with the broader attempt of the text to gain a monopoly on defining Israel. Examples for this dynamic are processes of othering by means of segmentation through wives, as well as the attribution of segments to the Davidic power center by means of formally attributing lineages to sisters in the Davidic family. In a second group of ideas, female-gendered passages initiate a dynamic of disrupting and complicating the continuous genealogical flow by means of adding gaps, fissures, and ambiguities. They work toward establishing a subtext that introduces the notions of fraction, complexity, and of the paradox to the genealogical memory act.

These groups of ideas concern the gendered fragments. At the same time, they are starting points for grasping the ways in which 1 Chronicles 1–9 deals with the literary and sociopolitical inheritance of Israel. They are central for an understanding of how the archive of genealogies functions in order to make sense of the past in a way that allows advancing proper interests in the present. Therefore, engaging hidden meanings of the gendered fragments for the understanding of 1 Chronicles 1–9 also allows for reassessing the significance of the genealogical archive within the literature of the Second Temple period.

Advancing a Monopoly in Defining Israel

The close reading has shown that references to women create structures that are involved in establishing a system of highly nuanced relationships. These structures serve to overtly negotiate belonging and difference in the context of ambiguous and paradoxical relations; to include and simultaneously other segments that are more obviously different in terms of ethnic and geographical difference; to convey parity between segments of a lineage; and to link lineage segments to the Davidic power center. All these functions participate in identifying, locating, and assessing segments of the lineages of Judah and beyond. Hence, the gendered fragments are significantly involved in performing identity and alterity,

¹³⁹ Eric Ketelaar, ‘Tactic Narratives: The Meanings of Archives’, *Archival Science* 1 (2001), pp. 131-141 (139).

specifically in establishing hierarchies and determining the position of singular segments in these hierarchies.

Establishing hierarchies and determining positions takes place on the basis of a well-defined distinction of center and periphery. In the genealogies of Judah, the Davidic lineage and Jerusalem have the status of an undisputed center (3:1–24). Additional lineages of Judah are divided into central lineages (2:3–55) and marginal ones (4:1–23).¹⁴⁰ This centrality of David and Jerusalem continues throughout 1 Chronicles 1–9. The concurrence of integrating segments into Judah on the one hand, and a clear definition of center and periphery on the other, leads to a dynamic that accumulates normative power of definition. The inclusion of groups turns Judah into an ethnically and socially complex entity.¹⁴¹ However, this process is not innocent. On the contrary, it comes with the normative determination of the status of the individual segments of the Judah genealogies. Memory production becomes visible as intimately linked to the struggle for a monopoly in defining the position of individual groups.

The claim to a monopoly of defining Judah (and Israel) is further supported by the broader layout of 1 Chronicles 1–9. The genealogies stretch back into the narrative past. This allows for substantiating any claim the text might make with reference to the time of David, the ancestral period, or even the time of creation. The genealogies likewise stretch out horizontally. They map an all-inclusive picture of Israel, constituted of its many tribes as well as of numerous additional groups and locations far beyond the actual territories of the contemporaneous Persian province Yehud.¹⁴² Stretching back and branching out, while at the same time focusing on Jerusalem as the center of Davidic and priestly traditions, manifests the claim that those who represent the Davidic and priestly traditions at Jerusalem are the legitimate inheritors of the entire tradition, and represent Judaism at large.

The archive of genealogies does not merely collect and store lineages, but is engaged in a creative act of memory production. As Knoppers puts it with regards to the author(s) of 1 Chronicles 1–9: “Writers are not only shaped by their circumstances, they also seek to shape those circumstances.”¹⁴³ The genealogies provide a blueprint for the self-conception of Judah (and Israel) at the time of the manufacture of the text. A great part of the gendered fragments is involved in setting up this self-conception. Their structural functions add to advancing the related claim to a monopoly on defining Israel.

The time and place of the composition of the archive of genealogies (the late Persian period in the province Yehud) provide fertile ground for contested claims on Israel’s identity in general and a monopoly of defining this identity in particular. With Rainer Kessler and against Japhet, I assume that the sociopolitical and ideological transformations in the aftermath of the exile were still ‘hot’ at that time.¹⁴⁴ Returnees from

¹⁴⁰ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, p. 356.

¹⁴¹ So Knoppers, ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity’.

¹⁴² Japhet, ‘Conquest and Settlement’, pp. 208-210.

¹⁴³ Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, p. 105.

¹⁴⁴ Rainer Kessler, *Sozialgeschichte des alten Israel: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), pp. 145-161; and Bob Becking, ‘Exilische identiteit als post-exilische ideologie: Psalm 137 opnieuw gelezen’, *Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift*, 64.4 (2010), pp. 269-283. Against Sara Japhet, who claims that the Exile does not anymore play a specific role in the late Persian and early Hellenistic period. Sara Japhet, ‘Exile and Restoration in the Book of Chronicles’, in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times* (eds. Bob Becking and Marjo C.A. Korpel; OTS, 42; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), pp. 33-44 (42).

exile; Israelites who had remained in the land; people who were deported to Judah; people who already lived in the area at the time of the monarchy; the inhabitants of the province Samaria; and last but not least the Diaspora in Egypt and Babylon had to negotiate their claims to economical, territorial, and political resources as well as their perspectives on the identity of Israel as a both ideological and political entity.¹⁴⁵ For example, the archive of genealogies makes a strong case for the claim that all inhabitants of Samaria and Yehud are part of Israel—as long as they accept that it centers on Jerusalem and stands under the hegemony of circles that can (genealogically) substantiate their claim to the Davidic and/or priestly inheritance.

An identity performance that addresses the ‘who-is-who’ and ‘who-is-where’ of Judah to the end of normatively defining the position of groups within Judah (and Israel) is extremely relevant to the respective conflicts. At the time, to gain predominance in negotiating these interconnected concerns must have resulted in a predominant position for defining the constitution of Israel. Structural functions of a large part of the gendered fragments are at the center of bringing this interest into action. Hence, the first pillar of the gendered fragment’s taxonomy is an integral aspect of establishing a monopoly in defining Judaism when it just began to emerge.

The participation of women in continuing the line and developing a nuanced picture of the present of Israel is intimately bound to the need of the texts for a variety of agents in normatively determining Israel. The inclusion of women is functional rather than politically motivated. Yet, the extensive use of women figures, for segmentation purposes or in cases of endangered lineage, creates a strong presence of women that unfolds its own dynamics. This strong presence fuels a dynamic of squeezing in of women, which, at times, seems to develop a life on its own. Women figures beyond clear-cut functions slip in, and indications for different realities behind the texts become visible. In fact, the many and different occurrences of women communicate a process of competing for participation on different levels of sociopolitical, economic, and religious life.

In conclusion, I see a mainly functional motivation as the basis of broad involvement of women in the genealogy composition. However, the references to women unfold a certain independence, which allows a glimpse of a multilayered and contested reality behind the texts. This twist in the texts adds a second dynamic to the quality of the memory act, which I have described as gendered subtext. Hence, along with the text’s primary concern in achieving a monopoly in defining Israel, the genealogical archive features a second group of ideas that evolve around the text’s gendered subtext. This second group of ideas makes the memory act complex and ambiguous, and, by doing so, adds to its being meaningful in response to the fracturing past.

Establishing a Gendered Subtext

Having discussed the first central group of ideas that are characteristic for the genealogical memory act, I now discuss the second group of ideas that are central to it. The genealogies of Judah describe relationships in meticulous ways. Yet, they also leave things open and provide unresolved aspects. Most important in this respect are patterns of fissures and ambivalences in the patriarchal succession, which I have exhibited in Chapter 4,¹⁴⁶ and a structure of shaped gaps, which adds notions of void, still water, and dysfunction to the

¹⁴⁵ Rainer Kessler, *Sozialgeschichte des alten Israel*, pp. 162-5.

¹⁴⁶ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113.

archive of genealogies. These notions belong to an aspect of the taxonomy of the archive that exceeds enunciating a monopoly of defining Israel and advancing related power claims.

An example for this aspect of the archive's taxonomy is the genealogy of the house of David in 3:10–24. It conveys a strong sense of continuity and unbroken vitality of the Davidic lineage.¹⁴⁷ It smoothly fits into the explanatory model of aiming at normative power. Yet continuity and vitality are interrupted by a sense of halt and dysfunction at the inclusion of the sister Shelomith (3:19), as well as of additional sisters to this lineage (3:9 and 2:16–17). The occurrence of Shelomith sets a counterpoint within the Davidic lineage and necessitates an additional understanding of the aim of the genealogy performance.

Reading the Bible text alongside “My Life Part 2” suggests a particular alternative perspective on the interpretation of seemingly dysfunctional structures, namely the notion of paradox. In “My Life Part 2”, the paradox occurs as an important notion for dealing with breaks and discontinuity in the family lineage. In terms of socializing the Judah genealogies and “My Life Part 2”, the notion of paradox can be engaged as a productive means for making sense of the second pillar of the gendered fragment's taxonomy. Paradoxes are an expression of contradictions, dysfunctions, and gaps, which do not lead to a process of deconstruction, but to a process of externalizing and making these very aspects visible. In this respect, they go beyond a process of deconstruction, which Derrida assumes for the inner logic of the archive.¹⁴⁸ Paradoxes do not lead to deconstruction, but remain present in the text. For example, the structure of shaped gaps holds a paradoxical dynamic of standstill as an integral element of the genealogical stream. As the gaps are externalized by means of a reoccurring formula, they do not deconstruct the sense of an ongoing stream or succession, but remain present in the text.

The perspective of the paradox is not restricted to the gendered structures, but is apparent throughout the archive of genealogies. For example, the text performs the identity of Israel as intimately linked to Palestine in a situation in which the Diaspora becomes more and more central. Next, it struggles for a monopoly on defining past and present by means of advancing an inclusive memory performance. Eventually, the text presents a fundamentally patriarchal succession while simultaneously acknowledging the necessary challenge to this structuring principle. All these features imply a paradoxical moment in the memory act and expose the paradox as a critical aspect of genealogy performance in response to fractured pasts.

The perspective of the paradox also allows for a look at the issues of continuity and discontinuity from another angle. At first view, the archive of genealogies takes pain to convey continuity. Lineages stretch back to creation and ancestral time (1:1–2:2); they refer to the leading figures of the Exodus and the time in the wilderness (5:29); they enfold the history of the twelve tribes in the land (2:3–8:40); they reflect on the emergence of monarchy and cult (3:1–23 and 5:27–6:38); and they run through exile and return (9:2–34). In other words, they encompass the entire history of Israel. Taking in all these aspects seems to aim at continuity. As Johnson puts it, the genealogies attempt “to assert the importance of the principle of continuity of the people of God through a period of national

¹⁴⁷ Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, p. 334.

¹⁴⁸ Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (trans. E. Prenowitz; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), especially p. 19.

disruption.”¹⁴⁹ The genealogies would then respond to the trauma of the exile by means of creating and expressing continuity. But again, if continuity alone were the major concern of the composition, it would be difficult to explain why the genealogy composition admits to a strong taxonomy of gaps, dysfunctions, and ambivalences, which interferes with an exclusive sense of continuity, and which I have described from different perspectives. Paradoxically, continuity appears to be sustainable and meaningful only, if it includes discontinuity, as well. The archive of genealogies does not focus on continuity alone. Instead, it simultaneously addresses the fragility of the continuity it establishes. Keeping up this paradoxical dynamic is a crucial aspect of the ways in which 1 Chronicles 1–9 performs its memory act in response to trauma.¹⁵⁰

In my view, keeping up this paradoxical dynamic is a key to the strength of 1 Chronicles 1–9, both in view of its performing a meaningful memory act and in view of its attempt to gain a monopoly on defining Israel. In this respect, I see the formulaic reference to the sister Shelomith in the royal lineage of 3:10–24 as a turning point of the entire composition. It is here that the moment of paradox comes to a peak, and it is here that the power of the memory act to make sense in response to the traumatic past gains steam.

The Ambiguity of the Memory Act

The paradoxical dynamic of the archive of genealogies significantly increases the explanatory power and impact of the genealogy performance in contemporaneous discourses on memory, identity/alterity, and power. In my view, however, this paradoxical dynamic is developed without ever losing contact with the aim of exerting normative power. As a consequence, the impulse of the subtext, which emerges on the basis of the second pillar of the female-gendered taxonomy, is also ambiguous. The subtext is permitted only to a certain extent and only as long as it does not threaten the main text with its patriarchal agenda and its aim to gain a monopoly on defining Israel. The subtext invites alternative perspectives and agents. However, these alternative perspectives and agents are eventually domesticated again. The rules of succession and the attempt to normatively define Israel are not fundamentally changed.

For the contemporary reader, the ambiguity of the genealogy performance may be a disappointment. The female-gendered fragments bring energy to the text and make it relevant, but in the end, they support the normative aim of the composition. However, I would not agree with such a conclusion. The gendered fragments, by means of setting up a gendered subtext, change the overall composition, which can never be restored to a purely normative condition. Moreover, they significantly contribute to the meaning of the composition in view of its capacity to respond to a fractured past. In conclusion, the gendered fragments indeed function as a force that is both critical and subversive for the genealogical memory performance.

Conclusion in View of 1 Chronicles 1–9

The analysis of the corpus of female-gendered fragments within the genealogies of Judah in the context of socializing 1 Chronicles 1–9 and “My Life Part 2” has contributed a nuanced

¹⁴⁹ Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 80.

¹⁵⁰ Read from this perspective, it is no coincidence that the central genealogies of Judah start with a small narrative on the jeopardized lineage. The reference to Tamar and Judah is exemplary for the jeopardized continuation of the larger story of Israel.

analysis of passages that so far had not been thoroughly analyzed. This is a basic benefit of the close readings in Chapter 4 and 6.

Besides this basic benefit, the close reading has accomplished a new understanding of 1 Chronicles 1–9 that concerns the text’s conception of identity as well as its memory performance. It brought 1 Chronicles 1–9 to the fore as a text that holds a paradoxical dynamic. On the one hand, it capitalizes on the primacy of patriarchal succession for the constitution of Israel, focuses on continuity, and aims at asserting normative power. On the other hand, 1 Chronicles 1–9 is a text that adheres to a gendered subtext that interrupts and subverts patriarchal succession and brings forth impulses of discontinuity. This paradoxical dynamic is at the center of how the composition responds to the traumatic past. In my view, this dynamic is likewise at the core of how and why genealogy composition is indeed able to perform a meaningful memory act.

The gendered fragments take a leading role in setting up the subtext in the genealogies of Judah and beyond. They constitute a basic element of the taxonomy of the archive of genealogies. However, reading the archive of genealogies ‘along the grain’ showed that the gendered fragments are also intimately involved in the first aspect of the paradoxical dynamic, namely in establishing a monopoly in normatively defining Israel. The method of reading along the grain next to reading against the grain thus resulted in an understanding of the identity and memory performance of the genealogy composition that does not establish a dichotomy between male/patriarchal/hegemonic functions on the one hand and female/subversive functions on the other. Instead, it showed that gendered fragments are involved in both aspects of 1 Chronicles 1–9. By doing so, it contributed to an understanding of the moment of paradox as central for the genealogical memory performance.

The analysis of the gendered fragments allows relocating 1 Chronicles 1–9 in the contemporary discourse on memory, identity, and power: 1 Chronicles 1–9 must be understood as a most important text in this discourse. It performs a memory act that is extremely well equipped to gain a leading position in conceptualization Judaism as it was beginning to emerge.

This analysis has shown that genealogies are an apt genre for negotiating memory and identities. However, it has also made clear that it is the form of an archive of genealogies, which allows for fully engaging fragments and counter-movements in view of a memory act, that makes sense in response to traumatic pasts. As the traumatic past of the exile is most central for the discourses on memory and identity at the time (probably even more central to the discourse than to the historical situation), it is critical that the genealogies be able to deal with it. Hence, the form of the archive is no coincidental result of badly assembled heterogeneous materials, but a critical means to give weight to the gendered genealogy performance.

To conclude, analyzing 1 Chronicles 1–9 from the perspective of its gendered fragments and against the backdrop of socializing it with “My Life Part 2” confirmed many aspects of recent scholarly debate on the text, which usually starts out from the male-gendered parts of the text. In addition, however, it brought the understanding of the text one step further. It showed that the originality of the text lies in its paradoxical character: The archive of genealogies is meaningful as a memory act and identity performance in the sociocultural context of the time, because it engages discontinuity, fissures, and gaps along with its focus on continuity and a normative claim to defining Israel.

Conclusion in View of the Socializing

Socializing 1 Chronicles 1–9 and “My Life Part 2” has resulted in a multitude of singular insights. For example, it has facilitated understanding the structure of shaped gaps as a trace of a horizontal dynamic of memory production in the middle of an overwhelming focus on genealogical reproduction. In a review of the process of socializing, I would like to summarize three lines of thought that have set the project apart.

Socializing Bible text and film text contributed the focus on the archive notion to the issue of gendered genealogies in response to trauma. It demonstrated that the archive format allows genealogies to tackle two basic needs of a posttraumatic situation. First, it allows for accommodating the need to establish continuity in the aftermath of fragmentation and break ups of continuity through traumata. Second, it allows for acknowledging discontinuity, and by doing so for taking seriously the traumatic past. The capacity to integrate these two basic needs is a key for performing meaningful memory acts in response to trauma. In posttraumatic contexts, the genre of genealogies and the concept of the archive go hand in hand and make sense together.

A specific aspect of this contribution of socializing is the focus on discontinuity and an understanding of its priority for genealogy performance in response to trauma. The first round of close reading of the gendered fragments of the Judah genealogies in Chapter 4 brought fissures in the patriarchal succession into focus. This encouraged me to focus on the moment of discontinuity in “My Life Part 2”, and to interpret this moment as a turning point of the film, in spite of its elaborate documentation of a continuous lineage. Analyzing the film from the perspective of discontinuity (and appropriation of the traumatic legacy connected to it) resulted in understanding the paradox as a search light for the second round of close reading of the gendered fragments of Judah in this chapter. Here, it facilitated an interpretation of the Bible text’s contradictory dynamics.

Finally, socializing showed that gender is a basic tool for shaping a memory act in response to trauma. In my view this has to do with the basically gendered nature of genealogies. As the genre requires a gendered rule of succession (patrilineal or matrilineal) genealogy performances that are complex enough to make sense in the aftermath of traumatic pasts necessarily involve gender to facilitate either subversion and complexity (1 Chronicles 1–9) or alternative memory acts (“My Life Part 2”).

Chapter 7 From Anachronistic Lists to Meaningful Memory Acts: Looking Back in Order to Look Forward

7.1 Memory Spaces that Comprise Continuity and Discontinuity

In this final chapter, I argue that the ability of gendered genealogy performances to indeed respond to fractured pasts depends on their setting up memory spaces that comprise both continuity and discontinuity. I explain why the genre of gendered genealogies is qualified to set up such memory spaces, and identify the turning points that enable anachronistic lists to transform into relevant memory performances. By doing so, I assess the notions of genealogy composition that I have addressed in the course of the research, and present my conclusion on the topic of gendered genealogy performance in response to fractured pasts.

Socializing 1 Chronicles 1–9 and “My Life Part” has exposed a twofold dynamic which is active in these gendered genealogy performances. First, the bare, bony and somewhat narrow structure of the genealogy genre challenges to break open and subvert this very structure. Second, the genre can withstand this dynamic without collapsing. I am interested in the very moment of subverting the genre without imploding it, because it is here that a space emerges that is of major relevance for cultural memory acts in response to trauma. Text and film analysis have shown that this memory space comprises a sense of continuity as well as of discontinuity: on the one hand, it is structured by rules of succession that reflect a particular view on how life, culture, and identity have been continuously passed on. On the other hand, it simultaneously acknowledges discontinuity in the form of fractures, gaps, and dead ends in this very succession.

I hold that subverting the genre without imploding it allows the poles of continuity and discontinuity to stand side by side, without one deconstructing the other. This works toward appropriating a traumatic past, providing it with a place in the present, and, by doing so, allows to make sense of it and to disclose its resources. At the same time, it works toward releasing the present from the past’s impact. Paradoxically, recounting and recognizing the past in such a memory act enables to let it be bygone. It is a first step in forgetting, in moving on, and in establishing something new.

The ability to provoke counter-movements while simultaneously putting up with them is an essential feature of *female-gendered* genealogies – not of genealogies per se. The genre of genealogies is usually realized as a strongly male-gendered memory performance. In this situation, references to women take a leading role in all structural functions that complicate and subvert the succession. Examples for structural functions that take this leading role are as follows. In 1 Chronicles 1–9, female-gendered references indicate fractures in the patrilinear succession and establish a subtext that relates to gender, ethnicity, and class, as I have shown in Chapter 4.¹ Next, female-gendered references function as road signs to organize the sociopolitical fabric of the genealogy, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 6.² Especially the many mothers and wives in the Judah genealogies are significantly involved in mapping difference, in realizing and nuancing othering, and in communicating parity in the context of segmentation processes. The

¹ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (93-101).

² Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192 (170).

structural dimension of this function is underlined by the fact that many of these women are otherwise unknown in biblical literature. They aren't individual female ancestors who pool literary, geographical, and other traditions and serve as identification figures, such as e.g. Ephrathah. Instead, they are place holders—road signs—in a memory act that achieves complexity from their structural function.

In “My Life Part 2”, the women-centeredness of the lineage as such is central in modifying and subverting rules of succession toward a female line, a political succession beyond kinship, and alternative ways of being Jewish. Moreover, the women-centeredness of the lineage is a central aspect of performing an alternative memory act, which uses alternative archives, relies on alternative memories, experiences and lives, and performs a shift of margin and center, as I have shown in Chapter 5.³

In conclusion, both case studies provide ample references to women that complicate and subvert the patriarchal genealogical succession. However, the memory space, which is able to grasp both continuity and discontinuity, only emerges at the moment in which subversion does not deconstruct the genealogical structure, but in which genealogy performance is able to put up with the concurrence of subverting and enduring the genealogical structure. In other words, not the subversion as such is critical, but the dynamic it enables and enfolds. This argument has an important hermeneutical implication with respect to the biblical genealogies. I am not aiming at demonstrating how subversive—or how patriarchal—individual biblical genealogies are. Instead, the conclusion that I draw from the process of socializing is that subversion is a central engine for achieving a meaningful memory act, and that gender is at the basis of this drive. This means to go one step further. For example, the critical point is not that a passage such as 1 Chron. 7:24 mentions a woman, Sheerah, who built three cities. The point is the dynamic this short reference ignites and supports in the larger genealogy composition.

The occurrence of female-gendered references in moments of complication and differentiation of the genealogical succession has been acknowledged for some time, especially with regard to the Genesis genealogies.⁴ However, it is critical to understand that female-gendered references do not enact differentiation and complication after the main argument of a genealogy has been made. Instead, female-gendered references have functions that operate at the core of a genealogy, as I have shown throughout the close readings. Hence, involving a female-gendered dynamic in a genealogy is a central tool in turning genealogies into a form of memory capable of responding to trauma.

Having explained why the genre of gendered genealogies is qualified to set up memory spaces that comprise continuity and discontinuity, I now proceed to identifying three features of the genre I understand to be turning points for the transformation of genealogies from anachronistic lists into relevant memory performances.

³ Chapter 5: *Gynealogy Performance in “My Life Part 2”*, pp. 115-151.

⁴ See for example Hieke, who identifies the functions of women in the genealogical system of the book of Genesis as *differentiating* and *slowing down* the genealogical flow, as *taking initiative* in situation of crisis, and as representing the proper, i.e. *endogamous marriage* that is necessary for the lineage to remain under God's blessing. Thomas Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis* (HBS, 39; Freiburg: Herder, 2003), pp. 278-298, especially p. 285. See also Crüsemann, who points out that the often anonymous women of the Genesis genealogies usually occur in central places. Crüsemann, ‘Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity’, p. 58.

The first feature is the need of continuous decision-making with regard to the in/exclusion and position of the constituents of a genealogy. Continuous decision-making is prompted by the bony structure and by the idea of succession, which needs a main line and side lines and requires the commitment to particular names and qualities. It accounts for the political dimension of gendered genealogies and prepares its subversive and alternative uses.

The second feature is the art of play in genealogy composition. By play, I refer to deliberate and often subtle alterations, variations, and irregularities in the genealogy composition, as well as to imagined segments of a lineage. Play in gendered genealogies means the art of bringing one's point across while remaining fully entangled with the bony structure of the genre. Play is a feature of genealogies that interlocks with the scarce non-narrative structure. It allows a flexible use of the structure, adding connotations and repressing meanings, in short, turning it into a meaningful memory act and identity performance.

The third feature is the sense of basic relatedness at the basis of genealogy composition. It is due to linking elements such as 'brother' or 'daughter' as basic building blocks of any genealogy. This feature comes with the imagery of kinship and the tree model as primary genealogical metaphors. Both the imagery of kinship and the tree model are ambivalent when it comes to subverting a genealogy succession. Moreover, they indicate the limits of the genre and suggest models such as the rhizome as possible forms to transgress it.

My starting point for the discussion of all features is the reduced and narrow structure of gendered genealogies in their sparse, skeleton-like shape. This means that I start out from an idea that is more closely realized by the biblical genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 and beyond than by the genealogy performance of "My Life Part 2". I start out from the sparse, skeleton-like shape of genealogies, because the genre is so specific that even if dispersed in a more narrative archive, such as in the film, its characteristic features allow those who make use of it to work toward the memory space I am interested in.

7.2 The Politics of Decision-Making

Gendered Genealogies as Inherently Political Genre

The need for continuous decision-making is the first of three features of the genre that play a central part in turning genealogies into memory acts capable of setting up memory spaces that comprise both continuity and discontinuity, and are, hence, able to respond to a traumatic past. The structure of genealogies requires continuous decisions concerning choice and priority of its constituents. Genealogies mainly consist of names that represent stories, traditions, places, or communities, as well as of functional and relational linking elements. These constituents need to be organized—a process that requires a continuous flow of decisions. As a rule, organization in genealogies takes place in a structure that is clear-cut and rhythmic, yet hierarchical and narrow. Genealogies are not merely about facts, may they be historical, literary, or imagined. They are always about arranging, repressing or highlighting, about prioritizing these facts. The need for continuous decision-making releases a process of ordering, which involves identifying essence of the traditions and identities a group wants to pass on. It assesses what is contributed by whom and determines which coalitions are intended or rejected. In sum, such a process of ordering settles what

matters most and what comes second. Hence, the need of decision-making presses toward taking a stance in resources, commitments, pragmatics, and utopias.

