

Andrews University

Digital Commons @ Andrews University

Honors Theses

Undergraduate Research

4-30-2020

Sihon, Pools, and Disaster: The Memory of Biblical Heshbon

Alma Nizaye Cortez Alvarez

Andrews University, almac@andrews.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/honors>



Part of the [Biblical Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Cortez Alvarez, Alma Nizaye, "Sihon, Pools, and Disaster: The Memory of Biblical Heshbon" (2020). *Honors Theses*. 220.

<https://dx.doi.org/10.32597/honors/220/>

<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/honors/220>

This Honors Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Undergraduate Research at Digital Commons @ Andrews University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Andrews University. For more information, please contact repository@andrews.edu.

J. N. Andrews Honors Program
Andrews University

HONS 497
Honors Thesis

Sihon, Pools, and Disaster: The Memory of Biblical Heshbon

Alma Nizaye Cortez Alvarez

April 30, 2020

Primary Advisor: Rahel Wells, PhD
Secondary Advisor: Øystein S. LaBianca, PhD

Primary Advisor Signature: Rahel Wells

Secondary Advisor Signature: Øystein S. LaBianca

Department: Social & Behavioral Sciences

Abstract

Cultural memory is a recent development within biblical studies. Recent research advocates the observance of the biblical text as a basis for the study of cultural memory, in order to engage its historical value. The biblical site of Heshbon in TransJordan serves as a case study to examine how cultural memory interacts with the Bible. In a content analysis design, I engage the biblical cultural memory of Heshbon by evaluating the themes in the text. Based on data collected from the 38 references to Heshbon within 19 passages across the Hebrew Bible, I conclude that the biblical text reflects different narratives and cultural memory emphases for the site of Heshbon.

The Biblical Account and Memory of Heshbon

To what extent do the various sections of the Hebrew Bible (Torah, Writings and Prophets) reflect different narratives and cultural memories with regard to biblical Heshbon? The discipline of cultural memory has come a long way, and slowly but surely has encroached upon biblical analysis (Hübenthal, 2012). Current studies advocate the observance of the biblical text as a basis for the study of cultural memory, derived from collective memory, in order to engage its historical value (Stordalen, 2015).

Recently, the site of biblical Heshbon has been placed into this theoretical framework. From appearing in works on themes of the conquest of Canaan and the denunciation of the enemies of Israel to an overview of the history of the collective memory of the site, certain studies imply various impacts throughout the different mentions of the biblical site onto its cultural memory (Van Seters, 1972) (Stordalen, 2015). This study wishes to further the discussion on the site by introducing a methodology that has not been presented in past literature, and adding to the discussion on the merits of cultural memory in biblical studies.

Literature Review

This line of study was pioneered with a theoretical framework which shifted from biological to cultural, observing the recollection of the past in the social present as a “collective” or “social” memory (Assmann, 1995). This provides the basis to review elements of society such as literature, monuments, and landscapes as tools and/or participants used by the members of a particular society in constructing and reconstructing its culture. Of course, cultural memory plays into the formation of identity, such as in the case of newly unified Italy attempting to grapple with its nationhood in the 19th and 20th century (Isnenghi, 2008). This also means that there are events or cultural elements that are ignored, and in some cases destroyed, in order to erase their

memory. With this destruction of memory in monuments, artifacts, and writings, comes the erasure of identities and social boundaries (Humphreys, 2002). The act of erasing or forgetting memories becomes another way to shape the cultural memory of a group.

As a social phenomenon, cultural memory can be divided up into various categories to identify the memory or the construction of it: 1) episodic, which is the memory of an event; 2) semantic, which concerns general knowledge, including the observation of memories of different experiences and lessons learned from them; 3) scenic, which deals with visual episodes and visual landmarks; 4) ritual, which revolves around the role of traditions and rituals in forming memory; 5) bonding, which focuses on interpersonal bonds necessary in the formation of memory; 6) connective, focusing on the cohesion of the bonds, elements and members participating with the memory, and 7) collective, which are the memories experienced as a group, (Assmann, 2006). There is also the idea of communicative memory, that focuses on the social individual self, operating within the formation of the memory (Assmann, 2008). These categories inform the complexity that is cultural memory, and how it affects individuals, places and society.

Religious institutions have been shown to follow similar rules and aid the reconstruction of the past for societal merit (Halbwach, 1952). For any society to establish itself, it must first embed itself into the past and reconstruct it. Religious texts, monuments, and objects participate in this reconstruction of places, people and events, and therefore participate in forming cultural memory. One notable visual example of cultural memory is the monumental depictions of a Pharaoh smiting enemies that are smaller than him with religious symbols as a statement of his power (Luiselli, 2011). In visualizing his political power as a ruler, his religious power as the pharaoh is also visualized as a divine symbol and plays a key role in Egyptian religion. Religion

can also be part of a change in society, sometimes causing the change itself, and consequently, the new cultural memory. This can be seen in written works such as those by the poet Prudentius, who attempted to bridge the gap of the traditional Roman and emerging Christian identities in the 4th century (Kuhlmann, 2012). In a sense, in religious writings one can bring up the cultural values while extolling the virtues of the emerging faith. They can bring in previous memories of the culture in the past and bind them with new cultural identities to form new memories. Overall, religion has large part to play in establishing, protecting, and changing cultural memories.

This includes religious writings, concerning themes and identities, and involving characters, events, and places. For the site of biblical Heshbon, located east of the Jordan river, previous research has indicated the impact of a narrative throughout the passages, as well as a shift in the memory of the site once it changes styles of writing (Stordalen, 2015). Here, it appears that the collective memory of the Israelites mostly emphasizes the fall of the city to the Israelites, but also serves as a point of condemnation for the other people in the land, as the points in time change along with the authors. Furthermore, the memories appear to reference each other, building on top of one another, each adding to the overall memory. This in turn, brings up questions about the relationship of the historicity of the biblical passages and how they connect through the memories (Stordalen, 2015).

On the other hand, the construction of a memory can shift when an author stops referring to the site as a participant in a story, and starts referring to it in a poetic setting of praise or condemnation. In this way, different sections of a large work written by different authors with unique styles and alternate perspectives can add to, reinforce, or slightly change the memory. In the case of Heshbon as the capital city of Sihon, king of the Amorites, the narrative of the initial conquest appears in various accounts in biblical texts in the books of Deuteronomy and

Numbers. Throughout these accounts, it seems clear that some versions of the conquest are dependent upon others, such as Numbers 21 on the account in Deuteronomy 4 (Van Seters, 1972). Other passages referencing the site, while not directly dependent, seem to build on previous accounts to remind the audience of that previous memory. One such example concerning biblical Heshbon is 1 Chronicles 6:66, which references an event in Joshua 21 (Butler, 2014). Jephthah's account in Judges 11:12-33 also invokes the conquest, but presents apparent inconsistencies within the text concerning past conflicts with the Ammonites (Bloch-Smith, 2015). The concepts of desired versus contested past are relevant here, since the inconsistencies may bring into question the memory of the event concerning the site. This may demonstrate the differences between accounts that revolve around similar narratives, and the need for investigation into these accounts to evaluate the impact these differences may have had on the text and its audience.

Furthermore, an account can differ in the people it invokes or leaves out. In his study from 1972, Van Seters found that Moses was entirely left out of the narrative concerning Heshbon in Numbers and was replaced by the people of Israel as an active participant, which slightly changes the subject and action in the emphasis of the culture's memory. Furthermore, the subject group can entirely change in a different section. In Jeremiah, the subject population of the memory of the site of Heshbon is the Ammonites, and he decries their future fall with a poetic lament, leaving it in a unique position of denunciation (Christensen, 2003). By altering the subject and using the form of poetic lament, the author changes the lens of the site's memory to reconstruct the site in the reader's mind.

Previous research on this topic has emphasized the analysis of a certain event or theme in which Heshbon was involved. However, the study of a physical site such as Heshbon was not

delved into as frequently. Current studies either observe the rise and fall of Israel or the conflicts themselves. The previous research done on Heshbon itself acknowledges the need to further deepen the topic at hand (Stordalen, 2015), and does not focus on the relationship between the different sections and passages of the Bible and the cultural memory of the site. In addition, there is no clear methodology for the use of cultural memory in past literature. The analysis of the text is dependent on the researcher for interpretation in individual studies, and the lack of consistent methodology makes the researchers' intentions and motives as well as their conclusions harder to understand. Furthermore, future researchers may find it difficult or nearly impossible to replicate a study without a consistent methodology. Researchers who use cultural memory and other elements from sociology when analyzing the text need clear methodology, because of the interdisciplinary nature of their work. In addition, cultural memory is a term that can be often misunderstood and misused (Hübenthal, 2012). As such, this study seeks to confront this issue, by clarifying the terminologies used and by using a more systematic, straightforward methodology that the reader can follow. With that said, based upon the previous research, this study hypothesized that each section of the Hebrew Bible would reflect a different narrative/cultural memory emphasis by its author.

Methodology

Because I am postulating a relationship between each section and its reflection on the biblical textual memory of Heshbon, I used a content analysis design for this study, which is a research method often used by behavioral sciences to analyze texts or documents in a quantitative and systematic manner (Baird, 1976). Content analysis design provides a systematic approach with opportunities to categorize patterns and key ideas within text. This provides the

study with a much-needed structure, allowing for complexities of the concepts surrounding cultural memory to come to the surface and be readily identified.

Corpus

For this study, the main corpus examined was the Hebrew Bible, in order to observe the original text and to discern any patterns in the original writing. The exact version used was the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, edited by K. Elliger and E. Rudolph. Within the text, thirty-seven verses use the name of Heshbon. Sixteen of these verses are found within the Torah; eighteen within the Prophets; and three within the Writings. I have only included passages that contained these verses for my study. No passages that have indirect references to the site or events were included in the study.

Materials

This study entailed the analysis of the Hebrew text with my language skills as a Hebrew scholar, along with the aid of various lexical and exegetical tools to aid in word studies and translation. I also consulted commentaries to search for patterns within the text. For analysis purposes, I used Jan Assmann's theoretical division of the several types of memories (which included episodic, semantic, scenic, bonding, connective, ritual, collective, and communicative memories) in order to identify and organize themes that play into the overall cultural memory of the site (Assmann, 2006). I added the poetic and narrative memories that Stordalen used in his study of the site as well, since they capture the stylistic purpose of the writing and impact on memory (Stordalen, 2015). The combination of Assmann's terminology with that of Stordalen's forms the base of my overall methodology.

Procedure

The locations of the references in the original Hebrew text to the site of biblical Heshbon were separated into their respective sections of the Hebrew Bible: the Torah, the Prophets, and the Writings. I performed an initial reading and translation of each passage that referenced the site of Heshbon. I then observed any recurring phrases and key words and used sources to unpack possible meanings and interpretations. This included parallels between the passages, as well as identifying themes and the main subject of each passage. I then placed each recorded passage under the appropriate category/ies of cultural memory, and color coded it onto a chart in order to indicate the section from which it came¹. I also added a list of possible genres in order to understand what type of passage is being identified for each mention of Heshbon.

Analysis

After organizing the passages within their corresponding sections and investigating possible meanings of words and phrases, I compared any recurrent patterns and key words within each passage. The passages were then interpreted and organized within their corresponding sections according to the specific memory or theme which the passage represents. Certain passages emphasize more than one theme, and in doing so, invoke more than one type of memory that builds into the larger cultural memory. These dually focused passages appear on the spreadsheet as pertaining to more than one type of memory.

Results

Within the Hebrew Bible, thirty-nine verses in nineteen passages were found with various differences in terms of the memories they invoked. In general, the memories that appeared more often were scenic, narrative, episodic, individual and collective. Most passages contained themes

¹ See Appendix B.

and elements of various memories, including overlapping categories like narrative and episodic memories.

The Torah, with the second largest number of occurrences of the name Heshbon, with sixteen references to the name in seven passages, contained mostly narrative, episodic, and individual memories. All of the mentions of Heshbon in the Torah involved narrative memories (seven out of the seven passages that included the name of Heshbon). Episodic memories, since they tend to overlap with narrative memories due to their emphasis on events, also had a large number of occurrences in the Torah section, found in four out of the seven passages. Individual memories occurred in three out of seven passages. Since the passages in the Torah often featured Moses as the main active participant in the narrative, they were counted as having elements pertaining to individual memory. However, two out of those three passages were also evaluated as collective, since the passive subject is the children of Israel as well as the Ammonites, often referenced as both singular and plural units. This inclusion of both a singular active participant and a collective passive group of participants is the reason why they have been evaluated as having elements of both types of memories.

The Prophets on the other hand, had the largest number of occurrences of the name Heshbon, with eighteen references in nine passages. The passages in the Prophets used a poetic style of writing significantly more than the Torah; four out of nine passages are poetry and not historical narrative at all. Often these poetic passages, especially in the latter prophets (e.g., Jeremiah and Isaiah), invoke a lament for the site. For example, Isaiah 15:4 was written to suggest a national or collective disaster for its residents (Watts, 2005). The Prophets also contain a significant amount of evidence for scenic memories, especially in the earlier prophets such as Joshua and Judges (seven passages overall in both early and latter). Finally, episodic and

collective/bonding memories were also common in the prophets with six and five occurrences respectively.

Lastly, the Writings, with only three mentions of the name Heshbon, did not contain many occurrences of any particular memory. The cultural memories within Chronicles, Nehemiah and Song of Solomon include poetic, scenic, individual, and communicative. All of these occurred in two out of the three references to the name Heshbon. None of these passages had any events or narratives within them and at most only referenced an event in Joshua 21. The passages from both Song of Solomon and Nehemiah corresponded to a large range of memories, from poetic to communicative to individual. 1 Chronicles did not have as large a range since there is not much to the reference of the site itself, as it is used as part of a list concerning the lands that the Israelites occupied at the time, specifically in relation to the inheritance of Kohathite clan of the tribe of Levi.

Discussion

The results of the study support the hypothesis that the three different sections of the Hebrew Bible in regards to Heshbon have their own unique impact on the cultural memory of Heshbon. For the purposes of this study, I am approaching the biblical text as a canonical whole. Recently, there has been a call to approach the bible with the canonical lens for a coherent, systematic way for interpretation (Peckham, 2017). With this in mind, I decided to follow this approach due to the fact that the structure of the canon is part of the cultural memory of Heshbon that I discuss. It is the way that Heshbon's memory is presented, and as such I am approaching the text as it is. Consequently, this means I am interpreting many of the passages in light of the Torah, since it is the section that appears first in the canon, and the narrative there plays a role in the passages concerning Heshbon in the other two sections. The traditional canonical lens also

demonstrates the memory that was chosen to be passed down, regardless of any inconsistencies that arise between how the memories portray Heshbon. As such, I've decided to discuss the cultural memory in the way it has been presented in the traditional canon.