The need for continuous decisions is not merely a characteristic of the genre, but likewise a competence and political practice. Selecting and prioritizing ancestors and relating them to each other requires the competence to discuss, negotiate, and assess a situation and the factors that impact it, as well as to identify key moments in political, cultural, and economical processes, and to condense them in the figure of ancestors, who can serve as prisms for the forces active in those very processes. In this context, forging and selecting, ordering and prioritizing ancestors is a form of enacting the dialogical relationship between sameness and difference. It involves capacities of assessing, appraisal, and rejection. In conclusion, the flow of continuous decision-making is at the basis of a form of memory production that likewise represents a political practice.

The flow of constant decision-making accounts for the political dimension of gendered genealogies. Genealogies, which as a genre press toward taking stances and establishing a symbolic order, are inherently political. Genealogies cannot be innocent. Instead, the process of genealogy composition necessarily involves interests, power, and taking sides.

Insisting on the political character of genealogy composition is critical for the assessment of genealogies in general and of biblical genealogies in particular. As I have discussed in the Introduction, academic discourse often passes over genealogies as dry lists, bare of political impact.⁵ If at all, the priestly lines are perceived as ideological texts. Against such readings, I want to emphasize that the genealogies in Chronicles and beyond are excellent tools for advancing ideological positions concerning all central sociopolitical, territorial, economical, and religious issues of their time.

Counter-movements

The need to settle definite priorities provokes yet another dynamic, namely the dynamic of questioning these very priorities and of establishing counter-movements. In other words, the need of decision-making and the resulting political character of the genre prepare its use in alternative and subversive ways. Counter-movements can use different inroads. A first inroad would be a subtext to the dominant structure. The process of genealogical ordering necessarily excludes subject positions or presses them to the margins. This creates access for a subtext that challenges and potentially subverts the dominant text. For example, the genealogies of Judah prioritize the Davidic line at the expense of marginalizing other segments of the Judah genealogies. This is countered by the gendered subtext, which employs tools such as incomplete segments, paradoxes, variations of formulas, and crisis of form in order to establish a counter-movement in the overall composition.

A second inroad would be the attempt to reorganize center and margin. The documentary “My Life Part 2” is an example for such a take on genealogy composition. The film draws on alternative archives, e.g. home-movies and the archive of the filmmaker’s mother, and moves alternative ancestors to the center, namely the Levi women who are situated at the margin of society and cultural memory discourse. Moreover, the film tries to propose alternative forms of succession, based on imagined lineages, political commitment, and specific ways of facing trauma.

⁵ *Introduction*, pp. 13-27 (22).

On a more general level, echoes and traces of lines, positions, and legacies are a third inroad to counter-present genealogies. The genealogy genre accommodates echoes and traces through incomplete segments, paradoxes, variations of formulas, and crisis of form, only to name a few tools. Diana Taylor has juxtaposed the archive and the repertoire, the archive being what is written down or connected to language, and the repertoire being what is at our disposal or sociocultural practice.⁶ I think that the genealogy genre tends toward the archive in its insisting on decisions, establishing and inscribing a symbolic order. Genealogies may aim at an abundance of tradition and past. Still, they capture this in a somewhat closed entity. As a form of memory, they are like a clipping of the repertoire, which comprises additional layers of reality. Echoes and traces are moments for the repertoire to reenter the genealogical scene.

The Performative Quality

The political orientation of genealogies accounts for the strong presence of ideologies and interests, and with that of agency in genealogy composition. Throughout the project, I have conceptualized this dimension of genealogy composition in terms of performance. The performance concept insists on activity inherent to the genre—as much as inherent to cultural memory in general. It means that genealogies do not emerge logically from a given past in inevitable ways. Instead, they are produced, manufactured, created, and imagined, in other words, they are performed. Insisting on the priority of activity also highlights negotiation and contest at the basis of genealogy composition. Genealogy composition does not only support an inner formation of memory and identity. Instead, it also presses for the presentation and negotiation of memory and identity at the outside, be it in a public or private context.

Moving activity into focus requires a nuanced understanding of agency. The performance concept does not only take explicit or intended agency into view. Instead, agency in cultural memory performance likewise includes unconscious or repressed agency as well as traumatic recall.⁷ As Mieke Bal puts it, “cultural recall is not merely something of which you happen to be a bearer but something that you actually *perform*, even if, in many instances, such acts are not consciously and willfully contrived.”⁸ While taking the agents of genealogy composition into view, it is critical to keep such a broader concept of agency in mind.

Primary and Secondary Agents in Genealogy Performance

Agency in genealogy performance involves primary and secondary agents. First of all, agency in genealogy performance, whether intended and conscious or repressed, re-enacted, and not willfully contrived, involves the actual composers of a genealogy, which I would describe as primary agents of the performance. In the case studies such primary agents are scribal circles in Second Temple Jerusalem in the case of 1 Chronicles 1–9, and the filmmaker Angelika Levi in the case of “My Life Part 2”. The primary agents are involved

⁶ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Reforming Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003). Thank you to Melva L. Sampson for pointing me to Taylor’s approach in her intriguing paper on “Raising Womanish Girls!: The Implications of Womanist Posturing and the Performance of Motherhood” at the 2011 SBL Annual Meeting in San Francisco.

⁷ Mieke Bal, ‘Introduction’, in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer; Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. vii–xvii.

⁸ Bal, ‘Introduction’, p. vii.

in sociopolitical and cultural discourses that give shape to the actual genealogy performance, for example, the discourse on exile and return in the case of Chronicles and the discourse about the memory of the Shoah in the case of “My Life Part 2”. Such discourses are often controversial and include different sociopolitical groups, individuals, and movements. In “My Life Part 2”, representatives of the German memory discourse appear in television footage and interviews. Different positions in the postexilic identity discourse can be grasped through different contemporaneous biblical books, for example Ezra–Nehemiah or Proverbs. Individuals and groups involved in the discourses at the basis of the genealogy composition function as secondary agents of the performance. Which secondary agents are allowed to contribute to forming, selecting, and positioning ancestors concerns contest, negotiation, participation, and othering as key issues of power dynamics in genealogy performance.

Genealogies in the Public Realm and the Shift from Identity to Memory Performance

Next to the involvement of secondary agents, power dynamics in genealogies depend on whether they are performed in the public realm or not. As a rule, the political impact of a genealogy depends on the stage a given genealogy performance enters, in other words, on its involvement into public, ideological, and other discourses, directly or indirectly. Public realms are a stage that reinforces the political dimension of genealogy performance. Both case studies participate in public discourses, and it is here that their force to disclose the past as a resource for political practices in the present; to enunciate utopias and adhere to commitments; and to wrestle over shared identities and negotiate coalitions becomes manifest.

In genealogies that push into public discourses, identity issues step back in favor of memory performances. The biblical genealogies not only make a statement about the identity of Israel or the Jewish people. They represent a deliberately designed memory act, which functions as an argument in a conflict-ridden discourse on the origin, identity, and power-balance of a heterogeneous group. The same goes for “My Life Part 2”. The film is part of a memory discourse and reaches beyond the utterance of identity. This does not mean that the question of identity is not tackled. But it steps back in the course of performing the genealogical memory act.⁹

The emphasis on memory over identity also alerts to the fact that the memory performance is not a mirror of the present identity situation, but a constructed account of the past. This account of the past is not necessarily identical with the implied program for the present. It is important to reckon with a difference between the agenda of the memory performance and the agenda pursued in the present. For example, concerning politics and power in the genealogies of Judah, this means that the political argument that is made in the genealogies is not necessarily identical with the political interest pursued of its composers

⁹ See Angelika Levi’s corresponding interview statement: “I found the aspect of the search for an identity less and less important. After all, it’s about living your life with all its contradictions, differences and difficulties – which isn’t the same as being ambivalent, as I discovered in Chile, for example, where the Jewish-German identity doesn’t have such negative connotations. In Chile I began having a more strongly political stance, an attitude that can easily be overlooked when you’re dealing with your own past and which I try to allude to with the scene about the elderly Jewish couple.” Interview by Stefanie Schulte Strathaus, see http://www.arsenal-berlin.de/forumarchiv/forum2003/katalog/mein_leben_teil_2.pdf (accessed June 08, 2013).

with regard to contemporaneous concerns. Acknowledging the past in a certain way does not mean that the present should remain the same. For instance, acknowledging the position of a woman like eponymous ancestress Ephrathah in the history of Judah does not mean that the text advocates such a position for women in Judah's present. The opposite might be the case. Sending the importance of Ephrathah to the past might indeed be a first step in forgetting it.

In conclusion, it is important to consider the timing of the memory act and to ask when and out of which interests a memory act is performed. In other words, when and why does the outing of memories take place? This means to spotlight the moment in which a genealogy actually responds to trauma, which is, at the same time, the moment in which a genealogy actually responds to a present context, interest, and maybe challenge. Again, concerning the engagement of a female-gendered dynamic in a genealogy, the outing of memories can work in different directions. For example, in the Judah genealogies, involving such an amount of women of different ethnicities and social status may aim at linking presence and agency of such women to the past rather than to the present. This would fit the situation described in Ezra–Nehemiah, where (foreign) women are pushed out of the congregation.¹⁰

Power and Participation

Agency in genealogy composition is closely related to the question of who is allowed to take action, and with that to the issues of participation and power in shaping the memory act. Participation and power concern the question of who is in charge of the continuous flow of decision-making. It concerns the question of who has a say in settling on resources, commitments, and utopias. And it involves negotiating which viewpoints, which arguments, and which experiences a genealogy performance attaches importance to, while others are of no consequence.

Power Conflicts between Inclusion and Othering

Power in terms of participation in shaping the memory act is, among others, reflected in whom a genealogy includes and excludes, as well as in its processes of othering. For example, in the Chronicles genealogies, othering is realized by means of placing particular groups on the sidelines, describing them as descendants of a secondary wife and/or as ethnic other. For example, in “My Life Part 2”, othering of viewpoints and groups involves identifying them with a Protestant male discourse, which is described as hostile to life and latently anti-Semitic.

In genealogies, othering is the flipside of the priority of decisions and, hence, a typical feature of the genre. Genealogies strongly ask for selection, for taking in and pushing out from the start. The harshness and permanence of decision-making required by the genre easily leads to silencing minority viewpoints and to excluding parts of a community and its memory. In turn, inclusion and belonging will be easily overemphasized, a dynamic that risks losing track of the interplay between identity and alterity that is so critical for genealogy composition in response to fractured pasts.

On the other hand, the genealogy genre accommodates ruling out minority viewpoints. On the other hand, it is a genre that invites counter-movements and subtexts, as I have argued earlier. The two contrary movements are a source of power conflicts between allowing for participation of complex genealogical agents in the shaping of the genealogy

¹⁰ Ezra 9–10, Neh. 13.

performance on the one hand, and repressing their agency through othering and silencing them, on the other. The two case studies deal with this power conflict in quite different ways.

1 Chronicles 1–9 allows for counter-movements only to a certain extent. In many cases, counter-movements add to the complexity of the genealogy composition. As I have shown in Chapter 4, in the cases of Tamar and Sheshan’s daughter, counter-movements are even employed to grant and strengthen the dominant line.¹¹ However, the moment they get too powerful, they are not welcome any more. As a consequence, counter-movements can function as a subversive force in the genealogy performance, but are not in a position to overthrow the dominant line.

In contrast, in “My Life Part 2”, the entire lineage of Levi women is set up as a counter-genealogy. However, the dominant gynealogy also provides counter elements, for example, hints to the political affinity between the filmmaker and her grandfather Levi. However, these elements remain in the position of traces that add to the complexity of the project, but are not played out to question the dominant line of the film. In conclusion, both case studies contain counter-movements that fulfill important functions. However, both case studies also restrict the impact of these counter-movements and limit their scopes.

Assessing Power Conflicts in Genealogies Depends on their Position within Respective Sociohistorical Contexts

The case studies parallel each other in restricting the counter-movements they inhere. Yet, restricting counter-movements has quite different implications in the two case studies and needs to be assessed differently. The different assessment is based on the different locations of the case studies in their respective sociohistorical contexts. While 1 Chronicles 1–9 presents a genealogy composition that is in line with dominant tradition lines and forms of succession, “My Life Part 2” performs a gynealogy that starts out from a minority viewpoint and relies on alternative agents, narratives, and rules of succession.

Speaking of ‘dominant lineages’ and ‘minority viewpoints’ implies a certain assessment of the position of an actual genealogy in its sociohistorical context, for example a dominant or marginal position in particular memory discourses or political participation. In the case of the Chronicles genealogies, this has to be elaborated on, as Chronicles makes part of both a dominant and a marginal discourse. From a global perspective, Chronicles and the Jerusalem scribal elite responsible for it occupy a marginal position within interests, politics, and discourses of the great powers of the time. Observed from an inner-biblical perspective, however, it holds a dominant position in advancing its interests on a literary and probably also sociopolitical level. Throughout this research, I have been mainly interested in the inner-biblical perspective. From this perspective, power in terms of negotiating participation is literally palpable. Take the examples of Tamar and of Sheshan’s daughter. They exemplify the struggle between subversion and othering: the counter-movements vitalize the genealogy and make it relevant, but there is a strong and effective drive to restrict them. In the course of the close reading, I have argued that the aim of the Chronicles genealogies is to achieve a monopoly in defining the community and its members. This comes with a strong process of including, while simultaneously othering groups, experiences, and viewpoints that might contest the dominant rules of the genealogical archive.

¹¹ Chapter 4: *Cracks in the Male Mirror: Gendered Fragments as Challenge to the Patriarchal Succession*, pp. 93-113 (93-101).

“My Life Part 2” is located in a very different discourse and sociopolitical situation. The film and its story are located in a sociopolitical marginal discourse—whether one looks from an inner-German, an inner-Jewish, or an inner-feminist perspective. In “My Life Part 2”, the counter movement has come out on top and now is the dominant layer in the genealogy. In this constellation, the male Protestant side of the lineage, a dominant line in the overall memory discourse and the dominant sociopolitical reality, is othered. This is important to state, especially in order to learn something about the functioning of genealogies, but it does not alter the position of the individual viewpoints, be it female Jewish or male Protestant, in the overall public memory discourses the film is embedded to.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the need for decision-making and the resulting politically mature character of genealogies presses toward opening a space in which the past is designed and manufactured rather than merely described and reflected. Such a space is indispensable for memory acts that productively respond to trauma.

The design of a genealogy performance can formulate or sustain a dominant ideology or it can perform a nuanced or subversive account of the past. I am interested in the latter – and have chosen two case studies that (to a certain extent) follow such an agenda. As a consequence, I pursue the genre as it tends into this direction. In my view this takes the road of paradox and play.

7.3 Play as a Means to Meet the Bony Structure of the Genre

Play in Performance Theory

After the feature of constant decision-making, the art of play is the second feature in a series of three, which I consider central for subverting the genre of gendered genealogies without imploding it, and hence critical for opening a memory space that comprises continuity and discontinuity in view of a memory act that is capable to respond to a traumatic past. Play refers to strategies such as purposefully employing variations and irregularities, or to interplaying time and reality layers. In genealogy performance, it is the art of making one’s point while remaining fully entangled with the bare and bony structure of the genre.

The notion of play is part of performance theory, and it is from here that I borrow the term. In performance theory, the notion of play describes the innovative, creative, and contingent aspect of a performance, which functions as an opponent to the notion of ritual, which describes the more formal, structured, and determined aspect of performance.¹²

In performance studies, play is understood as force of uncertainty which counterbalances the structure provided by ritual. Where ritual depends on repetition, play stresses innovation and creativity. Where ritual is predictable, play is contingent. But all performances, even rituals, contain some element of play, some space for variation. And most forms of play involve pre-established patterns of behaviour.¹³

Applying the related definition of performance as “ritualized behaviour conditioned/permeated by play,”¹⁴ to the case of genealogy performance, I use the term

¹² Henry Bial (ed.), *The Performance Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 115.

¹³ Bial, *The Performance Studies Reader*, p. 115.

¹⁴ Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 79.

play in reference to the art of using the genealogy structure for one's needs by means of slight and subtle alterations, variations, and additions. This can take the form of deliberate irregularities in the genealogy composition, such as formal variations or altered names, for example in Chronicles. It can also take the form of imagined segments of a lineage, for example the lineage derived from biblical Levi in "My Life Part 2".

Both case studies engage the creative, playful and performative potential of the genealogy genre, each in its individual way and in accordance with its media. 1 Chronicles 1–9 has at its disposal the possibilities of a text. As a creative literary work, it plays out the creative potential of genealogy composition in its virtuoso dealing with form, from meeting formulas to variations and to breakdown of form, in bringing fluidity into play and in skilful juggling of names.

"My Life Part 2" has at its disposal the audiovisual tools of a film. It plays out the creative potential of genealogy composition by means of interplaying different time and reality layers, before all memory, trauma, traumatic re-enactment, biblical myth, and present. Moreover, it realizes the performative force of genealogy composition in its unconventional ways of establishing succession and defining belonging, both concerning gender and Jewishness.

The different ways of realizing the potential for play expose the intriguing possibilities inherent to the genre as well as the artful ways in which the case studies play out these possibilities. Irregularities and imaginations serve to bringing across a position while remaining fully entangled with the bony structure of the genre. Here dwells my fascination with genealogies: the art of using something as strict as genealogies and then beat it with its own weapons. This is fine handicraft. This handicraft is strongly involved in the dynamic of breaking open and subverting the genre, while remaining committed to it. It is decisive for making a genealogy meaningful in response to trauma.

Play and Paradox: Accomplices in Exposing—and Integrating—Discontinuity

Play in genealogies is a strategy to counter their either–or logic and to prepare the presence of the paradox. A genealogy in response to trauma needs to meet fractures in order to make sense—either openly or in subversive ways. Appropriating the past cannot be done by means of completely repressing problematic aspects. Instead, a genealogy needs a strategy to include and locate such aspects. In the case studies, play on formations, gender stereotypes, and conventional rules of successions has been significantly involved in exposing discontinuity and contradictions in the respective genealogies—yet without deconstructing the genealogical form as such, nor the related sense of continuity. By doing so, play is an effective strategy to expose fractures, contradictions, and hybridity within rather than outside of a coherent picture of the past. Play does not deconstruct the rules of the genre it plays upon. Instead, it establishes tensions, such as the tension between continuity and discontinuity, or tensions between conflicting hybrid subject positions.

In Chapter 6, I have described the presence of such tensions which resists deconstruction as the presence of the paradox.¹⁵ While the genealogy genre with its continuous flow of decision-making presses for either–or decisions, the paradox emerges as

¹⁵ Chapter 6: *Structural Functions of Women in the Genealogies of Judah*, pp. 150-192 (161-162; 182-182; 186-190).

a “figuration of resistance” against this logic of the either–or.¹⁶ Here, the art of play and the notion of the paradox function as accomplices in holding open space and tension between poles that seem to exclude each other. Play is a critical tool in tapping into the capacity of genealogies to design a symbolic order that houses the paradox. On the other hand, the paradox is a category that is able to make sense of contradictions and hybridity as part of the symbolic order. The interplay between the notions of play and of the paradox makes use of play as an important strategy for actively addressing the need—or the wish—to perform a memory act that integrates hybrid positions and contradictory needs in the present of the performance.

The paradox is a means to integrate fraction and hybridity in the aftermath of trauma: the presence of the paradox as part of the symbolic order as designed by an actual genealogy, and, hence, of the notion of play, are critical for the formation of identity and the determination of alterity in response to trauma. It supports the ability to perform identity as fractured, contradictory, and hybrid, yet still coherent. This is extremely important in the aftermath of trauma. It takes the need for a coherent image of the self and the world seriously while at the same time respecting the experience that such an image has been smashed. Moreover, it is a way of expressing solidarity with those who have experienced trauma. Acknowledging hybridity and enacting the paradox are not only part of the postmodern *condition humaine*. Instead, they express a political position.

Performing identity as inclusive of paradoxes and hybridity tries to expose and position problematic aspects of past and present rather than split off and repress them. It is orientated toward disclosing resources. At the same time, explicitly recalling injuries and crises of the past may be a necessary step to forgetting them. As Derrida has stated with regard to the need to archive injuries and injustice in the case of the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa,¹⁷ recalling and storing memory in a safe place can eventually allow for forgetting them. Problematic aspects of the past are not repressed, but are recalled in order to lose impact. By doing so, space for moving on to new agendas is created in the present.

The presence of play and the paradox work toward integrating hybrid positions. However, the genealogy genre does not only allow for mapping hybridity, but also channels and limits it. Stories, places, ancestors, or events can be mapped as different by means of identifying them with different roles in the genealogical universe and through positioning them at different locations. However, genealogical roles as well as locations in the genealogical order are determined and limited. Different stories, places, ancestors, or events are mapped as different, but have to somehow fit into the broader picture of a particular genealogy and into the genealogical structure in general. This entails the opportunity to bring things together, the chance to spell out hybridity, but at the same time to imagine coherence and put it into one picture. On the other hand, this supports and even requires the tendency to harmonize and normalize inherent to the genre. Disparate subject and

¹⁶ Paul Geyer, ‘Das Paradox: Historisch Systematische Grundlegung’, in *Das Paradox: Eine Herausforderung des abendländischen Denkens* (eds. Paul Geyer and Roland Hagenbüchle; Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1992), pp. 11-24 (12).

¹⁷ Jacques Derrida, ‘Archive Fever (A Seminar by Jacques Derrida, University of Witwatersrand, August 1998, transcribed by Verne Harris)’, in *Refiguring the Archive* (eds. Carolyn Hamilton et al.; Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), pp. 38-80/even pages (54).

inheritance positions are filed into one shared picture. They cannot be utterly disconnected. Accordingly, the experience of total disconnection does not fit the genre.

Interplaying Fact and Fiction

Another fundamental aspect of the notion of play in genealogy composition is the genre's potential (and habit) to interplay given and chosen ancestry, to pair inheritance and choice, to interweave legacy and imagination. Imagination includes imagining figures and characters, drawing lines across normative ways of succession, and developing alternative forms of succession. This is based on the basic category of fluidity and the mutability of genealogies based on changing needs and circumstances. But imagination exceeds fluidity inasmuch as it not only changes what is there, but imagines what is lacking.

In such a play of fact and fiction, imagined ancestors, places, and lines of succession are added to a genealogy in order to transform a traumatic past into something that can be grasped, appropriated and made sense of. Yet, the game of fact and fiction can be only meaningful if the actual past and legacy remain involved. If this is done, interplaying legacy and imagination is an important element in a memory performance that is oriented toward disclosing resources.

For example, in "My Life Part 2", the imagined lineage descending from biblical Levi to the actual Levi women is fascinating and plausible because the gynealogy so deeply engages with the difficulty of the actual traumatic inheritance. In turn, forging their own rules of succession and thereby confirming the identity of the Levi women as a Jewish identity provides the base for appropriating the legacy of anti-Semitic persecution and murder. In the film, the gynealogy is deeply committed to the given inheritance, without being narrowed down to it. Here, the playful aspect of the genre allows sounding the interplay between given inheritance and imagined ancestry. Both aspects balance and enforce each other. In conclusion, the lineage of Levi women established by Angelika Levi employs imagination in order to meet silence and to deal with absence. In this context, interplaying fact and fiction is an especially important feature in performing counter-genealogies and alternative memory acts.

In 1 Chronicles 1–9, a resource-oriented interplay enfolds between the inclusions of constructed and claimed tradition on the one hand, and references to groups, places, and names that form part of the sociohistorical context of the time on the other. Examples for how the genealogies weave in literary, mythological, and theological traditions are their starting out from the first human, Adam, or the strong recurrence to the (eponymous) ancestors of the ancestral period. Including these claimed traditions confirms the self-conception of the authors as heirs of earlier biblical traditions and substantiates claims in the present. But there is another aspect to their involvement: The transition between constructed traditions and parameters of the contemporaneous situation is smooth. For example, Adam is a mythological figure but at the same time a direct ancestor. In a similar way, literary traditions are at the same time family history. Drawing on the continuity with claimed traditions works because they are interplayed with the actual sociohistorical context of the time. This interplay conveys to the tradition the status of a legacy and resource to engage with in the present. By doing so, the treasure of experiences, conventions, and solutions to conflict and crisis inherent to the biblical traditions is indeed perceived as a resource and used as such. Again, the interplay between created tradition and sociohistorical parameters works toward a resource-oriented memory act.

7.4 Metaphors of Relatedness: Kinship, Tree, and Rhizome

A sense of basic relatedness as expressed in the genealogical imagery of kinship and the tree metaphor is the third feature in a series of three, that I think play a central part in subverting the genre without imploding it, and that is hence critical for turning a genealogy into a memory act that is capable to respond to a traumatic past.

Genealogies establish and communicate a basic sense of relatedness. This is part of their innate structure—genealogies differ from a mere list of names by means of indicating relations between listed names.¹⁸ Moreover, a basic sense of relatedness is part of the philosophy of the genre: genealogies ‘think’ in terms of ancestors and relationships.¹⁹

The focus on relations also constitutes part of a resource-oriented take on the past. For example, ancestors provide knowledge, experience, and stories, in short a legacy to deal with—and a resource for the better or worse.

The focus on relationships in genealogies is usually framed in terms of kinship. As a rule, relationships are presented in family roles such as son, sister, father, or wife. In fact, kinship imagery has nearly absolute priority in genealogy composition—a fact that adds to the potential of the genealogy genre, but likewise indicates its limits.

The Imagery of Kinship

The kinship framework conveys a general sense of relatedness. In my view, the great potential of the kinship framework lies in this very feature. This general sense of relatedness is in contrast to a mere individual idea of the autonomous subject. It argues that involvement and integration in communities lies at the heart of human life. Such a perception of human life emphasizes that we rely on emotional, physical, and social care and communication. In terms of memory performance, it suggests that humans are affected by discourses, characterized by contexts, stand in successions, are confronted with legacies, and need to answer them.

Relatedness as conveyed by the kinship framework is a two-sided coin. On the one hand, it concerns involvement and integration. But it also has a more difficult side. Here, relatedness brings about enmeshment, dependency, and determination. It includes being overshadowed by histories and legacies, by involuntary inheritances, by repressed issues that wander down generations, by loss.

Even though this flipside may be burdensome, it is extremely important and often forms the drive to engage in memory performances in the first place. It makes clear how important it is to address roots and inheritance positions, and to work through legacies. It also involves the themes of emancipation and commitment.

Bringing along the knowledge about the priority of relatedness and the condition of being deeply involved may be one reason why artists such as filmmaker A. Levi work with the genre of genealogy. A genre that is knowledgeable about relatedness and involvement is likely to also be knowledgeable with respect to enmeshment and legacy. Both aspects, involvement and entanglement, are important for memory acts in response to trauma.

¹⁸ Hieke, *Genealogien der Genesis*, p. 18.

¹⁹ Rüdiger Lux describes the experience of “Sozialität in Zeit und Raum” as basis for a genealogical perception of the world. Rüdiger Lux, ‘Die Genealogie als Strukturprinzip des Pluralismus im Alten Testament’, in *Pluralismus und Identität* (ed. J. Mehlhausen; VWGT, 8; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), pp. 242-258 (246).

The kinship imagery narrows down (intergenerational) relationships and role models to the world of the family. Here lurks a limit of the genre, which is especially problematic for the issue of gender. For example, female authority, mentoring, commitment, support, and teaching are shaped in the context of motherhood, grandmotherhood, and aunthood. In turn, learning, receiving support, and inheriting is conceptualized in the context of the role of daughter, granddaughter or niece. Moreover, the kinship imagery promotes particular values. For example, it sets a strong focus on reproduction.

Ideas about kinship-related values, role models, and intergenerational relationships depend on the individual cultural context. But somehow or other, they are strongly preconceptualized and bring about ready-made role models and clear-cut ideas about relationships. This problem urgently concerns gender roles and relations but does not end there.

The limits of the kinship notion become even more apparent when thinking about the lack of alternative models for intergenerational relationships in the context of symbolic, religious, artistic, literary, narrative, ideological, and/or political successions. Describing succession in such contexts in preconceptualized patterns of mother–daughter, grandmother–granddaughter, or aunt–niece relationships (or the male equivalents) inevitably distorts and reduces them.

Such reduction cuts down a possible plurality of identification models in terms of gender, capacities, and areas of life. For example, 1 Chronicles 1–9 lacks female prophets, female judges, wise women, and other leading figures, which are definitely present in biblical literature. In the genealogy composition, these roles and capacities are not relevant. Instead, the genealogies feature women in the roles of wives and mothers, sisters and daughters, and dwell on related competences and social positions.

Yet alternatives are possible. The succession of the line could be bound to age, wisdom, locations, activities, or qualifications, only to name a few. Here, “My Life Part 2” contributes important impulses. The lineage of the film is indeed a line of mothers and daughters. However, shared experiences, attitudes, and ideologies turn the line into a succession that is able to generate meaning.

Another alternative might be a concept of relations based on affinity and elected family. Here, new conceptions of kinship in cultural anthropology may be helpful to overcome stereotyped concepts of family relations.²⁰ Still, preconceptualized kinship patterns such as the mother–daughter relationship will hold a strong dynamic that is not easily to escape.

In sum, the focus on relations as conveyed in the imagery of kinship is highly ambivalent with respect to subversion. On the one hand, it contributes a concept that adds to shape the correlation between relatedness and dependency. At the same time, it limits life areas and role models that provide contents to make this very correlation concrete.

Queering Genealogies: Narrow Scopes for Subverting the Gender Notion

Gender in genealogies is closely bound to the limits of kinship imagery. Still there are narrow scopes for subverting the gender notion as put down in its family-related manifestation, for example in ‘breeches parts’ the Chronicles genealogies provide for

²⁰ For alternative kinship conceptions in cultural anthropology see Janet Carsten, *After Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Marilyn Strathern, *After Nature: English Kinship in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

women figures. Pursuing these traces is even more important inasmuch as the analytical focus on gender, as spelled out throughout my analysis, always needs to keep track of the contingent and artificial character of the gender notion as such.

In 1 Chronicles 1–9, the possibility to subvert the gender notion in its kinship-bound manifestation as well as the gender notion as such may appear in women figures in breeches parts, for example daughters listed as sons.

Breeches parts for women in genealogies occur in cases of genealogical roles that are decisively gendered to the point of requiring whoever takes the role to adopt the related gender. In such cases, the role functions as a gendered container. If the gendered container requires a content that is not available, for example a male, the lack may allow for content that is to some extent gender-variable, for example a female or a female who is not married. A prominent instance of such a gendered container is the role of a son who continues the line—a role that is strongly required and strongly gender-bound by the concept of patrilineage. If no male is available to fulfill the container, a daughter might step in and fulfill the male role of son. Labahn and Ben Zvi indeed argue that women may take functional male roles in the Chronicles genealogies, for example the nameless daughter of Sheshan.²¹ I agree that such instances of women taking breeches parts takes place in 1 Chronicles 1–9. However, I doubt that this is often done in genealogies without an awareness of the implications of such a move and related restrictions, as I have showed for Sheshan’s daughter. Still, this phenomenon provides a tendency to queer gendered genealogies.

Another impetus for women in breeches roles is the attempt to neglect the disturbing presence of women in key positions of narrative traditions and sociohistorical backdrops. This may result in listing women as males straight away, for example in the case of Miriam, who is identified as one of the *benim* / sons of Amram (6:3).

“My Life Part 2” touches on subverting the primacy of the gender notion by means of redefining genealogical notions, for example and most important in regarding the concept of succession. This does not primarily mean to invert the notion of patrilineage to a notion of matrilineage, but to rethink qualifications and contents for passing on the line across or beyond gender terms. The gynealogy of A. Levi performs the latter when highlighting experiences, attitudes, and commitment as qualifying factors for standing in, and passing on, the succession of Levi women. At the same time, however, the focus on a succession of women keeps gender in a prominent place.

Tree versus Rhizome: Alliances in the Present

Next to the imagery of kinship, the image of the ancestor tree is characteristic for mapping relations in genealogies.²² The tree metaphor is able to accommodate vertical as well as horizontal structures, the former represented by main stem and distant branches, the latter represented in the ramifying crown. The tree is a basically hierarchical metaphor. A tree

²¹ Antje Labahn and Ehud Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9’, *Biblica* 84 (2003), pp. 457–478 (466). On a more general scale, Labahn and Ben Zvi argue that 1 Chronicles 1–9 provides references to “women in roles commonly assigned to mature males in the society,” for example the role of head of the family or of builder of cities. Labahn and Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women’, pp. 474–477.

²² For an analysis of the visual dimension of various sorts of European family trees see Mary Bouquet, ‘Family Trees and their Affinities: The Visual Imperative of the Genealogical Diagram’, in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2.1 (1996), pp. 43–66.

branches out but still has a clear stem from which ramification emerges. In turn, horizontal segments are always dependent of the stem and can be brought back to it. The strictly hierarchical logic of the tree model provides a significant limit to this imagery.

Another limit is the tree's reduced ability to reflect relations in the present, and especially relationships in the present that reach beyond the relational roles of a family. The classical ancestor tree starts out with a couple in the present, maybe maps their children as well as their siblings, but then, by means of depicting parents, grandparents, and so forth, inevitably drifts into the past.

Both case studies transgress the tree model, thereby exposing its limits. I suggest that the awareness of the limits of the vertical hierarchical tree structure is directly related to the interest to grasp and map fractured pasts and even more to accommodate fragmented, possibly hybrid presents.

"My Life Part 2" starts with the classical tree model. The filmmaker appropriates her family story in an ancestor tree with a focus on her roots. She then forms her alliances in the present beyond her stem, reaching into another form of relations, which may be visualized as a rhizome.

The image of the rhizome has been proposed by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in opposition to the tree metaphor.²³ The rhizome as botanical phenomenon has a subterranean horizontal stem with ramified surface extensions, as for example couch grass. It serves here as a model for the production of language, knowledge and sociopolitical circumstances.²⁴ While the crown always goes back to the stem, the rhizome features variety as laid out on a "plane of consistency." On this plateau, it grows from the middle rather than from a start or end point, and develops without pressing toward culmination points such as ancestors in the genealogical tree image.²⁵ The tree is based on a logic of tracing and reproduction. It forms lineages and functions in terms of cultural memory. In contrast, the rhizome follows a principle of cartography; it forms an open map that is orientated along flight lines.²⁶ While the tree model unfolds relations on the basis of filiation, the anti-genealogical and "anti-memory" rhizome unfolds relations on the basis of alliances driven by desire.²⁷

For Angelika Levi, the linear structures of the tree image seem to be important to grasp and appropriate her legacy. This is what she starts with. However, the tree seems to be a less practicable model to face her own life and future. Here the rhizome image with its planar structures and a focus on desire and alliances is needed as a complementary structure.

The Chronicles genealogies have a quite different way of transgressing the classical ancestor tree. These genealogies cling to the moment of order—as well as of hierarchy—inherent to the image of branching out from a stem, but reverse the classical tree model. Turning the tree on its head, 1 Chronicles 1:1 starts with first human Adam and then opens out into a waste labyrinth of lineages, segments, and names, which are connected in many cases, but just loosely strung together in others. In fact, the text takes

²³ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* (trans. Brian Massumi; London and New York: Continuum, 2004), pp. 5-29.

²⁴ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 7-8.

²⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, pp. 23-24.

²⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, pp. 13-23.

²⁷ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, pp. 15-27.

nearly indecent liberties to integrate groups into or to exclude them from this labyrinthine crown. By doing so, it forms an entity, which goes beyond the scope of the philosophical distinction between tree and rhizome.

Both the tree model in its biblical reversal and the rhizome image as realized in “My Life Part 2” map and initiate relations in the present, yet with different foci. The reversed tree model of the Chronicles genealogies has a focus on identity which is always thought in connection with the past. It integrates those with whom one has or wants relations in the present into the crown of the tree, thus into the entity that is defined as one’s own identity scope. Each individual element of the crown can be brought back to the stem, in other words, back to the primary identity line, which is closely linked to the particular genealogical performance of roots, traditions, and history.

In contrast, the rhizome of “My Life Part 2” has a focus on relations in the present that reach beyond roots, traditions and history, but have been identified as decisive for present identities earlier in the film. The rhizome model has a focus on agency. It foregrounds the act of entering deliberate alliances that are not necessarily grounded in an inherited identity but may transgress common origin and social frames.

In both genealogy compositions, however, the fragmentary female lineages hold the puzzle of the past together, both vertically as tree and horizontally as rhizome.

Moving Away from One’s Own Stem: A Step Further than Genealogies

The shift from classical tree to reversed labyrinthine tree and further to the form of the rhizome points beyond the genealogy genre. Dealing with a dense, complicated, and dominant past may include a movement away from one’s roots toward other forms of relations. Such relations would go beyond “elective affinities” that tend to remain in the kinship imagery,²⁸ and be better described as *alliances*, driven by desire and again choice, possibly temporary and project-related, spontaneous or coincidentally, crossing conventional social frames. Such alliances represent a moment of (temporary) non-connection with the past. The dissociation from the past may occur as need or as desire—not as experience alone. But the genealogy genre is limited in its capability to express non-connection with the origins.

The need and experience of detachment from the past pushes toward transgressing the genealogy genre and needs other images, for example the rhizome or the notion of prosthetic memory. Here again, genealogies are memory acts. As memory acts, genealogies reach into present and future, but they cannot replace them.

7.5 Afterthought

The discussion of this chapter directly concerns the analysis of 1 Chronicles 1–9 but also reaches beyond it. Reflecting on the impact that this meta-discussion has on understanding 1 Chronicles 1–9, what strikes me most is that it changes my perception of the text as a reader. Looking at 1 Chronicles 1–9 from the perspective of the meta-discussion, I realize how much I value the text for its multilayered forms and meanings. While the close reading often pushed me off, stepping back and reaching beyond it makes the text more favorable in

²⁸ The term “elective affinity” or “Wahlverwandtschaft” has been coined by Johann Wolfgang Goethe in his 1809 novel of the same name. Max Weber took up the term and used it in the context of sociology as a metaphor for describing the affinity between particular societal discourses and phenomena, for example Protestant ethics and capitalism. Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1934).

my eyes. For example, during the close reading, I took offence at the text's ambivalence, at its inviting complex genealogical agents only when serving the text's patriarchal agenda and cutting back their impact as soon as this aim is fulfilled, and at the constant definition of women in relation to males. Now, stepping back and reaching beyond the close reading in the meta-discussion foregrounds that I value 1 Chronicles 1–9 for its skilful use of the genre, for its permitting paradoxes and contradictions, and for its balancing continuity and discontinuity toward a multilayered memory performance.

This is not only a personal response to the research process. Instead, I claim that reaching beyond the biblical text and reading it as one element among others that feed into understanding gendered genealogies, as implied by the process of its socialization with Levi's film, works toward a more flexible position vis-à-vis the text—a flexibility that, in my personal case, leads to a certain generosity toward it. This flexibility is not based on downgrading the biblical text as secondary. Instead, it is based on analyzing 1 Chronicles 1–9 in the broader context of the issues that play a role for gendered genealogies in response to trauma, without requiring from it answers to all the complex questions involved. By 'broader context' I refer, among others, to questions about the role of gender, of more recent traumata, of the role of public space for our memory acts, and of our hybrid identities, but also to answers contributed by academic disciplines that explore the present, as well as the film as a cultural expression of it.

In conclusion, this research project has shown that gendered genealogies are an ambitious and intriguing genre, as a biblical genre and beyond it. Specifically the attempt of socializing has demonstrated that looking at the biblical text as one element alongside other elements does not make it less significant, but is a means to let the text shine as to eventually value it as an important voice regarding the relevance of gendered genealogies for meaningful memory acts in response to fractured pasts.

Appendix 1 The Female Fragments of 1 Chronicles 1–9 in their Literary Context

Key for names (names and translation according to the NRSV):

GEN.-AMBIG.	Gender ambiguous name
TOPON.	Toponym
ARAM. / MIDIAN.	Aramean name / Midianite name
ETHN. / GEO.	Indication of ethnic origin / Indication of geographical origin
N. EMPH.	Name emphasized in the text
NAMELESS / NAMELESS GROUP	Nameless woman / nameless group of women
ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 / INTERTEXT	Occurring only in 1 Chronicles 1–9 / occurring in inner-biblical intertext(s)

Reference	Text	Names
1 Chron. 1:1–2:2	From Adam to the sons of Israel (genealogy of the nations)	
1:1–4	The descendants from Adam to Noah; the Sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japhet	
1:5–27	The descendants of Shem; the descendants of Ham; the descendants of Japhet to Abraham	
<u>1 Chron. 1:5–6</u>	<i>5 The descendants of Japheth: <u>Gomer</u>, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. 6 The descendants of <u>Gomer</u>: Ashkenaz, Diphath, and Togarmah.</i>	גֹמֶר Gomer GEN.-AMBIG.
1:28	The sons of Abraham: Isaac and Ishmael	
1:29–31	The descendants of Ishmael	
1:32–33	The descendants of Keturah	
<u>1 Chron. 1:32–33</u>	<i>32 The sons of <u>Keturah</u>, Abraham's concubine: she bore Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah. The sons of Jokshan: Sheba and Dedan. 33 The sons of Midian: <u>Ephah</u>, Epher, Hanoch, Abida, and Eldaah. All these were the descendants of <u>Keturah</u>.</i>	קֶטוּרָה Keturah INTERTEXT עִיפָה Ephah I GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; MIDIAN.; INTERTEXT
1:34	Abraham; the sons of Isaac: Esau and Israel	
1:35–37	The descendants of Esau	
<u>1 Chron. 1:36</u>	<i>36 The sons of Eliphaz: Teman, Omar, Zephi, Gatam, Kenaz, <u>Timna</u>, and Amalek.</i>	תִּמְנָה Timna I GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; INTERTEXT
1:38–42	The descendants of Seir	
<u>1 Chron. 1:39</u>	<i>39 The sons of Lotan: Hori and Homam; and Lotan's sister was <u>Timna</u>.</i>	תִּמְנָה Timna II GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; INTERTEXT
1:43–50	The Edomite Kings	
<u>1 Chron. 1:50</u>	<i>50 When Baal-hanan died, Hadad succeeded him; the name of his city was Pai, and his wife's name <u>Mehetabel</u> daughter of <u>Matred</u>.</i>	מְהֵטָבֵאל Mehetabel GEN.-AMBIG.; ARAM.; N. EMPH.;

Reference	Text	Names
	daughter of <u>Me-zahab</u> .	INTERTEXT מטרד Matred GEN.-AMBIG.; INTERTEXT
1:51–54	The Edomite chieftains	
<u>1 Chron. 1:51–54</u>	[51 And Hadad died.] The clans of Edom were: clans <u>Timna</u> , <u>Aliah</u> , <u>Jetheth</u> , 52 <u>Oholibamah</u> , <u>Elah</u> , <u>Pinon</u> , 53 <u>Kenaz</u> , <u>Teman</u> , <u>Mibzar</u> , 54 <u>Magdiel</u> , and <u>Iram</u> ; these are the clans of Edom.	תמנע Timna III GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; INTERTEXT אהל יבמה Oholibamah GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; INTERTEXT
2:1–2	The sons of Israel: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Dan, Joseph, Benjamin, Naphtali, Gad, Asher	
1 Chron. 2:3–55	The genealogies of Judah I	
2:3–4	The sons of Judah	
<u>1 Chron. 2:3–4</u>	3 The sons of Judah: <u>Er</u> , <u>Onan</u> , and <u>Shelah</u> ; these three the Canaanite woman <u>Bath-shua</u> bore to him. Now <u>Er</u> , Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the LORD, and he put him to death. 4 His daughter-in-law <u>Tamar</u> also bore him <u>Perez</u> and <u>Zerah</u> . Judah had five sons in all.	בת שווע Bath-shua I ETHN.; INTERTEXT תמר Tamar I TOPON.; INTERTEXT
2:5	The sons of Perez	
2:6–8	The descendants of Zerah	
2:9	The descendants of Hezron	
2:10–17	The descendants of Ram (family of David)	
<u>1 Chron. 2:16–17</u>	[13 Jesse became the father of <u>Eliab</u> his firstborn, <u>Abinadab</u> the second, <u>Shimea</u> the third, 14 <u>Nethanel</u> the fourth, <u>Raddai</u> the fifth, 15 <u>Ozem</u> the sixth, <u>David</u> the seventh;] 16 and their sisters were <u>Zeruiah</u> and <u>Abigail</u> . The sons of <u>Zeruiah</u> : <u>Abishai</u> , <u>Joab</u> , and <u>Asahel</u> , three. 17 <u>Abigail</u> bore <u>Amasa</u> , and the father of <u>Amasa</u> was <u>Jether</u> the Ishmaelite.	זרויה Zeruiah INTERTEXT אביגיל Abigail I INTERTEXT
2:18–20	The descendants of Caleb	
<u>1 Chron. 2:18–19</u>	18 Caleb son of Hezron had children by his wife <u>Azubah</u> , and by <u>Jerioth</u> ; these were her sons: <u>Jesher</u> , <u>Shobab</u> , and <u>Ardon</u> . 19 When <u>Azubah</u> died, Caleb married <u>Ephrath</u> , who bore him <u>Hur</u> . [20 Hur became the father of <u>Uri</u> , and <u>Uri</u> became the father of <u>Bezalel</u> .]	עזובה Azubah ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 יריעות Jerioth ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 אפרתאה Ephrath(ah) TOPON.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9

Reference	Text	Names
2:21–24	Additional descendants of Hezron	
<u>1 Chron. 2:21–24</u>	<i>21 Afterward Hezron went in to the <u>daughter of Machir father of Gilead</u>, whom he married when he was sixty years old; and <u>she bore him Segub</u>; [22 and Segub became the father of Jair, who had twenty-three towns in the land of Gilead. 23 But Geshur and Aram took from them Havvoth-jair, Kenath and <u>its villages (daughters)</u>, sixty towns. All these were descendants of Machir, father of Gilead.] 24 After the death of Hezron, in Caleb-ephraathah, <u>Abijah</u> wife of Hezron bore him Ashhur, father of Tekoa.</i>	The daughter of Machir, father of Gilead GEO.; NAMELESS; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 וַאֲתֵּיבְנֵיהֶּ Daughter villages (Töchterstädte) אַבִּיָּה Abijah I GEN.-AMBIG.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
2:25–33	The descendants of Jerahmeel	
<u>1 Chron. 2:26–30</u>	<i>[25 The sons of Jerahmeel, the firstborn of Hezron: Ram his firstborn, Bunah, Oren, Ozem, and Ahijah.] 26 Jerahmeel also had another wife, whose name was <u>Atarah</u>; <u>she was the mother of Onam</u>. [27 The sons of Ram, the firstborn of Jerahmeel: Maaz, Jamin, and Eker. 28 The sons of Onam: Shammai and Jada. The sons of Shammai: Nadab and Abishur.] 29 The name of Abishur's wife was <u>Abihail</u>, and <u>she bore him Ahban and Molid</u>. [30 The sons of Nadab: Seled and Appaim; and Seled died childless. 31 The son of Appaim: Ishi. The son of Ishi: Sheshan. The son of Sheshan: Ahlai. 32 The sons of Jada, Shammai's brother: Jether and Jonathan; and Jether died childless. 33 The sons of Jonathan: Peleth and Zaza. These were the descendants of Jerahmeel.]</i>	עַטְרָה Atarah N. EMPH.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 אַבִּיהַיִל Abihail GEN.-AMBIG.; N. EMPH.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
2:34–41	The descendants of Sheshan	
<u>1 Chron. 2:34–35</u>	<i>34 Now Sheshan had no sons, <u>only daughters</u>; but Sheshan had an Egyptian slave, whose name was Jarha. 35 So Sheshan gave his <u>daughter</u> in marriage to his slave Jarha; and <u>she bore him Attai</u>.</i>	Daughters of Sheshan NAMELESS GROUP; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 Daughter of Sheshan NAMELESS; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
2:42–50a	Additional descendants of Caleb	
<u>1 Chron. 2:46–50a</u>	<i>46 <u>Ephah</u> also, Caleb's concubine, bore Haran, Moza, and Gazez; and Haran became the father of Gazez. 47 The sons of Jahdai: Regem, Jotham, Geshan, Pelet, <u>Ephah</u>, and Shaaph. 48 <u>Maacah</u>, Caleb's concubine, bore Sheber and Tirhanah. 49 She also bore Shaaph father of Madmannah, Sheva father of Machbenah and father of Gibe; and the daughter of Caleb was <u>Achsah</u>. 50a These were the descendants of Caleb.</i>	עִיפָה Ephah II GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; MIDIAN.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 עִיפָה Ephah III GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; MIDIAN.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 מַעֲכָה Maacah I

Reference	Text	Names
		GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; ARAM.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 עכסה Achsah INTERTEXT
2:50b–55	The descendants of Hur	
1 Chron. 2:50b–51	<i>50b The sons of Hur the firstborn of Ephrathah: Shobal father of Kiriath-jearim, 51 Salma father of Bethlehem, and Hareph father of Beth-gader.</i>	אפרתה Ephrathah TOPON.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
1 Ch 3:1–24	The house of David	
3:1–9	The children of David	
1 Chron. 3:1–9	<i>1 These are the sons of David who were born to him in Hebron: the firstborn Amnon, by Ahinoam the Jezreelite; the second Daniel, by Abigail the Carmelite; 2 the third Absalom, son of Maacah, daughter of King Talmai of Geshur; the fourth Adonijah, son of Haggith; 3 the fifth Shephatiah, by Abital; the sixth Ithream, by his wife Eglah; 4 six were born to him in Hebron, where he reigned for seven years and six months. And he reigned thirty-three years in Jerusalem. 5 These were born to him in Jerusalem: Shimea, Shobab, Nathan, and Solomon, four by Bath-shua, daughter of Ammiel; 6 then Ibhar, Elishama, Eliphelet, 7 Nogah, Nepheg, Japhia, 8 Elishama, Eliada, and Eliphelet, nine. 9 All these were David's sons, besides the sons of the concubines; and Tamar was their sister.</i>	אחינעם Ahinoam the Jezreelite GEN.-AMBIG.; GEO.; INTERTEXT אבגיל Abigail II the Carmelite GEO.; INTERTEXT מעכה Maacah II daughter of King Talmai of Geshur GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; ARAM.; INTERTEXT חגיית Haggith INTERTEXT אביתל Abital INTERTEXT עגלה Eglah INTERTEXT בת-שווע Bath-shua II daughter of Ammiel INTERTEXT (BATHSHEBA) David's secondary wives NAMELESS GROUP; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 תמר Tamar II TOPON.; INTERTEXT
3:10–14	The descendants of Solomon	
3:15–19a	The sons of Josiah, Jehoiachim, Jeconiah, and Pedaiah	
3:19b–24	The descendants of Zerrubbabel	
1 Chron. 3:19–20	<i>[19 The sons of Pedaiah: Zerubbabel and</i>	שלמית

Reference	Text	Names
	<i>Shimei;] and the sons of Zerubbabel: Meshullam and Hananiah, and <u>Shelomith</u> was their sister; [20 and Hashubah, Ohel, Berechiah, Hasadiah, and Jushab-hesed, five.]</i>	Shelomith GEN.-AMBIG.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
1 Chron. 4:1–23	The genealogies of Judah II	
4:1	The descendants of Judah	
4:2	The descendants of Reaiah	
4:3	The children of Etam	
<u>1 Chron. 4:3</u>	<i>3 These were the sons of Etam: Jezreel, Ishma, and Idbash; and the name of their sister was <u>Hazzelelponi</u>.</i>	הַצֵּלְפוֹנִי Hazzelelponi ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
4:4	The descendants of Hur	
<u>1 Chron. 4:4</u>	<i>4 and Penuel was the father of Gedor, and Ezer the father of Hushah. These were the sons of Hur, the firstborn of <u>Ephrathah</u>, the father of Bethlehem.</i>	אֶפְרַתָּה Ephrathah TOPON.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
4:5–7	The descendants of Ashhur, Helah, and Naarah	
<u>1 Chron. 4:5–7</u>	<i>5 Ashhur father of Tekoa had two wives, <u>Helah</u> and <u>Naarah</u>; 6 <u>Naarah</u> bore him Ahuzzam, Hepher, Temeni, and Haahashtari. These were the sons of <u>Naarah</u>. 7 The sons of <u>Helah</u>: Zereth, Izhar, and Ethnan.</i>	חֵלָה Helah ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 נְעָרָה Naarah TOPON.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
4:8	The descendants of Qoz	
4:9–10	Jabez	
<u>1 Chron. 4:9</u>	<i>9 Jabez was honored more than his brothers; and <u>his mother</u> named him Jabez, saying, “Because I bore him in pain.” [10 Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying, “Oh that you would bless me and enlarge my border, and that your hand might be with me, and that you would keep me from hurt and harm!” And God granted what he asked.]</i>	Mother of Jabez NAMELESS; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
4:11–12	The Men of Recah	
4:13–14	The descendants of Qenaz	
4:15	The descendants of Caleb	
4:16	The descendants of Jehallelel	
4:17–19	The descendants of Ezrah and his Egyptian and Judahite wives	
<u>1 Chron. 4:17–19</u>	<i>17 The sons of Ezrah: Jether, Mered, Ephher, and Jalon. These are the sons of <u>Bithiah</u>, daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered married; and <u>she</u> conceived and bore <u>Miriam</u>, Shammai, and Ishbah father of Eshtemoa. 18 And his <u>Judean wife</u> bore Jered father of Gedor, Heber father of Soco, and Jekuthiel</i>	מִרְיָם Miriam I GEN.-AMBIG.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 The Judean wife ETHN.; NAMELESS; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 בְּתִיָּה