The Torah

The Torah and the earlier prophets, such as Joshua and Judges, mostly describe the memory of Heshbon as the city belonging to King Sihon of the Amorites, prior to the arrival of Israel into Canaan. This narrative often emphasizes the victory of Israel over their enemies, as part of their inheritance and conquest of Canaan. The city's identity of belonging to Sihon is one that affects future references to the site, even among some of the latter prophets. However, this identity is strongest in the Torah. For example, both Deuteronomy 2 and Numbers 21 have the same event surrounding Sihon, but with some key difference

Table 1: Conquest of Heshbon in Numbers and Deuteronomy²

	Numbers 21: 21-25 ³	Deuteronomy 2:26-27, 30, 33-34
Sending messengers to Sihon	<p>וַיִּשְׁלַח יִשְׂרָאֵל מַלְאָכִים אֶל-סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ-²¹ הָאֲמֹרִי לֵאמֹר:</p> <p>And Israel sent messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites, saying,</p>	<p>וַאֲשַׁלַּח מַלְאָכִים מִמִּדְבַּר קִדְמוֹת אֶל-סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הַשִּׁבּוֹן²⁶ דַּבְּרֵי שְׁלוֹם לֵאמֹר:</p> <p>And I sent messengers from the wilderness of Kedemoth to Sihon, king of Heshbon, saying,</p>
Israel's promise to only pass through	<p>אֲעֻבְרָה בְּאַרְצְךָ לֹא נִטֶּה בְּשָׂדֶה וּבְכַרְם²² לֹא נִשְׁתָּה מִי בְּאֵר בְּדֶרֶךְ הַמַּלְחָה גִּלְדָּה עַד אֲשֶׁר-נִעְבֵּר גְּבֻלָּה:</p> <p>Let me pass through your land. We will not turn aside into the open field or the vineyard. We will not drink water from the well. We will walk on the King's highway until we pass your territory.</p>	<p>אֲעֻבְרָה בְּאַרְצְךָ בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ אֵלֶיךָ לֹא אֶסּוּר יָמִין וּשְׂמֹאל:²⁷ אֲכַל בַּכֶּסֶף תִּשְׁבְּרֵנִי וְאֶכְלֹתִי וּמַיִם בַּכֶּסֶף תִּתְּנֵנִי וְשִׁתִּיתִי²⁸ בִּק אֲעֻבְרָה בְּרַגְלִי:</p> <p>Let me pass through your land on the road. I will go (only) on the road. I will not turn aside to the right, or to the left. Through silver you will sell me food, and I shall eat and through silver you will give to me water, and I shall drink. Only let me pass on foot.</p>

² The gray highlighted portions match in the Hebrew for both compared passages.

³ All translations from the Hebrew are my own unless otherwise noted.

Sihon's refusal for passage	<p>²³ וְלֹא־נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹבֵר בְּגַבְלוֹ וַיֵּאַסֹּף סִיחֹן אֶת־כָּל־עַמּוֹ וַיֵּצֵא לִקְרֹאת יִשְׂרָאֵל הַמִּדְבָּרָה וַיָּבֵא יְהֻצָּה וַיִּלָּחֶם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל:</p> <p>But Sihon did not give Israel passage into his territory. And Sihon gathered all his people and went out against Israel in the wilderness. And he went to Jahaz and fought with Israel.</p>	<p>³⁰ וְלֹא אָבָה סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ חֶשְׁבֹּן הַעֲבָרְנוּ בּוֹ כִּי־הִקְשָׁה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת־רוּחוֹ וְאִמְצָן אֶת־לִבּוֹ לִמְעַן תִּתֵּנוּ בְּיַדְךָ כִּי־זֶה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה: ס</p> <p>But Sihon, the king of Heshbon, did not accept for us to pass by, for the Lord your God had hardened his spirit and stiffened his heart, so that he may be given into your hand, as is this day.</p>
The battle and victory of Israel	<p>²⁴ וַיִּנְכַּהוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְפִי־חַרְבּוֹ וַיִּירָשׁ אֶת־אֲרָצוֹ מֵאֲרֹנוֹן עַד־יַבְבֹּק עַד־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן כִּי עַז גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן:</p> <p>And Israel subdued him with the mouth of the sword and he possessed his land, from the Arnon, to the Jabbok, until (the territory of) the sons of Ammon, for strong was the territory of Ammon.</p>	<p>וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְפָנֵינוּ וַנֶּגְדָה אֹתוֹ וְאֶת־בָּנָיו כָּל־עַמּוֹ: ³³ וְאֶת־בְּנָיו וְאֶת־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן כִּי עַז גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן:</p> <p>And the Lord our God gave him unto us and we smote him, his sons, and all his people.</p>
Israel takes over the lands	<p>²⁵ וַיִּקַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת כָּל־עָרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וַיִּשְׁבּוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל־עָרֵי הָאֱמֹרִי בְּחֶשְׁבֹּן וּבְכָל־ בְּנֵיהֶם:</p> <p>And Israel took all these cities and Israel inhabited in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon and in all its villages.</p>	<p>וַנִּלְכְּדָה אֶת־כָּל־עָרָיו בְּעֵת הַהוּא וַנַּחֲרֵם אֶת־כָּל־עִיר מֵתָם וְהַנְּשִׂים וְהַטַּף לֹא הִשְׁאַרְנוּ שָׂרִיד:</p> <p>And we captured all his cities at that time and we destroyed all the men, women and children of every city. We left no survivor.</p>

For example, in Numbers 21, there is no mention of Moses or God within the event itself. They are only mentioned after the fall of Heshbon to the Israelites, when they head towards Og of Bashan. Meanwhile, in Deuteronomy 2, not only are Moses and God frequently mentioned, but they interact with each other as God guides Israel through its encounter with Sihon. This is noted especially in the initial message of peace sent to Sihon that appears in both passages. It has been noted that the offer of peace to Sihon in both passages is a form of narrative surprise, since

it is a conquest narrative with elements of peace (Alster, 2006). However, this surprise is more apparent in Deuteronomy since God directly tells Moses to go out against Sihon. Even with the divine command, there is still the desire to settle matters peacefully, with the divine will upholding the conquest once peace is no longer attainable. The communication between God and Israel or the lack thereof shapes the narrative around the conquest. This reflects different emphases on the memory of the event, where one focuses more on the collective aspect of Israel's victory over Sihon as a cohesive group, and the other focuses on the interpersonal relationship between God, Moses, and Israel in relation to facing Sihon and the Amorites. For Deuteronomy, the emphasis on God's role in the victory becomes a part of some of Moses' sermons, as it is later mentioned in Deuteronomy 4 as part of the prologue about God's help of Israel in the past and why Israel owes much to the Lord.

With the narrative of Sihon's defeat comes another prevalent theme in the memory of Heshbon. In Numbers 21, the kingdom of Sihon has borders with Ammon and Moab, and this is explicitly stated within the passage. The border with Ammon is also pointed out in the narrative of Deuteronomy 2. Furthermore, the main feature of the passage, the song of Heshbon, is partially a slight against Moab. This comes in Num 21:28-29, which states:

כִּי־אֵשׁ יֵצְאָה מִחֶשְׁבֹּן לְהִבָּהּ מִקְרַיִת סִיחֹן בְּעֵלֵי בָמֹת אַרְנוֹן: אֶכְלָה עַר מוֹאָב	For a fire has come out from Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon. It has consumed Ar of Moab, the owners of the high places of the Arnon
אֹו־יִלְךְ מוֹאָב אֲבָדָה עַם־כְּמוֹשׁ ²⁹ נָתַן בָּנָיו פְּלִיטִים וּבָנָתָיו בְּשִׁבְיִת לְמֶלֶךְ אַמְרִי סִיחֹן:	Woe to you Moab! You have perished, people of Chemosh! He has given his sons as fugitives and his daughters into captivity to king Sihon of the Amorites.

Moab in this passage has fallen victim to the establishment of Heshbon by Sihon, and a significant portion of the song concerns the destruction of Moab. Noticeably, this destruction comes from the Amorites rather than the Israelites, which is unexpected since the rest of the

passage focuses on the conflict between the Israelites and the Amorites, not the Moabites. In terms of Israel's conquest, the Moabites do not play a significant role, but their relationship to the city of Heshbon is being set in place here. This inclusion significantly impacts the memory of Heshbon when it comes to later passages, as it brings in third parties to Israel's history concerning the site. As a result, the song of Heshbon establishes tension and conflict when it comes to the ownership and identity of Heshbon, which is another theme and pattern that becomes dominant in the memory of Heshbon. Indeed, the song of Heshbon has been discussed previously for its value concerning the nations involved (Hanson, 1968). This song is also referenced in Jeremiah 48, which focuses exclusively on Moab; and the conflict over the ownership of Heshbon plays a role in passages such as Judges 11 and Jeremiah 49. In the end, Numbers 21 establishes many of the key themes and identities that Heshbon's memory takes on across the Hebrew Bible.

Numbers also makes it clear that Heshbon is not part of the promised land for the Israelites, and that there was no claim to it before the conquest. This is seen in the passage in Numbers 32 where the tribes of Reuben and Gad ask Moses if they can refrain from crossing the Jordan with the rest of Israel, and stay instead on the east side of Jordan where they had already conquered many cities, including Heshbon. Here, the name of God is mentioned in verse 4, which did not appear in the story of the conquest in chapter 21. God is attributed as the one who conquered the land through the Israelites. Moses also comes into play, even though he is not included in Numbers 21. The fact that both groups had to ask to stay and after that Moses rebukes them for their request, indicates that Heshbon was not part of the plan. However, by the end of the chapter, Reuben and Gad agree to cross to help the other tribes claim their land and then come back to the east side of the Jordan to inhabit places such as Heshbon. This promise is

what changes the nature of this passage. As noted by Marquis (2013), the participation of Gad and Reuben in the conquest of Canaan is the condition for inhabiting the lands conquered in Numbers 21 without sinning against God. As a result, Heshbon conditionally becomes part of Israel's inheritance, even though it was not promised to them. It became integrated into Israel's claim over Canaan, which is unusual since it places Heshbon on the fringe of their land's identity.

Another interesting feature about Numbers 32 is the building of the cities Israel inhabits. Verses 37-39 mention that the Gadites and Reubenites (re)build the cities of Heshbon, Elealeh, Qirithaim, Nebo, and Baal-Meon, but that they also give different names to the cities that they (re)build. Concerning Heshbon, this is very significant, since presumably, Heshbon would have a different name now. However, this passage is not clear on the new names given to the cities and Heshbon is continually referenced by its original name throughout the rest of the Old Testament. This ties Heshbon back to the city's biblical origin pertaining to the king of the Amorites. It does not fully integrate to Israelite identity, and continues to have ties to other nations. As a result, the passage impacts the overall memory of Heshbon by alluding to the issue of Israel's claim and the co-opting of Heshbon into its identity.

Another notable passage is Deuteronomy 4, where the mention of Heshbon also has significant meaning. Moses there gives a speech to the Israelites on what God has done for them as a prelude to his speech on the law, and the encounter with Sihon forms part of this introduction. This shows how the memory of Heshbon is being shaped, in this case tied to the encounter with Sihon, and the role God played in Israel's victory. It is framed towards God's providence for Israel within their journey to the promised land. Deuteronomy in general brings

up the event of Sihon's defeat at Heshbon several times in chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, and 29. In many ways, the memory is being ingrained through repeated uses, ensuring its persistence.

In the end, the Torah lays in place many of the dominant features of Heshbon's overall identity. Heshbon's relationship to King Sihon is firmly established within its narrative-focused memories and already becomes a part of the biblical identity of Heshbon when it is referenced. Indeed, it is perhaps the strongest memory of Heshbon within the Old Testament. It also lays in place some of the foundations for the identities that Heshbon takes on within the other sections of the Bible, such as Moab's relationship to Heshbon and hints concerning the contested nature of the city among the nations and even within Israel's ownership.

The Early Prophets

The earlier prophets echo the dominant features in the Torah's construction of Heshbon's cultural memory. For example, the narrative of Sihon's defeat at Heshbon still persists in both Joshua and Judges. In some ways, Joshua actually picks up on the narrative of Heshbon where the Torah left off. For example, in Joshua 9, the Gibeonites come to Joshua to make a pact to protect themselves through trickery. In their plea, they mention past events that the Israelites have gone through, one major point being the conquest of Heshbon. This implies that the impact of the fall of Heshbon has already affected the neighboring people in Canaan, enough to cause them to fear Israel. The defeat of Sihon is implied to be the reason why the Gibeonites came to Joshua for peace. On the topic of Sihon's defeat, Joshua also follows the Torah's example of continuing to reference the event, keeping the memory present as the narrative progresses. As a result, Heshbon's importance is emphasized, especially the conquest narrative. It becomes part of Israel's overall narrative and their reputation among the other nations.

In addition, while the memory of Sihon remains in Judges 11, another theme becomes prominent. During the conflict between Jephthah and Ammon, the Ammonite king claims ownership of the lands that Sihon held, including Heshbon, accusing Israel of stealing the land from Ammon. However, Jephthah contests this claim by retelling the tale of the conquest of Heshbon paralleling the narrative in Numbers 21 with his own words.

Table 2: Story of Heshbon in relation to Numbers 21

	Numbers 21: 21-24	Judges 11:19-22
Sending messengers to Sihon and Israel's promise to only pass through	<p>וַיִּשְׁלַח יִשְׂרָאֵל מְלָאכִים אֶל־סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ־²¹ הָאֱמֹרִי לֵאמֹר: אֲעֻבְרָה בְּאַרְצְךָ לֹא נָטָה²² \ בְּשָׂדֶה וּבְכָרֶם לֹא נִשְׁתֶּה מִי בְּאֵר בְּדָרֶךְ הַמְּלָכָה נֵלֶךְ עַד אֲשֶׁר־נַעֲבֹר גְּבֻלְךָ:</p> <p>And Israel sent messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites, saying, Let me pass through your land. We will not turn aside into the open field or the vineyard. We will not drink water from the well. We will walk on the King's highway until we pass your territory.</p>	<p>וַיִּשְׁלַח יִשְׂרָאֵל מְלָאכִים אֶל־סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ־הָאֱמֹרִי¹⁹ מֶלֶךְ חֶשְׁבֹּן וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל נַעֲבְרָה־נָא בְּאַרְצְךָ עַד־ מְקוֹמִי:</p> <p>And Israel sent messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites, king of Hehsbon, and Israel said to him, "Please let us pass through your land, unto my place"</p>
Sihon's refusal for passage	<p>וְלֹא־נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹבֵר בְּגִבְלוֹ²³ וַיֵּאסֹף סִיחֹן אֶת־כָּל־עַמּוֹ וַיֵּצֵא לַקְּרָאת יִשְׂרָאֵל הַמִּדְבָּרָה וַיָּבֵא יַהֲזָה וַיִּלָּחֶם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל:</p> <p>But Sihon did not give Israel passage into his territory. And Sihon gathered all his people and went out against Israel in the wilderness. And he went to Jahaz and fought with Israel.</p>	<p>וְלֹא־הֵאֱמִין סִיחֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹבֵר בְּגִבְלוֹ וַיֵּאסֹף²⁰ סִיחֹן אֶת־כָּל־עַמּוֹ וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ בְּיַהֲזָה וַיִּלָּחֶם עִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל:</p> <p>But Sihon did not trust Israel to pass his territory and Sihon gathered all his people and encamped in Jahaz, and fought with Israel.</p>

The battle and ensuing victory of Israel over Sihon	<p>24 וַיִּגְבוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְפִי-הָרֶב וַיִּירֶשׁ אֶת-אֲרָצוֹ מֵאֲרָנוֹן עַד-יַבְבֹּק עַד-בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן כִּי עַז גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן:</p> <p>And Israel subdued him with the mouth of the sword and he possessed his land, from the Arnon, to the Jabbok, until (the territory of) the sons of Ammon, for strong was the territory of Ammon.</p>	<p>21 וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-סִיחֹן וְאֶת-כָּל-עַמּוֹ 21 בְּיַד יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּגְבוּם וַיִּירֶשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת כָּל-אֲרֶץ הָאֲמֹרִי יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאֲרֶץ הַהִיא:</p> <p>And the Lord God of Israel gave Sihon and all his people into the hand of Israel and they subdued them. And Israel took all the land of the Amorites, those living in the land.</p>
Israel takes over lands	<p>25 וַיִּקַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת כָּל-הָעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיֹּשְׁבּוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל-עָרֵי הָאֲמֹרִי בְּחֶשְׁבּוֹן וּבְכָל-בְּנֵייהָ:</p> <p>And Israel took all these cities and Israel inhabited in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, and in all its villages.</p>	<p>22 וַיִּירְשׁוּ אֵת כָּל-גְּבוּל הָאֲמֹרִי מֵאֲרָנוֹן וְעַד-הַיַּבֵּק וּמִן-הַמִּדְבָּר וְעַד-הַיַּרְדֵּן:</p> <p>And they possessed all the territory of the Amorites, from the Arnon, to the Jabbok, and from the wilderness to the Jordan.</p>

For the purposes of Heshbon's cultural memory, this slightly redirects the themes tied to Heshbon. This passage effectively shows that Heshbon is a contested area, with Ammon now laying claim to the city that Israel laid claim to after defeating Sihon of the Amorites, who laid claim to it after defeating Moab. This is despite the fact that in the original biblical narrative, Ammon has nothing to do with Heshbon, as pointed out by Jephthah himself, other than being on the other side of the border between the Ammonites and Amorites. Bloch-Smith also noticed this gap, further adding that there is no context around Ammon's claim to the land (2015). The conflict here along with Jephthah's retelling of the conquest narrative, reconstructs the memory by adding in another member into a narrative that had barely been referenced previously in Numbers 21. In a way, this passage implies the tenuous hold that Israel has over Heshbon, a theme that becomes even more evident in the latter prophets.

In the end, the early prophets support the emphasis of the memory that the Torah establishes concerning Israel's victory, but it also starts shifting the cultural memory to display the conflicting nature of Heshbon's identity as related to the claims of Israel versus that of Ammon.

The Latter Prophets

The latter prophets, including Jeremiah and Isaiah, establish a new emphasis on the site of Heshbon. They further focus on the poetic and visual aspects of the site, invoking it as a symbol of national disaster in the form of laments, and rarely use the site as part of a narrative. For instance, Jeremiah and Isaiah put forth a reflection or lament about the tragedy that is either yet to come or has already fallen upon the city itself, and therefore shift the cultural memory about the identity of the site, since the subjects are passive. In these passages, emphasis is placed upon the city itself and the inhabitants as a whole, rather than on a narrative concerning the actions of certain people.

In the case of Jeremiah, the state of Heshbon is tied heavily with the fall of Moab and Ammon. When it comes to the oracle concerning Moab in Jeremiah 48, Heshbon becomes the point from which Moab receives further destruction.

Table 3: Song of Heshbon

	Numbers 21: 28-29	Jeremiah 48: 45-46
Heshbon's fire consuming Moab	<p>כִּי־אֵשׁ יֵצְאָה מִחֶשְׁבֹּן לְהִבָּה מִקְרֵי סִיחֹן²⁸ אֲכָלָה עֵר מוֹאָב בְּעֵלֵי בְמֹת אַרְזֵן: For a fire has come out from Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon. It has devoured Ar of Moab, the owners of the high places</p>	<p>בָּצַל חֶשְׁבֹּן עָמְדוּ מִפֶּחַ נְסִים⁴⁵ כִּי־אֵשׁ יֵצְאָה מִחֶשְׁבֹּן וְלִהְבָּה מִבֵּין סִיחֹן וְהִאֲכַל פֶּאֶת מוֹאָב וְקִדְקֹד בְּגִי שְׂאוֹן: In the shadow of Heshbon they stand without strength, fleeing. For a fire has come out from Heshbon, a flame from the house of Sihon and it has devoured the head of Moab, the crown of the sons of uproar.</p>

Woe and lament for Moab	<p>אוי־לך מואב אבדת עם־כְמוֹשׁ²⁹ נָתַן בָּנָיו פְּלִיטִים וּבָנָתָיו בְּשִׁבִית לְמַלְךְ אַמְרִי סִיחֹן:</p> <p>Woe to you Moab! You have perished, people of Chemosh! He has given his sons as fugitives and his daughters into captivity to king Sihon of the Amorites.</p>	<p>אוי־לך מואב אבד עם־כְמוֹשׁ⁴⁶ כִּי־לָקְחוּ בָנָיְךָ בְּשִׁבִי וּבָנָתֶיךָ בְּשַׁבָּה:</p> <p>Woe to you Moab! The people of Chemosh have perished! For your sons have been taken into captivity and your daughters into captivity.</p>
-------------------------	---	---

This is clearest in verses 45-47, which directly quote the song of Heshbon from Numbers 21: 27-30. Like in Numbers 21, a “fire has come out” to consume Moab, causing great suffering to the people of Chemosh. What is fascinating about this passage is the identity that Heshbon takes concerning Moab. In both Numbers 21 and Jeremiah 48:45-47, Heshbon is not necessarily owned or claimed by Moab, but is destroyed by it. This is also apparent earlier in verse 2, where the passage alludes to enemies planning destruction against Moab from Heshbon itself. As a result, the main relationship between Moab and the city of Heshbon within the Bible is not one of a nation that has a claim on the city, but one where the city represents coming destruction to Moab.

Isaiah 15 and 16 also share a connection to Jeremiah 48. Both chapters in Isaiah have similar themes and parallels to Jeremiah 48 when it comes to the nation of Moab (Woods, 2011). Aside from word overlap among the three chapters, some of the similarities that have been noted are themes such as lament, disaster, place names, and the weakening of Moab. When it comes to Heshbon, some of the overlaps and similarities among the three chapters also apply.

Table 4: Heshbon in the oracles against Moab: Jeremiah 48, Isaiah 15 and 16.

	Jeremiah 48	Isaiah 15	Isaiah 16
The weeping from Sibmah to Jazer	<p>מְבַכֵי יַעְזֵר אֲבָכָה לָךְ הַגֶּפֶן שִׁבְמָה³² נְטִישֵׁתֶיךָ עָבְרוּ יָם עַד יָם יַעְזֵר נִגְעוּ עַל-קִיצָךְ וְעַל-בְּצִירֶךָ שָׁדַד נָפַל:</p> <p>With the weeping of Jazer I will weep for you, vine of Sibmah! Your plants have passed over the sea unto the sea of Jazer they touch. Upon your summer fruit and upon your grape-harvest the plunderer has fallen.</p>		<p>כִּי שָׂדֵמוֹת חֶשְׁבוֹן אִמְלָל גֶּפֶן שִׁבְמָה⁸ בְּעַלְי גוֹיִם הִלְמוּ שְׂרוּלֶיהָ עַד-יַעְזֵר נִגְעוּ תָעוּ מִדְבָּר שָׁלְחוּתֶיהָ נְטִישׁוֹ עָבְרוּ יָם:</p> <p>For the fields of Heshbon and the vine of Sibmah have dried up. The lords of the nations have torn down the vine tendrils which have gone up to Jazer and wandered the wilderness. Her branches have lied unnoticed. They are gone over the sea.</p>
			<p>עַל-כֵּן אֲבָכָה בְּכִי יַעְזֵר גֶּפֶן שִׁבְמָה⁹ אַרְנוֹן דָּמַעְתִּי חֶשְׁבוֹן וְאַלְעָלָה כִּי עַל-קִיצָךְ וְעַל-בְּצִירֶךָ הִיגֵד נָפַל:</p> <p>Thus, I will weep upon the Vine of Sibmah with the weeping of Jazer. I will drench you with tears Heshbon and Elealeh for upon your summer fruit and your harvest the (war) cry has fallen.</p>
Heshbon cries out.	<p>מִזְעַקַת חֶשְׁבוֹן עַד-אַלְעָלָה עַד-יָהִז³⁴ נָתְנוּ קוֹלָם מִצְעֵר עַד- חֶרְנָיִם עָגְלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָהּ בֵּי גַם-מִי נְמָרִים לְמִשְׁמֹת יָהִז:</p> <p>A cry from Heshbon to Elealeh to Jahaz have given voice. From Zoar to Horonaim, Eglath Shelishiyah, for even the waters of Nimrim devastation will happen.</p>	<p>וּתְזַעַק חֶשְׁבוֹן וְאַלְעָלָה עַד-יָהִז⁴ נִשְׁמַע קוֹלָם עַל-כֵּן חִלְצֵי מוֹאֵב יִרְעוּ נִפְשׁוֹ גִרְעָה לוֹ:</p> <p>And Heshbon and Elealeh cry out unto Jahaz. Their voice is heard upon the armed men of Moab shout. His soul trembles.</p>	

		<p>לְבִי לְמוֹאָב יִזְעַק בְּרִיחָהּ עַד־צָעַר⁵ עֲגִלַת שְׁלִישִׁיָה כִּי מַעְלָה הַלּוֹחִית בְּכָל יַעְלֵה־בּוֹ כִּי דָרָךְ חוֹרְנַיִם זַעַקַת־שָׁבָר יִעָעְרוּ: My heart cries out to Moab as far as Zoar, Eglath Shelishiya for they go up the Ascent of Luhith weeping. For (on) the road of Horonaim a cry of destruction they raise.</p>	
--	--	--	--

In the verses concerning Heshbon, both Isaiah 15-16 and Jeremiah 48 emphasize the lament theme. In these three references to Heshbon, Moab has languished, with images containing desolate fields and dried up vines from the cities in the general region. The most notable connection between Jeremiah 48 and Isaiah 15-16, that concerns Heshbon, is the “crying out” from Heshbon as well as from other cities. There is so much sorrow around the city, yet there are also differences between Jeremiah and Isaiah. Isaiah 16:8-9 for example, is much more personal, and the sorrow is greater than in Jeremiah 48:32. This is also true for Isaiah 15, where in verse 4 the Lord’s heart personally cries out for Heshbon and Elealeh. Furthermore, Isaiah 16 points out Heshbon’s fields whereas Jeremiah 48 does not mention Heshbon until verse 34. Nevertheless, the connections between Isaiah and Jeremiah are apparent, with parallels and sharing of themes, including that of Heshbon when it comes to the nation of Moab.

The connections with Jeremiah aside, Isaiah offers other features about Heshbon’s identity and cultural memory. As mentioned before, Isaiah’s take on Moab and Heshbon is more sorrowful and tragic. In fact, Isaiah 15:1-16:14 has been noted as a chiasm, a poetic structure where the two halves of a passage mirror each other to emphasize themes or ideas, in this case, ruin, grief, pride and destruction (Motyer, 1993). While punishment and faulty pride are noted in the passages, Isaiah seems to concern himself more with the tragedy of Moab. In Isaiah 15:4-5,

the depth of the destruction is felt with the cries of the armed men. This passage also uses specific emotions and reactions not seen in other passages, such as a soul trembling, and more notably, the narrator's heart crying out to Moab. J. Motyer noted that due to the construction of the phrase, it is the Lord crying out towards Moab, bringing the tragedy of the nation as one affecting God himself (1993). The state of Heshbon, as it pertains to Moab, becomes emotionally poignant. Isaiah 16 adds to this emotional pain by painting pictures such as the languishing fields and the dried vine of Sibmah. Heshbon is a different type of symbol of disaster than in Jeremiah, now full of tragedy rather than mere punishment. Overall, Isaiah 15 and 16 add to the poetic aspect of the memory of Heshbon in relation to Moab, using it to emphasize the sorrow and lament over the fall of the city.

On the other hand, the latter prophets' memory of Heshbon also has ties to another nation, Ammon. In the oracle concerning Ammon in Jeremiah 49, the site of Heshbon has also been tied to its destruction, albeit in a different manner than that of Moab. In Jeremiah 49, the oracle against Ammon begins with the accusation that Ammon has stolen lands that Israel should have inhabited and that destruction is coming their way. The text implies that Heshbon is a part of these stolen lands, as well as one of the cities that was going to fall. As a result, Ammon is not a victim of enemies plotting within Heshbon, but a victim of its own undoing for which they will lose much, including the city of Heshbon. The passage is not as sympathetic to the plight of Ammon in relation to Heshbon, as Jeremiah 48 and Isaiah 15 and 16 were to Moab. This likely results from Ammon's biblical history concerning Heshbon, full of conflict with Israel, contrary to that of Moab's history. Sihon's original kingdom as mentioned in Numbers 21 did border the nation of Ammon, which even the Israelites did not try to cross, implying that there was tension already between that land and Ammon. Furthermore, as seen in Judges, Ammon did try to lay

claim on Sihon's kingdom, including Heshbon, leading it into conflict with Israel when Israel denied it. The fact that the passage begins with the accusation that Ammon is inhabiting lands that do not belong to them, implies that Heshbon was also wrongfully taken by them and will be taken from them as consequence. However, as Christensen notes, the oracle against Ammon has rarely been seen as vindictive, especially in contrast to other oracles against the nations (1973). It also ends with a promise that the nation of Ammon would be restored. Consequently, there is still a sense of sympathy with Ammon.

As a result, the city of Heshbon is tied to the suffering and destruction of both Ammon and Moab. However, in both of these cases, there is lament and even sympathy. At the end of their oracles, both nations are promised to see their fortunes restored. It is fascinating that Heshbon comes into play in passages that decry and detail the fall of two different nations while also giving hope. As a result, the emphasis on the city of Heshbon within the prophets focuses more on the tragedy of nations that are not Israel, linking part of its identity away from Israel. Heshbon becomes a symbol of disaster for Moab and Ammon through the poetic and visual aspects of the latter prophets' memory.