Reference	Text	Names
	<i>father of Zanoah. 19 The sons of <u>the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham</u>, were the fathers of Keilah the Garmite and Eshtemoa the Maacathite.</i>	Bithiah daughter of Pharaoh (ETHN.); ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 The wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham NAMELESS; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
4:20a	The sons of Shimon	
4:20b	The descendants of Ishi	
4:21–23	The descendants of Shelah	
1 Chron. 4:24–43	The genealogies of Simeon	
4:24–27	Introduction	
<u>1 Chron. 4:27</u>	<i>27 Shimei had sixteen sons and <u>six daughters</u>; but his brothers did not have many children, nor did all their family multiply like the Judeans.</i>	Six daughters NAMELESS GROUP; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
4:28–33a	The Simeonite settlements	
<u>1 Chron. 4:28–31</u>	<i>28 They lived in Beer-sheba, Moladah, Hazarshual, 29 <u>Bilhah</u>, Ezem, Tolad, 30 Bethuel, Hormah, Ziklag, 31 Beth-marcaboth, Hazar-susim, Beth-biri, and Shaaraim. These were their towns until David became king.</i>	בלהה Bilhah I GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.
4:33b–38a	Genealogical registration	
4:38b–41	Simeonite expansion to the West	
4:42–43	Simeonite expansion to Seir	
1 Chron. 5:1–26	The genealogies of the transjordanian tribes	
5:1–2	Reuben, Judah, and Joseph	
5:3–10	The sons of Reuben	
5:11–17	The sons of Gad	
5:18–22	Reuben, Gad, and East Manasseh at war	
5:23–24	The half-tribe of East Manasseh	
5:25–26	Assyrian Exile	
1 Chron. 5:27–6:38	The genealogies of Levi	[NRSV ≅ 1 Chron. 6:1–53]
<u>1 Chron. 5:27–30</u>	<i>[27 The sons of Levi: Gershom, Kohath, and Merari. 28 The sons of Kohath: Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel.] 29 The children of Amram: Aaron, Moses, and <u>Miriam</u>. [The sons of Aaron: Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. 30 Eleazar became the father of Phinehas, Phinehas of Abishua.]</i>	מרים Miriam II GEN.-AMBIG.; INTERTEXT
1 Chron. 6:39–66	The settlements of Levi	[NRSV ≅ 1 Chron. 6:54–81]
1 Chron. 7:1–5	The genealogies of Issachar	
<u>1 Chron. 7:3–5</u>	<i>[3 The son of Uzzi: Izrahiah. And the sons of Izrahiah: Michael, Obadiah, Joel, and Isshiah, five, all of them chiefs;] 4 and along with them, by their generations, according to their</i>	Many wives NAMELESS GROUP; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9

Reference	Text	Names
	<i>ancestral houses, were units of the fighting force, thirty-six thousand, for they had <u>many wives</u> and sons. [5 Their kindred belonging to all the families of Issachar were in all eighty-seven thousand mighty warriors, enrolled by genealogy.]</i>	
1 Chron. 7:6–11	The genealogies of Benjamin I	
<u>1 Chron. 7:8–9</u>	<i>8 The sons of Becher: Zemirah, Joash, Eliezer, Elioenai, Omri, Jeremoth, <u>Abijah</u>, Anathoth, and Alemeth. All these were the sons of Becher. 9 And their enrollment by genealogies, according to their generations, as heads of their fathers' houses, mighty warriors, was 20.200.</i>	אבִיָּה Abijah II GEN.-AMBIG.
1 Chron. 7:12–13	The genealogies of Dan and Naphtali	
<u>1 Chron. 7:13</u>	<i>13 The descendants of Naphtali: Jahziel, Guni, Jezer, and Shallum, the descendants of <u>Bilhah</u>.</i>	בִּלְהָה Bilhah II GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; INTERTEXT
1 Chron. 7:14–19	The genealogies of Manasseh	
<u>1 Chron. 7:14–19</u>	<i>14 The sons of Manasseh: Asriel, whom <u>his Aramean concubine</u> bore; <u>she</u> bore Machir the father of Gilead. 15 And Machir took a <u>wife for Huppim and for Shuppim</u>. The name of his sister was <u>Maacah</u>. And the name of the second was Zelophehad; and Zelophehad had daughters. 16 <u>Maacah</u> the wife of Machir bore a son, and <u>she</u> named him Peresh; the name of his brother was Sheresh; and his sons were Ulam and Rekem. 17 The son of Ulam: Bedan. These were the sons of Gilead son of Machir, son of Manasseh. 18 And his sister <u>Hammolecheth</u> bore Ishhod, Abiezer, and <u>Mahlah</u>. 19 The sons of Shemida were Ahian, Shechem, Likhi, and Aniam.</i>	The Aramean secondary wife of Manasseh ETHN.; NAMELESS A wife for Huppim and for Shuppim NAMELESS; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 מַעֲכָה Maacah III sister of Machir GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; ARAM.; N. EMPH.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 Zelophehad's daughters NAMELESS GROUP (MAHLAH, NOA, HOGLAH, MILCAH, AND TIRZAH); INTERTEXT מַעֲכָה Maacah IV wife of Machir GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; ARAM.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 הַמִּלְחָה Hammolecheth (ARAM.); ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 מַחֲלָה Mahlah II GEN.-AMBIG.; ARAM.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
1 Chron. 7:20–27	The genealogies of Ephraim	
<u>1 Chron. 7:20–27</u>	<i>[20 The sons of Ephraim: Shuthelah, and</i>	The wife of Ephraim

Reference	Text	Names
	<i>Bered his son, Tahath his son, Eleadah his son, Tahath his son, 21 Zabad his son, Shuhelah his son, and Ezer and Elead. Now the people of Gath, who were born in the land, killed them, because they came down to raid their cattle. 22 And their father Ephraim mourned many days, and his brothers came to comfort him.] 23 Ephraim went in to his wife, and she conceived and bore a son; and he named him Beriah, because disaster had befallen his house. 24 His daughter was Sheerah, who built both Lower and Upper Beth-horon, and Uzen-sheerah. [25 Rephah was his son, Resheph his son, Telah his son, Tahan his son, 26 Ladan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son, 27 Nun his son, Joshua his son.]</i>	NAMELESS; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 שֵׁרָה Sheerah TOPON.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
1 Chron. 7:28–29	The settlements of Manasseh and Ephraim	
1 Chron. 7:30–40	The genealogies of Asher	
<u>1 Chron. 7:30–33</u>	<i>30 The sons of Asher: Imnah, Ishvah, Ishvi, Beriah, and their sister Serah. [31 The sons of Beriah: Heber and Malchiel, who was the father of Birzaith.] 32 Heber became the father of Japhlet, Shomer, Hotham, and their sister Shua. [33 The sons of Japhlet: Pasach, Bimhal, and Ashvath. These are the sons of Japhlet.]</i>	שֵׁרָה Serah INTERTEXT שׁוּעָה Shua GEN.-AMBIG.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
1 Chron. 8:1–40	The genealogies of Benjamin II	
8:1–7	Benjamin, Bela, and Ehud	
8:8–12	Shaharaim’s wives and descendants	
<u>1 Chron. 8:8–11</u>	<i>8 And Shaharaim had sons in the country of Moab after he had sent away his wives Hushim and Baara. 9 He had sons by his wife Hodesh: Jobab, Zibia, Mesha, Malcam, 10 Jeuz, Sachia, and Mirmah. These were his sons, heads of ancestral houses. 11 He also had sons by Hushim: Abitub and Elpaal.</i>	חֻשִׁים Hushim GEN.-AMBIG.; ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 בַּעֲרָה Baara ONLY 1 CHR 1–9 חֹדֶשׁ Hodesh ONLY 1 CHR 1–9
8:13–28	Beriah, Shema, Elpaal, and Jeremoth	
8:29–40	The Jeielite genealogy	
<u>1 Chron. 8:29–32</u>	<i>29 Jeiel the father of Gibeon lived in Gibeon, and the name of his wife was Maacah. [30 His firstborn son: Abdon, then Zur, Kish, Baal, Nadab, 31 Gedor, Ahio, Zecher, 32 and Mikloth, who became the father of Shimeah. Now these also lived opposite their kindred in Jerusalem, with their kindred.]</i>	מַעֲכָה Maacah V GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; NON ARAM.; N. EMPH.; INTERTEXT

Reference	Text	Names
1 Chron. 9:1–2	Conclusion of the genealogies of the tribes	
1 Chron. 9:3–34	The inhabitants of Jerusalem	
9:2–3	Repatriation	
9:4–9	Judah and Benjamin	
9:10–16	Priests and Levites	
9:17–22	Gatekeepers	
9:23–34	Their duties at tent and temple	
1 Chron. 9:35–44	Appendix of the genealogies of the house of Saul (Benjamin III)	
<u>1 Chron. 9:35</u>	<i>35 In Gibeon lived the father of Gibeon, Jeiel, and the name of his wife was <u>Maacah</u>.</i>	מַעַכָּה Maacah V GEN.-AMBIG.; TOPON.; ARAM.; N. EMPH.; INTERTEXT

Appendix 2 Scene Protocol “My Life Part 2”

Abbreviations:

AL	Angelika Levi	Hm	home-movie
UL	Ursula Levi	Ki UL	Key interview Ursula Levi (by AL and an US student)
JB	Johannes Becker	Ki JB	Key interview Johannes Becker
Ff	film footage		

Quotes according to English subtitles

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
Sequence 1: Opening [time: 1990s]				
1 - 00:00:00	Legacy of UL to her daughter AL	Ff: landscape Chile	Voice-over: AL	View of landscape. Voice-over: “On my 18th birthday, my mother gave me a paper with ten principles, her legacy to me as I set out on the road to independence ... Point one was: The meaning of life lies in evolving toward perfection. Nothing that is created and is good should be discarded. Build on what’s already been achieved. You are descended from Joseph’s brother Levi, who lived 3000 years ago.”
2 - 00:00:39	The power of the name Levi	Ki UL: indoors	UL, AL, interviewer	UL talks about the power of her name Levi. Misunderstanding and joke about genes/jeans: UL: “The two of one, Ruben and Levi, twins; sons of Jacob; there the story begins.” Interviewer: “So the Name has a power for you?” UL: “Yes, a real power. I feel it in my jeans/genes.” The interviewer continues to talk but AL and UL start to laugh. UL: “Yes it is in my genes. It is there.” AL: “I thought you feel it in your jeans.” UL: “In my genes - how do you say that...?” Interviewer: “Yes it is genes.” UL laughs again: “This is too funny I even don’t own any jeans.” Interviewer: “That’s correct English.”
3 - 00:01:42	Memory objects of AL’s mother	Ff: landscape Chile	Voice-over: AL	AL accounts how she and her brother looked at the memory objects of her mother: photographs and documents from Chile, photographs of

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
			Guitar music	relatives murdered by the Nazis, childhood objects and documents of their mother.
4 - 00:02:40	Title		Guitar music	Title page: <i>Mein Leben Teil 2</i> on the background of a green patterned curtain.
5 - 00:02:58	Mother-daughter mirror (UL and AL)	Hm: Kitchen	Voice-over: AL UL, AL	UL and AL filmed each other in the kitchen of a Dutch summer cottage in 1993 with a Bolex.
6 - 00:03:24	Aim of the film	Ff: graveyard	Voice-over: AL	UL's grave in winter (snow). AL reflects on the aim of the film, now that her mother had died in the course of the film production. Voice-over: "After a lot of deliberation, I decided simply to make a film on the things she left behind, what they meant to me, and the memories associated with them. I wanted to understand how a trauma I hadn't experienced myself was passed on to me and colored my perception." AL recalls an audio-record by her mother from the 1970s. She talked about her childhood, what she had thought about life, and that she wanted to explore it.

Sequence 2: Setting out for genealogy: family lines, bodily inscriptions, and political demarcations
[time: pre-war until end of fascism]

7 - 00:04:30	The 'who is who' of the family line	Archive: photo albums	Voice-over: AL Karla Levi Heins (photo) Sophie Cecilia Heins (photo) Robert Levi (photo) Jürgen Levi (photo) UL (photo)	Photo albums from 1926-1946 (the brown album and the autograph album). Voice-over: "There are two albums from the period between 1926 and 1946, the brown album and the autograph album. My grandmother, Karla Levi, was born in Hamburg in 1903, the illegitimate daughter of Sophie Cecilia Heins. She was raised by a guardian and didn't belong to any church. At 18, she married my grandfather, Robert Levi, who was from a wealthy family of Jewish merchants. They had two children: in 1924, my uncle Jürgen, and in 1926, my mother, Ursula Levi."
8 - a 00:05:18	Embodied lineages: anti-Semitic ascriptions and Jewish self-perception Anti-Semitic	Ki UL: indoors Archive: photographs	UL, AL, interviewer Unidentified fair girls (photos)	UL recalls her dark hair as bodily mark that caused discrimination through the school doctor: "Your hair is black. I bet your soul is black, too."

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
	discrimi-nation in the 1930s			
8 b 00:06:18	Identity, difference, and discrimi-nation as teenagers in the 1930s	Archive: photographs	Voice-over: AL Background voice: UL (audio record) UL (photos) Unidentified fair teenager girls (photo) Jürgen (photo)	Teenager photographs of UL and her brother Jürgen. UL recalls her brother: “He felt Jewish. And indeed, he got beaten up all the time in Germany.”
8 c 00:06:41	Inherited self- perception as Jewish / non- Jewish	Hm: living room table	Voice-over: AL AL (hm)	AL adds black curly hairs to a photograph of herself. Voice-over: “Sometimes she’d look at my nose and say, ‘you don’t look very Jewish.’ From childhood on, I noticed things that were Jewish, or things that were or weren’t Jewish in my mother’s eyes. Hair, names, noses, words, humor, facial expressions and gestures. These criteria shaped my perceptions, including how I saw my own body.”
8 d 00:07:14	The yellow sifter as sign for distorted significance	Archive: photographs Ff: staircase	Voice-over: AL	Hamburg commercial building: photographs of the 1920s/30s, her own footage of the staircase, and the photographs of the sifter she finds. Voice-over reflection on the meaning of a sifter she found in the commercial building where a great-uncle of hers had worked until the 1930s. The sifter is made of mesh of a pattern of David stars. “Later things came back, transformed, replete with distorted signification.”
9 - a 00:07:50	The Neustadt Goblet UL recounts the suicide of her grand- mother	Shot: running audio tape Ff: facade of the Sprinken- hof Hamburg	Background voice: UL (audio record)	Shot of the running audio tape: UL talks about the suicide of her involvement in the suicide of her grandmother: under the threat of her deportation to the camp Theresienstadt, the grandmother asks her granddaughter to bring her the family goblet to drink an overdose from it. UL refuses to do so—hoping her grandmother might change her mind. She recalls her grandmother saying “Oh, child, now I have to drink it out of a toothbrush glass.” Her grandmother then indeed dies of an overdose.
9 b 00:10:11	The goblet in AL’s childhood memories	Shot: the goblet	Voice-over: AL	Inscription on the goblet: “In honor of his 25 th year in office, to Leon Levi in recognition of his commendable services as town clerk, from the council of Neustadt, December 1, 1871.” Voice-over: the goblet had been sent by her

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				grandfather from Chile (the father of UL). For some times, she thought that is was a Jewish Kiddush cup.
9 c 00:10:44	The goblet back in Neustadt	Ff: museum Neustadt	Voice-over: AL AL Museum employees	Discussion with the museum's employees. The goblet had been given to Leon Levi from the city as gift of honor in 1871; it had cost 50 Gulden. Voice-over reflection: AL had thought about giving the goblet to the museum in Neustadt. But the museum of local history used to be the seat of the <i>Gauleiter</i> from which the deportation of the Palatinate Jews was organized under Joseph Bürkel
9 d 00:11:57	Political continuity of racism and anti-Semitism in Neustadt	Ff: funfair at the wine festival in Neustadt	Voice-over: AL Unidentified visitors of the funfair Background voice: employee of the tin can alley	Advertisement for "Negerküsse". At a shop with a tin can alley, balls are thrown at the cylinders of stereotyped Black, Jewish, and Roma figures. "Try your luck at winning prizes! Play along and win! A game for the whole family, for young and old! Who wants to play with me? Stay for a minute and check it out! A game our grandparents played. Just hit three hats with four balls. Play along, join in the fun! Don't get left out!"
9 e 00:12:49	History of anti-Semitism in Neustadt in the 1930s	Ff: exhibition room Ki UL: indoors	Neustadt historian (Claus Peter Westrich) UL	Exhibition on "Traces of the Jewish past" (in Neustadt). Explanation of the Neustadt carnival procession in 1939. One car addressed the 'history' of the Jews of Neustadt. It included caricatures of cattle drover from the turn of the century, a papier-mâché miniature representation of the Jewish synagogue in flames, which had been torched just four months earlier during the <i>Reichskristallnacht</i> , and a glass vessel with a caricature of a Jew and an inscription saying "The last Jewish specimen in a museum." Underneath, it has the date 1950. C.P. Westrich: "So this was completely voluntary, without any pressure from the authorities or the party. It was a [intellectual] harbinger, a preview of what would become terrible reality: Jews as museums specimens." UL: "it is a tradition in Germany that Jews always are declared guilty of situations of crisis, e.g. World War I."
Sequence 3: Nazi Germany: exile, murder and persecution [time: fascism in Germany]				
10 -	AL's grand-	Archive:	Voice-over: AL	AL browses through a photo album and reads

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
00:17:19	father emigrates to Chile	photographs	Grandfather and un-identified friend (photo)	<p>out the entries of her mother: “Vater fährt am 26.9.1938 ab nach Hull,” then Liverpool / Cristobel / Chile.</p> <p>Photograph of AL’s grandfather with voice-over comment: “My grandfather had to leave Hamburg within one week. No one spoke openly about the reasons. There were rumors of a non-Jewish lover, that grandmother was bitter for the rest of her life.”</p> <p>Photograph of the grandfather and a male friend in Chile with voice-over comment: “both are in the very best mood...”</p> <p>Voice-over AL: “I wonder whether the others wanted to emigrate too. I have no idea.”</p>
11 - 00:18:40	AL recalls her murdered relatives: the memorial album	Archive: photographs	Voice-over: AL Great-grand mother Recha Levi (photo) Great-grand father Eugen Levi (photo) Great-uncle Franz Levi (photo) Great-uncle Rudolf Levi (photo) Unidentified woman besides Rudolf (photo of Rudolf Levi)	<p>Photographs of the family with voice-over comment that accounts the circumstances of their dead:</p> <p>“Recha Levi, née Bodenheimer. Committed suicide.”</p> <p>“Her husband Eugen Levi. Thrown down a flight of stairs by the Nazis.”</p> <p>Still of a postcard of the <i>Reichstag</i> with the caption “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!” and voice-over comment: “I often wonder what happened to the anger, the fear, the despair of those who were murdered?”</p> <p>“Their sons... Franz Levi, murdered in Dachau.”</p> <p>“Rudolf Levi, deported to Lodz. May 10, 1942, deported to Chelmno.”</p>
12 - 00:19:29	UL recounts the deportation of uncle Rudi	Hm: Boltenhagen beach chairs	Voice-over: AL Background-voice: UL (audio record)	<p>Audio record from UL from the 1970s, audio tape labeled “My Life, Part 1”: UL recounts a situation at Hamburg central station, where people had to gather for their deportation, after uncle Rudi had received the order for deportation. A girl clung to UL and repeatedly asked: “Mama, why doesn’t this girl have to go?”</p>
13 - 00:20:28	Karla, UL, and Jürgen living through the 1940s in Germany	Archive: Boltenhagen photographs Hm: Hilly landscape, Austria	Voice-over: AL Background-voice: Karla Levi (audio record)	<p>Boltenhagen beach photographs (the brown album):</p> <p>1941: UL and Jürgen 1942: UL and Karla 1943: no photographs 1944: Jürgen and UL</p> <p>Audio record of Karla and photograph of her</p>

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				sitting in a beach chair (post war): she accounts a discussion with a young “good-looking” Nazi who asked her to divorce her husband. Karla refuses and confirms his assertion that this means that she sympathizes with the Jews. Karla and the children flee to Austria the same day, taking the route of her honeymoon in 1923. Having arrived, SA and SS men are all-over. They take a room in the best hotel in town convincing the men at the reception desk, that “the Levis with an ‘i’” would all be Arian. Beach chair photographs of UL and Karla in the 1940s
14 - 00:23:16	The Becker-Levi family in beach chairs in the 1980s and 1990s	Archive: Boltenhagen photographs Hm: Boltenhagen	Voice-over: AL UL (photo) Thomas Becker Levi (photo) JB (photo) AL (photo) Karla (photo)	Photographs of the family in beach chairs in the 1980s (“I also started to take photos of my family in beach chairs”). 1990 UL and AL in Boltenhagen (home-movie)
15 - 00:23:45	Silence about how Karla, UL, and Jürgen survived the war	Archive: documents	Voice-over: AL	Voice-over reflection: “I never really asked how they survived the time before 1945.” Document of the Jewish women’s league with the word “Jewish” crossed out.
16 - a 00:24:06	Name changes Karla changes her name Levi back to her maiden name Heins	Archive: objects Ff: indoors; telephone table; street and park	Voice-over: AL	Shirts and towels with name tags of Karla Levi. Voice-over: “In 1991, my grandmother began hearing voices. They threatened her, talking and singing their way into her thoughts. She called the voices ‘Telekom’. She called me often, believing that, as long as we were on the phone, the voices couldn’t come through the line. But they were also in the wall by her bed, taunting her. They were Nazis, insulting her and saying things like, ‘Off with her arms and her legs! Off into the pond!’ Her panic coincided with the surge of nationalism after reunification, anti-Israel sentiment in the Gulf War, and first press reports on neo-Nazis. There were good voices that protected her and bad ones that threatened her. The good voices advised her to change her name to get rid of the bad ones. In 1994, she dropped the name, Levi, in favor of her maiden name, Heins. That subdued the voices somewhat.” Footage of AL in the telephone cell; of her

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				grandmother in a wheelchair; of envelops with the names Karla Levi and Karla Heins.
16 b 00:25:16	Name changes of uncle Jürgen	Archive: documents, photographs	Voice-over: UL	Photographs of AL's uncle Jürgen and voice-over comment by UL about the name journey of her brother: Birth certificate: Jürgen Bernado Levi. After the war: Heins. As immigrant in the USA: J. Bernhard Heins. As immigrant in Chile: George Bernardo Levi.
16 c 00:26:13	AL assumes her mother's maiden name Levi as artistic pseudonym	Archive: documents	Voice-over: AL	View of AL's Passport and voice-over: after German reunification, she has the maiden name of her mother Levi added to her ID/passport as religious name and pseudonym (Künstler und Ordensname). "I wanted to make a statement [I wanted to express a difference]." "Somehow this was also in accord with the tribal ideology of my mother, the descent of the tribe of Levi."
16 d 00:26:33	UL's names and passport	Archive: documents Ki UL: indoors	Voice-over: AL UL	View of the Chilean passport of her mother: Ursula Levi Heins de Becker" Interview with UL: she does not want a German passport any more. She is born and at home in Germany but nevertheless doesn't want it.
Sequence 4: Emigration to Chile and return to Germany [time: 1947s-1959s]				
17 - a 00:27:11	Arrival in Chile 'Deutschland Ade!' and reunion with UL's father	Archive: objects; personal notes; newspaper clips; photographs Ff: Chile railways, Santiago	Background-voice: UL (audio records)	Ring binder: "Deutschland Ade!" Late 1947: Photograph of the ship, an US warship. Newspaper clip Chile (Chile, refugio) UL accounts of the reunion with the father after 10 years.
17 b 00:28:14	Close bond between mother and daughter and jealousy of the father	Ki UL: indoors Archive: photographs	UL UL and Karla (photos)	Interview with UL: she accounts of the jealousy of her father, the close bond to her mother, which was problematic for her father: "I hadn't seen him for ten years. But once we got to Chile, our relationship was over. I soon realized he was jealous. He saw how close I had become to my mother. It was an intense friendship. We had almost become one person. Throughout the war and all that happened, I was always with her and there for her. That had given us a special bond and my father did not like it a bit. He

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				wanted to have his wife to himself, and I was just in the way. That was perhaps the biggest shock of my life, a bigger shock even than the Nazis. I don't know, I'd almost say it made me into a different person." Photographs of mother and daughter.
17 c 00:29:09	UL's reflection on her difficult status between the lines	Ff: Chile railway Ki UL: indoors Archive: home-movie	Voice-over: AL UL	Letter of UL to a friend (f) in 1949 (red out by AL): "I tried to explain how the drama continued, these important past ten years, which people here didn't go through. But I was branded a Nazi. Yet no one is more acutely aware of the problems than us of mixed descent, for the very reason that we're caught in the middle." Interview UL: "In a way, he was the cause of all I suffered through in Germany. His name was Levi, he was Jewish. I bore his suffering for him. He wasn't there, after all. He was away. And I bore the brunt of it." Letter: "I saw what a sore point it was, and silently listened to conversations that tore my heart apart. I feel that a new people has grown, born only during a very brief period: those of mixed descent." Interview: "No. He (the father) didn't want to know. He really didn't." ... After 10 years, he learned that everyone was dead. He did not want to know it. Photograph of UL's father and a girl, probably AL.
17 d 00:30:49	"Rascal and the Pesky Airplane"	Archive: personal drawing	Voice-over: AL	Shot of a drawing by UL from 1944: the rabbit that is attacked by a fly: "Rascal and the Pesky Airplane" [Lümmel und das Störflugzeug]
18 - a 00:31:34	UL as young ecologist in Chile UL's passion, plans, and professional prospect	Archive: photographs, scientific work	Background-voice: UL (audio records) Voice-over: AL	Audio record UL: "I knew from the time I was ten years old that I wanted to be a biologist. I wanted to find out what life was." View on childhood drawings of UL that show paradise like scenes with plants, playing humans, animals.
18 b 00:32:09	UL's work as first female ecologist in Chile	Archive: photographs, scientific work, film footage	Background-voice: UL (audio record) Voice-over: AL	Photograph of UL as ecologist. Sketches, Santiago. Voice-over: UL studied biology in Santiago. Scientific studies. She looked into plants that survive in extreme conditions by means of the ability to adapt to their environment.