The Writings

Within the Writings, Heshbon has inherent value, mostly separate from the tensions of ownership. Nehemiah gives a small reference to the events described in Numbers 21, focusing on God's providence for Israel's victory over Sihon. It is somewhat similar to Moses' declaration in Deuteronomy 4, where he also relays some of the events in which God has helped Israel as a basis for the covenant stipulations in the Decalogue. However, Heshbon serves primarily as one of the many reminders of the significance of God's wonders for Israel while they are suffering for their rebellion against him.

First Chronicles 6, on the other hand, places emphasis on the inheritance of Heshbon for the Israelites. It has an even smaller contextual reference to Heshbon, making it part of the list of lands that are allocated to the Kohathite clan of the tribe of Levi. This passage seems to reference Joshua 21, where cities and land were given to the Levites. Other scholars have noted the similarities between Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6, believing that one passage is reliant on the other, many believing 1 Chronicles to be dependent on Joshua 21 (Braun, 1986). However, Heshbon was given to the Merarites here rather than the Kohathites as mentioned in Joshua 21. As a result, we find yet another example of direct referencing and overlapping of memories, but with some differences showing the flexibility and developing nature of memory.

Song of Solomon probably has the largest impact on biblical Heshbon's memory in the Writings. It is the only passage in the biblical text that describes any features or qualities of the city itself.

Song of Solomon 7:5

הַשָּׁן כַּמִּגְדָּל צְוֹאֲרָךְ	Your neck is as a tower of ivory
בַּת־רַבִּים עַל־שַׁעַר בְּחֶשְׁבֹּן בְּרִכּוֹת עֵינַיִךְ	Your eyes are as the pools of Heshbon, by the gate of Bath Rabbim
דַּמְשֶׁק: פְּגִי צוֹפָה הַלְבָנוֹן כַּמִּגְדָּל אֶפְרַיִם	Your nose is as the tower of Lebanon, facing towards Damascus

The pools of Heshbon and the gate of Bath Rabbim referenced here are not mentioned in any other passage that has Heshbon's name, and the same goes for any other features exclusive to the city itself. Furthermore, Heshbon is completely separate from any narrative or conflict that tends to shadow it in the other sections of the Bible. This passage has been noted has a song of praise or admiration specifically of the female form, starting from the bottom to the top (Garrett, 2004). While this passage primarily focuses on describing the beauty of the body of a woman, the fact that the city of Heshbon is tied to the features of the eyes, gives it value not seen elsewhere. As noted by Garrett (2004), the eyes are reflective with depth, giving special significance to the pools, being compared to the focal point of the head. As a result of all of this,

there is now a physical and visual aspect to the site that can be grasped outside of narratives and oracles. It is tangible, and even beautiful in its own right.

Conclusion

Overall, each section in the Hebrew Bible has its own unique take on the cultural memory of the biblical site, shifting the perspective on its legacy as well as matching previous research on different perspectives and approaches to the site. The Torah emphasizes narrative and relationships, represented by conflicts and the presence of God. The Prophets, especially the latter ones, emphasize the symbol of the site and the disaster that has struck it. Finally, the Writings insert a cultural value to the site, unique in its beauty as the object of inheritance to the Israelites. While the Prophets and the Writings may have built their perspectives on the site in reference to the narratives in the Torah, especially when Sihon's name is referenced, they also shift the memory by adding a value that extends beyond that conquest. It is not just a city of former enemies, but a city that has taken its own identity across the text, both as part of Israel's inheritance, and as part of a symbol of disaster.

There are a number of possible limitations to this study, some of which concern its scope. The first limitation is the distribution of data. The Writings had a very low amount of passages concerning Heshbon whereas the Prophets had many more, enough to separate it into two subsections. This in turn affected my interpretation, since gathering a nuanced interpretation of the site's cultural memory from the Writings was difficult to attain. Then there are the passages that contain indirect references to the site. There are instances in the Bible where events such as the defeat of Sihon are referenced but without the city of Heshbon. In other words, Heshbon has been left out of the memory in these instances. Although these indirect references were not a part of my study, they could add to the discussion around Heshbon. The reason for the absence of the

site in these references may be just as important as why the site has been referenced in the absence of certain events or participants. These additional data points may give a more nuanced view on how the cultural memory bound the site to certain events or divorced it from those events, as well as the selectivity in invoking Heshbon over other sites.

Moreover, other ancient versions of the Bible, especially the *Septuagint*, were participants in codifying the final text, sometimes with different wording or emphases from what is seen in the Hebrew text. Understanding the consistency of Heshbon's memory across other versions such as the Septuagint or the Peshitta may indicate how biblical Heshbon's identity developed.

In addition, the extent of how location affects the perspective on Heshbon was not evaluated in depth. Looking further into the passages involving Heshbon for references to other cities, landmarks or sources of location, would help in better understanding the biblical picture of its location. Many of the biblical references to Heshbon are in relation to other cities or landmarks, whether it is because the goal of a specific passage is to delineate the borders of a territory or to give a better line of reference for the original audience. Insights from these other sites would give further clarity on how the text as a whole locates Heshbon geographically.

Following this, we have the relationship between the biblical and the modern-day location. Since the archaeological site of Tall Hisban, thought to be the biblical Heshbon, has not yielded much archaeological data pertaining to the biblical period of the city, questions abound concerning biblical Heshbon's exact location in the modern context (Geraty, 2007) (Geraty, 1972). In terms of the biblical text, the question has been very pertinent due to the numerous mentions of Heshbon alongside other place names. Despite the emphasis on the location of the site in the passages studied, the question has not been addressed by this study, and does not yield

information needed to answer such a question. In a future study, overviewing the geographical location of the site could give a nuanced view of the cultural memories that build a visual setting of the site, especially if there are inconsistencies in describing its location. Another possible limitation is the qualitative aspect of the study. Many of these interpretations of the passages have a degree of subjectivity to them and if someone else were to replicate this study, it is possible for them to find somewhat different results.

Furthermore, for the purposes of Heshbon and its modern archaeological site, Tal Hisban, it would be enormously beneficial to expand the study of cultural memory beyond biblical Heshbon. The city has been referenced many times in outside literature, called Esbus and later Hisban, with a diverse portfolio of events, cultures, and civilizations interacting at the site (Geraty, 1972). This could further expand the understanding of location as a place to further understand cultural memory, especially in regards to the first excavation in the Madaba Plains Project. Likewise, understanding other biblical cities through the lens of cultural memory would also be incredibly valuable, since the Bible uses place names quite often and cities often serve as a backdrop for events, prophecies, and poetry. Understanding the context behind biblical passages in the cities could grant a new perspective on the legacy of the individuals, nations, and events that transpire within the Bible.

Other possible limitations to this study concern its approach. The study was mostly focused on the overall cultural memory impact within the three general sections of the Hebrew Bible. However, there is more to the memory of Heshbon beyond the cultural aspect, since there are sociological, religious, historical, and archaeological aspects of the site, that have yet to be explored. In the future, it may be best to further expand on the identity of the site with these other possible approaches.

Overall, this study on the biblical cultural memory of Heshbon adds to the discussion on the relevance of cultural memory in religious studies, as well as the research concerning the site itself. It expands upon Stordalen's study of Heshbon by adding in the overview of all direct references of Heshbon. It also further promotes the use of cultural memory in biblical studies, as the use of cultural memory brought in the discussion of the identities of the site, and its relationships among the Levantine states, which had not yet been explored. From the conflicts to the oracles, the cultural memory emphasis of the analysis brought insight to the nuanced subject of identity as it relates to land. Furthermore, the emphasis on Heshbon as a focus point for studying cultural memory demonstrated the role sites can have in exploring cultural memory. Heshbon had a diverse array of memories that would not be possible with studying a single event or member of a culture. This project shows the enormous relevance that sites and locations can have in the discussion of cultural memory. Sites can be a focal point of understanding the impact of cultural memory, as sites persist through time even though culture and history change. In the future, the study more sites can further expand on the role of other sites within the biblical narrative as there are a multitude of sites in the Bible that are referenced repeatedly.

Additionally, the project introduced a methodology used in the behavioral sciences to bring to light the need for consistent methodology when it comes to interdisciplinary studies. Thanks to the content analysis design, the nuances and variety within the cultural memory of Heshbon became much more accessible to study. It provided a simple, yet systematic way to employ the terminologies within Jan Assmann's theory of memory onto the site while still leaving much room for discussion and interpretation. As a result, this study can serve as a starting point for researchers to employ a more systematic approach to cultural memory. Overall,

the project has opened up a discussion on the role of biblical sites in cultural memory and in biblical studies, where scholars can expand upon in the future.

Appendix A: Personal Translations

Numbers 21: 21-35

<p>21 וַיִּשְׁלַח יִשְׂרָאֵל מַלְאָכִים אֶל־סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ־הָאֱמֹרִי לֵאמֹר: 21</p>	<p>And Israel sent messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites, saying,</p>
<p>אֲעֻבְרָה בְּאַרְצְךָ לֹא נָטוּהַ בְּשׂוּדָהּ וּבְכֶרֶם לֹא נִשְׁתָּה מִי 22 \ 22 בְּאֵר בְּדֶרֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ נֵלֶךְ עַד אֲשֶׁר־נַעֲבֹר גְּבֻלָּךְ:</p>	<p>“Let me pass through your land. We will not turn aside into the open field or the vineyard. We will not drink water from the well. We will walk on the King’s highway until we pass your territory.”</p>
<p>23 וְלֹא־נָתַן סִיחֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹבֵר בְּגְבֻלֹוּ וַיֵּצֵא סִיחֹן אֶת־ 23 כָּל־עַמּוֹ וַיֵּצֵא לִקְרַאת יִשְׂרָאֵל הַמִּדְבָּרָה וַיָּבֵא גְהָצָה וַיִּלָּחֶם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל:</p>	<p>But Sihon did not give Israel passage into his territory. And Sihon gathered all his people and went out against Israel in the wilderness. And he went to Jahaz and fought with Israel.</p>
<p>24 וַיִּכְהוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל לַפִּי־חֶרֶב וַיִּירֶשׁ אֶת־אַרְצוֹ מֵאַרְנוֹן עַד־ 24 יַבֵּק עַד־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן כִּי עָז גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן:</p>	<p>And Israel subdued him with the mouth of the sword and he possessed his land, from the Arnon, to the Jabbok, until (the territory of) the sons of Ammon, for strong was the territory of Ammon.</p>
<p>25 וַיִּקַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת פְּלִי־הָעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיָּשֶׁב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל־ 25 עָרֵי הָאֱמֹרִי בְּחֶשְׁבֹּן וּבְכָל־בְּנֵי־הָעָרֵם:</p>	<p>And Israel took all these cities and Israel inhabited in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon and in all its villages.</p>
<p>26 כִּי חֶשְׁבֹּן עִיר סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֹרִי הוּא וְהוּא נִלְחָם 26 בְּמֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב הָרֵאשֹׁן וַיִּקַּח אֶת־כָּל־אַרְצוֹ מִיַּדוֹ עַד־אַרְנוֹן:</p>	<p>For Heshbon was the city of Sihon, King of the Amorites, who had fought with the previous king of Moab, and took all his land from his hand unto the Arnon</p>
<p>27 עַל־כֵּן יֹאמְרוּ הַמְשֻׁלָּמִים בָּאוּ חֶשְׁבֹּן תִּבְנֶה וְתִכּוֹנֵן עִיר 27 סִיחֹן:</p>	<p>Against thus they say mockingly,⁴ “come to Heshbon, let it be built, and let the city of Sihon take its stand</p>
<p>כִּי־אֵשׁ יֵצְאָה מִחֶשְׁבֹּן לְהִבָּה מִקְרֵי סִיחֹן 28 אֶקְלָה עֵר מוֹאָב בְּעֵלֵי בְמֹת אַרְנוֹן:</p>	<p>⁵For a fire has come out from Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon. It has devoured Ar⁶ of Moab, the owners of the high places of the Arnon.</p>

⁴ “הַמְשֻׁלָּמִים” can be translated in various ways. Due to both its immediate and broader context, I chose to insert “mockingly.”

⁵ The translation is lined up with the Hebrew where poetry appears.

⁶ Hanson translated עַר as “cities” to bridge the gaps among the Hebrew and other ancient languages’ version of the text (1968), however, here I follow the traditional translation as how it is presented in the Hebrew text.

<p>אוֹיֵי־לְךָ מוֹאָב אָבְדָתָ עִם־כְּמוֹשׁ²⁹ נָתַן בְּנָיו פְּלִיטִים וּבָנָתָיו בְּשִׁבְיַת לְמֶלֶךְ אַמְרֵי סִיחֹן:</p>	<p>Woe to you Moab! You have perished, people of Chemosh! He has given his sons as fugitives and his daughters into captivity to king Sihon of the Amorites</p>
<p>וַנִּיגַם אָבְדָהּ הֶשְׁבֹּן עַד־דִּיבּוֹן³⁰ וַנְּשִׂים עַד־נֹפַח אֲשֶׁר עַד־מֵדְבָא:</p>	<p>But we have shot at them. Heshbon has perished as far as Dibon, And we have made desolate as far as Nophah which is as far as Medeba”</p>
<p>וַיֵּשֶׁב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאֶרֶץ הָאֲמֹרִי:³¹</p>	<p>And Israel inhabited in the land of the Amorites.</p>
<p>וַיִּשְׁלַח מֹשֶׁה לְרַגֵּל אֶת־יַעְזֹר וַיִּלְכְּדוּ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל³² ”וַיִּזְרְשׁ” אֶת־הָאֲמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר־שָׁם:</p>	<p>And Moses sent to spy Jazer and they seized its villages and drove away the Amorites who were there.</p>
<p>וַיִּפְּנוּ וַיֵּצְאוּ בַדֶּרֶךְ הַבָּשָׁן וַיִּצָּא עוֹג מֶלֶךְ־הַבָּשָׁן לִקְרֹאֲתָם³³ הוּא וְכָל־עַמּוֹ לִמְלַחְמָה אֶדְרֵי:</p>	<p>And they turned and went out on the way of Bashan and Og, the king of Bashan came out against them, he and all of his people to battle at Edrei.</p>
<p>וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה אֶל־תִּירָא אֹתוֹ כִּי בְיָדִי נֹתְתִי³⁴ אֹתוֹ וְאֶת־כָּל־עַמּוֹ וְאֶת־אֶרְצוֹ וְעָשִׂיתָ לוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ לְסִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֲמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר יוֹשֵׁב בְּהֶשְׁבֹּן:</p>	<p>And the Lord said to Moses, do not fear him, for I will give into your hand him and all his people, and all his land. And you will do to him as you did to Sihon, king of the Amorites, who lived in Heshbon.</p>
<p>וַיִּכּוּ אֹתוֹ וְאֶת־בָּנָיו וְאֶת־כָּל־עַמּוֹ עַד־בְּלַתִּי הַשְּׂאִירֵי־לוֹ³⁵ שָׂרִיד וַיִּירְשׁוּ אֶת־אֶרְצוֹ:</p>	<p>And they smote him and his sons and all his people until there was no survivor left to him, and they possessed his land.</p>

Numbers 32: 2-5⁷

<p>וַיָּבֹאוּ בְנֵי־גָד וּבְנֵי רְעוּבֵן וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל־מֹשֶׁה וְאֶל־אֱלֵעָזָר² הַכֹּהֵן וְאֶל־נְשִׂאֵי הָעֵדָה לֵאמֹר:</p>	<p>And the sons of Gad and the sons of Reuben came and said unto Moses and unto Eleazar the priest and unto the leaders of the congregation saying</p>
<p>עֲטָרוֹת וְדִיבּוֹן וַיַּעְזֹר וְנִמְרָה וְהֶשְׁבֹּן וְאֶלְעָלָה וְשֶׁבֶם וְנֵבּוֹ³ וּבְעֹן:</p>	<p>“Ataroth, Dibon, Jazer, Nimrah, Heshbon, Elealeh, Shechem, Nebo and Beon</p>

⁷ In the surrounding context, it is clear that the Rubenites and the Gadites desired to stay on the east side of Jordan in the cities the Israelites had conquered for their herds.