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				Texts, sketches, photograph with microscope.
18 c 00:33:27	Congruence between UL's profession and biography	Ff: outside brook, trees, light	Voice-over: AL	Voice-over: reflection on how UL's experience of adaptation and survival is reflected in her botanical studies. How her understanding of nature and history interlace.
18 d 00:33:54	Excursions as only woman sustaining the male colleagues with grape sugar	Hm: indoors: Dutch summer cottage; small street, countryside Archive: photographs	Background-voice: UL (audio record) Unidentified male colleagues of UL	Dutch cottage: UL recounts that they rented similar cottages for botanical excursions. Photographs of expeditions: She and her colleagues; ecological and geological photographs. Voice-over UL: she recounts the excursions where she often was the only woman and sustained the men with grape-sugar.
19 - a 00:35:22	Death and trauma intrude again and return to Germany Death of uncle Jürgen	Archive: photographs Ff: Chile coast	Voice-over: AL UL, Karla, Ursula's brother Jürgen (photos)	Uncle Jürgen dies in 1956 in a car accident from Albuquerque to LA at the age of 32. UL: no one attended his funeral Karla Levi had dreamt that a Moloch devoured him, she thus knew that he was dead; he was buried by Native Americans ["Indianer"].
19 b 00:36:17	Daughter-mother mirror (UL and Karla) and joint return to Germany	Archive: photographs, scientific work Ff: ships, fog	Voice-over: AL Guitar music	A series of photographs of UL and Karla Levi in the same positions in Chile. At the window, outside, on a ship bridge, with doves. Voice-over: "These pictures were taken in 1956. My grandmother and mother photographed each other in nearly identical poses." View of the PhD thesis of UL Levi dedicated to her mother. "Contribution to the Science of Gramineae in Santiago Province" / "Dedicated to my mother in love and gratitude" / "The influence of agriculture on the vegetation of Southern Chile" / "For my mother" Voice-over: In 1957 both UL and Karla went to Bonn with a two-year long grant of the Humboldt foundation (ships, fog) – they would never return.
19 c 00:37:45	The cut Polylepis trees – "the picture that brought UL back to Germany"	Archive: photographs, research documents	Voice-over: AL	Photographs of cut down trunks of the Polylepis tree, the tree that UL had researched and wanted to write her book about. Voice-over: "This picture shows felt Polylepis trees, the only tree that grows in the Andes above 4000 meters. It belongs to the same family as roses. The climate causes the gnarled trunks. ... For me, this is the picture that brought my mother back to Germany, induced her to come back to the site of her trauma. Of

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				course, the term ‘traumatization’ itself implies that something comes back to haunt you.” Documents of UL’s research
19 d 00:38:30	UL meets her husband JB	Archive: photographs	Voice-over: AL UL and JB (photos) Guitar music Spanish vocal song	Trees, “corpse trees” overlapping with guitar music and Spanish vocal song In 1959 UL meets the father of AL, student of Protestant theology; photographs of the fresh couple and of UL.
19 e 00:39:01	UL marries in Germany against the advise of her teacher	Archive: photographs	Background- voice: UL (audio record)	The Ruhr (factories) Small church UL accounts that her teacher Gomez Milles said to her when she left for Bonn that she should promise not to marry in Germany. ... Laughs
Sequence 5: Starting a family: introduction of a second line and perspective [time: 1960s-1970s]				
20 - a 00:39:19	The Protestant perspective Plans and perspectives of JB	Hm: Hilly landscape Archive: documents, photographs Ki JB: indoors	JB	JB in the same home-movie as the one on the escape to Austria. Interview with JB: he was looking for a wife, who stood on the ground of Christianity. This was in principle the case with UL as she had been baptized in 1940. The father reads the reading of scripture UL had received in 1940: “Unto all who receive him and believe in his name, he bestows the power to become God’s children.” (John 1:12, NKJV) He comments that the passage selection meant that now, Christians are the people of God. Hence, it was really ignorant of the situation at the time.
20 b 00:40:57	Transformation from Jewish immigrant and scholar to a clergy-man’s wife	Archive: photographs	Voice-over: AL	Voice-over: So she completely transformed. “From Jewish émigré and scientist to minister’s wife.”
20 c 00:41:15	The church perspective: “a sort of reconciliation”	Ki JB: indoors Archive: photographs, home-movie	Background voice: Johannes Johannes, UL (wedding photos) Unidentified colleagues of JB	JB: the marriage was seen as a sort of reconciliation on the side of the church. Photographs of the wedding. JB: they were allowed to live together in the seminary at Bad Godesberg as a sign of goodwill. “But later it weighed heavily on us.”
21 - 00:42:26	The parents as a young couple	Ff: beach Archive:	Background voice: Johannes	AL and her father at the beach, walking He recounts: They were at an exhibition in

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
		home-movies, photographs	Background voice: UL (audio-record) AL, Thomas (photos)	Belgium and the Jewish artist exclaimed “Oh you are an interesting couple!” Photographs of baby AL and her baby brother. As couple, the parents attract attention.
22 - 00:43:00	UL’s political engagement and spirituality	Hm: garden	UL, AL, children from the neighborhood	UL Levi established a centre for Spanish immigrants (rather than participating in the work of the church congregation). Her motto is that God is to be found everywhere, most of all in nature.
23 - 00:43:41	Intrusion of the past	Hm: house and garden	Voice-over: AL UL JB	Planning of the children and their gender took place biologically, depending on the speed of the xx and xy sperms. Home-movie of playing and disguised siblings. Voice-over: “My dad’s long legs would somehow balance out her short ones. Things looked good.” Synthesizer: ping, pang, pong. Home-movie playing and disguised siblings. Voice-over: “But her memory was in shock. Every little memory was an earthquake. She mistrusted the neighbors, the minister’s wives, the members of the congregation.” Home-movie of the garden swing with AL and her parents UL: I sorted out people and checked on them, especially the older ones. JB: “I tried to stay neutral. I knew that she was sometimes prone to reactions that didn’t always do other people justice.”
24 - 00:45:10	Daily Life AL	Archive: photographs	Voice-over: AL Unidentified friend of AL (photo)	Photograph manse (<i>Pfarrhaus</i>).The manse was former Jewish property. Customs officers, police people, and Belgian military lived in the vicinity. Her best friend was the daughter of a traffic policeman (photograph)
Sequence 6: Illness, traumatic recall, and loss of / grasp for control [time: late 1960s -1970s]				
25 - 00:45:28	Cancer and the ascription of being hysterical	Archive: home-movies, documents, photographs	Voice-over: AL UL (audio record)	When her son was born, UL was very ill. She had Hodgkin’s lymphoma, a cancer of the lymphatic system. Doctors had claimed for four years that she was hysteric. She had her first operation when AL was 8 years old and a tumor, the size of a fist, was found.
26 - 00:46:10	The fact of cancer and reflections on	Archive: documents, note book	Voice-over: AL (reading out)	Guitar music and documents Notebook

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
	dying		Guitar music	Photo mother green vocabulary book: notes during hospital stay
27 - 00:47:06	Grand-father visit / visit of the past	Hm: beach	Voice-over: AL	Photograph of grandfather of AL, who came every second year. He stated that it was clear that she would become ill. Why did she return to Germany?
28 - 00:47:38	Return of cancer, chemo-therapy, self-observation and documentation	Hm: beach; scientific documents of her mother (compressed plants) and note books of the hospital time	UL Voice-over: AL (reading out)	Return of the illness. The cancer entered the central spine system with no chance of an operation. One elderly experienced employee of the radiation department identified the spot on her arm where the chemotherapy should be started: "Don't you see it? Right there!" ... "You can clearly see bone deterioration." ... "So they figured, 'Oh well, if she sees something, we'll radiate there.' Six weeks of chemotherapy. Yellow Notebook: She documents her state in the hospital. The accuracy recalls her scientific reports.
29 - 00:50:33	Certainty of death, hospital stays, depression	Archive: note books from the hospital stay	Voice-over: AL	For over a year, the family thought that she would die. (This is what the doctors had told her: it would not be cruel as she would lose consciousness.) Row of Hospital stays, goodbye letters (to her children AL and Thomas and to her husband JB and others). Severe depression.
30 - 00:51:33	Stay in a psychiatric clinic and psychiatric counseling before UL comes back to the family	Ki JB: indoors (yellow background)	JB Voice-over: AL	Time of the Olympics at Munich beginning of the 1970s Before UL comes back to the family, her husband arranges a stay and treatment in a psychiatric clinic for her to make the transition easier. According to UL, the doctor, Professor Klages was a "dyed-in-the-wool Nazi" ["ein waschechter Nazi"] with relations to Hitler. UL notes that her husband inquired with Klages how to "subjugate and oppress" her (and that he had hypnotized him). Her husband describes it in a different way: he asked Klages how to act. The latter answering: "Loving, but firm". UL contrasts this with an account about the solidarity of Jewish families, especially in times

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				of crisis. (interview)
31 - 00:53:43	Back in the family: isolation, and traumatic recall	Hm: garden; stacked saucepan [Stapelkochtopf]; the children Archive: documents (blue note book); photographs (portrait photographs of the time: the children, the mother on the sofa, the father as minister) Ki UL: indoors	Voice-over: AL	The mother came back but she was changed. UL was not able to walk and bloated from chemotherapy. 1976 isolation within the family. UL has to do the housework. UL perceives herself through the eyes of the Nazis. AL reading out from her mother's note book: "I sit in my room all day, like a prisoner, when I'm not toiling. Two hours a day cooking, one hour cleaning up, two hours a day shopping. Carrying tons of groceries, cooking and housekeeping isn't too strenuous for me. But a lazy Jewish pig needn't dare show her face in this family." Aluminum stacked saucepan. AL: She had kept it for years. Home-movie kitchen and cooking: Kitchen, she cried while cooking. AL could not eat any more because she thought it would be poisoned. Voice-over: "She abused herself with Nazi terms and saw us on the perpetrator's side. She said our father planned to kill her by psychological torture, since he didn't dare to just murder the Jewish pig." UL retrospectively reflects about the situation: In her perception, the situation under the Nazis and the situation after the clinic were similar. She assesses the situation as psychological phenomenon of association, and states that she needed help which she did not get.
Sequence 7: Recalling, forgetting, re-enacting, and debating the past: political and personal positions [time: 1970s-1990s]				
32 - 00:56:52	Home-movies and AL's first film: provenance and character	Hm: the family A. L.'s first film of a staircase	Voice-over: AL	The father filmed the family since the children were small. Her own first film of the stair case: she wanted to document the red staircase railing she slid down as a child, but the atmosphere documents the suicide attempts of her mother, with pills as her own grandmother did in 1942. Voice-over: "This footage of the stairwell dates from much later. I wanted to evoke how I had slid down the red banister as a little kid. But the mood expressed is another. My mother tried to commit several times suicide with pills, like her

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				grandmother in 1942.”
33 - 00:58:08	Public debates in the 1970s: Mitscherlich pleads for recall and discussion	Television footage	Margarete Mitscherlich Unidentified discussants	Margarete Mitscherlich, debate on forgetting in Germany, 1979: She pleads for a discussion rather than for forgetting. The Nazi time is still present. The behaviors then are present and have to be discussed. Germans think that forgetting will do well for their self-esteem, but only working through the past will restore a relationship to norms and a German identity and also make self-esteem possible. [“Anruf erwünscht”]
34 - 00:59:03	Position of the father: let healing grass grow over “the thing”	Ki JB: indoors	JB	Interview with father: From his religious perspective, there are spirits that destroy people, this is how he saw it. They did not talk about the past. She did not tell, he did not ask. Better if a healing thing can grow over it – as it happens in many cases: “Why should we bring up things that are so deeply disturbing? It’s better to let by-gones be by-gones so that healing can take place.” But her illness led her to remember the past again and again.
35 - 01:00:55	Public debates in the 1990s: Walser’s plea for a culture of looking away	Television footage	Martin Walser	Martin Walser, speech October 11, 1998 Peace Prize of the German Book Trade: He had to learn to look away. And to think away.
36 - 01:01:23	Public debates in the 1990s	Television footage	Guido Knopp	Guido Knopp, 15.12.1998; the German controversy on ruling off the past [“Schlussstrichdebatte”] Should the Germans rule off the Nazi past? 50% yes 44% no
37 - 01: 01:43	Again Walser	Television footage	Martin Walser Audience	Martin Walser, speech October 11, 1998 Peace Prize of the German Book Trade: Routine of accusation in the media [“Routine des Beschuldigens in den Medien”] “In the face of the documentaries of the camps he had looked away over 20 times.”
38 - 01:02:09	The past in the present I	Hm: beach; Archive: home-movies and photographs of the	Voice-over: AL UL Interviewer	Beach scene: One of the few films her mother did: father and siblings go swimming, while the mother, has to stay in her chair (did not swim for years). AL turns back to her and waves 13 times: she has a

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
		daily life of the family		bad conscience, while her mother observes them with the camera. AL reading out from her mother's journal: "After 4 years I decided to swim. I stood long in the cold water, then went in and swam. I had a deep enjoyment. When I came back no one reacted. My husband just said: I knew that you would do it. No help, no affection." She also wrote: "When we went out, they put me down like a sun bed. At the beach, they installed me and then sat down on their blankets 10 meters away." (the footage confirms this – 1,5 meters) Interviewer: if you have the reputation of being ill, this will follow you.
39 - 00:05:11	The past in the present II	Television footage Hm: Christmas with violin music	Hans Rosenthal JB playing the violin	TV series: <i>Dalli Dalli</i> with Hans Rosenthal: Associations with Christmas Christmas, violin play of JB (background: a man shoveling snow) One of UL's gifts to her children on Christmas Eve 1976: an address in Zurich, notarized photocopy of the Chilean passport of their mother, and a Swiss bank account to pay a flight to Chile in case of emergency.
Sequence 8: Responses to traumatic histories [time: 1990s]				
40 - 01:07:25	Hetero-sexual re-production / building a new future	Office Rabbi Rothschild Berlin	Rabbi Rothschild	Interview Rabbi Rothschild, The Liberal Jewish Community Berlin Rothschild: "The answer of many survivors was to marry and have children. I am the answer of my parents to the Shoah. I was born in 1954 and carry the name of my grandfather who was in Dachau. It is possible to mourn and complain the whole life long, have problems and struggle for ones identity. Or I can say, it was really shit what happened but I will build something new for the future. Founding a family, having children – not everybody wants it not everybody can do it, but it is a matter of a positive view."
41 - 01:08:07	Search for non-biological answers & clownery	Hm: AL playing the guitar, her father and brother dancing around, acting the clown	Voice-over: AL	"Am I my mother's answer to the Shoah? Was voluntary adaptation, starting a family with my father, her answer? Am I also my father's answer? With his sentimental desire for reconciliation, but blindness toward the actual effects of divergent histories? I decided my answer would not be biological. My brother's wasn't either. We were girl and

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				boy, according to plan, and today we're both gay and don't want any children." Home-movie: guitar and her father dancing around making the clown
42 - 01:08:46	Letting the line go	Ki UL: indoors Hm: the siblings, trees, sky	UL Guitar music	Interview UL: "I am the last, the last from the family." She laughs. "Except for them." She pauses. "The last of the family who went through all that." Home-movie of the siblings and guitar music.
43 - 01:09:24	Reflections on being Jewish	Office Rabbi Rothschild Berlin Hm: AL at work (writing)	Rabbi Rothschild	Rabbi Rothschild about being Jewish: "In times of pogroms and rape, all children that were born to a Jewish mother were Jewish. In this way, they were able to become parts of the community. Otherwise, there would have been a great social problem. Think pragmatically. This is not always fair to everyone. In Judaism there is the concept of division/separation – <i>Havdala</i> – between Israel and the rest, Shabbat and every day, kosher and not kosher etc. The idea of a division is normal. In fact, one can convert, but usually one is born Jewish or not." Voice-over AL: "For me, being Jewish in Germany was more about rebellion than anything religious or ethnic [Abstammung]. I never managed to identify completely with one side and cut off the other. I've always tried to stretch boundaries rather than define them, to intertwine [ineinander stülpen] the Jewish and German sides of me in various ways."
44 - 01:11:36	Chaim / life as another answer: lesbian subculture	Office Rabbi Rothschild Ff: lesbian sub Berlin Hm: beach	Rabbi Rothschild AL Unidentified performers	Rabbi Rothschild: "... A 'dose' of Jewishness might be good for you if it helps you to solve your problem. Otherwise, you might seek for other answers. One traditional Jewish answer has been <i>Chaim</i> : Leben." Altering music and SM performance of the lesbian rock band Subsonic in Berlin (Blockschock, live 1984) Beach shadow dance with wind turbine
Sequence 9: Revisiting Chile [time: retrospect from the 1960s to 1990s]				
45 -	Why not	Ff: Chile,	Voice-over: AL	Question why UL did not go back to Chile.

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
01:13:15	Chile?	railway		AL wanted always a story about her mother wanting to go back to Chile or about her staying in Germany involuntarily. For her, her mother was not German but Jewish and a survivor. There was no way to explain her return except than as a victim. Then she understood that the question was wrong, because she herself always wanted to go away from Germany.
46 - 01:13:50	Unexpected difference	Ff: Chile, coast with helicopters flying formations Television footage: airplanes bombing buildings Ff: Chile, street with military presence Ff: Chile, indoors Ff: Chile, demon-stration and employees leaving a well closed and sheltered building Ff: countryside street with elderly interview partner in wheelchair	Voice-over: AL Elderly Mrs. and Mr. Herzfeld Elderly Gretel Ackermann	Her mother met with exile Chileans in the 1970s and read the radical Chilean exile newspaper. AL read about the crimes of the Junta. 1996 AL travelled for the first time to Chile. She learned Spanish and looked for the friends of the family. It was incomprehensible for her that many of them had supported Pinochet. “This contradiction changed my view, my black-and-white notions of victims and perpetrator.” Interviews in Chile (setting: teak furniture and German pastry): Elderly Mrs. and Mr. Herzfeld recount: The military of Chile was not political educated, it was apolitical. As German emigrants from the Nazis – all her family was killed by the Nazis - , they became panic when Allende was elected in 1970 and left the country. 1973 they came back to Chile. Question whether Pinochet also raised fears? To us? No. You cannot imagine the relief that everything had turned back to normal. The curfew, an atmosphere of peace and relaxation– for those who were not politically involved. Second interview with elderly Gretel Ackermann: “In every last corner of the world you nest, and you have everything you want. I never would have thought that.” AL: “Do you think that the Jews in Chile simply found a niche and clung to it? Of course, no one knew that better than I. Yes dear, this was something. We were so lucky.”
Sequence 10: Closing circles [time: 1990s]				
47 - 01:19:09	Closing circles: the sifter is back as a bread basket	Hm: Santiago restaurant: bread basket and hands	Voice-over: AL Unidentified moving hands Ximena	Bread basket – she found the yellow sifter/sieve back in Santiago with the pattern of stars of David. Ximena asked: What do you like about this strange bred basket? Don’t you see what this is?

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
			Café music	Bred! No, the pattern!
48 - 01:19:31	Closing circles: the family beach is back as a trip to the coast with friends	Hm: outing at the coast	Unidentified women friends	Women at the coast, long hairs streaming in the wind.
49 - 01:20:33	Closing circles: the mother is back with her strength and originality and humor in her stories old and new	Ff: expeditions of her mother as a young ecologist in Chile Archive: newspaper clips of UL's stories Ki UL: indoors	Voice-over: AL (reading out) UL	At one of her expeditions UL had to stay the night in the forest. She made herself a little lamp of fireflies and was thus able to see where to prepare herself a bed. Senior pages of the local Aachen newspaper. UL: "Among those who write for the paper, there are two Nazi women. I wanted to quit at first. There are two who keep saying, 'Things used to be much better.' 'There was no crime.' Right, there was no crime. – Pauses, then laughs – Ha, that's a laugh!"
50 - 01:21:27	Closing circles: Spirituality and revisiting biblical Levi	Archive: UL's notes Ki UL: indoors Ff: JB as pastor during service	Voice-over: AL UL JB	Lists of UL about who/what she is: "I am – half-Jewish, biologist and ecologist, receiver of an Alexander Humboldt grant, Protestant Christ, etc" Voice over AL: she experimented with various practices of self healing and meditation Interview UL: Her self-definition as Jewish Christian [<i>Judenchrist</i>]: Jew but also converted to Christianity. Interview father: he worked in the church with a certain teaching function and kerygma [<i>Verkündigungsauftrag</i>] and she was always in competition with that. UL interview: "The Levis weren't a tribe you know. The other brothers all got their own tribe. Each brother founded a tribe, most of which were later lost. Levi is the only one without a tribe. He became a priest." JB: "The Jews are like the stem, so to speak, of God's people, and we Christians are merely grafted onto this stem, just offshoots from the stem." UL: "According to Dina Rees, I've been a priestess all my life, or, rather, a priest, for my entire life here on earth... I said to her... 'But not anymore, am I?' She replied 'But just look whom you married.' And I said: 'Oh, yeah,

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
				that's right.' Laughs.“ JB at work, giving the Aaronite blessing: “May the Lord bless you and be with you. May the Lord have mercy upon you. May the Glory of God shine upon you, and may the Lord give you his blessing.” Congregation: Amen. Church music: „Jesu geh vorran auf der Lebensbahn“
Sequence 11: Retrospect and Closing				
51 - 01:23:54	Revisiting the legacy with AL's response to it	Archive: notes of UL	Voice-over: AL (reading aloud)	AL: her mother tries to explain to her what miracles are through the example of microwave. She reads aloud a letter of her: “did people believe that one would be able to cook with waves 50 years ago? They would have thought his to be a real miracle. Behind all forms is energy....” AL: she recalls a fight between her parents about whether her mother could fly or not. She herself thought that her mother clearly could do so. The healthy ones carry their bodies from bed to work and further. But she would just strip off her maltreated body and would fly.
52 - 01:25:03	Revisiting names and word plays	Ff: home for elderly people or hospital; aquarium	Voice-over: UL	UL tells the story of her angel who was talking to her at one marvelous autumn day She asked it for its name and she first understood Aldi (the name of a big German discounter) but it said no, not Aldi but Albo.
53 - 01:26:05	Revisiting winter	Ff: winter street (Santiago?) Archive: Photograph of UL in hospital, reading her mushroom letter Hm: kitchen (cleaning vegetables) Ff: lake with birds	UL AL	1996, UL has to go to hospital. AL and her brother are in Chile and bring a written mushroom with them as a letter for her (how the forest changed in the last years) UL: “that's my life”, this one and no other one. Like this I accept it. No one's is like mine and everyone has her/his own life. This one has to accept. I do not want to know anything else and not want to have anything else – it was as it was. And I think that it has a meaning like this. Everyone has a destiny and I think that we are on earth in order to learn not to enjoy ourselves. And then it is ok. UL observing birds from the car (field glasses) and walking on a footbridge. Birds in migration
54 - 01:27:15	Closing	Ff: hotel room (Santiago?)		Hotel room that looks at the see and the flying helicopters. As the room turns dark, a video/television screen on the right side of the room starts to show fast changing images. Fades

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
			Guitar music	dark as well.
Credits				
55 - 01:27:28	Credits		Guitar music	
	Mein Leben Teil 2 mit Ursula Becker Levi Karla Levi Heins Robert Levi Johannes Becker Angelika Levi Thomas Becker Levi Claus Peter Westrich Historiker/Neustadt Rolf Schädler Helmut Hoffmann Stadtarchiv Neustadt Rabbiner Walter Rothschild Jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin Herr und Frau Herzfeld Gretel Ackermann Santiago de Chile Subsonic Live im Blockschock, 1984 Kamera Antje Schäfer AL Levi Markus Otto Ton Inger Schwarz Ulrike Vetter Anja Fix Licht Branka Letic Ausstattung Goga Letic Produktionsleitung / Deutschland Thomas Becker Levi		Aufnahmeleitung Martin Zawadzki Produktionsleitung / Chile Natalia Lizama Catalina Schneider Tonmischung Alex Leser Holger Müller Musik Marta Monserrat Schnitt AL Levi Redaktion Burkhard Althoff Das kleine Fernsehspiel Regie AL Levi Herzlichen Dank an: Friederike Anders, Leo Carlon, Erika Sanuheza, Salwa Al K'Hanak, Patricia Lüdicke, Karl Hoffmann, Johannes Becker, Cynthia Crane, Andrea Tippel, Jaacov Ben Chanan, Claudia Celedon, Samir Catic, Antja Grönefeld, Rivka Jaussi, Famile Baumert, Gandi Mukli, Jacob Langfort, Madeleine Bernstorff, Jessica Torres, Mercedes Gallegos, Gabriela Jara, Marena Kraus, Ute Aurand Melica Muñoz / Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Josje Pater, Helmi und Adele / subsonic, Alice Creischer und Andreas Siekmann Gerd Haag, Dierk Schmidt, Nina Hofmeister, Joachim Rühl, Angela Reinhard, Fenna Heinrich, Rainer Grams / urbanfilm, Daniel Blum, Eckhard Stein Frau Paulsen / Hamburg-Süd, Sprinkenhof AG, Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Aachen-Eilendorf Gefördert mit Mitteln des Filmbüro NW Mit großzügiger Unterstützung Künstlerinnenprogramm des Kultursenats Berlin Eine Produktion von	

Scene no. Time code	Scenes	Location	Persons	Plot & story line of the narratives
	Malin G. Kundi		AL Levi /celestefilm im Auftrag des ZDF	Guitar music

Bibliography

- Aichele, George, 'The Possibility of Error: Minority Report and the Gospel of Mark', in *The Bible in Film—The Bible and Film* (ed. J. Cheryl Exum; repr. from *Biblical Interpretation*, 14.1-2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006), pp. 144-157.
- Aichele, George and Richard Walsh, 'Introduction: Scripture as Precursor', in *Screening Scripture: Intertextual Connections between Scripture and Film* (eds. George Aichele and Richard Walsh; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002), pp. vii-xvi.
- Aichele, George and Gary A. Phillips (eds.), *Intertextuality and the Bible* (Semeia, 69/70; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).
- Aichele, George and Richard Walsh (eds.), *Screening Scripture: Intertextual Connections between Scripture and Film* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002).
- Albertz, Rainer, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (Studies in Biblical Literature, 3; trans. David Green; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).
- Allan, Graham, *Intertextuality: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- Allen, Amy, 'Feminist Perspectives on Power', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2011 Edition)* (ed. Edward N. Zalta; download available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2011/entries/feminist-power/>; accessed June 8, 2013).
- Allen, Leslie C., *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Masoretic Text, Part 2: Textual Criticism* (VTSup, 25.2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974).
- Alphen, Ernst J. van, 'Second Generation Testimony, the Transmission of Trauma, and Postmemory', *Psychoanalyse im Widerspruch* 33 (2005), pp. 87-102.
- 'Towards a New Historiography: Péter Forgács and the Aesthetics of Temporality', in *Resonant Bodies, Voices, Memories* (eds. Anke Bangma et al.; Rotterdam: Piet Zwart Institute, 2008), pp. 90-113.
- Amit, Yairah, 'Araunah's Threshing-floor: A Lesson in Shaping Historical Memory', in *Performing Memory in Biblical Narrative and Beyond* (eds. Athalya Brenner and Frank H. Polak; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), pp. 13-23.
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso: New York, 2nd edn, 1991).
- Assmann, Aleida, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: Beck, 1999).
- 'Gedächtnis als Leitbegriff der Kulturwissenschaft', in *Kulturwissenschaften: Forschung-Praxis-Positionen* (eds. Lutz Musner et al.; Freiburg: Rombach, 2003), pp. 27-47.
- 'Memory', *BDR* III, pp. 1212-1218, section 6.
- 'Canon and Archive', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 97-107.
- Assmann, Jan, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität der frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1999).
- 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 109-118.

- Austin, J.L., *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered in Harvard University in 1955* (eds. J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1975).
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M., 'Discourse in the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin* (ed. Michael Holquist; Texas: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 259-422.
- Bakker, Freek L., *Jezus in beeld: Een studie naar zijn verschijnen op het witte doek* (Utrecht: Uitgeverij Van Gruting, 2011).
- Bal, Mieke, 'Introduction', in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer; Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. vii-xvii.
- Bal, Mieke, Fokkeliën van Dijk Hemmes and Grietje van Ginneken, *Und Sara lachte: Patriarchat und Widerstand in biblischen Geschichten* (Münster: Morgana-Frauenbuchverlag, 1988), pp. 51-74.
- Bal, Mieke, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer (eds.), *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999).
- Bark, Franziska, 'The God Who Will Be and the Generations of Men: Time and the Torah', in *Judaism* 49.3 (2000), pp. 259-268.
- Barnouw, Erik, *Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 1993).
- Barr, James, 'The Symbolism of Names in the Old Testament', *BJRL* 52 (1969/70), pp. 11-29.
- Barthes, Roland, *S/Z* (trans. Jürgen Hoch; Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1976).
- 'The Death of the Author', in *The Rustle of Language* (trans. Richard Howard; Berkeley: California Press, 1989), pp. 49-55.
- 'From Work to Text', in *The Rustle of Language* (trans. Richard Howard; Berkeley: California Press, 1989), pp. 56-64.
- Bartlett, John R., *Edom and the Edomites* (JSOTSup, 77; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989).
- Barton, John, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study* (Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 2nd edn, 1996).
- Baudry, Jean-Louis, 'Le Dispositif: approches métapsychologiques de l'impression de réalité', in *Communications* 23 (1975), pp. 56-72.
- Baumann, Gerd and Andre Gingrich, 'Foreword', in *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach* (eds. Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich; New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004), pp. ix-xiv.
- Baumann, Gerd and Andre Gingrich (eds.), *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004).
- Becking, Bob, 'In Babylon: The Exile in Historical (Re)construction', in *From Babylon to Eternity: The Exile Remembered and Constructed in Text and Tradition* (eds. Bob Becking, Alex Cannegieter, Wilfred van de Poll and Anne-Mareike Wetter; London: Equinox, 2009), pp. 4-33.
- 'Exilische identiteit als post-exilische ideologie: Psalm 137 opnieuw gelezen', *Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift* 64.4 (2010), pp. 269-283.
- 'David between Evidence and Ideology', in *History of Israel between Evidence and Ideology* (eds. Bob Becking and Lester L. Grabbe; OTS, 59; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2011), pp. 1-30.
- Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Construction of Early Jewish Identity* (FAT, 80; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

- ‘Zedekiah, Josephus and the Dating of Chronicles’, *SJOT* 25.2 (2011), pp. 217-233.
- Beentjes, Pancratius C., *1 Kronieken* (Verklaring van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel; Kampen: Kook, 2002).
- “*Die Freude war groß in Jerusalem*” (2Chr 30,26): *Eine Einführung in die Chronikbücher* (SEThV, 3; Münster: LIT Verlag, 2008).
- Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (SSN, 52; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2008).
- Ben Zvi, Ehud, ‘The Book of Chronicles: Another Look’, *SR* 31 (2002), pp. 261-281.
- ‘A Sense of Proportion: An Aspect of the Theology of the Chronicler’, in *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (Ehud Ben Zvi; London: Equinox, 2006), pp. 160-173.
- History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2006).
- Bendor, Shunya, *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel: The Institution of the Family (beit 'ab) from the Settlement to the End of the Monarchy* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies, 7; Jerusalem: Simor, 1996).
- Benjamin, Walter, *Zur Kritik der Gewalt und andere Aufsätze* (Edition Suhrkamp, 103; Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1965).
- Madeleine Bernstorff, ‘MEIN LEBEN TEIL 2 von Angelika Levi, D 2003’ (download available at http://www.madeleinebernstorff.de/seiten/leben_tx.html; accessed June 08, 2013).
- Berquist, Jon L. and Claudia V. Camp (eds.), *Constructions of Space I: Theory, Geography, Narrative* (LHBOTS, 481; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2007).
- Bhabha, Homi, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- Bial, Henry (ed.), *The Performance Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- Bible & Culture Collective (eds.), *The Postmodern Bible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph, *Creation, Un-creation, Re-creation: A Discursive Commentary on Genesis 1-11* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2011).
- Boer, Roland, ‘No Road: On the Absence of Feminist Criticism of Ezra-Nehemiah’, in *Her Master's Tools?: Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse* (eds. Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner; Global Perspectives on Biblical Literature, 9; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), pp. 233-252.
- Bohmbach, Karla G., ‘Names and Naming in the Biblical World’, in *WiS*, pp. 33-40.
- Bouquet, Mary, ‘Family Trees and their Affinities: The Visual Imperative of the Genealogical Diagram’, in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2.1 (1996), pp. 43-66.
- Brabban, Ralph J., ‘Alienation, Sex and an Unsatisfactory Ending: Themes and Features of Stories Old and New’, in *Screening Scripture: Intertextual Connections between Scripture and Film* (eds. George Aichele and Richard Walsh; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002), pp. 58-76.
- Braun, Christina, von and Inge Stephan, ‘Einleitung’, in *Gender-Studies: Eine Einführung* (eds. Christina von Braun and Inge Stephan; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2nd edn, 2006), pp. 3-9.
- Breitmaier, Isa, ‘Angestaute Gegenwart: Zur Zeitkonstruktion in Genealogien (Gen 5)’, in *Zeit wahrnehmen: Feministisch-Theologische Perspektiven auf das Erste Testament* (ed. Hedwig-Jahnnow-Forschungsprojekt; SBS, 222; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2010), pp. 66-99.
- Brenner, Athalya, ‘Foreword’, in *Culture, Entertainment and the Bible* (ed. George Aichele, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), pp. 7-12.

- I am... Biblical Women Tell Their Own Stories* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005).
- ‘Alternative Families: From the Hebrew Bible to Early Judaism’, essay based on the paper of the same name delivered at the ISBL in Tartu, Estonia, in July 2010 (download available at <http://www.uva.nl/over-de-uva/organisatie/medewerkers/content/b/r/a.brenner/a.brenner.html>; accessed June 08, 2013).
- Bronner, Leila Lea, ‘The Invisible Relationship Made Visible: Biblical Mothers and Daughters’, in *Ruth and Esther: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 3)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 172-191.
- Brueggemann, Walter, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997).
- Bruzzi, Stella, *New Documentary: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- Buikema, Rosemarie and Iris van der Tuin, ‘Introduction’, in *Doing Gender in Media, Arts and Culture* (eds. Rosemarie Buikema and Iris van der Tuin; New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1-4.
- Burlein, Ann, ‘Countermemory on the Right’, in *Acts of Memory. Cultural Recall in the Present* (eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer; Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), pp. 209-217.
- Butler, Judith, ‘Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory (1988)’, in *The Performance Studies Reader* (ed. Henry Bial; London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 154-166.
- Butting, Klara, *Die Buchstaben werden sich noch wundern: Innerbiblische Kritik als Wegweisung feministischer Hermeneutik* (Wittingen: Erev Rav, 2nd edn, 1998).
- Camp, Claudia, *Wise, Strange and Holy: The Strange Woman and the Making of the Bible* (JSOTSup, 320; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).
- ‘The Problem with Sisters: Anthropological Perspectives on Priestly Kinship Ideology in Numbers’, in *Embroidered Garments: Priests and Gender in Biblical Israel* (ed. Deborah W. Rooke; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), pp. 119-130.
- Carroll, Robert, ‘Exile! What Exile?: Deportation and the Discourse of Diaspora (In Memoriam Ferdinand Deist)’ in *Leading Captivity Captive: ‘The Exile’ as History and Ideology* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 62-79.
- Carsten, Janet, *After Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Caruth, Cathy, ‘Introduction I’, in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory, Part I: Trauma and Experience* (ed. Cathy Caruth; Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 3-12.
- ‘Introduction II’, in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory, Part II: Recapturing the Past* (ed. Cathy Caruth; Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 151-157.
- Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- Caruth, Cathy (ed.), *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995)
- Caselli, Daniela C., *Beckett’s Dantes: Intertextuality in the Fiction and Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005).
- Cassuto, U., *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (trans. Israel Abraham; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1944).
- Childs, Brevard, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979).

- Cogan, Mordechai, 'Into Exile: From the Assyrian Conquest of Israel to the Fall of Babylon', in *The Oxford History of the Biblical World* (ed. Michael D. Coogan, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 242-275.
- Connerton, Paul, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Crüsemann, Frank, 'Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity: Israel's Self-Definition in the Genealogical System of Genesis', in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark G. Brett; BIS, 19; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), pp. 57-76.
- Curtis, Edward Lewis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC, 11; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1952).
- Davies, Philip, 'Exile? What Exile? Whose Exile?', in *Leading Captivity Captive: 'The Exile' as History and Ideology* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 128-138.
- Davis, M. Stephen, 'Sheerah (Person)', *ABD* V, pp. 1190-1191.
- De Regt, L.J., *Participants in Old Testament Texts and the Translator: Reference Devices and their Rhetorical Impact* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1999).
- Deacy, Christopher and Ulrike Vollmer (eds.), *Blick über den Tod hinaus / Seeing Beyond Death: Bilder vom Leben nach dem Tod in Theologie und Film / Images of Afterlife in Theology and Film* (Film und Theologie, 18; Marburg: Schüren-Verlag, 2011).
- Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* (trans. Brian Massumi; London and New York: Continuum, 2004).
- Demsky, Aaron, 'The Clans of Ephrath: Their Territory and History', *Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University* (1986.1), pp. 46-59.
- Derrida, Jacques, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (trans. E. Prenowitz; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- 'Archive Fever (A Seminar by Jacques Derrida, University of Witwatersrand, August 1998, transcribed by Verne Harris)', in *Refiguring the Archive* (eds. Carolyn Hamilton et al.; Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), pp. 38-80/even pages.
- Dijk-Hemmes, Fokkeli van, 'Tamar and the Limits of Patriarchy: Between Rape and Seduction', in *Anti-Covenant: Counter-Reading Women's Lives in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Mieke Bal; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press and the Almond Press, 1989), pp. 135-156.
- DIOTIMA et. al., *Die Welt zur Welt bringen: Politik, Geschlechterdifferenz und die Arbeit am Symbolischen* (eds. and trans. Andrea Günter, Dorothee Markert and Antje Schrupp; Königstein: Ulrike-Helmer-Verlag, 1999).
- Dorman, N. and D.C. Bourne, 'Canids and Ursids in Mixed-species Exhibits', *Int. Zoo Yb.* 44 (2010), pp. 75-86.
- Du Toit, Jaqueline S., *Textual Memory: Ancient Archives, Libraries and the Hebrew Bible* (The Social World of Biblical Antiquity, Second Series, 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011).
- Dyck, Jonathan E., *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998).
- Ebach, Jürgen, *Genesis 37–50* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2007).
- Ehrenreich, Eric, *The Nazi Ancestral Proof: Genealogy, Racial Science, and the Final Solution* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).
- Elsaesser, Thomas, 'Subject Positions, Speaking Positions: From *Holocaust*, *Our Hitler*, and *Heimat* to *Shoah* and *Schindler's List*', in *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television, and the Modern Event* (ed. Vivian Sobchack; New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 145-181.

- Engar, Ann W., 'Old Testament Women as Tricksters', in *Mappings of the Biblical Terrain: The Bible as Text* (eds. Vincent T. Tollers and John Maier; Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1990), pp. 143-157.
- Erll, Astrid, 'Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 1-15.
- Erll, Astrid and Ann Rigney, 'Introduction: Cultural Memory and its Dynamic', in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 1-11.
- Eskenazi, Tamara C., *In an Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra–Nehemiah* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).
- 'Out from the Shadows: Biblical Women in the Post-Exilic Era', in *A Feminist Companion to Samuel and Kings* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 252-271.
- Exum, J. Cheryl, 'Raped by the Pen', in *Fragmented Women: Feminist (Sub)Versions of Biblical Narratives* (ed. J. Cheryl Exum; JSOTSup, 163; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), pp. 170-201.
- Plotted, Shot, and Painted: Cultural Representations of Biblical Women* (JSOTSup, 215; Gender, Culture, Theory, 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).
- 'Judges: Encoded Messages to Women', in *Feminist Biblical Interpretation: A Compendium of Critical Commentary on the Books of the Bible and Related Literature* (eds. Luise Schottroff, Marie-Theres Wacker and Hans Martin Rumscheidt; transl. Lisa E. Dahill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), pp. 112-127.
- Exum, J. Cheryl (ed.), *The Bible in Film—The Bible and Film* (repr. from *Biblical Interpretation*, 14.1-2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2006).
- Finkelstein, Israel, 'The Historical Reality behind the Genealogical Lists in 1 Chronicles', in *JBL* 131.1 (2012), pp. 65-83.
- Fischer, Irmtraud, *Die Erzeltern Israels: Feministisch-theologische Studien zu Genesis* (BZAW, 222; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1994).
- Fishbane, Michael, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979).
- Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1985).
- 'Types of Biblical Intertextuality', in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998* (eds. André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø; VTSup, 80; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), pp. 39-44.
- Foucault, Michel, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (ed. Donald F. Bouchard, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 139-164.
- Gerstenberger, Erhard S., *Israel in der Perserzeit: 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (BE, 8; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005).
- Geyer, Paul, 'Das Paradox: Historisch Systematische Grundlegung', in *Das Paradox: Eine Herausforderung des abendländischen Denkens* (eds. Paul Geyer and Roland Hagenbüchle; Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1992), pp. 11-24.
- Gingrich, Andre, 'Conceptualising Identities: Anthropological Alternatives to Essentialising Difference and Moralizing about Othering', in *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach* (eds. Gerd Baumann and Andre Gingrich; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004), pp. 3-17.
- Grabbe, Lester L., 'Introduction', in *Leading Captivity Captive: 'The Exile' as History and Ideology* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 11-19.

- ‘Reflections on the Discussion’, in *Leading Captivity Captive: ‘The Exile’ as History and Ideology* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 146-156.
- Grabbe, Lester L. (ed.), *Leading Captivity Captive: ‘The Exile’ as History and Ideology* (JSOTSup, 278; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).
- Hachlili, Rachel, ‘Hebrew Names, Personal Names, Family Names and Nicknames of Jews in the Second Temple Period’, in *Families and Family Relations as Represented in Early Judaism and Early Christianities: Texts and Fictions* (eds. Jan Willem van Henten and Athalya Brenner, Leiden: Deo Publishing, 2000), pp. 83-115.
- Halbwachs, Maurice, *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen* (eds. Heinz Maus and Friedrich Fürstenberg; trans. Lutz Geldsetzer; Berlin: Luchterhand, 1966).
- On Collective Memory (ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- Hallo, William W., ‘Compare and Contrast: the Contextual Approach to Biblical Literature’, in *The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature* (eds. William W. Hallo, Bruce William Jones and Gerald L. Mattingly; New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), pp. 1-30.
- Henten, Jan Willem van, ‘Judith as an Alternative Leader: A Rereading of Judith 7-13’, in *Esther, Judith and Susanna: A Feminist Companion to the Bible* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), pp. 224-252.
- Herman, Judith L., *Trauma and Recovery* (New York: Basic Books, 1992).
- Hieke, Thomas, *Die Genealogien der Genesis* (HBS, 39; Freiburg: Herder, 2003).
- ‘Genealogie als Mittel der Geschichtsdarstellung in der Tora und die Rolle der Frauen im genealogischen System’, in *Hebräische Bibel – Altes Testament: Tora* (eds. Irmtraud Fischer, Mercedes Puerto Navarra and Andrea Taschl-Erber; Die Bibel und die Frauen, 1.1; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2009), pp. 149-185.
- Hirsch, Marianne, ‘Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy’, in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (eds. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer; Hanover: University Press of New England), pp. 3-23.
- Hirsch, Marianne and Valerie Smith, ‘Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction’, *Signs* 28, no. 1: Gender and Cultural Memory (2002), pp. 1-19.
- Hirsch, Marianne and Leo Spitzer, ‘Testimonial Objects: Memory, Gender, Transmission’, *Poetics Today* 27.2 (2006), pp. 137-163.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Hoffmann, Hilde, ‘Mein Leben Teil 2—My Life Part 2 (2003): Reflections about Recent Autobiographical Documentaries’, in *Gendered Memories: Transgressions in German and Israeli Film and Theatre* (eds. Vera Apfelthaler and Julia B. Köhne; Vienna: Turia & Kant, 2007), pp. 128-143.
- Hübner, Ulrich, ‘Oholibamah (Person)’, *ABD* V, p. 10.
- Ishizuka, Karen L. and Patricia R. Zimmermann (eds.), *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories* (London: University of California Press, 2008).
- Jackson, Melissa, ‘Lot’s Daughters and Tamar as Tricksters and the Patriarchal Narratives as Feminist Theology’, in *JSOT* 98 (2002), pp. 29-46.
- Japhet, Sara, ‘Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles’, *JBL* 98.2 (1979), pp. 205-218.
- I&II Chronicles: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1993).
- The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ, 9; Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1997).

- ‘Exile and Restoration in the Book of Chronicles’, in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times* (eds. Bob Becking and Marjo C.A. Korpel; *OTS*, 42; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), pp. 33-44.
- Johnson, Marshall D., *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (SNTSMS, 8; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).
- Johnstone, William, *Chronicles and Exodus: An Analogy and Its Applications* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).
- Kalimi, Isaac, ‘Was the Chronicler a Historian?’, in *The Chronicler as Historian* (eds. M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund and Steven L. McKenzie; *JSOTSup*, 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 73-89.
- The Reshaping of Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005).
- Kartveit, Magnar, *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in I Chronik 1-9* (CBOTS, 28; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989).
- Kelso, Julie, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?: An Irigarayan Reading of the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2007).
- Kessler, Frank, ‘The Cinema of Attractions as *Dispositif*’, in *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded* (ed. Wanda Strauven; Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), pp. 57-69.
- Kessler, Rainer, *Sozialgeschichte des alten Israel: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008).
- Ketelaar, Eric, ‘Tacit Narratives: The Meaning of Archives’, *Archival Science* 1 (2001), pp. 131-141.
- Kiesow, Anna, *Löwinnen von Juda: Frauen als Subjekte politischer Macht in der jüdischen Königszeit* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2000).
- Kirk-Duggan, Cheryl A., ‘Black Mother Women and Daughters: Signifying Female-Divine Relationships in the Hebrew Bible and African-American Mother-Daughter Short Stories’, in *Ruth and Esther: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 3)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 192-210.
- Klein, Lillian R., ‘Achsah: What Price this Prize?’, in *Judges: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 4)* (ed. Athalya Brenner, Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1999), pp. 18-26.
- Knoppers, Gary N., “‘Great among His Brothers,’ But Who Is He?: Heterogeneity in the Composition of Judah’, *JHS* 3, article 4 (2001), no pages.
- ‘Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah’, *JBL* 120.1 (2001), pp. 15-30.
- I Chronicles 1-9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 12; New York: Doubleday, 2003).
- ‘Shem, Ham and Japheth: The Universal and the Particular in the Genealogy of Nations’, in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honour of Ralph W. Klein* (eds. M. Patrick Graham, Steven L. McKenzie and Garry N. Knoppers; London: T. & T. Clark, 2003), pp. 13-31.
- ‘Comments’, in *Chronicles and the Chronicler: A Response to I. Kalimi, An Ancient Israelite Historian: Studies in the Chronicler, His Time, Place and Writing* (ed. Gary N. Knoppers; *JHS* 6.2 (2006)), pp. 26-35.
- Kraemer, Phyllis Silverman, ‘Biblical Women that Come in Pairs: The Use of Female Pairs as Literary Device in the Hebrew Bible’, in *Genesis: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 1)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 218-232.

- Kreitzer, Larry J., *The Old Testament in Fiction and Film: On Reversing the Hermeneutical Flow* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994).
- Kristeva, Julia, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. Leon S. Roudiez; trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez; Blackwell: Columbia University Press, 1980).
- ‘The Bounded Text’, in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. Leon S. Roudiez; trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez; Blackwell: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 36-63.
- ‘Word, Dialogue and Novel’, in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art* (ed. Leon S. Roudiez; trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez; Blackwell: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 64-91.
- Labahn, Antje and Ehud Ben Zvi, ‘Observations on Women in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9’, *Biblica* 84 (2003), pp. 457-478.
- Laffey, Alice L., ‘1 and 2 Chronicles’, in *The Women’s Bible Commentary: Expanded Edition with Apocrypha* (eds. Carol Ann Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1998), pp. 110-115.
- Landsberg, Alison, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2004).
- Levin, Yigal, ‘Who was the Chronicler’s Audience?: A Hint from His Genealogies’, in *JBL* 122.2 (2003), pp. 229-245.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (ed. Rodney Needham; trans. J.H. Bell, J.R. von Sturmer and Rodney Needham; Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).
- Lorenz, Chris, *De constructie van het verleden* (Amsterdam: Boom Uitgevers Amsterdam, 1998).
- Löwisch, Ingeborg, ‘Frauengenealogien in Film und Hebräischer Bibel: Erinnerungsformen und politische Akte’, *Schlangenbrut* 23 (2005), pp. 14-18.
- ‘Genealogies, Gender, and the Politics of Memory: 1 Chronicles 1-9 and the Documentary Film “Mein Leben Teil 2”’, in *Memory in Biblical Narrative and Beyond* (eds. Athalya Brenner and Frank Polak; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), pp. 228-256.
- Luker, Lamonette M., ‘Ephrathah (Person)’, *ABD* II, p. 557.
- ‘Ephrathah (Place)’, *ABD* II, pp. 557-558.
- Lux, Rüdiger, ‘Die Genealogie als Strukturprinzip des Pluralismus im Alten Testament’, in *Pluralismus und Identität* (ed. J. Mehlhausen; VWGT, 8; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), pp. 242-58.
- Marsh, Clive and Gaye Ortiz (eds.), *Explorations in Theology and Film: Movies and Meaning* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).
- Marsman, Hennie M., *Woman in Ugarit and Israel: Their Social and Religious Position in the Context of the Ancient Near East* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003).
- McClaurin, Irma (ed.), *Black Feminist Anthropology: Theory, Politics, Praxis, and Poetics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press: 2001).
- McKinlay, Judith, ‘Meeting Achsah on Achsah’s Land’, in *The Bible and Critical Theory*, 5.3 (2009), pp. 39.1-39.11.
- Meyers, Carol, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- “‘Women of the Neighborhood’ (Ruth 4.17): Informal Female Networks in Ancient Israel’, in *Ruth and Esther: A Feminist Companion to the Bible (Second Series 3)* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), pp. 110-127.
- ‘Naamah’, *WiS*, p. 129.

- Exodus* (NCamBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Meyers, Eric M., ‘The Shelomith Seal and the Judean Restoration: Some Additional Considerations’, *Eretz Israel* 18 (1985), pp. 33-38.
- Mirguet, Françoise, ‘Implicit Biblical Motifs in Almodovar’s *Hable Con Ella* and *Volver: The Bible as Intertext*’, *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, 23.1 (2011), pp. 27-39.
- Misztal, Barbara A., *Theories of Social Remembering* (Theorizing Society Series, 2; Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003).
- Morin, Peter J., *Community Ecology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Science, 1999).
- Myers O’Brian, Julia, ‘Hammolecheth’, *WiS*, p. 89.
- Myers, Jacob M., *I Chronicles* (AB, 12; New York: Doubleday, 1965).
- Nichols, Bill, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).
- Niditch, Susan, ‘The Wronged Woman Righted: An Analysis of Genesis 38’, *HTR* 72 (1979), pp. 143-149.
- ‘Genesis’, in *The Women’s Bible Commentary: Expanded Edition with Apocrypha* (eds. Carol Ann Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1998), pp. 13-29.
- A Prelude to Biblical Folklore: Underdogs and Tricksters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).
- Nielsen, Kirsten, ‘Intertextuality and Hebrew Bible’, in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998* (eds. André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø; VTSup, 80; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000), pp. 17-31.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, *Zur Genealogie der Moral: Eine Streitschrift* (Leipzig, 1887).
- Nolan Fewell, Danna, ‘Deconstructive Criticism: Achsah and the (E)razed City of Writing’, in *Judges & Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies* (ed. Gale A. Yee, Minneapolis: Augsburg–Fortress, 2nd edn, 2007), pp. 115-137.
- Noordegraaf, Julia, ‘Iterating Archival Footage and the Memory of War’, in *The Archive: XVIII International Film Studies Conference* (eds. Alessandro Bordina, Sonia Campanini and Andrea Mariani; Udine: Forum, 2012), pp. 265-272.
- Performing the Archive: Tracing Audiovisual Heritage in the Digital Age* (forthcoming).
- Noth, Martin, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928).
- ‘Eine siedlungsgeographische Liste in 1. Chr 2 und 4’, *ZDPV* 55 (1932), pp. 97-124.
- Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien 1: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (SKG.G, 18.2; Halle: Niemeyer, 2nd edn, 1943).
- O’Connor, Kathleen M., *Jeremiah: Pain and Promise* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012).
- Oeming, Manfred, *Das wahre Israel: Die „genealogische Vorhalle“ 1 Chronik 1-9* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990).
- Olick, Jeffrey K., ‘From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products’, in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 151-161.
- Perdue, Leo G., Joseph Blenkinsopp, John J. Collins and Carol Meyers (eds.), *Families in Ancient Israel* (The Family, Religion, and Culture Series, 7; Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 1997).
- Pfister, Manfred and Ulrich Broich, *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, Anglistische Fallstudien* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1985).
- Pisters, Patricia and Wim Staat (eds.), *Shooting the Family: Transnational Media and Intercultural Values* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005).