<p>הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הִכָּה יְהוָה לִפְנֵי עַדְתֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶרֶץ מִקְנֵה ⁴ הוא ולעבדיו מקנה: ס</p>	<p>The land which the Lord has conquered before the congregation of Israel, is land for livestock and your servants have livestock.”</p>
<p>וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִם־מָצָאנוּ חַן בְּעֵינֶיךָ יְיָ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת ⁵ לְעַבְדֶיךָ לְאֶחְזָהּ אֶל־תַּעֲבִרְנוּ אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן:</p>	<p>And they said, “if we have found grace in your eyes, may we be given this land to your servants as property. Do not cause us to pass over the Jordan.”</p>

Numbers 32: 37-39

<p>וּבְנֵי רְאוּבֵן בָּנוּ אֶת־חֶשְׁבּוֹן וְאֶת־אֶלְעֵלָא וְאֶת־קִרִיתַיִם: ³⁷</p>	<p>And the sons of Reuben built Heshbon and Elealeh and Kirithaim</p>
<p>וְאֶת־נֶבֹו וְאֶת־בַּעַל מְעוֹן מוֹסִבֹת שֵׁם וְאֶת־שִׁבְמָה ³⁸ וַיִּקְרְאוּ בְשֵׁמֹת אֶת־שְׁמוֹת הָעָרִים אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ:</p>	<p>And Nebo and Baal-Meon, their names changed, and Sibmah. And they called by name, names to the cities which they built.</p>
<p>וַיֵּלְכוּ בְנֵי מַכִּיר בְּנֵי־מַנַּשֶׁה גִלְעָדָה וַיִּלְכְּדוּהָ וַיֹּרְשׁוּ אֶת־ ³⁹ הָאֲמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ:</p>	<p>And the sons of Machir the sons of Manasseh went to Gilead and they took it and drove away the Amorites who were in it.</p>

Deuteronomy 1:1-8

<p>אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּעַבְרָן ¹ הַיַּרְדֵּן בְּמִדְבַר בְּעַרְבָה מִזֶּדֶן סוּף בֵּין־פָּאָרָן וּבֵין־תְּמַלְּךְ וּלְבָנו וְחֶזְרַת וְנָדִי זָהָב:</p>	<p>These are the words which Moses spoke to all of Israel in the side of the Jordan in the wilderness in the plain in front of Suph, in between Paran and in between Tophel, and Laban and Hazeroth and Dizahab.</p>
<p>אַחַד עָשָׂר יוֹם מִחֹרֵב דֶּרֶךְ הַר־שַׁעִיר עַד קַדֵּשׁ בַּרְנֵעַ: ²</p>	<p>It is eleven days from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir to Kadesh Barnea</p>
<p>וַיְהִי בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בְּעֶשְׂתֵּי־עָשָׂר חֹדֶשׁ בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ ³ דִּבֶּר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּכָל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֹתוֹ אֲלֵהֶם:</p>	<p>And it came to pass, in the fortieth year in the eleventh month in the first of the month Moses spoke to the sons of Israel as all of which the Lord God commanded</p>
<p>אַחֲרַי הִכָּתוּ אֶת סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֲמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר יוֹשֵׁב בְּחֶשְׁבּוֹן ⁴ וְאֶת עֹוג מֶלֶךְ הַבָּשָׁן אֲשֶׁר־יוֹשֵׁב בְּעַשְׂתְּרֹת בְּאֶדְרַעִי:</p>	<p>After he had struck Sihon, king of the Amorites who lived in Heshbon and Og, King of Bashan who lived in Ashteroth in Edrei.</p>

<p>5 בַּעֲבֹר הַיַּרְדֵּן בְּאֶרֶץ מוֹאָב הוֹאִיל מִיָּשָׁה בְּאֶר אֶת־הַתּוֹרָה הִזָּאת לֵאמֹר:</p>	<p>In the side of the Jordan in the land of Moab Moses began to explain this law saying,</p>
<p>6 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ דִּבֶּר אֵלֵינוּ בְּחֹרֵב לֵאמֹר רַב־לָכֶם שָׁבַת בְּהָר הַהוּא:</p>	<p>“the Lord our God has said unto us in Horeb saying, ‘Much in regards to this mountain you lived</p>
<p>7 פָּנּוּ וּסְעוּ לָכֶם וּבֵאוּ הַר הָאֱמֹרִי וְאֵל־כָּל־שְׂכֵנֵיכֶם בְּעֶרְבָה בְּהָר וּבְשִׁפְלָה וּבְגִבּוֹת וּבְחֹוֹף הַיָּם אֶרֶץ הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְהַלְבָּנוֹן עַד־הַנָּהָר הַגָּדֹל נְהַר־פָּרָת:</p>	<p>Turn aside and depart toward to the mountain range of the Amorites and unto all its neighbors in the plain, in the mountain and in the lowlands, and in the south in the coast of the sea, the land of the Canaanites and of Lebanon, as far as the great river, the Euphrates.</p>
<p>8 רָאָה נָתַתִּי לְפָנֵיכֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ בְּאוֹ וּרְשׁוֹ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאַבְרָהָם לְיִצְחָק וּלְיַעֲקֹב לֵאמֹר וְלִנְצֵחַ אַחֲרֵיהֶם:</p>	<p>See, I have given before you the land, go and possess the land which has been sworn by the Lord to your fathers to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give to them and their offspring after them.”</p>

Deuteronomy 2:24-37

<p>24 קוּמוּ סְעוּ וְעָבְרוּ אֶת־נַחַל אַרְנוֹן רָאָה נָתַתִּי כְיָדְךָ אֶת־סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ־הַשְּׁבֹון הָאֱמֹרִי וְאֶת־אֶרְצוֹ הַחֵל גֵּשׁ וְהִתְגַּר בּוֹ מִלְחָמָה:</p>	<p>Rise, depart and pass over the river Arnon. See, I have given into your hand Sihon, king of Heshbon of the Amorites and his land. Begin to possess it and engage him in battle.</p>
<p>25 הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֲחַל־תַּת פַּחַדְךָ וַיִּרְאֲתוּךָ עַל־פְּנֵי הָעַמִּים תַּחַת כָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמְעוּן שְׁמִיעֶךָ וְרָגְזוּ וַחֲלוּ מִפְּנֵיךָ:</p>	<p>This day I will begin to give the fear of you and your dread to the face of the peoples beneath all of the heavens which they will hear your report and shall shake and tremble in front of you.</p>
<p>26 וְאִשְׁלַח מִלְּאֲכִים מִמִּדְבַּר קִדְמוֹת אֶל־סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הַשְּׁבֹון דִּבְרֵי שְׁלוֹם לֵאמֹר:</p>	<p>And I sent messengers from the wilderness of Kedemoth to Sihon, king of Heshbon, saying,</p>
<p>27 אֲעֻבְרָה בְּאַרְצְךָ בְּעָרְךָ בְּעָרְךָ אֲלֹךְ לֹא אֶסוּר יָמִין וּשְׂמֹאל:</p>	<p>Let me pass through your land on the road. I will go (only) on the road. I will not turn aside to the right, or to the left.</p>
<p>28 אֶכֶל בַּכֶּסֶף תִּשְׁבַּרְנִי וְאֶכְלֹתִי וּמֵיִם בַּכֶּסֶף תִּתְּנוּ־לִי וְשָׁתִיתִי רַק אֲעֻבְרָה בְּרַגְלִי:</p>	<p>Through silver you will sell me food, and I shall eat and through silver you will give to me water, and I shall drink. Only let me pass on foot</p>

<p>²⁹ כְּאֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ-לִי בְנֵי עֵשָׂו הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּשֵׁעִיר וְהַמּוֹאָבִים הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּעַר עַד אֲשֶׁר-אָעֶבֶר אֶת-הַיַּרְדֵּן אֶל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר- יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ נָתַן לָנוּ:</p>	<p>as the sons of Esau did for me living in Seir and the Moabites living in Ar, until which I pass the Jordan into the land which the Lord our God have given to us.</p>
<p>³⁰ וְלֹא אָבָה סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ חֶשְׁבֹּן הַעֲבָרָנוּ בּוֹ כִּי-יִקְשֶׁה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת-רוּחוֹ וְאָמַץ אֶת-לִבּוֹ לִמְעַן תִּתּוּ בְּיָדְךָ כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה: ס</p>	<p>But Sihon, the king of Heshbon, did not accept for us to pass by, for the Lord your God had hardened his spirit and stiffened his heart, so that he may be given into your hand, as this is the day.</p>
<p>³¹ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי רְאֵה הִחַלְתִּי תַתּ לְפָנֶיךָ אֶת-סִיחֹן וְאֶת- אָרְצוֹ הִחַל רֹשׁ לְרִשֵׁת אֶת-אָרְצוֹ:</p>	<p>And the Lord said to me, “see, I have begun to give before you Sihon and his land. Begin to possess it in order to possess his land.”</p>
<p>³² וַיֵּצֵא סִיחֹן לִקְרָאתָנוּ הוּא וְכָל-עַמּוֹ לְמִלְחָמָה יְהָצֵה: ס</p>	<p>And Sihon went out against us he and all his people to battle at Jahaz.</p>
<p>³³ וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְפָנֵינוּ וַנַּגֵּד אֹתוֹ וְאֶת-בָּנָיו “וְאֶת- בְּנָיו” וְאֶת-כָּל-עַמּוֹ:</p>	<p>And the Lord our God gave him unto us and we smote him, his sons, and all his people.</p>
<p>³⁴ וַנִּלְכַּד אֶת-כָּל-עָרָיו בְּעֵת הַהוּא וַנַּחֲרֵם אֶת-כָּל-עִיר מֵתָם וְהַנְּשִׂים וְהַטַּף לֹא הִשְׁאֲרָנוּ שָׂרִיד:</p>	<p>And we captured all his cities at that time and we destroyed all the men, women and children of every city. We left no survivor.</p>
<p>³⁵ רַק הַבְּהֵמָה בְּיָדֵינוּ לָנוּ וְשַׁלַּל הָעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לָכַדְנוּ: ס</p>	<p>Only the cattle we plundered for ourselves and the plunder of the cities which we captured</p>
<p>³⁶ מֵעֲרֹעֵר אֲשֶׁר עַל-שֹׁפַת-נַחַל אַרְנוֹן וְהָעִיר אֲשֶׁר בְּנַחַל וְעַד-הַגִּלְעָד לֹא הָיְתָה קָרְיָה אֲשֶׁר שָׁגְבָה מִמֶּנּוּ אֶת-הַכּוֹל נָתַן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְפָנֵינוּ:</p>	<p>From Aroer which was on the shore of the Arnon and the city that was in the city that was in the valley as far as Gilead. There was not a city that was too high from us, the Lord our God gave all before us.</p>
<p>³⁷ רַק אֶל-אָרֶץ בְּנֵי-עַמּוֹן לֹא קָרַבְתָּ כִּלְיָד גַּחַל יַבֶּק וְעָרֵי הַהָר וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ:</p>	<p>Only unto the land of the sons of Ammon you will not draw near, all the hand in the river of Jabbok and the cities of the mountain range and all of which the Lord our God commanded.</p>

Deuteronomy 3:2-3, 6-7⁸

⁸ The story of the encounter with Og comes right after the defeat of Sihon

<p>2 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי אַל־תִּירָא אֹתוֹ כִּי בְיָדִי נָתַתִּי אֹתוֹ וְאֶת־ כָּל־עַמּוֹ וְאֶת־אֶרְצוֹ וְעָשִׂיתָ לוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ לְסִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר יוֹשֵׁב בְּחֶשְׁבּוֹן:</p>	<p>And the Lord said to me, “do not be afraid of [Og], for I have given into your hand him and all his people and his land. And you will do to him as you did to Sihon, king of the Amorites, who were living in Heshbon.</p>
<p>3 וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּיָדֵנוּ גַם אֶת־עוֹג מֶלֶךְ־בַּשָּׁן וְאֶת־ כָּל־עַמּוֹ וַנִּכְהוּ עַד־בְּלַתִּי הַשְּׂאִיר־לוֹ שְׂרִיד:</p>	<p>And the Lord our god also gave Og into our hand, the king Og of Bashan and all his people and we caused to smite until there was not left over a survivor to him.</p>
<p>6 וַנַּחֲרֵם אוֹתָם כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂינוּ לְסִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ חֶשְׁבּוֹן הַחָרֵם כָּל־עֵיר מֵתָם הַנָּשִׁים וְהַטָּף:</p>	<p>And we caused to destroy them as we did to Sihon, king of Heshbon, destroying the men, women, and children, of every city.</p>
<p>7 וְכָל־הַבְּהֵמָה וְשָׁלַל הָעָרִים בְּזוּנוֹ לָנוּ:</p>	<p>And all the livestock and all the plunder of the cities we plundered for ourselves.</p>