- Polliack, Meira, 'Joseph's Trauma: Memory and Resolutions', in *Performing Memory in Biblical Narrative and Beyond* (eds. Athalya Brenner and Frank H. Polak; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), pp. 73-105.
- Poser, Ruth, *Das Ezechielbuch als Trauma-Literatur* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2012).
- Prewitt, Terry J., 'Kinship Structures and the Genesis Genealogies', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40.2 (1981), pp. 87-98.
- Rehm, Merlin D., 'Levites and Priests', *ABD IV*, pp. 297-310.
- Reinhartz, Adele, *Scripture on the Silver Screen* (Louisville, KY: Westminster / John Knox Press, 2003).
- Ricoeur, Paul, 'Gedächtnis–Vergessen–Geschichte', in *Historische Sinnbildung: Problemstellungen, Zeitkonzepte, Wahrnehmungshorizonte, Darstellungsstrategien* (eds. Klaus E. Müller and Jörn Rüsen; Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1997), pp. 433-454.
- Rindge, Matthew S., Erin Runions and Richard S. Ascough, 'Teaching the Bible and Film: Pedagogical Promises, Pitfalls, and Proposals', in *Teaching Theology & Religion* 13.2 (2010), pp. 140-155.
- Rothstein, J. Wilhelm and Johannes Hänel, *Das erste Buch der Chronik übersetzt und erklärt* (KAT, 18.2; Leipzig: Deichert, 1927).
- Rudolph, Wilhelm, *Chronikbücher* (HAT, 21; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1955).
- Runions, Erin, *How Hysterical: Identification and Resistance in the Bible and Film* (New York: Macmillan, 2003).
- Schechner, Richard, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002).
- Schley, D.G., 'Maacah (Place)', *ABD IV*, p. 430.
- Schmid, Konrad, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008).
- Schmidt, Uta, *Zentrale Randfiguren: Strukturen der Darstellung von Frauen in den Erzählungen der Königsbücher* (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 2003).
- Smith, Jonathan Z., 'In Comparison a Magic Dwells', in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (ed. Jonathan Z. Smith; Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 19-35.
- Söderbergh Widding, Astrid, 'From Grammar to Graphics: The Concept of Text in Cinema Studies', in *Travelling Concepts: Text, Subjectivity, Hybridity* (eds. Joyce Goggin and Sonja Neef; Amsterdam: ASCA Press, 2001), pp. 67-77.
- Southwood, Katherine, 'Die ‚heilige Nachkommenschaft‘ und die ‚fremden Frauen‘: ‚Mischehen‘ als inner-jüdische Angelegenheit', in *Zwischen Integration und Ausgrenzung: Migration, religiöse Identität(en) und Bildung—theologisch reflektiert* (eds. Johanna Rahner and Miriam Schambeck; Bamberger Theologisches Forum, 13; Münster LIT Verlag, 2011), pp. 61-82.
- Ethnicity and the Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9–10: An Anthropological Approach* (Oxford Theological Monograph Series; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Sparks, James T., *The Chronicler's Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1-9* (SBLAcBib, 28; 2008).
- Spencer, John R., 'Levitical Cities', *ABD IV*, pp. 310-311.
- Stamm, J.J., 'Hebräische Frauennamen', in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner* (eds. G. W. Anderson et al; VTSup, 16; Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1967), pp. 301-339.
- Steins, Georg, *Die Chronik als kanonisches Abschlußphänomen: Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie von 1/2 Chronik* (BBB, 93; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1995).

- Sternberg, Meir, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1987).
- Stering, Ankie, 'The Will of the Daughters', in *A Feminist Companion to Exodus and Deuteronomy* (ed. Athalya Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 88-99.
- Stoler, Ann L., 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science* 2 (2002), pp. 87-109.
- Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- Strathern, Marilyn, *After Nature: English Kinship in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Talstra, Eep, *Oude en Nieuwe Lezers: Een inleiding in de methoden van uitleg van het Oude Testament* (Kampen: Kok, 2002).
- Taylor, Diana, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Reforming Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
- Vollmer, Ulrike, 'Sprechen, Hören, und dann? Film und Theologie im Dialog', *Medienheft* (07.04.2003), pp. 1-10.
- Seeing Film and Reading Feminist Theology: A Dialogue* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2007).
- Wacker, Marie-Theres, 'Die Bücher der Chronik: Im Vorhof der Frauen', in *Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung* (eds. Marie-Theres Wacker and Luise Schottroff; Gütersloher Verlagshaus: Gütersloh, 3rd edn, 2007), pp. 146-155.
- Wahlberg, Malin, *Documentary Time: Film and Phenomenology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).
- Wareham, David C., *Elsevier's Dictionary of Herpetological and related Terminology* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005).
- Waterton, Claire, 'Experimenting with the Archive: STS-ers As Analysts and Co-constructors of Databases and Other Archival Forms', in *STHV* 35.5 (2010), pp. 645-676.
- Weber, Max, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1934).
- Weigel, Sigrid, "'Generation" as a Symbolic Form: On the Genealogical Discourse of Memory since 1945', in *The Germanic Review* 77 (2002), pp. 264-277.
- Wellhausen, Julius, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 6th edn, repr. 1927).
- Westermann, Claus, *Genesis 37-50* (BKAT, 1/3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982).
- Wetter, Anne-Mareike, 'Verschuivende Visies: De Kronist over de rol van de vrouw', in *Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift* 65.3 (2011), pp. 227-241.
- Wieringen, Willien van, 'Why Some Women Were Included in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1-9', in *Rewriting Biblical History: Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honour of Pancratius C. Beentjes* (eds. Jeremy Corley and Harm van Grol; DCLSt, 7; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 291-300.
- Willi, Thomas, 'Late Persian Judaism and its Conception of an Integral Israel according to Chronicles: Some Observations on Form and Function of the Genealogy of Judah in 1 Chronicles 2.3-4.23', in *Second Temple Studies: 2. Temple Community in the Persian Period* (eds. Tamara C. Eskenazi and Kent H. Richards; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 146-162.

- I Chr 1–10* (BKAT, XXIV/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009).
- Williamson, H.G.M., *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB, 20; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).
- Wilson, Robert R., *Genealogies and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).
- Wolde, Ellen van, ‘Trendy Intertextuality?’, in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel* (ed. Sipke Draisma; Kampen: Kok, 1989), pp. 43–49.
- ‘Intertextuality: Ruth in Dialogue with Tamar’, in *A Feminist Companion to the Bible: Approaches, Methods and Strategies* (eds. Athalya Brenner and Carole Fontaine; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2nd edn, 1997), pp. 426–451.
- Wright, C.J.H., ‘Family’, *ABD* II, p. 762.
- Wright, Melanie J., *Moses in America: The Cultural Uses of Biblical Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Zakovitch, Yair, ‘Inner-Biblical Interpretation’, in *Reading Genesis: Ten Methods* (ed. Ronald Hendel, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 92–118.

7.6 Online Resources

Filmography of Angelika Levi,

http://www.german-films.de/app/filmarchive/film_view.php?film_id=975
(accessed June 08, 2013).

Trailer of “My Life Part 2” on YouTube,

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IMarqtWIowY> (accessed June 08, 2013).

Information about “My Life Part 2” on the *Berlinale* Website,

http://www.berlinale.de/external/de/filmarchiv/doku_pdf/20031008.pdf
(accessed June 08, 2013).

Information about “My Life Part 2” and an interview with the filmmaker by Stefanie Schulte Strathaus,

http://www.arsenal-berlin.de/forumarchiv/forum2003/katalog/mein_leben_teil_2.pdf
(accessed June 08, 2013).

Interview with the filmmaker Angelika Levi on YouTube,

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0neLtUTdJ3o> (accessed June 08, 2013).

Motivation of the reward from the *Duisburger Filmwoche*, <http://www.duisburger-filmwoche.de/festival03/> (accessed June 08, 2013).

Advertisement of the film-series *Divided History: The Meaning of the Shoah in the Life of the Descendants of Persecutors and Survivors* in Vienna in 2004,

<http://www.kinoki.at/mikrokino/pro/p112.htm> (accessed June 08, 2013).

Excerpt from the program of the *San Francisco Jewish Film Festival*,

<http://www.sfjff.org/film/detail?id=2074> (accessed June 08, 2013).

Festival advertisement of the *6th Annual Barcelona Jewish Film Festival*,

http://www.accesomedia.com/display_release.html?id=16885 (accessed November 17, 2010).

International research group *Film and Theology*,
<http://www.film-und-theologie.de/> (accessed June 08, 2013).

Exposé of *Literaturtage 2008*: “Am Nullpunkt der Familie: Generationen und Genealogien in der Gegenwartsliteratur” at Zentrum für Literatur- und Kulturforschung Berlin,
<http://www.zfl-berlin.org/veranstaltungen-detail/items/am-nullpunkt-der-familie-generationen-und-genealogien-in-der-geg.html> (accessed June 08, 2013).

Leo Englisch-Deutsch Wörterbuch, Forum, “vergesellschaften”, 26.04.2004, 20:49,
<http://dict.leo.org/forum/viewUnsolvedquery.php?idThread=176430&idForum=1&lp=ende&lang=de> (accessed June 08, 2013)

Photograph of the altar windows of the church of the Apostles in Hamburg Eimsbüttel,
<http://www.kirche.eimsbuettel.de/kg.root/kg.1123301410.22/kg.1123301410.22.2/index.html> (accessed June 08, 2013).

Samenvatting (Dutch Summary)¹

Genesis 5 (NBV): 1 Dit is de lijst van Adams nakomelingen.

Toen God Adam schiep, de mens, maakte hij hem zo dat hij leek op God. 2 Mannelijk en vrouwelijk schiep hij de mensen. Hij zegende hen en noemde hen mens toen zij werden geschapen.

3 Toen Adam 130 jaar was, verwekte hij een zoon die op hem leek, die zijn evenbeeld was. Hij noemde hem Set. 4 Na de geboorte van Set duurde Adams leven nog 800 jaar. Hij verwekte zonen en dochters. 5 In totaal leefde hij 930 jaar. Daarna stierf hij.

6 Toen Set 105 jaar was, verwekte hij Enos. 7 Na de geboorte van Enos leefde Set nog 807 jaar. Hij verwekte zonen en dochters. 8 In totaal leefde hij 912 jaar. Daarna stierf hij.

9 Toen Enos 90 jaar was, verwekte hij Kenan. 10 Na de geboorte van Kenan leefde Enos nog 815 jaar. Hij verwekte zonen en dochters. 11 In totaal leefde hij 905 jaar. Daarna stierf hij.

12 Toen Kenan 70 jaar was, verwekte hij Mahalalel. 13 Na de geboorte van Mahalalel leefde Kenan nog 840 jaar. Hij verwekte zonen en dochters. 14 In totaal leefde hij 910 jaar. Daarna stierf hij.

15 Toen Mahalalel 65 jaar was, verwekte hij Jered. 16 Na de geboorte van Jered leefde Mahalalel nog 830 jaar. Hij verwekte zonen en dochters. 17 In totaal leefde hij 895 jaar. Daarna stierf hij.

18 Toen Jered 162 jaar was, verwekte hij Henoch. 19 Na de geboorte van Henoch leefde Jered nog 800 jaar. Hij verwekte zonen en dochters. 20 In totaal leefde hij 962 jaar. Daarna stierf hij.

21 Toen Henoch 65 jaar was, verwekte hij Metuselach. 22 Na de geboorte van Metuselach leefde Henoch nog 300 jaar, in nauwe verbondenheid met God. Hij verwekte zonen en dochters. 23 In totaal leefde hij 365 jaar. 24 Henoch leefde in nauwe verbondenheid met God; aan zijn leven kwam een einde doordat God hem wegnam.

25 Toen Metuselach 187 jaar was, verwekte hij Lamech. 26 Na de geboorte van Lamech leefde Metuselach nog 782 jaar. Hij verwekte zonen en dochters. 27 In totaal leefde hij 969 jaar. Daarna stierf hij.

28 Toen Lamech 182 jaar was, verwekte hij een zoon 29 die hij Noach noemde. 'Deze zoon,' zei hij, 'zal ons troost geven voor het werken en zwoegen dat ons deel is omdat de HEER het akkerland heeft vervloekt.'

30 Na de geboorte van Noach leefde Lamech nog 595 jaar. Hij verwekte zonen en dochters. 31 In totaal leefde hij 777 jaar. Daarna stierf hij.

32 Toen Noach 500 jaar oud was, verwekte hij Sem, Cham en Jafet.

Dit proefschrift gaat over geslachtslijsten. Om precies te zijn, over geslachtslijsten 'met een geslacht' (gendered genealogies) en over de rol die ze kunnen spelen bij het verwerken van een gebroken verleden. Maar wat zijn geslachtslijsten eigenlijk, hoezo 'hebben ze een geslacht', en hoe zouden zulke droge opsommingen kunnen helpen tegen de gevolgen van trauma's?

¹ Vertaling: Arian Verheij, www.woordengeschrift.nl.

Genesis 5, 'de lijst van Adams nakomelingen (*toledot*)', is een typisch voorbeeld van een geslachtslijst. In een ritmische cadans wordt het leven van generatie op generatie doorgegeven door de voorvaderen van Adam tot en met Noach. Na het heftige, ontregelende verhaal van Kain en Abel in Genesis 4 doet deze lijst geruststellend aan: ondanks de broedermoord is het leven doorgegaan, van geslacht tot geslacht. In mijn vroegste herinnering aan de *toledot*-lijst van Genesis zit ik op zondagschool, waar we deze teksten leerden op muziek, als gedragen door de harteklop van het leven. Daar ligt de oorsprong van deze studie.

Toch is Genesis 5 zelf ook een ontregelende tekst. Zo is de afstammingslijn geheel en al mannelijk. Ook al staat er net als in Gen. 1:27 dat de mensheid leek op God en dat God de mens mannelijk en vrouwelijk schiep, toch wordt alleen Adam genoemd, Eva niet, en in het vervolg komen geen moeders voor. Vanuit een vrouwelijk perspectief is het daardoor lastig om je met deze tekst te identificeren. Ook wordt de cadans doorbroken in vers 24, waar de levenscyclus van Henoch niet op de gebruikelijke manier eindigt maar met de mededeling dat 'God hem wegnam'. En voor de goede verstaander is de eerste nakomeling meteen afwijkend van de rest: in vers 3 wordt niet Kain, de eerstgeborene, genoemd maar Set, de zoon die Eva kreeg 'in plaats van' haar vermoorde zoon Abel (Gen. 4:25).

Deze laatste breuk, niet meer dan een scheurtje, trok mijn aandacht. Met deze minieme afwijking van het normale patroon geeft de geslachtslijst immers een antwoord op het trauma van de broedermoord. De eerstgeborene, Kain, wordt overgeslagen, ook Abel, de tweede zoon, wordt niet genoemd. De afstammingslijn loopt via de plaatsvervanger Set. De afwijking scheidt ruimte zodat het leven en de afstammingslijn kunnen doorgaan.

Het ideologische aspect van geslachtslijsten wordt nog duidelijker als we kijken naar een ander voorbeeld, vlak hiervoor in Genesis 4.

Genesis 4 (NBV): 17 Kain had gemeenschap met zijn vrouw, en zij werd zwanger en bracht Henoch ter wereld. Kain was toen een stad aan het bouwen en hij noemde die Henoch, naar zijn zoon. 18 Henoch kreeg een zoon, Irad. Irad was de vader van Mechujaël, Mechujaël was de vader van Metusaël en Metusaël was de vader van Lamech. 19 Lamech nam twee vrouwen; de ene heette Ada, de andere Silla. 20 Ada bracht Jabal ter wereld; hij werd de stamvader van hen die in tenten leven en vee houden. 21 Zijn broer heette Jubal; hij werd de stamvader van allen die op de lier of de fluit spelen. 22 Ook Silla bracht een zoon ter wereld, Tubal-Kain; hij was smid en werd de stamvader van allen die brons en ijzer bewerken. De zuster van Tubal-Kain heette Naäma.

Deze passage benoemt de zeven generaties die afstamden van Kain en zijn (naamloze) vrouw. Het is een zich vertakkende geslachtslijst, heel anders en veel minder regelmatig dan de lineaire *toledot*-lijst van Genesis 5. Aan het eind splitst de lijn zich bij de twee vrouwen van Lamech, Ada en Silla. Hun zonen worden gepresenteerd als de stamvaders van hele culturen en beroepsgroepen. Ook wordt Silla's dochter Naäma genoemd, mogelijk als de stammoeder van de zangers.

De geslachtslijsten van Gen. 4 en 5 gaan zeer verschillend om met de breuk die de voorafgaande gebeurtenissen teweegbrachten. Gen. 4 is een zich vertakkende lijst, Gen. 5 een regelmatige *toledot*-lijst. In Gen. 4 hebben we Ada and Silla, moeders van cultuurdragers, en een vermelding van Silla's dochter Naäma; in Gen. 5 is van moeders geen sprake en hebben de dochters geen naam. Gen. 4 volgt de geslachtslijn van Kain, de

eerstgeborene, Gen. 5 kiest ervoor om de lijn te laten voortzetten door Set, de plaatsvervanger.

Deze verschillen doen vermoeden dat geslachtslijsten niet neutraal en objectief zijn maar een ideologisch karakter hebben en een duidelijke functie vervullen. In het geval van Genesis 5 vormen de genoemde onderbrekingen van de regelmatige structuur duidelijke aanknopingspunten om te kunnen begrijpen op welke manier deze geslachtslijst het verleden present stelt. Het gaat hierbij om variaties in vorm, afwijking van de dominante afstammingslijn (eerstgeborene), en om geslacht. Zo laat Genesis 5 zien hoe breuken en onregelmatigheden in het algemeen de sleutel vormen om te begrijpen hoe geslachtslijsten functioneren bij het omgaan met een traumatisch verleden. Door Genesis 5 te lezen kwam ik tot de hypothese dat je moet kijken naar zulke breuken en variaties om meer te weten te komen over de herinneringsfunctie van geslachtslijsten in de periode na een groot trauma of een crisis. Andere geslachtslijsten in de Hebreeuwse Bijbel versterkten die hypothese. Daarbij bleek ook dat de onregelmatigheden vaak te maken hebben met verwijzingen naar vrouwen. Voor het onderzoek naar deze functie van geslachtslijsten is geslacht dus een sleutelbegrip.

In de geslachtslijsten van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel zijn verwijzingen naar vrouwen veelal impliciet (denk aan de niet genoemde Eva in Gen. 5:2) en terloops (de oerzangeres Naäma in Gen 4:22). Dat maakt het onderzoek naar deze verwijzingen niet gemakkelijk. Om toch een duidelijker beeld te krijgen van hoe breuken, onregelmatigheden en geslacht in dit verband functioneren zocht ik bij wijze van vergelijking een buiten-bijbelse geslachtslijst waarin geslacht een meer centrale rol zou spelen. Tegenover de oude teksten heb ik het andere uiterste geplaatst: een hedendaagse documentaire waarin afstamming via de vrouwelijke lijn centraal staat. Door het grote contrast—fragmenten over vrouwen tegenover een compleet uitgewerkte vrouwelijke lijn—heb ik vorm en functies van de fragmenten duidelijker in beeld gekregen. Ook bleek het van hieruit mogelijk om tot verder reikende conclusies te komen over de rol van ‘geslachtslijsten met een geslacht’.

De geslachtslijsten in de Hebreeuwse Bijbel zijn nogal divers en dat geldt ook voor vrouwelijke aftammingslijnen in moderne films. Toch dienden zich bij het overzien van het materiaal wel steeds weer bepaalde koppels aan. Ik heb uiteindelijk ervoor gekozen om te werken met de geslachtslijsten van 1 Kronieken 1–9, gekoppeld aan de documentaire *Mein Leben Teil 2* door Angelika Levi (Berlijn 2003).

Mein Leben Teil 2 gaat over het leven van Angelika Levi’s moeder onder het nationaalsocialisme en in het Duitsland van na de oorlog. De film bestaat uit een collage van materiaal uit haar persoonlijk archief. Levi laat zien hoe de traumatische jeugd van haar moeder heeft doorgewerkt in het gezin, en hoe Joods-Duitse identiteit in het hedendaagse Duitsland bepaald is door de wisselwerking tussen persoonlijke en politieke geschiedenis. Halverwege de film brengt Levi haar voormoeders in beeld, als een ankerpunt dat het haar mogelijk maakt om zich de traumatische erfenis waar ze mee opgezaald is eigen te maken en die een plek te geven.

Formeel gezien bestaat er een interessante overlap tussen bijbelse geslachtslijsten en documentaires. Voor beide zijn van belang de relatie tussen feit en fictie, lijnen tussen verleden en heden, het stellen van kaders, het belang van redactie en bewerking, en het vertellen van een verhaal. Daarnaast had nog nooit iemand bijbelteksten met documentaires vergeleken, zodat hier ook sprake zou zijn van grensverleggend onderzoek. Inhoudelijk zitten er drie ook voor Kronieken belangrijke aspecten aan *Mein Leben Teil 2*. Allereerst is

er het begrip discontinuïteit als deel van en voorwaarde voor de omgang met trauma's door 'geslachtslijsten met een geslacht'. Daarnaast kent de film een wisselwerking tussen bestaande en verzonnen afstammingslijnen. Zo wordt een geslachtslijst geconstrueerd die bedoeld is om als daad van herinnering te helpen bij het verwerken van het verleden. Ten derde geeft de film invulling aan het begrip 'archief', enerzijds als bewaarplaats van veelsoortige en onvolledige herinneringen en anderzijds als bewuste daad van herinnering.

1 Kronieken 1–9 is een heterogene compositie van geslachtslijsten die beginnen bij Adam en doorlopen tot aan de eersten die terugkeerden uit de Babylonische ballingschap. De meeste stammen van Israël worden genoemd maar de nadruk ligt duidelijk op Juda en Levi. De geslachtslijsten vormen een zelf-beeld van Israël, voorafgaande aan het eigenlijke verhaal, dat begint in 1 Kron. 10. Dit zelf-beeld geeft een antwoord op de gebroken toestand van Israël in die dagen. In de na-exilische periode woedde er een heftig debat over wie en wat Israël eigenlijk was, waar het vandaan kwam en waar het voor stond. Kronieken neemt in dat debat een duidelijke positie in.

Kronieken wordt meestal beschouwd als een conservatieve en nogal patriarchale versie van de geschiedenis van Israël, waaruit alle dingen weggelaten zijn die David, Jeruzalem of de Tempel in een kwaad daglicht zouden kunnen stellen. Je zou dus verwachten dat de geslachtslijsten van 1 Kron. 1–9 pro-David zijn en rechttoe rechtaan de mannelijke lijn volgen, zonder tegenstrijdigheden of losse eindjes. Maar zo is het niet. Allereerst vinden we tussen alle mannen in deze lijsten toch meer dan vijftig vrouwen, sommige op onverwachte plaatsen, zoals bijvoorbeeld Seëra, de dochter van Efraïm, van wie wordt vermeld dat ze drie steden stichtte (1 Kron. 7:24). Met name de lijsten met afstammelingen van Juda (2:3–4:23) bevatten veel verwijzingen naar vrouwen: leden van het Huis van David, buitenlandse vrouwen, stammoeders, naamloze echtgenotes, vrouwen des huizes, of zusters zonder eigen verhaal. Deze fragmenten 'met een geslacht', klein als ze zijn, onderbreken de mannelijke lijn en zetten deze deels op losse schroeven.

Daarnaast zijn de geslachtslijsten van 1 Kronieken 1–9 allesbehalve homogeen, ze zijn soms chaotisch en lang niet altijd volledig. In het geval van Juda worden lijnen afgebroken, ze lopen gevaar en zijn soms maar heel losjes met elkaar verbonden. Maar ook in de rest van 1 Kronieken 1–9 geldt dat de afstamming meestal niet glad verloopt. Er zijn breuken, losse eindjes, fragmenten over vrouwen. Juist in die onregelmatigheden liggen uitspraken over heden, verleden en toekomst van Israël vervat. Juist hier valt te onderzoeken hoe breuken, onregelmatigheden en geslacht op elkaar inwerken in geslachtslijsten die een verwerking bieden van een traumatisch verleden.

Tegenover het karakteristieke fragmentaire karakter van geslacht in de geslachtslijsten van 1 Kronieken 1–9 biedt de documentaire *Mein Leben Teil 2* een totaal ander beeld. Hier wordt een afstamming gepresenteerd die bewust geheel via de vrouwelijke lijn loopt. Ik duid dit in hoofdstuk 5 aan als *gynealogy*, een woordspel met het normale Engelse begrip *genealogy*. De constructie van een *gynealogy* werpt een heel nieuw licht op het 'geslachtsaspect' van de bijbelse geslachtslijsten en laat zien dat ook deze te lezen zijn als alternatieve, subversieve verhalen over het verleden.

In *Mein Leben Teil 2* documenteert de Berlijnse cineaste Angelika Levi het leven van haar moeder Ursula Levi. Dit verhaal over een Joods-Duitse familie tijdens de naziperiode en in het na-oorlogse West-Duitsland wordt in voice-over door Angelika Levi zelf verteld aan de hand van interviewfragmenten, persoonlijke geluids- en filmopnamen van haar moeder en voorwerpen met een speciale betekenis. Rode draad in het geheel is een

afstammingslijn van vrouwen, te beginnen met Angelika's overgrootmoeder, die alle hun Joodse identiteit ontlent aan de naam Levi. Ursula Levi gaat zelfs nog verder: zij beschouwt zichzelf als een afstammeling van de bijbelse Levi. De film gaat over het verleden maar is tegelijk een poging van Angelika Levi om zelf met deze traumatische geschiedenis in het reine te komen, als dochter en als kunstenaar. De documentairevorm sluit goed aan bij het genre geslachtslijst. Zo wordt er in de film bijvoorbeeld een overzicht gegeven van de vermoorde leden van de familie door middel van een simpele reeks foto's waarbij de voice-over steeds de naam voorleest, gevolgd door de datum en de plaats van de moord.