Deuteronomy 4:44-49

<p>44 וְזֹאת הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר־שָׂם מֹשֶׁה לִפְנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:</p>	<p>And this is the law which Moses had set before the sons of Israel.</p>
<p>45 אֵלֶּה הַעֲדוּת וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּצֵאתָם מִמִּצְרָיִם:</p>	<p>These are the commandments and the rules and the judgements which Moses spoke to the sons of Israel, in going out from Egypt.</p>
<p>46 בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן בְּגֵיא מוֹל בַּיַּת פְּלוֹר בְּאֶרֶץ סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֱמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר יוֹשֵׁב בְּחֶשְׁבּוֹן אֲשֶׁר הִכָּה מֹשֶׁה וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּצֵאתָם מִמִּצְרָיִם:</p>	<p>In the side of the Jordan in the valley in front of Beth-Peor in the land of Sihon, the king of the Amorites who dwelt in Heshbon whom Moses and the sons of Israel smote coming out from Egypt.</p>
<p>47 וַיִּירְשׁוּ אֶת־אֶרְצוֹ וְאֶת־אֶרְצוֹ עוֹג מֶלֶךְ־הַבָּשָׁן שְׁנֵי מַלְכֵי הָאֱמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן מִזְרָח שָׁמֶשׁ:</p>	<p>And they possessed his land and the land of Og, the king of Bashan, the two kings of the Amorites, who were in the side of the Jordan towards the rise of the sun.</p>
<p>48 מִצְרֹעַר אֲשֶׁר עַל־שְׂפַת־גִּנְחַל אַרְנוֹן וְעַד־הַר שִׂיֹּן הוּא הַרְמוֹן:</p>	<p>From Aroer which is unto the shore of the river Arnon and the mountain of Sion (that is, Hermon).</p>
<p>49 וְכָל־הַדְּשֵׁרֶתָה עֲבַר הַיַּרְדֵּן מִזְרָחָה וְעַד יָם הָעַרְבֵּה תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר־תַּחַת הַפִּסְגָּה: פ</p>	<p>And all the desert of the east side of the Jordan as far as the sea of Arabah under the slope of Pisgah.</p>

Deuteronomy 29:1-8⁹

<p>1 וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה אֶל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם אַתֶּם רְאִיתֶם אֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה לְעֵינֵיכֶם בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לַפְרֹעֹה וּלְכָל-עַבְדָּיו וּלְכָל-אֶרְצוֹ:</p>	<p>And Moses called unto all of Israel and said to them, “You have seen all of which the Lord has done before your eyes in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh and all of his servants and to all of his land.</p>
<p>2 הַמְּסוֹת הַגְּדֹלֹת אֲשֶׁר רָאוּ עֵינֵיךָ הָאֵתוֹת וְהַמִּפְתִּים הַגְּדֹלִים הֵּהֵם:</p>	<p>The great trials which your eyes saw the signs, and the great wonders.</p>
<p>3 וְלֹא-נָתַן יְהוָה לָכֶם לֵב לְדַעַת וְעֵינַיִם לִרְאוֹת וְאָזְנוֹיִם לִשְׁמָע עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:</p>	<p>But the Lord has not given to you a heart to notice, nor eyes to see, nor ears to listen to this day.</p>
<p>4 וְאוֹלָךְ אֶתְכֶם אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בַּמִּדְבָּר לֹא-בָלוּ שְׁלֹמֹתֵיכֶם מֵעַלְיֵיכֶם וְנַעֲלָךְ לֹא-בָלְתָה מֵעַל רַגְלֶךָ:</p>	<p>And I led you forty years in the wilderness. Your clothes have not worn out upon you and your sandals have not worn out upon your feet.</p>
<p>5 לֶחֶם לֹא אָכַלְתֶּם וְיַיִן וְשִׁכָּר לֹא שְׁתִּיתֶם לְמַעַן תִּדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:</p>	<p>You have not eaten bread, and you have not drunk strong drink in order that you may notice that I am the Lord your God.</p>
<p>6 וַתָּבֹאוּ אֶל-הַמְּקוֹם הַזֶּה וַיֵּצֵא סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ-חֶשְׁבּוֹן וְעוֹג מֶלֶךְ-בַּשָּׁן לִקְרַאתֵנוּ לְמִלְחָמָה וַנִּכְּסֵם:</p>	<p>And you went unto this place and Sihon king of Heshbon and Og, King of Bashan went out against us to battle and we smote them.</p>
<p>7 וַנִּקַּח אֶת-אֶרְצָם וַנִּתְּנָהּ לְנַחֲלָה לְרֵוּבֵנִי וּלְגַדִּי וְלַחֲצִי שֵׁבֶט מְנַשֶּׁשֶׁה:</p>	<p>And we took their land and we gave her possession to the Rubenites and the Gadites and to the half tribe of Manasseh.</p>
<p>8 וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת-דְּבָרֵי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם לְמַעַן תִּשְׁכַּלְוּ אֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשׂוּן: פ</p>	<p>And you will guard the words of this covenant and you will do them in order that you will be prudent in all you do.”</p>

Joshua 9:9-10¹⁰

<p>9 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו מֵאֶרֶץ רְחוֹקָה מְאֹד בָּאוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ לְשֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כִּי-שָׁמַעְנוּ שָׁמְעוּ וְאֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בְּמִצְרַיִם:</p>	<p>And [Gibeonites] said to him “from a faraway land, from which your servants come from</p>
---	--

⁹ The passage is part of the overall speech of Moses to bring the Israelites into a covenant with God.

¹⁰ This passage concerns the Gibeonites, who through deceit, forged an alliance with the Israelites after hearing of the Amorites' defeat.

	because the name of the Lord your God, for we have heard the rumors and all of which he did in Egypt
וְאֵתוּ כָּל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לְשְׁנֵי מַלְכֵי הָאֲמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר בְּעֶבֶר ¹⁰ הַיַּרְדֵּן לְסִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ חֶשְׁבֹן וְלַעֹג מֶלֶךְ-הַבָּשָׁן אֲשֶׁר בְּעַשְׁתְּרוֹת:	And all of which he did to the two kings of the Amorites which were in (this) side of the Jordan, Sihon, King of Heshbon, and Og, king of Bashan, which was in Ashteroth..."

Joshua 12:1-6

וְאֵלֶּה מַלְכֵי הָאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הָפוּ בְּגִי-יִשְׂרָאֵל בִּירְשׁוֹ אֶת- אֲרָצָם בְּעֶבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן מִזְרָחָה הַשָּׁמֶשׁ מִנְּחַל אַרְנוֹן עַד-הַר חֶרְמוֹן וְכָל-הָעֲרָבָה מִזְרָחָה:	And there are the kings of the land which the sons of Israel smote and possessed their lands in the side of the Jordan towards the rising sun from the river of the Arnon as far as the mountain Hermon and all of the plains from the east.
סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֲמֹרִי הַיּוֹשֵׁב בְּחֶשְׁבֹן מִשְׁלַל מִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר ² עַל-שְׂפַת-נַחַל אַרְנוֹן וְתוֹךְ הַנַּחַל וְחֶצִי הַגִּלְעָד וְעַד יַבֵּק הַנַּחַל גְּבוּל בְּגֵי עַמּוֹן:	Sihon, king of the Amorites, living in Heshbon ruling from Aroer which is upon the shore of the Arnon river and the middle of the river and half of Gilead and as far as Jabbok river, as the border is of the sons of Ammon.
וְהָעֲרָבָה עַד-יָם כְּנָרוֹת מִזְרָחָה וְעַד יָם הָעֲרָבָה יַם-הַמֶּלַח ³ מִזְרָחָה דֶרֶךְ בֵּית הַיְשִׁימוֹת וּמִתִּימֹן תַּחַת אֲשִׁדּוֹת הַפִּסְגָּה:	And the plains as far as the eastern sea of Kinnereth, and as far as the west plain of the salt sea east of the road, Beth Jeshimoth and the southern area under the slope of Pisgah.
וּגְבוּל עֹג מֶלֶךְ הַבָּשָׁן מִיַּתֵּר הַרְפָּאִים הַיּוֹשֵׁב בְּעַשְׁתְּרוֹת ⁴ וּבְאֶדְרַי:	And the Territory of Og, king of Bashan, the remnant of the Rephaltes living in Ashetroth and in Edrei.
וּמִשְׁלַל בְּהַר חֶרְמוֹן וּבְסֻלְכָה וּבְכָל-הַבָּשָׁן עַד-גְּבוּל ⁵ הַגִּשּׁוּרִי וְהַמַּעַתְתִּי וְחֶצִי הַגִּלְעָד גְּבוּל סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ-חֶשְׁבֹן:	And ruling in mount Hermon and in Salcah and in all of Bashan to the boundary of the Geshurites and the Maachathites, and half of Gilead is the boundary of Sihon king of Heshbon.
מֹשֶׁה עַבְד־יְהוָה וּבְגֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹם וְיִתְנֶה מִשְׁלַח עַבְד־ ⁶ יְהוָה יְרֵשָׁה לְרֵאוּבֵנִי וְלַגָּדִי וְלַחֲצִי שְׂבָט הַמְּנַשֶּׁה: ס	(These) Moses the Servant of the Lord and the Sons of Israel smote and Moses the servant of the Lord gave as property to the Rubenites, and to the Gadites and to the half tribe of Manasseh.

Joshua 13:8-10, 15-28,

<p>8 עָמוּ הָרֹאֲבֹנִי וְהַגָּדִי לְקַחְוּ נַחֲלָתָם אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לָהֶם מֹשֶׁה בְּעֶבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן מִזְרָחָה כְּאֲשֶׁר נָתַן לָהֶם מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד יְהוָה:</p>	<p>With [the half tribe of Manasseh] the Rubenites and the Gadites took possession which Moses gave to them in the eastern side of the Jordan as Moses, the servant of the Lord, gave to them.</p>
<p>9 מֵעֲרוֹעֵר אֲשֶׁר עַל־שְׂפַת־נַחַל אַרְנוֹן וְהַעִיר אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַגִּבּוֹל וְכָל־הַמִּישָׁר מִדִּבְיָאן עַד־דִּיבּוֹן:</p>	<p>From Aroer, which is upon the shore of the Arnon river and the city which is in the midst of the valley and all of the plains from Medeba from Dibon.</p>
<p>10 וְכָל עָרֵי סִיחּוֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֲמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ בְּחֶשְׁבּוֹן עַד־גְּבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן:</p>	<p>And all of the cities of Sihon, king of the Amorites who ruled in Heshbon to the boundary of the sons of Ammon.</p>
<p>15 וַיִּתֵּן מֹשֶׁה לְמַטֵּה בְנֵי־רְאוּבֵן לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם:</p>	<p>And Moses gave to the tribe of the sons of Ruben, to their family clan.</p>
<p>16 וַיְהִי לָהֶם הַגְּבוּל מֵעֲרוֹעֵר אֲשֶׁר עַל־שְׂפַת־נַחַל אַרְנוֹן וְהַעִיר אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַגִּבּוֹל וְכָל־הַמִּישָׁר עַל־מִדְבָּא:</p>	<p>And it came to pass to them the territory from the Arnon which is upon the shore of the Arnon river and the city which is in the midst of the Valley and all of the plain unto Medeba.</p>
<p>17 חֶשְׁבּוֹן וְכָל־עֲרֵיָהּ אֲשֶׁר בְּמִישָׁר דִּיבּוֹן וּבְמֹת בְּעַל־בַּיִת בְּעַל מְעוֹן:</p>	<p>Heshbon and all of her cities which is in the plain to Dibon and Bamoth Baal and Beth Baal Meon.</p>
<p>18 וַיְהִי וַיְקַדְּמוֹת וַיִּמְפָּצֹת:</p>	<p>And Jahaz and Kedemoth and Mephath.</p>
<p>19 וְקִרִּיתַיִם וְשִׁבְמָה וְזֶרֶת חַשְׁבָּא בְּהַר הָעֵמֶק:</p>	<p>And Kirithaim and Sibmah and Zereth Hashaba in the Mountain of the valley.</p>
<p>20 וּבֵית פְּעוֹר וְאַשְׁדּוֹת הַפְּסָגָה וּבֵית הַיִּשְׁמוֹת:</p>	<p>And Beth Peor and the slope of Pisgah and Beth Jeshimoth.</p>
<p>21 וְכָל־עָרֵי הַמִּישָׁר וְכָל־מַמְלְכוֹת סִיחּוֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֲמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ בְּחֶשְׁבּוֹן אֲשֶׁר הִכָּה מֹשֶׁה אֹתוֹ וְאֶת־נְשֵׂי־אֵי מְדִיָּן אֶת־זֹר וְאֶת־רֵקֵם וְאֶת־חֹר וְאֶת־רִבְעֵי נְסִיכֵי סִיחּוֹן יְשֵׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ:</p>	<p>And every city of the plain and all of the kingdoms of Sihon, the King of the Amorites who ruled in Heshbon who Moses smote, him with the princes of Midian: Evi and Rekem, and Zur and Hur, and Reba, (who were) the princes of Sihon dwelling in the land.</p>

<p>22 וְאֶת־בְּלַעַם בֶּן־בְּעוֹר הַקּוֹסֵם הָרְגוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּחֶרֶב אֶל־חַלְלֵיהֶם:</p>	<p>And Bilam, the son of Beor, the soothsayer the sons of Israel killed with the sword, among those slain by them.</p>
<p>23 וַיְהִי גְבוּל־בְּנֵי רְאוּבֵן הַיַּרְדֵּן וּגְבוּל־זֹאת נַחֲלַת בְּנֵי־ רְאוּבֵן לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם הָעָרִים וְחִצְרֵיהֶן: פ</p>	<p>And it came to pass the territory of the sons of Ruben the Jordan and this territory (was given) as inheritance of the sons of Ruben to the clan by the cities and her settlements.</p>
<p>24 וַיִּתֵּן מֹשֶׁה לְמִטְהֵ־גָד לְבְנֵי־גָד לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם: 24</p>	<p>And Moses had given to the tribe of Gad to the sons of Gad as to their families.</p>
<p>25 וַיְהִי לָהֶם הַגְּבוּל יַעֲזֹר וְכָל־עָרֵי הַגִּלְעָד וְחִצְי־אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן עַד־עֲרוֹעֵר אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי רַבָּה:</p>	<p>And it came to pass to them the territory of Jazer and all of the cities of Gilead and half of the land to the sons of Ammon to Aroer which was upon the face of Rabbah.</p>
<p>26 וּמִחֻשְׁבּוֹן עַד־רַמַּת הַמַּצְפָּה וּבֵטָנִים וּמַמְחַנִּים עַד־גְּבוּל לְדָבָר:</p>	<p>And from Heshbon to Ramath Mizpah and Betanim and from Manahaim, to the border to Debir.</p>
<p>27 וּבְעֵמֶק בֵּית הָרָם וּבֵית נִמְרָה וְסִכּוֹת וְצָפוֹן יִתָּר מִמְלַכּוֹת סִיחּוֹן מִלְּךְ חֻשְׁבּוֹן הַיַּרְדֵּן וּגְבֹל עַד־קִצְיָהּ יָם־ כְּנָרֵת עַבְרַת הַיַּרְדֵּן מִזְרָחָה:</p>	<p>And in the valley of Beth haram and Beth Nimrah and Succoth and Zaphon the remainder from the kingdom of Sihon the king of Heshbon of the Jordan and the border as far as the edge of the sea of Kinnereth on the eastern side of the Jordan.</p>
<p>28 זֹאת נַחֲלַת בְּנֵי־גָד לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם הָעָרִים וְחִצְרֵיהֶם: 28</p>	<p>This was the inheritance of the sons of Gad to their families the cities and their settlements.</p>