Mein Leben Teil 2 is een voorbeeld van de groeiende belangstelling voor familie en afkomst in de hedendaagse literatuur en film. Behalve de gebruikelijke familiegeschiedenissen zijn er ook werken, zoals deze film, die experimenteren met geslachtslijsten en gerelateerde vormen om greep te krijgen op familiegeheimen en -mythes, en zaken als economische (afhankelijkheids)relaties, verzonnen afstamming, het voortleven van de overledenen en de impact van herinneringen. Zulke werken laten de verbindingen tussen de generaties zien maar maken ook duidelijk hoe kwetsbaar die banden zijn.

Op de achtergrond hiervan speelt een rol dat het doorgeven van herinneringen, tradities en ook identiteiten tegenwoordig veel moeilijker is dan vroeger. Het is niet meer vanzelfsprekend dat drie generaties geregeld met elkaar omgaan en elkaar kennen. Toenemende migratie heeft geleid tot de vorming van diaspora's, vermenging van culturen en nieuwe vormen van familiale en sociale verbanden. De verbanden tussen de generaties komen daardoor op losse schroeven te staan 'waardoor de traditionele manieren om culturele, ethnische en raciale herinneringen door te geven—zowel van ouders op kinderen als binnen de gemeenschap als geheel—steeds minder goed werken' (Landsberg 2004, 2). Door traumatische gebeurtenissen als de slavernij in Amerika en de sjoa zijn ouders en kinderen uiteengerukt en zijn mensen hun sociale omgeving kwijtgeraakt. Ook hierdoor zijn veel herinneringen verlorengegaan.

Door te werken met *Mein Leben Teil 2* kwam ik er achter hoe diep die crisis in het doorgeven van herinneringen gaat. Tegelijk zag ik dat die crisis ook in de bijbelteksten te bespeuren valt. Daardoor kwam voor mij het zwaartepunt van het onderzoek te liggen bij het proces en de functie van de herinnering, meer dan bij het begrip identiteit waar ik aanvankelijk vooral in geïnteresseerd was. Ik ontdekte dat het bestuderen van de oude bijbelse geslachtslijsten relevant is voor het leven vandaag, en in het bijzonder voor de actuele discussies rond herinneringen en het doorgeven daarvan.

Het idee om 1 Kronieken 1–9 te koppelen aan *Mein Leben Teil 2* kwam in eerste instantie voort uit het heterogene karakter dat ze met elkaar gemeen hebben. De geslachtslijsten zijn in beide samengesteld uit losse fragmenten. In het geval van Kronieken wordt dit meestal als iets negatiefs gezien of op zijn minst als iets problematisch. Maar bij de film wordt het door de kritieken in verband gebracht met het archief-achtige karakter van de documentaire en geldt het als iets positiefs. Door de twee naast elkaar te lezen kreeg ik oog voor het archiefkarakter van Kronieken en voor de betekenis van de heterogeniteit. In hoofdstuk 5 laat ik zien hoe de notie van archief—als bewaarplaats van veelsoortige en onvolledige herinneringen en als bewuste daad van herinnering—functioneert bij het maken van geslachtslijsten als middel om in het reine te komen met een gebroken verleden. Uit een archief valt een normale stamboom af te leiden, maar je kan en moet daar ook steeds weer

van afwijken om een verklaring te geven voor onderbrekingen, fragmenten en losse eindjes in de herinnering. Niet zelden hebben zulke onregelmatigheden ‘een geslacht’.

In 1 Kronieken 1–9 kreeg ik vooral door de zusters in de afstammingslijsten van Juda, Manasse en Efraïm oog voor de manier waarop deze compositie via de notie van ‘geslacht’ stelling neemt in de crisis van de Babylonische ballingschap en de daarop volgende herdefinitie van Joodse identiteiten. 1 Chronicles 1–9 bevat een aantal verwijzingen naar zusters. Zo geeft 1 Kron. 3 de afstammelingen van het huis van David, tot in de periode na de ballingschap. Het zijn allemaal mannen, behalve in vers 19 waar sprake is van twee zonen van Zerubbabel, met de toevoeging: ‘hun zuster was Selomit’. En onder de afstammelingen van Aser in 1 Kron. 7:30-40 vinden we ook twee zusters:

1 Kron. 7:30–33 (NBV): 30 Kinderen van Aser: Jimna, Jiswa, Jiswi, Beria en hun zuster Serach. 31 Zonen van Beria: Cheber en Malkiël, de stichter van Bir-Zaït. 32 Cheber verwekte Jaflet, Somer, Chotam en hun zuster Sua. 33 Zonen van Jaflet: Pasach, Bimhal en Aswat; zij waren de zonen van Jaflet.

Voor de vermelding van zusters wordt een bepaalde steeds terugkerende formulering gebruikt en dergelijke vermeldingen zijn in het hele genealogische archief te vinden. Veel van de in 1 Kronieken genoemde zusters komen elders in de Bijbel niet voor. Namen als Selomit, Serach, Sua, of bijvoorbeeld Hasselponi (1 Kron. 4:3) zijn verder onbekend. Dat ze in de tekst genoemd worden is eigenlijk totaal onbegrijpelijk. Maar ze staan er toch, in al hun onbekendheid, en dat leidt tot wat ik aanduid als een ‘geheel van gevormde lacunes’ (structure of shaped gaps). Een gevormde lacune is niet simpelweg het ontbreken van iets. Gevormde lacunes worden bewust onder de aandacht gebracht en ze brengen een tegenbeweging op gang. Vermeldingen van vrouwen als echtnotes en moeders passen precies in de stroom van een geslachtslijst, maar de schijnbaar nutteloze vermelding van zusters doet denken aan inhammen in een stroom, waar het water stilstaat. Het zijn duidelijk zichtbare en herkenbare lacunes die steeds terugkeren en ze hebben een aantal verschillende functies. Als lacune onderdrukken ze de herinnering aan vrouwen; maar als zichtbare lacune laten ze tegelijk zien dat er meer te herinneren valt dan er in de tekst staat. De lacunes nodigen je uit om ze op te vullen met herinneringen aan niet genoemden, afwezigen en gemarginaliseerden. In het archief als daad van herinnering zijn ze onmisbaar bij het verwerken van een trauma.

Mein Leben Teil 2 bevat een element dat ik pas in de loop van het onderzoek in verband kon brengen met het ‘geheel van gevormde lacunes.’ Wat me bij het bekijken van de film het meest heeft getroffen is de breuk die optreedt midden in de geslachtslijst. Angelika Levi bouwt heel zorgvuldig een opeenvolging van moeders op maar dan zegt ze in de voice-over dat ze zelf geen moeder zal worden; ze wil met vrouwen leven en geen kinderen krijgen. Dat is een duidelijke tegenstem tegen het dominante principe van de doorgaande afstammingslijn. Paradoxaal genoeg heeft Levi deze beslissing nodig om de traumatische erfenis waar ze mee opgezaald is te aanvaarden en het verleden een plek te geven.

De ontdekking van de lacunes in 1 Kronieken 1–9 en van de paradoxale breuk met de moederlijn in de film heeft belangrijke gevolgen gehad voor de opzet van het onderzoek. In eerste instantie was ik vooral geïnteresseerd in de identificatie met ‘voormoeders’. Maar door het grote aantal vrouwen zonder verhaal in Kronieken—zusters maar ook anderen—werd een andere vraag belangrijker voor me: wat is de structurele functie van ‘geslacht’

binnen een geslachtslijst als daad van herinnering? Dit betekende een aanzienlijke verandering van thematiek. In verband met identificatie had ik me gericht op vragen rond *identiteit* en het belang van *continuïteit* bij het reconstrueren van het verleden. Dit zijn bekende thema's in de exegetische discussies rond de bijbelse geslachtslijsten. Ook paste het thema identificatie goed binnen de hoofdstroom van de feministische exegese, die de aandacht richt op belangrijke bijbelse vrouwen als Sara, Judit, Ester en Vrouwe Wijsheid. Maar nu ging ik mij richten op breuken, lacunes en structurele functies van de vermelding van vrouwen, en daardoor kreeg ik juist aandacht voor *discontinuïteit* en *paradox*. Dat zijn volgens mij wezenlijke aspecten als het erom gaat hoe geslachtslijsten omgaan met een traumatisch en gebroken verleden.

En er was nog iets. Wanneer je je als feministisch bijbelwetenschapper niet meer voornamelijk bezighoudt met vrouwelijke personages en hun verhalen, dan krijg je opeens ook alle (exclusief) mannelijk georiënteerde teksten van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel in beeld, of dat nou geslachtslijsten zijn of wetten, wijsheidsliteratuur of verhalen. De vraag wordt dan, hoe een feministische hermeneutiek eruit kan of moet zien als ze zich niet speciaal richt op vrouwelijke personages, vrouwelijke stemmen of machtsverhoudingen tussen mannen en vrouwen. Op die vraag heb ik in alle voorlopigheid antwoorden ontwikkeld.

Het lezen van een bijbeltekst naast een film die geen bijbelverhalen of bijbelse noties verwerkt (maar waarin wel een bepaalde interesse in de Bijbel tot uitdrukking komt) is in methodologisch opzicht iets heel nieuws. Ik moest een methode ontwikkelen om de twee vormen van geslachtslijsten met elkaar in verband te kunnen brengen met het oog op mijn onderzoeksvraag: hoe functioneren geslachtslijsten 'met een geslacht' bij het verwerken van een traumatisch en gebroken verleden? Ik heb mijn methodes deels ontleend aan Julia Kristeva's werk over intertekstualiteit, maar ben ook te rade gegaan bij biologen. De biologie kent het begrip 'socialisering': verschillende soorten worden bij elkaar gebracht in één omgeving, met als doel dat ze niet enkel naast elkaar gaan leven maar elkaar ook voordeel bieden. Overdrachtelijk gebruikt kun je zeggen dat bijbeltekst en film 'socialiseren', ze worden bij elkaar gebracht in één analytische ruimte met als doel dat ze elkaars analyses gaan stimuleren. Heel belangrijk daarbij is het opzetten van die analytische ruimte. Het succesvol socialiseren van bijbeltekst en film hangt ervan af. Het analytisch kader van dit onderzoek is gebaseerd op noties over cultureel geheugen, archieftheorie, uitvoeringstheorie (performance theory) en genderstudies, ingebed in een breder kader van 'memory studies', het onderzoek naar collectief geheugen. Het kader laat het enerzijds toe om bijbeltekst en film los van elkaar te bestuderen, elk met de eigen methodes. Anderzijds biedt het de mogelijkheid om aan beide teksten gelijksoortige vragen te stellen, de een te lezen vanuit het perspectief—en ten bate—van de ander.

Deze studie laat zien dat de geslachtslijsten een wezenlijk onderdeel vormen van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel, en wat hun functie is. Daarnaast zet ze het onderzoek naar de geslachtslijsten van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel in een breder wetenschappelijk en kunstzinnig perspectief en toont aan dat de bijbelteksten relevant zijn niet alleen voor de theologie maar ook voor de geesteswetenschappen, waar de bijbelwetenschap in toenemende mate onderdeel van vormt.

De opbouw van het boek is als volgt. Hoofdstuk 1 vormt het theoretische kader. Hier werk ik het begrip 'geslachtslijst met een geslacht' uit als daad van herinnering, en bespreek ik ook enkele andere belangrijke begrippen omtrent cultureel en collectief geheugen: cultureel

geheugen als algemeen begrip en culturele herinnering als een bewuste daad in het heden; narratieve herinnering afgezet tegen traumatische herbeleving; subversieve herinnering en alternatieve ‘archieven’; het doorgeven van herinneringen en het zogeheten prothetisch geheugen; cultureel geheugen en gender.

In hoofdstuk 2 ga ik in op het begrip socialiseren. Ik leg hier uit hoe ik ertoe kwam om een bijbeltekst en een documentaire met elkaar in verband te willen brengen. It ga hier in op het begrip intertekstualiteit en op de huidige stand van het onderzoek in de bijbel- en de filmwetenschappen. Ook leg ik hier uit hoe het socialiseren van Bijbel en film in dit onderzoek in zijn werk gaat.

Hoofdstuk 3 is een voorbereidend hoofdstuk met het oog op de *close reading* van 1 Kron. 1–9. Ik haal de vrouwelijk getinte passages uit de geslachtslijsten naar voren en bekijk in hoeverre gender een rol speelt in het lopende onderzoek naar 1 Kron. 1–9. Ook worden deze hoofdstukken gezien in het kader van het onderzoek naar Kronieken als geheel, zowel literair als sociaalhistorisch. Tenslotte beargumenteer ik mijn keuze voor de geslachtslijsten van Juda als sleuteltekst.

In hoofdstuk 4 presenteer ik een eerste *close reading* van de geslachtslijsten van Juda (1 Kron. 2:2–4:23). Daarbij schenk ik in het bijzonder aandacht aan drie opvallende zaken: a) in de ingelaste verhalen van 1 Kron. 2:3–4 en 2:34–35 komt de opvolging via de mannelijke lijn in gevaar; b) in de vermeldingen van Efrat[a] (2:19; 2:50; 4:3) en Seruja (2:16–17) is niet helemaal duidelijk waar het over mannen en waar het over vrouwen gaat; en c) in 2:18–19 en 4:17–18 wordt de rol van vrouwen aan het zicht onttrokken doordat de formuleringen totaal onbegrijpelijk zijn.

Hoofdstuk 5 gaat over de film. Ik laat hier zien hoe in *Mein Leben Teil 2* geslachtslijsten ‘met een geslacht’ gerealiseerd worden, en hoe ze functioneren bij het zich eigen maken en verwerken van het verleden. Tijd en plaats van de film komen aan de orde en ik laat zien hoe de afstammingslijn van Angelika Levi’s moeder, groot- en overgrootmoeder wordt opgebouwd. De breuk in deze lijn wordt geanalyseerd en ik laat zien hoe deze *gynealogy* functioneert als daad van herinnering. In breder verband kijk ik hier naar zaken als het doorgeven van collectieve herinneringen en het vormen van politieke allianties. Aan het eind van het hoofdstuk koppel ik de resultaten van de filmanalyse terug naar 1 Kronieken 1–9.

In hoofdstuk 6 kijk ik weer naar Kronieken, om de fragmenten ‘met een geslacht’ nauwer met elkaar in verband te brengen. De nadruk ligt ook hier bij de geslachtslijsten van Juda maar bij de analyse gebruik ik nu noties uit de cultuurwetenschappen, zoals identiteit en alteriteit, en uit de filmwetenschap. De belangrijkste vraag in dit hoofdstuk is, welke structurele rol de fragmenten ‘met een geslacht’ spelen binnen de compositie van de geslachtslijsten als geheel.

Hoofdstuk 7, tenslotte, komt terug op de belangrijkste vraagstelling van het onderzoek. Hier bespreek ik het genre geslachtslijst en laat zien hoe geslachtslijsten een antwoord kunnen bieden op een gebroken verleden.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to my spouse, Marianne Löwisch, who shares my conviction that a relationship grows if both parties are able to pursue the goals of their hearts, and who, by taking care of our children; generously sharing her salary; and contributing, in every respect, far more than her share to allowing me to work abroad, helped to bring this project to a good end. You truly are the most generous, beautiful, and intelligent person I know.

Thank you to my friend Jutta Brettschneider, who accompanied this research from initial dream to ready manuscript as a true midwife of the mind.

Thank you to my sister Henni Löwisch for doing the bulk of the copy-editing. How good that it was possible to rely on your presence and your competence!

Thank you to my supervisory committee for the excellent supervision: thank you to Prof. Bob Becking for your openness to an interdisciplinary and feminist project while keeping an eye on my meeting the requirements of traditional exegesis. Thank you to Prof. Athalya Brenner for sharing your love to our field, which again and again was an extraordinary motivation for my own research. Thank you to Prof. Julia Noordegraaf for challenging me to formulate my own conclusion rather than to stop before the end of an argument.

Thank you to the Utrecht *Bijbelwetenschappers*, in particular to Annette Merz, Marjo Korpel, and Anne-Mareike Wetter, for inspiration, feedback, and exchange of ideas.

Thank you to my friends and family for providing me with the love, support, empathy, and sometimes criticism I needed to not get lost between countries and languages; to become a mother; to meet breast cancer in 2012; and nevertheless cling to the love for my research. Thank you to Christiane Textor and Heimo Fischer, Christine Meier, Barbara Zeitler, Sina Vogt, Tino Köhler, Barbara Becker, Annette Rosenfeld with Marla and Thembani, Maike Stöckmann, Annette Kempken with Jolan Ida, Gesa Renken, Gemma Kwantes, Emma England, Martin Ruf, Swantje and Sabine Geßner-Boeckel with Liam and Linnea, Alex and Jessika Distelmeyer with Lovis, Herrad Gutekunst and Anja Pietruschka with Maya, Jenny Schreiber and Lars Nawrath with Arthur and Emma, Sigrun and Manfred Löwisch, Anne Löwisch and Erwin with Leonie and Carlynn, Georg Löwisch and Antje Leitenroth with Jakob, Lisbet and Robert. To our children who form the next generation, I devote this work.

Among them and dearest to me Noah and Ruth: thank you to my son Noah, for keeping in touch even though I was often absent; for loving to read, ride your bike, snuggle, and tell jokes; and especially for enticing me into starting the week of handing in the manuscript on a summer morning park bench, stopping on our way to daycare to read ‘Jim Button and Luke the Engine Driver’.

Thank you to my little daughter Ruth; my motivation for eventually finishing the PhD mainly rested on the prospect of having a summer of parental leave with you, sitting together in a sandbox, playing, and having nothing to do. Thank you for waiting for me.

Hamburg, June 2013

Curriculum Vitae

Ingeborg S. Löwisch was born on July 17, 1968 in Freiburg, Germany, where she did her German and French A-Level at the binational German French high school in 1987. Ingeborg studied Protestant Theology in Hamburg, Leipzig, and Bochum. She did her First Theological Diploma of the Evangelical Church in Baden in summer 1995. To her studies, she added an education in multimedia and project management offered by the European framework programme “New Opportunities for Women” (1996-1997). From 1998–2004, Ingeborg worked as a teacher, coach, and educational guide in a district related multimedia centre for youngsters (1998–2000), and as a lecturer for web design and technical documentation at DTP-Akademie Hamburg (2000–2004). From 2004–2006, Ingeborg did a Research MA in Religious Studies at the University of Amsterdam (cum laude). From 2008–2013, she worked as a scientific assistant (Aio) at the Research Institute for Theology and Religious Studies (Integon) of the University of Utrecht. Next to her PhD research, Ingeborg taught Hebrew Bible exegesis, gave papers at international conferences, and published on genealogies, memory, and gender. Ingeborg is an active member of the European Association of Women in Theological Research (ESWTR) and the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL). Her PhD will be published with Sheffield Phoenix Press.

Quaestiones Infinitae

PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES

- VOLUME 21. D. VAN DALEN, *Torens en Fundamenten* (valedictory lecture), 1997.
- VOLUME 22. J.A. BERGSTRA, W.J. FOKKINK, W.M.T. MENNEN, S.F.M. VAN VLIJMEN, *Spoorweglogica via EURIS*, 1997.
- VOLUME 23. I.M. CROESE, *Simplicius on Continuous and Instantaneous Change* (dissertation), 1998.
- VOLUME 24. M.J. HOLLENBERG, *Logic and Bisimulation* (dissertation), 1998.
- VOLUME 25. C.H. LEIJENHORST, *Hobbes and the Aristotelians* (dissertation), 1998.
- VOLUME 26. S.F.M. VAN VLIJMEN, *Algebraic Specification in Action* (dissertation), 1998.
- VOLUME 27. M.F. VERWEIJ, *Preventive Medicine Between Obligation and Aspiration* (dissertation), 1998.
- VOLUME 28. J.A. BERGSTRA, S.F.M. VAN VLIJMEN, *Theoretische Software-Engineering: kenmerken, faseringen en classificaties*, 1998.
- VOLUME 29. A.G. WOUTERS, *Explanation Without A Cause* (dissertation), 1999.
- VOLUME 30. M.M.S.K. SIE, *Responsibility, Blameworthy Action & Normative Disagreements* (dissertation), 1999.
- VOLUME 31. M.S.P.R. VAN ATTEN, *Phenomenology of choice sequences* (dissertation), 1999.
- VOLUME 32. V.N. STEBLETSOVA, *Algebras, Relations and Geometries (an equational perspective)* (dissertation), 2000.
- VOLUME 33. A. VISSER, *Het Tekst Continuüm* (inaugural lecture), 2000.
- VOLUME 34. H. ISHIGURO, *Can we speak about what cannot be said?* (public lecture), 2000.
- VOLUME 35. W. HAAS, *Haltlosigkeit; Zwischen Sprache und Erfahrung* (dissertation), 2001.
- VOLUME 36. R. POLI, *ALWIS: Ontology for knowledge engineers* (dissertation), 2001.
- VOLUME 37. J. MANSFELD, *Platonische Briefschrijverij* (valedictory lecture), 2001.
- VOLUME 37A. E.J. BOS, *The Correspondence between Descartes and Henricus Regius* (dissertation), 2002.
- VOLUME 38. M. VAN OTEGEM, *A Bibliography of the Works of Descartes (1637-1704)* (dissertation), 2002.
- VOLUME 39. B.E.K.J. GOOSSENS, *Edmund Husserl: Einleitung in die Philosophie: Vorlesungen 1922/23* (dissertation), 2003.
- VOLUME 40. H.J.M. BROEKHUIJSE, *Het einde van de sociaaldemocratie* (dissertation), 2002.
- VOLUME 41. P. RAVALLI, *Husserls Phänomenologie der Intersubjektivität in den Göttinger Jahren: Eine kritisch-historische Darstellung* (dissertation), 2003.
- VOLUME 42. B. ALMOND, *The Midas Touch: Ethics, Science and our Human Future* (inaugural lecture), 2003.
- VOLUME 43. M. DÜWELL, *Morele kennis: over de mogelijkheden van toegepaste ethiek* (inaugural lecture), 2003.
- VOLUME 44. R.D.A. HENDRIKS, *Metamathematics in Coq* (dissertation), 2003.
- VOLUME 45. TH. VERBEEK, E.J. BOS, J.M.M. VAN DE VEN, *The Correspondence of René Descartes: 1643*, 2003.
- VOLUME 46. J.J.C. KUIPER, *Ideas and Explorations: Brouwer's Road to Intuitionism* (dissertation), 2004.
- VOLUME 47. C.M. BEKKER, *Rechtvaardigheid, Onpartijdigheid, Gender en Sociale Diversiteit*;

- Feministische filosofen over recht doen aan vrouwen en hun onderlinge verschillen* (dissertation), 2004.
- VOLUME 48. A.A. LONG, *Epicetus on understanding and managing emotions* (public lecture), 2004.
- VOLUME 49. J.J. JOOSTEN, *Interpretability formalized* (dissertation), 2004.
- VOLUME 50. J.G. SIMONS, *Phänomenologie und Idealismus: Analyse der Struktur und Methode der Philosophie Rudolf Steiners* (dissertation), 2005.
- VOLUME 51. J.H. HOOGSTAD, *Time tracks* (dissertation), 2005.
- VOLUME 52. M.A. VAN DEN HOVEN, *A Claim for Reasonable Morality* (dissertation), 2006.
- VOLUME 53. C. VERMEULEN, *René Descartes, Specimina philosophiae: Introduction and Critical Edition* (dissertation), 2007.
- VOLUME 54. R.G. MILLIKAN, *Learning Language without having a theory of mind* (inaugural lecture), 2007.
- VOLUME 55. R.J.G. CLAASSEN, *The Market's Place in the Provision of Goods* (dissertation), 2008.
- VOLUME 56. H.J.S. BRUGGINK, *Equivalence of Reductions in Higher-Order Rewriting* (dissertation), 2008.
- VOLUME 57. A. KALIS, *Failures of agency* (dissertation), 2009.
- VOLUME 58. S. GRAUMANN, *Assistierte Freiheit* (dissertation), 2009.
- VOLUME 59. M. AALDERINK, *Philosophy, Scientific Knowledge, and Concept Formation in Geulincx and Descartes* (dissertation), 2010.
- VOLUME 60. I.M. CONRADIE, *Seneca in his cultural and literary context: Selected moral letters on the body* (dissertation), 2010.
- VOLUME 61. C. VAN SIJL, *Stoic Philosophy and the Exegesis of Myth* (dissertation), 2010.
- VOLUME 62. J.M.I.M. LEO, *The Logical Structure of Relations* (dissertation), 2010.
- VOLUME 63. M.S.A. VAN HOUTE, *Seneca's theology in its philosophical context* (dissertation), 2010.
- VOLUME 64. F.A. BAKKER, *Three Studies in Epicurean Cosmology* (dissertation), 2010.
- VOLUME 65. T. FOSSEN, *Political legitimacy and the pragmatic turn* (dissertation), 2011.
- VOLUME 66. T. VISAK, *Killing happy animals. Explorations in utilitarian ethics.* (dissertation), 2011.
- VOLUME 67. A. JOOSSE, *Why we need others: Platonic and Stoic models of friendship and self-understanding* (dissertation), 2011.
- VOLUME 68. N. M. NIJSINGH, *Expanding newborn screening programmes and strengthening informed consent* (dissertation), 2012.
- VOLUME 69. R. PEELS, *Believing Responsibly: Intellectual Obligations and Doxastic Excuses* (dissertation), 2012.
- VOLUME 70. S. LUTZ, *Criteria of Empirical Significance* (dissertation), 2012
- VOLUME 70A. G.H. BOS, *Agential Self-consciousness, beyond conscious agency* (dissertation), 2013.
- VOLUME 71. F.E. KALDEWAIJ, *The animal in morality: Justifying duties to animals in Kantian moral philosophy* (dissertation), 2013.
- VOLUME 72. R.O. BUNING, *Henricus Reneri (1593-1639): Descartes' Quartermaster in Aristotelian Territory* (dissertation), 2013.
- VOLUME 73. I.S. LÖWISCH, *Genealogy Composition in Response to Trauma: Gender and Memory in 1 Chronicles 1-9 and the Documentary "My Life Part 2"* (dissertation), 2013.