Joshua 21:38-39

<p>38 וּמִמִּטְהֵ־גָד אֶת־עִיר מִקְלַט הַדָּלָה אֶת־רַמּוֹת בְּגִלְעָד וְאֶת־ מַגְרֵשָׁה וְאֶת־מַחְנֵי־הָיָם וְאֶת־מַנְהַיִם:</p>	<p>And from the tribe of Gad the city of refuge for the murderer, Ramoth in Gilead and its tablelands and Manahaim and its tablelands.</p>
<p>39 אֶת־חֻשְׁבּוֹן וְאֶת־מַגְרֵשָׁה אֶת־יַעֲזֹר וְאֶת־מַגְרֵשָׁה כָּל־ עָרִים אַרְבַּע:</p>	<p>Heshbon and its tablelands, Jazer and its tablelands in all of the four cities.</p>

Judges 11: 12-28¹¹

<p>12 וַיִּשְׁלַח יִפְתָּח מְלָאכִים אֶל־מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן לֵאמֹר מַה־לִּי וְלָךְ כִּי־בָאתָ אֵלַי לְהִלָּחֵם בְּאַרְצִי:</p>	<p>And Jephthah sent messengers to the king of Ammon, saying what to you is against me for you have come against me to fight in my land.</p>
<p>13 וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן אֶל־מְלָאכֵי יִפְתָּח כִּי־לָקַח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־אַרְצִי בְּעֹלוֹתָיו מִמִּצְרַיִם מֵאַרְנוֹן וְעַד־הַיַּבֹּק וְעַד־הַיַּרְדֵּן וְעַתָּה הִשְׁיבָה אֶתְהֶן בְּשָׁלוֹם:</p>	<p>And the king of the sons of Ammon said unto the messengers of Jephthah, for Israel took from my hand in coming out from Egypt from the Arnon and as far as the Jabbok and to the Jordan and now bring them back in peace.</p>
<p>14 וַיּוֹסֶף עוֹד יִפְתָּח וַיִּשְׁלַח מְלָאכִים אֶל־מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן:</p>	<p>And yet Jephthah continued and sent messengers to the king of the sons of Ammon.</p>
<p>15 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ כֹּה אָמַר יִפְתָּח לֹא־לָקַח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־אַרְצֵי מוֹאָב וְאֶת־אַרְצֵי בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן:</p>	<p>And he said to him, thus says Jephthah, Israel has not taken the land of Moab nor the land of the sons of Moab.</p>
<p>16 כִּי בְּעֹלוֹתָם מִמִּצְרַיִם וַיֵּלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּמִדְבַּר עַד־יַם־סוּף וַיָּבֹא קַדְשָׁה:</p>	<p>For in going up from Egypt, Israel was walking in the desert to the Red Sea and went to Kadesh.</p>
<p>17 וַיִּשְׁלַח יִשְׂרָאֵל מְלָאכִים אֶל־מֶלֶךְ אֱדוֹם לֵאמֹר אֶעֱבְרָה־נָּא בְּאַרְצְךָ וְלֹא שְׂמַע מֶלֶךְ אֱדוֹם וְגַם אֶל־מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב שָׁלַח וְלֹא אָבָה וַיֵּשֶׁב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּקַדְשָׁה:</p>	<p>And Israel sent messengers to the king of Edom saying, “please let me pass in your land: and the king of Edom did not listen and also to the king of Moab he sent but he did not accept. And Israel stayed in Kadesh.</p>
<p>18 וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּמִדְבַּר וַיִּסָּב אֶת־אַרְצֵי אֱדוֹם וְאֶת־אַרְצֵי מוֹאָב וַיָּבֹא מִמִּזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ לְאַרְצֵי מוֹאָב וַיַּחֲנֶנּוּ בְּעֵבֶר אַרְנוֹן וְלֹא־בָאוּ בְּגִבּוֹל מוֹאָב כִּי אַרְנוֹן גְּבוּל מוֹאָב:</p>	<p>And he walked in the wilderness and he turned around the land of Edom and the land of Moab and he came from the east side to the land of Moab and they camped in the side of the Arnon and they did not go into the territory of Moab for the Arnon was the boundary.</p>
<p>19 וַיִּשְׁלַח יִשְׂרָאֵל מְלָאכִים אֶל־סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ־הָאֱמֹרִי מֶלֶךְ־חֶשְׁבּוֹן וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל נְעַבְרָה־נָּא בְּאַרְצְךָ עַד־מְקוֹמִי:</p>	<p>And Israel sent messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites, king of Heshbon, and Israel said to him, “Please let us pass through your land, unto my place”</p>
<p>20 וְלֹא־הֶאֱמִין סִיחֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עָבַר בְּגִבּוֹלוֹ וַיֵּאסֹף סִיחֹן אֶת־כָּל־עַמּוֹ וַיַּחֲנֶנּוּ בְּיַהֲזָה וַיִּלָּחֶם עִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל:</p>	<p>But Sihon did not trust Israel to pass his territory and Sihon gathered all his people and encamped in Jahaz, and fought with Israel.</p>

¹¹ The forms part of the whole conflict between Jephthah and the Ammonites

<p>וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־סִיחֹן וְאֶת־כָּל־עַמּוֹ בְּיַד יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּגְבוּם וַיִּירֶשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת כָּל־אֶרֶץ הָאֱמֹרִי יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאֶרֶץ הַהִיא:</p>	<p>And the Lord God of Israel gave Sihon and all his people into the hand of Israel and they subdued them. And Israel took all the land of the Amorites, those living in the land.</p>
<p>וַיִּירְשׁוּ אֶת כָּל־גְּבוּל הָאֱמֹרִי מֵאֲרֹנוֹן וְעַד־הַיַּבֹּק וּמִן־הַמִּדְבָּר וְעַד־הַיַּרְדֵּן:</p>	<p>And they possessed all the territory of the Amorites, from the Arnon, to the Jabbok, and from the wilderness to the Jordan.</p>
<p>וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוֹרִישׁ אֶת־הָאֱמֹרִי מִפְּנֵי עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַתָּה תִירָשְׁנֵנוּ:</p>	<p>And now the Lord, the God of Israel drove away the Amorites before his people Israel and now you possess it?</p>
<p>הֲלֹא אַתָּה אֲשֶׁר יוֹרִישֶׁנִּי כְּמוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֶיךָ אוֹתוֹ תִירֶשׁ וְאַתָּה כָּל־אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִפְּנֵינוּ אוֹתוֹ תִירֶשׁ:</p>	<p>Will not you take that which Chemosh your god (gives you) to possess? And all of which the Lord our God has taken before us, we will take.</p>
<p>וְעַתָּה הֲטוֹב טוֹב אַתָּה מִכָּל־בְּנֵי צִפּוֹר בֶּן־צִפּוֹר מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב הַרְּוֹב רַב עַם־יִשְׂרָאֵל אִם־נִלְחָמָם נִלְחָמָם בָּם:</p>	<p>And now, are you better than Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab, did he contend with Israel? Was he fought in battle by them?</p>
<p>בְּשָׁבַת יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּחֶשְׁבוֹן וּבְכַנּוֹתִיָּה וּבְעַרְעוֹר וּבְכַנּוֹתִיָּה וּבְכָל־הַעָרִים אֲשֶׁר עַל־יַד־אֲרֹנוֹן שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וּמִדּוֹעַ לֹא־הִצַּלְתֶּם בְּעֵת הַהִיא:</p>	<p>While Israel was living in Heshbon and its settlements and in Aroer and its settlements and in all of the cities which are upon the hand of the Arnon for 300 years, why did you not remove them in that time???</p>
<p>וְאֲנֹכִי לֹא־חָטָאתִי לָךְ וְאַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ אֵת־יְרֵעָה לְהִלָּחֵם בִּי יִשְׁפֹּט יְהוָה הַשֹּׁפֵט הַיּוֹם בֵּין בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבֵין בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן:</p>	<p>And I have not sinned against you but you are doing evil to me by engaging me in battle. The Lord will judge, judging the battle between the sons of Israel and between the sons the Ammon.</p>
<p>וְלֹא שָׁמַע מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן אֶל־דְּבָרַי כִּי־פָתַח אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח אֵלָיו: פ</p>	<p>But the king of the sons of Ammon did not listen to the words of Jephthah that he had sent to him.</p>

Isaiah 15: 4-5¹²

<p>וּתְזַעַק חֶשְׁבוֹן וְאֵלְעֵלָה עַד־יָהָז נִשְׁמַע קוֹלָם⁴</p>	<p>And Heshbon and Elealeh cry out. Their voice is heard as far as Jahaz.</p>
--	---

¹² For the latter prophets, many of the verbs are left ambiguous as to their temporal nature. As a result, my translation may differ from other translations.

על־כֹּן חֲלָצִי מוֹאֵב יִרְעוּ נַפְשׁוֹ יִרְעָה לוֹ:	Unto thus the armed men of Moab shouts. His soul trembles towards it. ¹³
לְבִי לְמוֹאֵב יִזְעַק בְּרִיחָהּ עַד־צֹר עֲגַלַת שְׁלִישִׁיהָ ⁵ כִּי מֵעֲלֵה הַלּוּחִית בְּכָל־יַעֲלֵה־בּוֹ כִּי דָרַךְ חוֹרֹנַיִם וַעֲקַת־שֹׁכֵר יַעֲרֹו:	My heart cries out to Moab. As far as Zoar, Eglath-Shelishiyah, for within the ascent of Luhith they go up weeping, for on the road of Horonaim they raise a cry of breaking. ¹⁴

Isaiah 16: 6-14¹⁵

שָׁמַעְנוּ גְאוֹן־מוֹאֵב גָּא מְאֹד ⁶ גְּאוֹתוֹ וּגְאוֹנוֹ וְעִבְרָתוֹ לֹא־כֵן בְּדָוִו: ס	We have heard the pride of Moab, exceedingly proud, of his haughtiness and his pride, and his arrogance, but his idle talk is empty. ¹⁶
לָכֵן יִיֵּלֵל מוֹאֵב לְמוֹאֵב כִּלְהָ יִיֵּלֵל ⁷ לְאַשִׁישִׁי קִיר־חַרְשֶׁת תִּהְגֹּו אֶד־נִכְאָיִם:	Therefore, Moab wails towards Moab, all shall wail, for the raisin cakes of Kir-Haraseth you growl surely. They are stricken.
כִּי שְׂדֵמוֹת חֶשְׁבוֹן אֶמְלֵל גִּפְו שְׂבֻמָּה ⁸ בְּעֲלֵי גוֹיִם הִלְמוּ שְׂרוּקֶיהָ עַד־יַעֲזֹר נִגְעוּ תַעוּ מִדְּבָר שְׁלַחֹתֶיהָ נִטְשׁוּ עֲבָרוּ יָם:	For the Fields of Heshbon have languished, the vine of Sibmah. The owners of the nations have stricken its red tendrils. They have gone to Jazer and have wandered in the wilderness. Her branches lie unnoticed, they have gone over the sea.
עַל־כֹּן אֲבִכָּה בְּכִי יַעֲזֹר גִּפְו שְׂבֻמָּה ⁹ אֶרְיַנְהָ דִמְעָתִי חֶשְׁבוֹן וְאַלְעָלָה כִּי עַל־קִיֶּצֶד וְעַל־קִצִּירָהּ הִיגַד נָפֵל:	Upon thus I weep in the weeping of Jazer (for) the vine of Sibmah. I will saturate you with tears ¹⁷ , Heshbon and Elealeh,

¹³ New American Commentary (Smith, 2007) translates this verse with present verbs whereas the Word Biblical Commentary (Watts, 1985) translates with past verbs.

¹⁴ Translation in this passage mostly consistent with translations in both Word Biblical and New American commentaries (2007, 1985).

¹⁵ New American Commentary (Smith, 2007), uses mostly present verbs in this passage.

¹⁶ Word Biblical Commentary (Watts, 1985) and New American Commentary (Smith, 2007), use present verbs.

¹⁷ Word Biblical Commentary (Watts, 1985), uses the present form for the phrase.

	for unto your summer fruit and unto your harvest the (battle) shout has fallen.
<p>וַיִּצְטַח שְׂמֵחָהּ וַיִּגִּיל מִן־הַכַּרְמֶל וּבַכְרָמִים לֹא־יִרְגֵזוּ לֹא¹⁰</p> <p>זִין בַּיַּקְבִּים לֹא־יִדְרֹךְ הַדְּרֹךְ הַיַּנְדֹּד הַשְּׂבֵתִי: יִרְעַע</p>	<p>And joy has been taken, and joy from the orchard and in the vineyards, there is no cry of joy.</p> <p>No treader treads wine in the winepress. I have caused their shouting to cease.</p>
<p>עַל־כֵּן מֵעַי לְמוֹאָב כַּפְנֹר יִהְיֶמוּ וְקִרְיֵי לְקִיר חֲרָשׁ: ¹¹</p>	<p>Unto thus my inner parts shall make noise to Moab as a lyre and my interior to Kir-Haraseth¹⁸.</p>
<p>וְהָיָה כִּי־נִרְאָה כִּי־נִלְאָה מוֹאָב עַל־הַבְּמָה¹²</p> <p>וַיָּבֹא אֶל־מִקְדָּשׁוֹ לְהִתְפַּלֵּל וְלֹא יוֹכֵל:</p>	<p>It shall be, when it is seen, when Moab is made weary on the high place,</p> <p>and he comes unto the sanctuary to pray but he will not prevail.</p>
<p>זֶה הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֶל־מוֹאָב מֵאָז: ¹³</p>	<p>This is the word which the Lord has declared unto Moab since.</p>
<p>וְעַתָּה דִּבֶּר יְהוָה לֵאמֹר בְּשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים כַּשָּׂנֵי שְׂכִיר¹⁴</p> <p>וְנִקְלָה כְבוֹד מוֹאָב בְּכָל הַהֶמְוֹן הַרְבֵּב וּשְׂאֵר מְעַט מִזְעָר לֹא כָבִיר:</p>	<p>And now has declared the Lord saying, “in three years as the years of the hired laborer” the riches of Moab will be despised in every large multitude, and the small remnant will be little and without strength.</p>

Jeremiah 48:1-2

<p>לְמוֹאָב כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל¹</p> <p>הוּי אֶל־נְבוֹ כִּי שִׁדְדָה הַבִּישָׁה גִלְכָדָה קִרְיָתַיִם</p> <p>הַבִּישָׁה הַמְשֻׁגָב וְחָתְמָה:</p>	<p>To Moab, thus says the Lord of Armies, the God of Israel,</p> <p>Woe unto Nebo, for it will be devastated, it will be withered. Kirithaim will be captured and will wither.</p> <p>The high spot of refuge will be shattered.¹⁹</p>
<p>אֵין עוֹד תְּהִלַּת מוֹאָב²</p> <p>בְּחֻשְׁבוֹן חֻשְׁבוּ עָלֶיהָ רָעָה לְכוּ וּנְכַרְיֶנָּה מִגְּוֵי</p>	<p>There is no more glory of Moab.</p> <p>In Heshbon, they planned evil against her. Go! Let us cut her off as a people,</p>

¹⁸ Word Biblical Commentary (Watts, 1985), uses present verbs for their translation of this verse.

¹⁹ Word Biblical Commentary (Keown, 1995) places vs 1-2 with past or present verbs where the New American Commentary (Huey, 1993) uses future verbs.

גם־מדמן תדמי אחריו תלך תרב:	you Madmen ²⁰ will also be cut off, the sword goes after you.
-----------------------------	--

Jeremiah 48: 34-35

מזעקת חשבון עד־אלעלה עד־להיזן נתנו קולם מצער ³⁴ עד־הרנים עגלת שלשיה כי גם־מי נמרים למשמות יהיו:	A cry from Heshbon to Elealeh to Jahaz given voice from Zoar to Horonaim, Eglath-Shelishiyah for too the waters of Nimrim will be desolate
והשבתי למואב נאם־יהוה מעלה במה ומקטיר לאלהיו: ³⁵	I will cause to cease in Moab, declares the Lord the ones bringing sacrifices to the high places and making smoke to their gods

Jeremiah 48: 45-47

בצל חשבון עמדו מכם נסים ⁴⁵ כי־אש יצא מחשבון ולהבה מבין סיוון והאכל פאת מואב וקדקד בני שאון:	In the shadow of Heshbon they stand without strength, fleeing. For a fire has come out from Heshbon, a flame from the house of Sihon and it has devoured the head of Moab, the crown of the sons of uproar.
אוי־לך מואב אבד עם־כמוש ⁴⁶ כי־לקחו בניה בשבי ובנותיה בשביה:	Woe to you Moab! The people of Chemosh have perished! For your sons have been taken into captivity and your daughters into captivity.
ושבתי שבות־מואב באחרית הימים ⁴⁷ נאם־יהוה עד־הנה משפט מואב:	“But I will return the holdings of Moab in the future days,” - the declaration of the Lord, as far as the judgement of Moab.

Jeremiah 49:1-6²¹

לבני עמון כה אמר יהוה ¹	To the sons of Ammon, thus says the lord,
------------------------------------	---

²⁰ Madmen, the city, not to be confused with the term “mad men.”

²¹ Verbs consistent with translations in both the Word Biblical and New American commentaries (1995, 1993)

<p>הַבָּנִים אֵין לְיִשְׂרָאֵל אִם־יֹרֵשׁ אֵין לוֹ מִדּוֹעַ גֵּרַשׁ מִלְכָּם אֶת־גָּד וְעַמּוֹ בְּעָרָיו יָשָׁב:</p>	<p>Are there no sons to Israel? Is there no heir to him? Why has Milcom possessed Gad and his people inhabited its cities?</p>
<p>לָכֵן הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה² וְהִשְׁמַעְתִּי אֶל־רַבַּת בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן תְּרוּעַת מִלְחָמָה וְהָיְתָה לְתֵל שְׂמָמָה וּבְנִתֶיהָ בָּאֵשׁ תִּצְתַּנֶּה וְיִרַשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־יְרֵשׁוֹ אָמַר יְהוָה:</p>	<p>Therefore, behold, the days are coming, declares the Lord, (when) I will make heard the shout of battle against Rabah of the sons of Ammon. It will be a heap of desolation, and her cities will burn with fire , and Israel will take possession of his possessions, says the Lord.</p>
<p>הִילֵלִי חֲשָׁבוֹן כִּי שִׁדְדָה־עַי צַעֲקָנָה בְּנוֹת רַבָּה³ חַגְרָנָה שָׁלִים סֹדְנָה וְהִתְשׁוּטְטָנָה בַּגְּדוֹרוֹת כִּי מִלְכָּם בְּגוֹלָה יֵלֵךְ כַּהֲנָיו וְשָׂרָיו יַחְדָּיו:</p>	<p>Wail Heshbon! For Ai has been devastated. Cry out daughters of Rabbah!! Gird yourselves with sackcloth! Mourn and turn to and from the wall, for Milkam goes into exile with his priests and his princes together</p>
<p>מַה־תִּתְהַלְלִי בְּעַמְלִים זָב עַמְלֹךְ הַבַּת הַשׁוֹבְבָה⁴ הַבְּטָחָה בְּאֲצָרֹתֶיהָ מִי יָבוֹא אֵלַי:</p>	<p>Why do you boast to yourself in your valleys, the lowlands that flow, the unfaithful daughter? Trusting in her treasures, “who will go against me??”</p>
<p>הִנְנִי מְבִיא עָלֶיךָ פֶּחַד נְאֻם־אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת מְכַל־⁵ סְבִיבֶיךָ וְנִדְחָתֶם אִישׁ לִפְנֵי וְאִין מִקְבֵּץ לִנְדָד:</p>	<p>Behold! I will bring unto you, terror! Declares the Lord of hosts, from everywhere surrounding you, you will be scattered, each one before him and no one to gather the fugitives.</p>
<p>וְאַחֲרֵי־כֵן אָשִׁיב אֶת־שְׂבוֹת בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן נְאֻם־יְהוָה: ס⁶</p>	<p>But afterward, thus I will cause to bring back the treasures of the sons of Ammon - Declaration of the Lord</p>

1 Chronicles 6:65-66²²

<p>וּמִמִּטְהַ־גָּד אֶת־רָאמוֹת בְּגִלְעָד וְאֶת־מִגְרָשִׁיהָ וְאֶת־⁶⁵ מַחְנֵיהָ וְאֶת־מִגְרָשִׁיהָ:</p>	<p>And from the tribe of Gad, Ramoth in Gilead and its pastures and Manahaim and its pastures.</p>
---	--

²² Forms part of a list of territories given to the Levite Kohathite clans

וְאֶת־הַשְּׁבוּן וְאֶת־מִגְרָשֶׁיהָ וְאֶת־יַעְזֵיר וְאֶת־מִגְרָשֶׁיהָ: ס ⁶⁶	And Heshbon and its pastures and Jazer and its pastures.
--	--

Songs of Solomon: 7:5

הַשָּׁן כְּמִגְדֵל צִנְאוֹרָה בַּת־רַבִּים עַל־שַׁעַר בְּהַשְּׁבוּן בְּרִכּוֹת עֵינָיִךְ דַּמְשֶׁק: פְּנֵי צוּפָה הַלְבָנוֹן כְּמִגְדֵל אֶפְרָיִם	Your neck is as a tower of ivory Your eyes are as the pools of Heshbon, by the gate of Bath Rabbim Your nose is as the tower of Lebanon, facing towards Damascus
---	--

Nehemiah 9:22²³

וַתִּתֵּן לָהֶם מְמַלְכוֹת וְעַמִּמִּים וַתַּחְלֶק־לָהֶם לְפָאָה ²² וַיִּירְשׁוּ אֶת־אֶרֶץ סִיחֹן וְאֶת־אֶרֶץ מֶלֶךְ הַשְּׁבוּן וְאֶת־אֶרֶץ עוֹג מֶלֶךְ־בַּשָּׁן:	And you gave to them kingdoms and peoples and apportioned them to corners. And they took the land of Sihon and the land of the king of Heshbon, and the land of Og, king of Bashan.
--	--

Appendix B: Memories

<i>Passage</i> ²⁴	<i>Memories</i>	<i>Genre(s)</i>
Numbers 21: 21-35	Narrative, episodic	Narrative
Numbers 21: 28-29 (song of Heshbon)	Poetic, scenic	Poetic, song, taunt
Numbers 32: 2-5, 37-39	Narrative, collective, episodic, connective	Narrative
Deuteronomy 1:1-8	Narrative, episodic, collective	Narrative, Speech/Sermon, exhortation, Law
Deuteronomy 2:24-37	Narrative, communicative, individual, episodic	Narrative, Law

²³ The context entails the people of Israel confessing and acknowledging the Lord's works

²⁴ Biblical passages are organized by order into sections by color: Green for the Torah, Purple for the Prophets, and Turquoise for the writings

Deuteronomy 3:2-3, 6-7	Narrative, episodic, communicative, individual	Narrative, Law
Deuteronomy 4:44-49	Narrative, collective	Narrative, Law
Deuteronomy 29:1-8	Narrative, collective, connective, individual, bonding,	Narrative, Speech, law
Joshua 9:9-10	Narrative, episodic, collective, connective	Narrative
Joshua 12:1-6	Narrative, Semantic, collective,	Narrative, list of inheritance
Joshua 13:8-10, 15-28	Narrative, semantic, collective, episodic	Narrative, list of inheritance
Joshua 21:38-39	Semantic, narrative, collective, episodic	List of inheritance
Judges 11:12-28	Collective, narrative, individual, communicative, episodic	Narrative
Isaiah 15:4-5	Poetic, scenic, communicative, individual	Oracle, Poetry
Isaiah 16:6-14	Poetic, scenic, communicative, individual	Oracle, Poetry
Jeremiah 48:1-2, 34-35, 45-47	Poetic, scenic, communicative, connective	Oracle, Poetry
Jeremiah 49:1-6	Poetic, scenic, communicative, connective,	Oracle, Poetry
1 Chronicles 6:65-66	Semantic, collective,	Narrative, list of inheritance
Nehemiah 9:22	Poetic, communicative, bonding, connective	Poetry
Songs of Solomon 7:5	Poetic, individual, communicative, scenic	Poetry

References

- Alster, B. (2006). Narrative Surprise in Biblical Parallels. *Biblical Interpretation*, 14(5), 456-485. doi: 10.1163/156851506778767957
- Assmann, J. (1995). Collective Memory and Cultural Identity (J. Czaplicka, Trans.). *New German Critique*, (65), 125-133. doi:10.2307/488538
- Assman, J. (2008). Communicative and Cultural Memory. In A. Erll, and A. Nünning (Eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, 109-118. New York, NY: De Gruyter.
- Assmann, J. (2006). *Religion and Cultural Memory* (R. Livingstone, Trans.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Baird, Arthur J. (1976). Content Analysis and the Computer: A Case Study in the Application of the Scientific Method to Biblical Research. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 95(2), 255-276. doi:10.2307/3265240
- Bloch-Smith, E. (2015). A Stratified Account of Jephthah's Negotiations and Battle: Judges 11 12-33 from an Archaeological Perspective. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 134(2), 291-311. doi:10.15699/jbl.1342.2015.2707
- Braun, R. (1986). *Word Biblical Commentary Volume 14: 1 Chronicles*. Waco, TX: Word Publisher.
- Butler, T.C. (2014). *Word Biblical Commentary 7b: Joshua 13-24*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Christensen, Duane L. (2003). "Terror on Every Side" in Jeremiah. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 92(4), 498-502. doi:10.2307/3263118

Elliger, K., Rudolph, R. et al. (1997). *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Stuttgart, Germany: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

Garrett, D. (2004). Songs of Songs. In B.M. Metzger, D. A. Hubbard, & G.W. Barker (Eds.), *Word Biblical Commentary Volume 23B*. Nashville TN: Thomas Nelson Inc.

Keown, G. L., Scalise, P.J., & Smothers, T.G., (1995). *Word Biblical Commentary Volume 27: Jeremiah 26-52*. Dallas, TX: Word Books.

Geraty, L. T. (1972). Heshbon-A Case of Biblical Confirmation or Confusion. *Andrews University Publications*, 5, 29-41. Retrieved from:

<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/hisban-excavations-1971-publications/5/>

Geraty, L. T. (2007). How Crossing Jordan Made the Difference: The Case of the Madaba Plains Project, 1967-2007. In Thomas E. Levy, P.M. Michèle Daviau, Randall W. Younker and May Shaer (Eds.), *Crossing Jordan: North American Contributions to the Archaeology of Jordan*, 107-110. Oakville, CT: Equinox.

Halbwach, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Hanson, P.D. (1968). The Song of Heshbon and David's Nîr. *Harvard Theological Review* 61(3), 297-320. doi: 10.1017/S0017816000029229.

Hübenthal, S. (2012). Social and cultural memory in biblical exegesis: The quest for an adequate application. In Pernill Carstens, Trine Bjørnung Hasselbalch, & Niels Peter Lemche (Eds.), *Cultural Memory in Biblical Exegesis* (175-199). Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.

Huey, F.B., Jr., (1993). *The New American Commentary Volume 16: Jeremiah, Lamentations*. Nashville TN: Broadman & Holman.

- Humphreys, R. (2002). The Destruction of Cultural Memory (2001 Presidential Address). *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 36(1), 1-8.
doi:10.1017/S0026318400044011
- Isnenghi, M. (2008). Italian *luoghi della memoria*. In A. Erll, and A. Nünning (Eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, 27-35. New York, NY: De Gruyter.
- Kuhlmann, P. (2012). Cultural Memory and Roman Identity in the Hymns of Prudentius. In M. Bommas, J. Harrison, & P. Roy (Eds.), *Memory and Urban Religion in the Ancient World*, 237-256. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Luiselli, M.M. (2011). The Ancient Egyptian scene of ‘Pharaoh smiting his enemies’: an attempt to visualize cultural memory? In M. Bommas (Ed.) *Cultural Memory and Identity in Ancient Societies*, 10-25. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Marquis, L.M. (2013). The Composition of Numbers 32: A New Proposal. *Vetus Testamentum*, 63(3), 408-432. doi:10.1163/15685339-12341122
- Motyer, J.A. (1993). *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction & Commentary*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press.
- Peckham, J.C. (2017). The Rational for Canonical Theology: An Approach to Systematic Theology after Modernism. *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, 55(1), 83-105. Retrieved from: <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/auss/vol55/iss1/10>
- Smith, G.V. (2007). *The New American Commentary, Volume 15A: Isaiah 1-39*. Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman.

- Stordalen, T. (2015). Heshbon-The History of a Biblical Memory. In Rannfrid I. Thelle, Terje Stordalen, & Mervyn E.J. Richardson (Eds.), *New Perspective on Old Testament Prophecy and History* (246-263). Boston, MA: BRILL.
- Van-Seters, J. (1972). The conquest of Sihon's Kingdom: A Literary Examination. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 91, 182-197. doi:10.2307/3263204
- Watts, J.D., (1985). *Word Biblical Commentary Volume 24: Isaiah 1-33*. Dallas, TX: Word Books.
- Watts, J. D. (2005). *Word Biblical Commentary 24: Isaiah 1-33*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.
- Woods, J. I. (2011). *Jeremiah as Christian Scripture*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications.