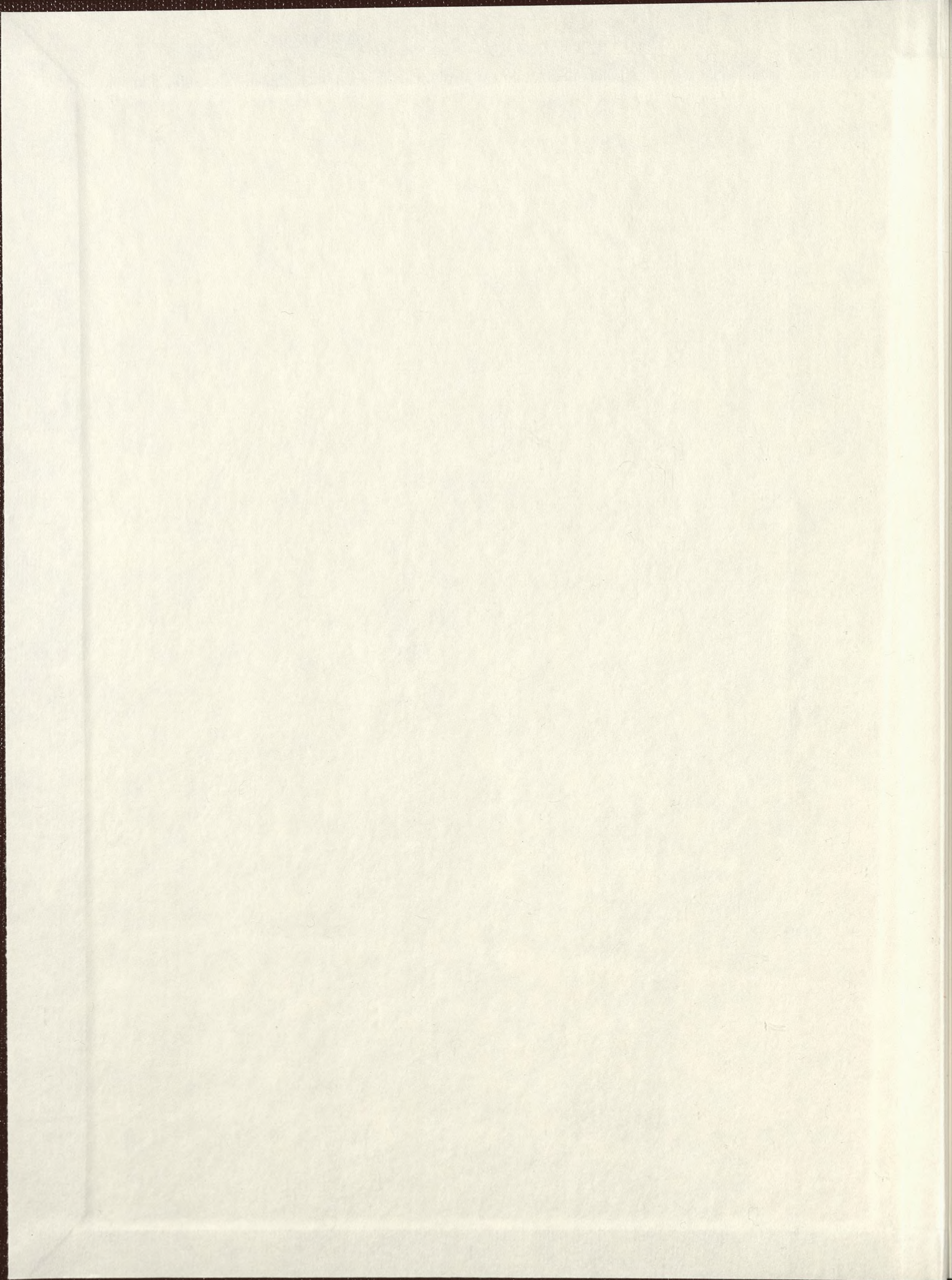# THE DEATH OF JOSIAH: CULTURAL TRAUMA
AND SOCIAL IDENTITY IN THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES

BY

BRENDAN G. YOUNGBERG,
B.B.E., M.Div.

THE DEATH OF JOSIAH: CULTURAL TRAUMA AND SOCIAL IDENTITY IN THE
BOOK OF CHRONICLES

by

Brendan G. Youngberg, B.B.E., M.Div.

A dissertation submitted to
the Faculty of McMaster Divinity College
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Christian Theology)

McMaster Divinity College
Hamilton, Ontario
2019

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY   McMaster Divinity College
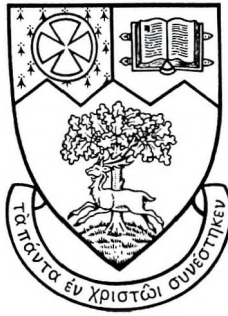(Christian Theology)   Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Death of Josiah: Cultural Trauma and Social Identity in
                    the Book of Chronicles

AUTHOR: Brendan G. Youngberg

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                    Dr. Mark J. Boda

NUMBER OF PAGES: xii + 254 pages

McMASTER DIVINITY COLLEGE

Upon the recommendation of an oral examining committee,
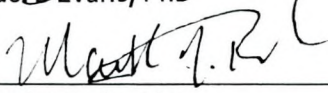
this dissertation by

Brendan G Youngberg

is hereby accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
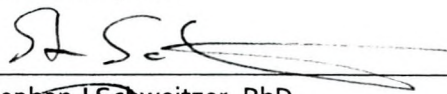
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY)

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Date: February 13, 2019

ABSTRACT

"The Death of Josiah: Cultural Trauma and Social Identity in the Book of Chronicles"

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Most scholars would agree that Josiah's death in the Book of Chronicles is negatively portrayed, especially as contrasted with his laudable Passover. But why should the king par excellence, according to 2 Kings, die such an ignominious death in the Chronicler's portrayal? By applying a methodological framework derived from cultural trauma theory in its relation to social identity theory, this dissertation argues that the Chronicler's negative recounting of Josiah's death not only marks the initiation of cultural trauma for the Chronicler's community but ends by encouraging the hopeful alleviation of the community's enduring cultural trauma. In analysing the Chronicler's markers of cultural trauma within the context of the social identities that appear in the genealogies and subsequent narratives in the book of Chronicles, the failure of Josiah can be most clearly seen in his seeking battle with Pharaoh Neco without seeking YHWH. Not only did Josiah fail to heed the word of God not to confront Neco, but his very disobedience initiates the cultural trauma experienced through the fall of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration, which follows swiftly after the death of Josiah according to the Chronicler. In turn, the narrative of Josiah's death is connected to the cultural trauma of the broader community primarily through the appearance of Jeremiah. The first

reference of Jeremiah in the book of Chronicles has him issuing a lament in the wake of Josiah's death (2 Chr 35:25), while Jeremiah's final reference recounts the fulfilment of his prophecy of "seventy years" rest (2 Chr 36:21–22) signalling the end of forced migration in the wake of the fall of Jerusalem. At the same time, by examining the Chronicler's markers of cultural trauma, this dissertation presents evidence that the Chronicler is seeking to recategorize the community within a superordinate identity of "all Israel" as a means to alleviate their cultural trauma that was initiated and symbolised by the death of Josiah.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

What would a dissertation on the book of Chronicles be without listing the names and memorializing those who have been with me and brought me to this very point? In this, I would like to express my deepest gratitude for my doctoral supervisors, Paul Evans and Mark Boda. From the first email I sent Paul inquiring of doctoral studies until the writing of this page, Dr. Evans has consistently encouraged, supported and offered invaluable insight for my work. Over countless (clean) cups of good coffee both in his office and abroad, Paul's wise and discerning engagement with the many iterations of my work have made the Hebrew Bible more alive for me than ever before. I am truly grateful for his devoted mentorship and friendship over all these years at McMaster Divinity College (MDC). Speaking of coffee, I am almost certain I still owe my other supervisor, Dr. Boda ("RaMaB"), at least a latte at this point for any number of my drafts he patiently read through. Mark's intensity within scholarship, as seen through my time with him in the classroom, at conferences, and during reviews of this dissertation, is often only eclipsed by his ability to make every one of his students believe they can achieve even more. It has been an honor to study with Mark and glean the wisdom and depth of concern for God's Word that he has shared in so many reviews of my various works, each word a gift in due season.

To these, I must add: to begin, my love for language and finding ways of expressing the fruits of God's grace were formed first by my English professor at Mount Royal College, Richard Harrison. I can barely write a word without being grateful for the times Richard spoke hope into words that I no longer had. It was this love of words that

Which brings me to today. The warm and instant reception into the community of Portico Church in Mississauga, ON and especially the encouragement and support offered by "the Squirrels" Growth Group/Bible Study has provided the lifeblood and context for this current study. I am, and will continue to be, thankful to each one. Though, of course, any lifeblood would not have been and would not be possible without that of my family: my parents, Roy and Renie Youngberg; and my sisters, Tonya and Tarita, This project, the pursuit of my dreams, would simply not have been possible without any one of them. My conception of unconditional love and faithfulness, the very essence of *hesed*, is borne from this, their love. Though this journey has torn me away from one set of family, including Ollie, Sam, Becca, Abby, and Elise (Tarita's children) moving me to the other side of the country, I am grateful to be able to finish this work nearer another, including Jaden Lairson (Tonya's husband) and their children Xavier, Nate, and Rowan.

Above all, I would like to honour my wife, Jill Youngberg. She has willingly sacrificed more than I can imagine, for though we are now closer to her parents, Jack and Janice Lavender, she has had to leave behind not only a career, but life-time friends and family in our move across Canada, including her sister, Jocelyn (who graciously read through a published paper of mine, including footnotes!), and brother-in-law, Erik Colaiezzi. For this, I am inexpressibly grateful. Her loyalty, love, encouragement, joy, and faithfulness through this entire journey has truly expressed to me the deepest of loves, and the completion of the dissertation hereof, is in so many ways, due solely to her.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
BDB	Brown, Francis, et al. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005.
Bib	*Biblica*
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cornerstone Biblical Commentary
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
ConBot	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
DCH	Clines, David J. A., ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 8 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 1993–2011.
ESV	English Standard Version
FAT	*Forschungen zum Alten Testament*
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament
HALOT	*Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament

HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
KJV	King James Version
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Version
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation

NPNF	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OJB	Orthodox Jewish Bible
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTL	Old Testament Library
PB	*Psychological Bulletin*
PL	Migne, J. P. *Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Latina* (221 vols.; Paris, 1844–1864)
PSPB	*Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
SBAB	Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
TDOT	Botterweck, G. J., et al., eds. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Translated by J. T. Willis et al. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974–2006.
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Abandoned and slaughtered. And yet, a voice remains: the wail of a new mother
impossible to console at the loss of her entire family. Children ripped away from their
family and placed in government sponsored "residential" schools. Pregnant women
ripped open at the belly, babies dashed against rocks, young men and old slaughtered.
The sorrow of society knows no bounds. Such trauma has occurred for millennia, and
continues to this day. The fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians was exceptionally
traumatic. The book of Chronicles, though written several generations removed from the
fall of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration, was, nonetheless, written from within
a community that experienced cultural trauma. The community's cultural trauma is
addressed most profoundly in the Chronicler's rendition of the death of Josiah.[1] However,
scholarship to date has not taken the cultural trauma elicited from the fall of Jerusalem
and subsequent forced migration into account in assessing Josiah's death, often leaving
the Chronicler's version as an inexplicable anomaly.

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[1] By "Chronicler," this study heuristically refers to the author(s) and tradents that compiled the
book of Chronicles and is not intended as a reference to any specific person(s) in particular. While the Old
Greek will be referenced at times throughout this study, the MT will serve as the primary source of
reference for the book of Chronicles. As well, though the similarities between Samuel-Kings and
Chronicles is extensive, and often assumes a direct dependence (see especially, Kalimi, *Reshaping*), the
relationship is not yet unanimously determined (see for example, the two-source hypothesis of Auld, *Kings
Without Privilege*; Auld, "What Was the Main Source," 91–99; Ho, "Conjectures," 82–106); furthermore,
the difficulty in assessing precise textual dependencies is highlighted especially by Mckenzie (*Chronicler's
Use*) and Lemke ("Synoptic Problem," 349–63). Therefore, this study will treat the two texts separately
referring to comparisons as "options" rather than seeking to determine a precise "borrowing / altering" of
the Chronicler's *Vorlage*. For studies examining the relationship of redactions occurring "both ways"
between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles see, for example, the compendium of essays in Becker and Bezzel
(eds.), *Rereading the (re)Lecture*.

In contrast to the book of Chronicles, the highpoint of the Deuteronomistic

History (DH) can be seen in the *inclusio* contained in Josiah's reign in 2 Kgs 23:25:

"Before him there was no king like him, who turned to the LORD with *all his heart, with*

all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; nor did any like

him arise after him" (cf. Deut 6:5; emphasis mine).[2] With such praise lauded on a king of

Judah it is not surprising that the reign of King Josiah, as recorded in the Old

Testament/Hebrew Bible (OT/HB), has been the focus of a myriad of studies.[3] What is

surprising, however, is the means through which the Chronicler has elaborated upon the

death of Josiah, which only amounts to a brief summary in Kings (2 Chr 35:20–25 // 2

Kgs 23:29–30).[4] As a result of the divergent narrative, Josiah is related through distinct

literary parallels to previous "evil" kings. These parallels include being wounded by

archers in a similar manner to the "unfaithful" (מעל) King Saul (1 Chr 10:3 // 2 Chr

35:22) as well as disguising himself in the manner of the "evil" (רע) King Ahab (2 Chr

18:33 // 2 Chr 35:21). As such, Josiah is placed directly alongside the Chronicler's

exemplars of bad kings.[5] But for what purpose? Why is the greatest king of the DH

associated, via distinct literary techniques, with among the worst kings in the

Chronicler's representation? To have Josiah's death associated with "unfaithful" Saul and

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[2] Cf. Sweeney, *King Josiah*, 4.

[3] For an example, see the bibliographies of Sweeney, *King Josiah* and Laato, *Josiah and David Redivivus*.

[4] Cf. Boda's (*1–2 Chronicles*, 420) comment regarding the Chronicler's presentation of Josiah's narrative: "With such high praise heaped upon Josiah at the close of the Chronicler's account of the Passover (35:18), it is quite surprising that he presented this final tragic chapter of Josiah's reign."

[5] Not only does the Chronicler assess every king as to "doing good" or "doing evil" in the ascension formulae, but through the repetition of the *leitwort* מעל makes explicit claim to the negative features of certain kings' reigns. The term "unfaithful" (מעל) appears in 1 Chr 2:7; 5:25; 9:1; 10:13; 2 Chr 12:2; 26:16, 18; 28:19, 22; 29:6, 19; 30:7; 33:19; 36:14.

"evil" Ahab, the so-called "bad kings" of Chronicles (cf. 1 Chr 10:13–14; 2 Chr 21:6, 13;

22:3, 4) rather than with a more righteous death such as Solomon (for whom the narrator

entirely lacks a death narrative, cf. 2 Chr 9:31), leaves Josiah's reign following such a

laudable Passover celebration (2 Chr 35:1–19) on negative grounds.[6] Indeed, as

Delamarter stresses, "Such an ignoble end to such a righteous reign needs an

explanation."[7] What might this portrayal of King Josiah relate for the Chronicler's

audience? In essence, why does the Chronicler construct such a variant rendition of the

death of Josiah?

Previous approaches to Josiah's narrative, certainly those early in the twentieth

century, were essentially either historical- or text-critically focused.[8] While contributing

to the historical details of the narrated event, the literary features, namely, the overall

rhetoric, of Josiah's narrative are left predominantly unexplained by these studies.[9] More

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[6] Cf. Klein (*2 Chronicles*, 523) who states that Josiah's Passover was "done on the right day and in precisely the right way." Also Jonker (*Reflections*, 32), who states that "[a]dditionally, the elaborate description by the Chronicler of Josiah's campaign against Pharaoh Necho of Egypt and the circumstances of the king's death (2 Chr 35:20–24), provide a false note at the end of King Josiah's reign."

[7] Cf. Delamarter, "Death of Josiah," 30.

[8] Alfrink, "Schlact bei Megiddo," 173–84; Cannon, "Note," 63–64; Cross, "Josiah's Revolt," 56–58; Welch, "Death of Josiah," 255–60. Following these studies, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, two scholarly debates were focused around the Chronicler's *text* of Josiah's narrative. The first of these was a series of articles by Allen and Klein, followed by a separate series of articles by Williamson and Begg. Allen and Klein focused their debate around the variances between the OG and MT of Kings and Chronicles specifically in the OG plus of 2 Chr 35:19. See, Allen, "Further Thoughts," 483–91; Klein, "New Evidence," 93–105; Klein, "Supplements," 492–95. Cf. Klein's (*2 Chronicles*, 530) recent summary of this debate. Williamson and Begg focused their debate around the location of the source formulae found at 2 Chr 35:26 and 2 Kgs 23:28. See, Begg, "Death of Josiah," 1–8; Williamson, "Death of Josiah," 242–48; Williamson, "Reliving the Death of Josiah," 9–15. To this series of articles can be added Talshir's ("Three Deaths," 213–36) text-critical treatment of the source formula to which 1 Esdras (which contains a parallel text of Kings and Chronicles) is brought to bear on the discussion.

[9] Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 1039–42) lists a number of literary phenomena occurring during the narrative, however, her analysis, too, centres on a historical discussion without developing the rhetorical emphasis concerning the appearance of Samuel or Jeremiah. So, too, Kalimi (*Reshaping*, 22–23) provides an in-depth comparison with the account in Kings, though does not address the Chronicler's overall rhetoric for Josiah's narrative specifically.

recently, Frost proposed that with Josiah's death, Israel's hope and freedom were extinguished.[10] However, Josiah's death was then seen as an embarrassment, leaving Frost to state that, "We are left then with a general conspiracy of silence on the subject of the death of Josiah because, given the OT premises, no one could satisfactorily account for it theologically."[11] In the end, Frost dismisses the Chronicler's account altogether stating that "no one either in ancient or modern times is going to take the Chronicler's solution very seriously."[12] However, the recent preponderance of studies on the book of Chronicles seems to suggest otherwise.[13]

Studies that are neither text- nor historical-critical have essentially focused on one of three major elements of the Chronicler's narrative of Josiah: Josiah's Reforms (2 Chr 34:3b–33), Josiah's Passover (35:1–19), or Josiah's Death (35:20–27). A plethora of studies have focused on Josiah's reforms as represented in the book of Kings, while few have provided an analysis of the Chronicler's treatment of Josiah's reforms.[14] On the other hand, Josiah's Passover in Chronicles has been the focus of several studies, though mostly from a tradition-history and source-critical perspective.[15] From a literary perspective, Jonker and Ristau have provided the most extensive treatments of Josiah's Passover in Chronicles, though do not examine specifically Josiah's death narrative.[16]

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[10] Frost, "Death of Josiah," 372.

[11] Frost, "Death of Josiah," 381.

[12] Frost, "Death of Josiah," 381. Similarly, Halpern ("Why Manasseh Is Blamed," 514) dismisses the Chronicler's narrative as being no longer concerned with Josiah's ineffectiveness to stall the exile.

[13] Jonker, in a presentation at the Annual Meeting of the SBL in Boston 2017, has noted the recent "explosion" of commentaries on the book of Chronicles; cf. Jonker's (*Defining*, 1) mention previously of "more than thirty since 2000!"

[14] For a sample, see the bibliography in Monroe, *Josiah's Reform*; Sweeney, *King Josiah*; Laato, *David and Josiah Redivivus*. For those treating the reforms in Chronicles, see Bae, *Vereinte Suche nach JHWH*; Barrick, *King and the Cemeteries*. Eslinger ("Josiah," 37–62) provides a literary analysis of the "Torah Book" as recounted in Kings and Chronicles, though ends his analysis at the end of the Passover.

[15] Fishbane, *Biblical interpretation*; Shaver, *Torah*; Ben Zvi, "Revisiting," 238–50.

[16] Jonker, *Reflections*; Ristau, "Reading: Critical." Ben Zvi provided a partial response to Ristau's M. A. thesis in Ben Zvi, "Observations on Josiah's Account," 89–106.

Specific to Josiah's death, Delamarter does seek to address the question the current study is pursuing: "how could Josiah, the most righteous of Judah's kings, die an ignominious death at the hands of a pagan king?"[17] In the end, however, Delamarter focuses predominantly on the harmonization of textual variations in Josiah's death throughout its tradition-history as opposed to specifically what the Chronicler's rhetoric may have been.

Ristau, building on his earlier work specific to Josiah's Passover, has provided an analysis of Josiah's death narrative in Chronicles.[18] The death of Josiah, according to Ristau, though containing negative literary parallels, does not diminish the piety of Josiah.[19] Ristau rightly notes the explicit pall hanging over the Chronicler's account of Josiah's entire reign accounted for by a lack of joy and blessing paradigms.[20] However, Ristau essentially leaves the question as to why the Chronicler relates such an ignoble death as Josiah's as an inexplicable anomaly that is the "inevitable *telos* of God's will."[21]

Ristau is certainly headed in the right direction by seeking a narrative context outside of Josiah's encounter with Neco to explain his untimely death. As such, the current study will examine the book of Chronicles beginning with the genealogies so that an explanation as to Josiah's death will be clear by the time the narrative arrives at

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[17] Delamarter, "Death of Josiah," 29. Cf. Aquino's ("Por Que Josias," 99) four primary arguments to explain the death of Josiah.

[18] Ristau, "Reading: Chronicler's," 219–47.

[19] Contra Mitchell ("Ironic," 431), who, though asserting in her article that Josiah's entire reign, including the Passover, is to be interpreted negatively, acknowledges that she is writing against "the vast majority of commentators, ancient and modern."

[20] Ristau, "Reading: Chronicler's," 241.

[21] Ristau, "Reading: Chronicler's," 241; emphasis original. Blenkinsopp ("Remembering," 236–56) also focuses on the death of Josiah, and though including a discussion of Jeremiah's lament and associated trauma, does not address the rhetoric involved with the Chronicler's focus on social identity negotiations, nor the lingering affects of the cultural trauma resulting from the fall of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration, which appear throughout the remainder of the book of Chronicles.

Josiah's death in the presence of Neco. Specifically, the lacunae of scholarship to account for the cultural trauma experienced by the inhabitants of Jerusalem during the fall to the Babylonians and subsequent forced migration has obscured the significance of the Chronicler's portrayal of the death of Josiah at the close of Chronicles. The current study, therefore, will elucidate that Josiah's narrative is structured specifically to address the cultural trauma that persisted into the Chronicler's day. The cultural trauma, initiated following Josiah's death, is specifically marked through the description of the slaughtering of people, destruction of the temple, and forced migration (cf. 2 Chr 36:17–20).[22] By using cultural trauma theory specifically, the Chronicler's presentation of significant social identity negotiations are most explicable as is the apparent oddity of Josiah's death, the last king of any substance in the book of Chronicles. However, before a treatment of the book of Chronicles will be conducted a preliminary overview of the context of its compilation will be provided.

Preliminary Considerations Related to the Book of Chronicles in the Social Context(s) of Persian Yehud

In order to address the problem of Josiah's ignominious death as portrayed by the Chronicler, the book of Chronicles will need to be addressed primarily as a historical, yet, literary text.[23] In terms of scholarship today, it is essentially determined that the biblical records, including the book of Chronicles, do not present a finalized "flesh and blood"

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[22] Cf. Baines ("Cohesiveness," 141–58) who notes the time of Manasseh to Cyrus (2 Chr 33:1—36:23) as a complete literary unit.

[23] This is not to suggest that the book of Chronicles is necessarily presenting the actual historical practices of the cultus, for example (cf. Schweitzer, *Reading*, 16–20; 28–30), but rather that the book of Chronicles was compiled within a historical context. In other words, even though the book of Chronicles was written in a historical context that readers are "folly" to ignore (so Gottwald, *Hebrew Bible*, 32), the Chronicler is not *necessarily* portraying an exact representation of that historical context.

community that can be indiscriminately "read off" the page.[24] In other words, readers cannot assume that merely reading the text as it is today provides an objective perspective of the *realia* of the society being recounted. However, it is equally true, as Jonker has pointed out that "[t]exts are constructed by human beings who are participating in speech acts, with the intention of communicating in specific circumstances to specific addressees."[25] Such is reminiscent of Gottwald's timely comment that "the literary world is real enough, as literary critics remind us, but its writers lived in an everyday world of their own and many of the topics and interests of biblical texts reflect the conditions and events of that everyday biblical world which it is folly to ignore if we want a well-rounded understanding of ancient Israel."[26] And so while it is not necessarily possible to determine the precise "flesh and blood" components of the society related through the book of Chronicles, there are certainly indications of the processes involved with the self-understanding of the community presented.[27] The author (or authors) of the book of Chronicles, as with any literary text, assumed the available language resources from the community of which they were situated. They, then, are *de facto* situated within a specific cultural milieu. The social sciences, therefore as Gottwald contends, allow for a fuller understanding of the text before us.[28] This is especially so given the prominence of social identities throughout the book of Chronicles.

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[24] Cf. Jonker, "Who Constitutes," 703.

[25] Jonker, "Who Constitutes," 706

[26] Gottwald, *Hebrew Bible*, 32.

[27] Cf. Jonker, "Who Constitutes," 703.

[28] Gottwald, *Hebrew Bible*, 32. This is not to say that traditional historical-critical analyses are inconsequential. Indeed, traditional historical-critical assessments of the biblical text, in many ways, are reflective of literary analysis today. The major difference, perhaps, is that the methodologies provided by the social sciences today have made more explicit many of the working assumptions made in the past. In other words, the literary analysis conducted by historical-critical exegetes maintains much of the value contributed in understanding the biblical texts; what social scientific methodologies allow, today, is a firmer foundation for the insights gained to rest upon as well as clearer grounds upon which to affirm or

Chronicles and the Social Context(s) of Persian Yehud: An Overview

In order to limit the current study, the book of Chronicles will be approached as a literary unit apart from Ezra-Nehemiah.[29] And though a precise date for the book of Chronicles remains somewhat elusive, the general consensus among Chronicles' scholars place the compilation within the Persian era in the mid-5th to 4th century BCE.[30] By situating the book of Chronicles within the Persian era, the social context of Persian Yehud can shed light on the self-understanding of the community the Chronicler presents. The goal of this section is not necessarily to provide new data, but rather to draw on the strengths of scholarship specializing in these specific fields of study. The result of this discussion will

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challenge the evidences of the past. Furthermore, the caveat firmly stands that simply mentioning historic places and names in the text does not equate precisely to one and the same entity as speculated by sciences such as archaeology and anthropology (as accurate as these sciences may be), nor do such mentions equate unequivocally to an exact historical reconstruction of places or events, nonetheless, a context from which the utterance issues forth can be constructed.

[29] Though Leopold Zunz proposed that an anonymous author had composed both Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, giving rise to the notion of "the Chronicler's history" (cf. McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles*, 21), the more recent studies of Japhet ("Supposed," 330–71), Throntveit ("Linguistic," 201–16), and Williamson (*Israel*, 39–59) have provided grounds to analyze the book of Chronicles as a distinct literary unit apart from Ezra-Nehemiah. This is not to suggest that Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah bear no similarities, for Talshir ("Reinvestigation," 165–93), Polzin (*Late Biblical*, 28–69), and Blenkinsopp (*Ezra*, 47–54) have pointed out there certainly are similarities, but rather that Chronicles can be studied as a literary unit in its own right. See Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 2–10) for a useful summary of the relationship between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. Knoppers summarizes the contrast between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah well in his discussion of the doublet (i.e., Cyrus' decree in 2 Chr 36 and Ezra 1) common to both: "Whatever position one adopts on the doublet, one is left with the larger issue that the Cyrus edict culminates the narrative in 2 Chronicles 36 and initiates the narrative of Ezra 1." As well, the Babylonian Talmud and the MT tradition often locate the book of Chronicles apart from Ezra-Nehemiah (cf. *b. B. Bat.* 14b; Boda, *1–2 Chronicles*, 12).

[30] For example, the reception of a "final form" of the book of Chronicles is dated at the latest, based on the Greek translation of *Paraliepomena* and *1 Esdras*, as well as a reference by Eupolemus, to at least 150 BCE; however, time must also be allowed for a translation and reference to occur, pushing the date to at least 200 BCE, making such a date the *terminus ante quem* (cf. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 106). Positing an earlier date often depends on redactional elements, such as the genealogy of Jehoiachin in 1 Chr 3:17–24 or the anachronistic appearance of a Persian "daric" (דרכמן) in 1 Chr 29:7. As Lynch (*Monotheism*, 3 n. 8) notes, such loanwords that appear, in addition to "daric," such as גנזך "treasury" (1 Chr 28:11) and פרבר "colonnade" (1 Chr 26:18) push the dating to at least 515 BCE, while the listing of six generations past Jehoiachin (1 Chr 3:17–24) place the dating of Chronicles to the mid-fifth or early fourth century. Cf. Boda's (*1–2 Chronicles*, 7–8) dating of Chronicles between 425–250 BCE. While it seems likely that there would have been textual alterations during the Hellenistic period, the current study concurs with Jonker's (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 8) appraisal that "the final touches to the book could have been made in the Hellenistic era, but Chronicles is suffused with the atmosphere of the Persian era."

assist in orienting the cultural context surrounding the book of Chronicles. In essence, the Chronicler was communicating within a specific cultural context. The following brief overview seeks to illuminate some of the more prominent inter-group identity dynamics within Persian Yehud, and specifically those that might provide the most insight into the Chronicler's narrative of the death of Josiah.

Jerusalem and Her Environs: A Suffering Community within the Persian Empire

At one of the broadest levels of social identity, the Chronicler's community was situated within the Imperial context of the Persian empire in the midst of Egyptian uprisings in the West with Greek dominance approaching from the East.[31] In many ways, Judah, and certainly Jerusalem, were innocuous entities on the global map. This is clearly portrayed in Briant's work when he muses that "I have never understood what decisive strategic advantage against Egypt the small land of Judah could have had in the eyes of the Achaemenid central authority."[32] Their geographical position was essentially that of a

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[31] In Lipschits' (*Fall*, 3, xi) terms, during the Babylonian empire, the little kingdom of Judah lay between "the battle of titans." However, caution is required as our history of Persian-Greek relations during this time is dependent almost exclusively on Greek authors, which contained their own ideological stances. For example, in discerning the time of Xerxes, Briant (*Cyrus*, 518) notes, "The fact remains: the sources for Xerxes' reign are inadequate and fragmentary; consequently, it is impossible to reconstruct a continuous narrative history. . . the obvious distortions of the polemical Greek sources' memory of Xerxes lead the historian to question this still-lively thesis. . ." Over the past several decades scholars have provided a wealth of information related to the Persian era; see, for example, Allen, *Persian*; Briant, *Cyrus*; Brosius, *Persians*; Gerstenberger, *Israel*; Grabbe, *History*; Kuhrt, *Persian*; Lipschits and Oeming (eds.), *Judah and Judeans*; Waters, *Ancient Persia*; Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*.

[32] Briant, *Cyrus*, 976.

"major land bridge" in terms of the power and resource struggles between Egypt, Greece, and Mesopotamia spanning centuries of conflict.[33]

The organization of the Persian Empire into satraps and provinces was most likely adopted by Cyrus and Cambyses from the Neo-Babylonians before being modified and adapted to shifting political needs.[34] As such, during the Persian era Jerusalem resided within the province of Yehud in the satrapy designated as "Beyond the River" (*Ebir-Nari*).[35] Though the book of Chronicles, for example, seeks to emphasize the centrality of Jerusalem, it remains that Yehud was surrounded by much wealthier and more powerful provinces such as Samaria, Phoenicia, and Arabia.[36] With the rise of Egyptian revolt near the end of the fifth century BCE, the southern province of Yehud, along with Idumea, became an increasingly important border area for the Persian empire, especially the southern Shephelah and along the Beer-Sheba-Arad valley.[37] As Wisehöfer notes, "Persian fortified places in Yehud and Idumea must have served to police communications with Egypt."[38] The situation for Yehud in the Persian era was therefore

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[33] So Wiesehöfer, "Achaemenid," 182.

[34] Waters, *Ancient Persia*, 101.

[35] See, for example, Grabbe (*History*, 140–42) for a succinct summary of arguments starting with Alt for and against the proposal that Judah was governed by Samaria during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. However, see also arguments for an earlier dating (5th–6th century BCE) for the establishment of the province of Yehud based on seal impressions such as Meyers, "Persian Period," 509–21; Meyers, "Shelomith Seal," 33*–38*; Williamson, "Governors of Judah," 59–82.

[36] As Knoppers (*Jews and Samaritans*, 109) observes regarding Samaria: "During the Achaemenid era, members of the Judean elite were not dealing with a depopulated outback to the north [re: Samaria]. Quite the contrary, they were dealing with a province that was larger, better established, wealthier and considerably more populous than Yehud." Cf. Grabbe (*History: Vol 1*, 159–66) and Jonker (*Defining*, 99–101) for further assessments of Yehud's provincial context in the Persian era including such areas as Ammon, Moab, and the city-state of Gaza.

[37] Lipschits and Vanderhooft, "Yehud," 88; Lipschits, "Achaemenid," 38.

[38] Cf. Wiesehöfer, "Achaemenid," 182.

one akin to a buffer state with oversight controlled by Persian officials, most likely

residing outside Jerusalem in the Benjaminite regions of Mizpah and Ramat Rahel.[39]

In terms of Persian administration, the satraps ("protectors of the kingdom") were

the king's most valuable officials and were typically Persian elite or even part of the

royal family.[40] Though subordinated to the satraps, local officials from within the

provinces would most likely have been maintained.[41] In this way, there could be internal

autonomy with acknowledged Persian suzerainty.[42] As Jonker points out, "Inhabitants of

the empire were not forced to deny their local identities, but rejection of the Persian

national identity was regarded as rebellion."[43] Ultimately, the satrap owed their position

to the king, and would often defer to the king in matters of foreign affairs or even with

more mundane communications such as access to provisions and storehouses along the

royal roads.[44] Bureaucratic documents (such as an Elamite document regarding the satrap

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[39] For archaeological evidence of continuity of Mizpah at this time, see Lipschits, *Fall*, especially 239–41; Ristau, *Reconstructing*, 12–14. For further evidence of Persian settlement in Benjamin territory at Ramat Rahel, see, for example, Lipschits et al., *What are the Stones*; Lipschits et al., "Riddle of Ramat Rahel," 57–79. For the relation of Mizpah and Ramat Rahel, Lipschits et al. ("Riddle of Ramat Rahel," 59) suggest that "Only during the Persian period, when Mizpah was deserted and Jerusalem renewed its status as the lone cultic site, the location of the Temple and the seat of the priests, did Ramat Rahel become both the palace of the governor and the main administrative center for collecting taxes."

[40] As Wiesehöfer (*Ancient Persia*, 58) notes, "the regional and local elite of the Achaemenid Empire had limited access to the highest offices, which were reserved predominantly for members of the Persian aristocracy." Cf. Brosius, *Persians*, 47–48.

[41] Brosius, *Persians*, 48; cf. Grabbe, *History*, 142.

[42] Waters, *Ancient*, 99. So, too, Briant (*Cyrus*, 713, 717, 767, 768) points out that though the Cyprian kings were able to retain their positions, they "certainly were required to renew their oaths of allegiance." And while there may have been a king of the Nabateans who was "independent and subject to no one," both the Nabateans and the "King of the Arabs" provided gifts to the Imperial administration. As in the case of Sanballat in Samaria: "just as the representatives of the Sanballat family were Samaritan dynasts and Achaemenid governors . . . both were *first* and *foremost* the authorized representatives of the central authority." Finally, as Briant concludes, "In sum, the central authority may have been perfectly happy to permit these kinglets and dynasts to continue to function and may even have taken advantage of them in establishing its territorial control."

[43] Jonker, *Defining*, 81. Cf. Wiesehöfer ("Achaemenid," 20) who notes, too, that though there may have been rebellions, the only ones that succeeded were in Egypt, and even they only lasted two generations.

[44] Waters, *Ancient*, 102–03.

Artaphernes' delegation to Persepolis) reveal that the king and his satraps had

considerable control over the officials even in far off provinces.[45] This level of oversight

would certainly have an impact on any notions of the community of Yehud

accomplishing self-government with any sense of full autonomy (i.e., a ruling

Davidide).[46] However, the question as to how the community was to live faithfully

according to YHWH's will while under foreign rule and in the absence of a ruling

Davidide, would inevitably have arisen at some point.[47]

In terms of the community itself, estimates vary based on pre- and post-exilic

population densities of the Jerusalem vicinity moving Grabbe to comment that "one of

the most discussed—and contested—topics of Judaean society is that of population."[48]

The Chronicler's recounting of those first to return, however, paints a most bleak image

(1 Chr 9:2–22). The desolation of the land and inhabitants would have extended even into

the relatively untouched Benjamin Plateau, as Ristau, for one, contends.[49] Clearly,

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[45] Waters, *Ancient*, 103. Cf. Also, for example, the Xanthus trilingual communication (Briant, *Cyrus*, 708–9).

[46] Certainly, the community would have had local officials with some degrees of latitude, however, allegiance to the Empire would have ultimately ruled the day. While Weinberg (*Citizen-Temple*), for example, has contended that the Temple, though founded by the Imperium, was administrated by the citizenry, even such autonomy (if such a model is even convincing; see, for example, Grabbe's [*History: Vol. 1*, 143–45] critique thereof) would have had its limits. Cf. Klein (*2 Chronicles*, 207), who doubts fostering "such an audacious political agenda" as re-establishing a Davidic-Solomonic state in Persian Yehud; contra Janzen, *Chronicles*.

[47] Cf. Ben Zvi's ("Gateway," 217–18) point, though in reference to the Chronicler's narrative of Ahaz, that "the community (or communities) within which and for which the book of Chronicles was composed were also kingless and one has to assume that they considered themselves being capable of living in accordance with YHWH's will."[47] Ben Zvi ("Gateway," 240; emphasis mine) continues to state that "the Chronicler communicates to the community that the presence of a Davidic king is not a *necessary* condition for behaving according to YHWH's will."[47]

[48] Grabbe, *History: Vol. 1*, 200.

[49] See Ristau's (*Reconstructing*, 13) caution of Lipschits' evidence, which does not necessarily present a "flourishing" within Benjaminite territory during the exilic and early Persian period as Lipschits (*Fall*, 237, 255) suggests.

Persian Yehud was a suffering community.[50] Certainly, there would be wealthy families

having prospered with the lack of competition, yet these would be far and few between.[51]

There would simply not be a critical mass to support excessive commerce such as the

Phoenician cities or Samaria, though certainly, as Neh 13:16 indicates, and the Yehud

stamp impressions reveal, trade was present.[52] That the people of the land had to select

one out of every ten to occupy Jerusalem, commending those who volunteered (Neh

11:1–2) shows how dire the cultural context was.[53] Indeed, the plight of Jerusalem was

enough to cause Nehemiah, for one, to sit down, weep and for some days mourn, fast,

and pray (Neh 1:4). The situation does not seem to have drastically improved entering

into the Chronicler's time, as Lipschits contends when summarizing the data:

> In light of the clear archaeological evidence, we should interpret the "Return to
> Zion" as a slow and gradual process that did not leave its imprint on the
> archaeological data. Even if a real change in the history of Jerusalem occurred in
> the middle of the fifth century B.C.E., with the rebuild [sic] of the fortifications of
> Jerusalem, with all its dramatic implication on its status, it did not change the
> actual demographic situation of the city.[54]

Jerusalem and the surrounding vicinity were comprised of a suffering community lasting

well into the Persian era, the time most likely for the book of Chronicles to appear.[55]

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[50] Lipschits (*Fall*, 211, 213) states that Jerusalem was "wretchedly poor" even into the height of
the Persian period; and, ultimately, at this time, Jerusalem was "basically a temple with a settlement
alongside for those who served in the temple."

[51] Cf. Grabbe (*History: Vol. 1*, 172–73), "Who constituted the nobles is not discussed but can be
guessed at. They were no doubt those who possessed considerable wealth and were seen as the community
leaders. They would have inherited their status, even if it was based in considerable part on their financial
standing. But it is unlikely that the number in this group was very large since the resources of the
community could not have sustained a large group of such individuals."

[52] Cf. Lipschits and Vanderhooft, "Yehud Stamp," 75–94.

[53] Though caution is heeded in attributing historical reality to the text of Nehemiah, the
archaeological data seems to support such statements.

[54] Lipschits, "Jerusalem Between," 174–75.

[55] Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 16), for example, though clearly stating such as speculation
suggests the possibility of the Persian suppression of the Sidonian Tennes rebellion may have contributed
to the Chronicler's composition, especially with the "crushing of rising hopes of independence." However,
it should be noted that the book of Chronicles appears to be highly reflective and does not appear to be

Research Question and Argument

This study examines the relationship between cultural trauma and social identity as recounted in the book of Chronicles as a means to understand the role of Josiah's death for the Chronicler's community. As such, this study seeks to resolve the following research question: *Why is the Chronicler's portrayal of Josiah's death so negative?* As a means to resolve this question, this study will advance the following three arguments:

First, as Josiah dies in battle (2 Chr 35:20–24), the Chronicler's narratives including battle(s) play a prominent role in discerning why Josiah's death is so ignominious. War is virtually always a trauma-inducing event, and as such, by assessing the Chronicler's inclusion of battles in relation to cultural trauma and the tribal identities involved, a context for Josiah's death in battle will be provided. In other words, by the time the Chronicler arrives at Josiah's death, the precedence provided through previous kings' reigns (i.e., how they react or do not react in the face of battle) should be apparent.

Second, the death of Josiah initiates the beginning of cultural trauma for the Jerusalem community, culminating in the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians and subsequent forced migration. Such devastating loss ruptured the social fabric of the community resulting in a cultural trauma that persisted into the Chronicler's time. The resultant trauma script of indiscriminate slaughter (הרג), destruction of the temple (בית), and forced migration (גלה) is recounted in 2 Chr 36:17–20. Therefore, an assessment of the appearance of terms and narratives that evoke this initiating trauma will be conducted.

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composited as an immediate reaction to a specific historical event, per se, though contemporaneous events in Egypt, Idumea or elsewhere may certainly have contributed to its composition. In the end, the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians and subsequent forced migration culminate the Chronicler's work, which is why cultural trauma theory may best assist in analysing the book of Chronicles.

Third, social identity negotiations provide a powerful rubric to alleviate cultural trauma, especially by means of promoting a superordinate identity. The death of Josiah is concluded with a lament being issued by Jeremiah (2 Chr 35:25), a Levite from Benjamin territory. Despite the destruction of Jerusalem as attested by archaeological data, the Benjamin Plateau was comparatively untouched; as such, the relationships between the tribes, especially, Levi, Benjamin, and Judah may have held considerable tension at this point, which elicits the need to examine the appearance of tribal names in terms of inter-tribal identity negotiations. The appearance of Jeremiah, specifically, will be examined in relation to the engagement(s) between Josiah and Jeremiah in both the book of Jeremiah and the book of Chronicles in order to elucidate the social identity and cultural trauma significance of Jeremiah's lament for Josiah.

To summarize the argument of the following study: Josiah dies a military-borne death in the book of Chronicles. The Chronicler's narrative up to the point of Josiah's death makes clear that Josiah should not have sought war without seeking YHWH. But he did. Therefore, the negative portrayal of Josiah's death not only marks the initiation of cultural trauma for the Chronicler's community but ends by encouraging the alleviation of the community's residual cultural trauma. In order to alleviate residual cultural trauma, the community must be recategorized within a superordinate identity of "all Israel," a community that even in the absence of a ruling Davidide can nonetheless faithfully seek and serve YHWH at the temple, in the city of peace: Jerusalem.

Structure of Analysis

Therefore, having situated the book of Chronicles within the social context of Persian

Yehud (Chapter 1), a definition of social identity theory in relation to cultural trauma

theory will follow with a means of applying these theories to the book of Chronicles

(Chapter 2).[56] Chapter 3 will examine the tribal (social) identities of "all Israel" in

relation to the Chronicler's markers of cultural trauma—namely, those related to the loss

of life, land, and temple, within the genealogical section, 1 Chr 1–9. Chapter 4 will

continue the examination of tribal (social) identities by examining the narrative section

related to Pre-Schism Israel, 1 Chr 10:1—2 Chr 9:31. Chapter 5 will complete the

examination of tribal (social) identities by examining their appearance in Post-Schism

Israel, 2 Chr 10:1—36:23. Chapter 6 will examine the social identity negotiations and

cultural trauma specific to the appearance of Jeremiah in relation to Josiah's death as

presented in both the book of Jeremiah and the book of Chronicles. Chapter 7, the final

chapter, will synthesize the findings of this study and provide conclusions.

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[56] In essence, there are two points of entry into this study in terms of the impact of cultural trauma within the Chronicler's work. One is by means of the fall of Jerusalem *de facto* resulting in cultural trauma (i.e., such events are extremely likely to result in cultural trauma—note, for example, Lipschits' [*Fall*, 237] assumed inference that the Shephelah had "suffered yet another trauma" by the Babylonian destruction as on the heels of Sennacherib's invasion); and a second entry is by means of the motivations initiating renewed social identity negotiations. While both entrances into the discussion are relevant, this study will begin with defining cultural trauma as a precipitating motivation for renewed processes of social identity negotiations.

CHAPTER 2: CULTURAL TRAUMA AND SOCIAL IDENTITY: THEORY AND METHOD

With nine chapters of genealogies opening its lines, social identity appears as perhaps the most prominent and distinctive—certainly the most immediate—feature of the book of Chronicles. However, the lacunae within scholarship to account for the cultural trauma experienced by the inhabitants of Jerusalem during the fall to the Babylonians and subsequent forced migration has obscured the significance of the Chronicler's disparate portrayal of the death of Josiah at the close of Chronicles. Therefore, it is important to define social identity and its relation to cultural trauma before specifically addressing the Chronicler's text.

Approaching Social Identity and Cultural Trauma

A basic working premise for the current study is that identity is not a static entity; rather, identities are formed and negotiated within social environments and, therefore, an environment where discourse plays a central role.[1] In this sense, identities are formed and crafted based on the "socially available pool of textual resources" within any given culture.[2] This perspective places emphasis on the understanding and negotiating of identity on the presence of "textual identities."[3] Rooted in the notion of "discourse and

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[1] Cf. Jonker, *Defining*, 58.
[2] As cited by Jonker, *Defining*, 58.
[3] For examples of working with "textual identities" within biblical texts see Bosman, *Social Identity*; Jonker, "Reforming," 21–44; Jonker, "Who Constitutes," 703–24; Jonker, "Textual Identities," 197–217.

identity," de Fina et al. make the point that "both social and discourse practices frame, and in many ways define, the way individuals and groups present themselves to others, negotiate roles, and conceptualize themselves."[4] In other words, the texts circulating within a given culture both reflect and contribute to the social identity of those within the culture.[5] In this, the book of Chronicles contains textual identities both reflective of and also offering new identity constructs in relation to the multi-level socio-historical milieu of the time. Social identity, especially as evidenced in textual identities, are fluid and complex. For as de Fina et al. contend, people and groups can "simultaneously assume voices that are associated with different identity categories, and that they can perform identities, that is, represent themselves as different from what their personal visible characteristics would suggest, therefore concluding that there is nothing given or natural about being part of a social category or group."[6] The motivations initiating the recounting and creation of social (textual) identities within the book of Chronicles are certainly multifarious, however, the impact of cultural trauma experienced by the community of Persian Yehud with the previous fall of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration should be addressed if a proper understanding of the social context of the book of Chronicles is to be discerned. The role of identity within cultural trauma is central to understanding much of what precipitated a trauma as well as the extent and depth of

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[4] De Fina et al., *Discourse*, 2.

[5] Cf. Jonker, "Reforming," 33: "Texts that are the products of reinterpretation, allusion and rephrasing, are therefore not merely a reflection of social identities, but the process of construction of these texts in itself contributes to the process of identity formation during their time of origin."

[6] De Fina et al., *Discourse*, 3.

traumatization experienced.[7] As such, a definition of social identity will be followed by its relation to cultural trauma theory.

Social Identity Theory

Social Identity studies have grown exponentially in the past several decades, earning a label as the "era of identities."[8] Most identity theorists would agree that "identity" is comprised of both individual (i.e., "self," which includes role identity) and communal components (i.e., "we," which includes group identities).[9] For example, Marilynn Brewer lists within even just her "occupation domain" of personal and social identity her position as a researcher within her own department (social psychology), her department within the greater Psychology department (contrasted with cognitive, clinical, and developmental psychology), the department of Psychology within the greater campus (UCLA), her campus within greater academia (contrasted with other academic institutions), and finally her position within academia itself (as contrasted with non-academic institutions

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[7] As Mucci (*Beyond Individual*, 64) notes, "Exterminations, slaughters, murders would not be possible if beforehand a dehumanisation of the other has not taken place . . . Any genocide starts with a campaign in which methodically the other who is going to become the target is made less and less human." This can be seen in virtually every example of genocide in recent history. Indeed, the very definition of genocide portrays the identification of a "group" (i.e., identity) within its very fabric. Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) defines Genocide as: "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part 1; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

[8] Korostelina, *Social Identity*, 15. To summarize the place of social identity within a variety of disciplines, Korostelina (*Social Identity*, 17–18) provides the following: "The field of psychoanalytic studies focuses on the role of social identity in ethnic conflicts and cycles of violence (Volkan 1997, 2004). Anthropological research has shown the manifestation of social identity in culture, displaying its meaning and its impact on group boundaries (Barth 1969; Cohen 1986). Social psychologists analyze social identity in the process of intergroup relations, prejudice, and group conflicts (Tajfel and Turner 1986; Turner et al. 1987). Sociologists evaluate it to analyze the interrelations between personality and society (Giddens 1991; Jenkins 1996). Political scientists explore its role in domestic and international conflicts (Brubaker 1996; Fisher 1997; Gellner 1994; Gurr 1970)."

[9] Cf. Korostelina, *Social Identity*, 35.

throughout the world) with each level, or concentric circles as per her diagram, offering transformations in the definition of "self."[10] Furthermore, sociological approaches to social identity typically emphasize the characteristics of a society on a continuum as either primarily collectivist (i.e., Eastern cultures) or individualistic (i.e., Western cultures). In either case, a basic presupposition of social identity is that an individual assumes an identity from within the available social milieu, but the individual also contributes at the same time to the same social milieu.[11] Social Identity Theory (SIT), for example, attempts to understand the engagement between the groups that comprise society, or, in other words, the intergroup relations founded on how people identify themselves both in terms of how they are like others in a group they have assimilated into and how they are different. As such, identity, and specifically intergroup relations, become increasingly central to discussions of cultural trauma

The Chronicler, writing in the wake of cultural trauma, appropriates social identities (tribes of Israel) as a means of communicating with the community of Persian Yehud. SIT will assist in determining how the Chronicler sought to structure the community's identity. Essentially, in light of the cultural trauma experienced by the destruction of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration, the Chronicler's social identities seem to have been *recategorized* within a superordinate identity of "all Israel." In this, SIT assists our analysis most prominently with the introduction of uncertainty-identity theory and recategorization theory, both of which can be seen as motivated by a tear in the social fabric (i.e., cultural trauma). Therefore, a brief discussion of SIT and

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[10] Brewer, "Social Self," 475–76.
[11] Cf. Berger ("Identity," 108), "Society not only defines but creates psychological reality. The individual *realises* himself in society—that is, he recognizes his identity in socially defined terms and these definitions *become reality* as he lives in society" (italics, original).

cultural trauma theory will be provided, as well as an overview of their relation to uncertainty-identity theory and recategorization theory. Finally, as the book of Chronicles is situated several generations following the fall of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration, a discussion of intergenerational transmissions of trauma will be included before moving to assess the social identities contained in the book of Chronicles specifically.

Ingroup Bias and Intergroup Conflict within SIT

The investigation into intergroup relations within SIT is rooted in the work of Tajfel and Turner (the latter continuing the study of SIT following Tajfel's death).[12] Tajfel described the basis of his arguments in relatively simple terms: "in order for the members of an ingroup to be able to hate or dislike an outgroup, or to discriminate against it, they must first have acquired a sense of belonging to a group which is clearly distinct from the one they hate, dislike or discriminate against."[13] This focus differentiates his work from previous studies, such as Realistic Conflict Theory (RCT), that were perhaps too one-sided, basing social identity predominantly, if not exclusively, on the attitudes and behaviours of outgroups—such as conflicts over resources and goals.[14] The intergroup relations, in these cases, were created based on external threats. Tajfel, on the other hand, sought to examine the means through which "ingroup bias" was formative in social identities. While the reality of intergroup conflict involves outgroup hostility, it is equally true that individuals locate themselves within a network of relationships that "fit" them.[15]

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[12] For an overview of SIT, see Hogg, "Social (2016)," 3–17.
[13] Tajfel, "Social Identity," 66.
[14] See, for example, Sherif et al., eds., *Intergroup Conflict*.
[15] Tajfel, "Social Identity," 67.

In other words, an individual's social identity is constructed based on how they see

themselves different from other people *and* how certain people are like themselves, with

the association being founded on positive self-esteem.[16] This is true even when

individuals realize the associations that have been created to form an ingroup are

arbitrary or have not previously existed.[17] Merely being placed, even arbitrarily assigned,

into a category is enough to promote ingroup favoritism. What this means is labels and

identities are powerful rubrics and foundational when assessing intergroup relations.

So powerful are the attachments of an individual to an ingroup that under certain

circumstances they are willing to kill those perceived as being outside.[18] The mere

presence of an ingroup does not necessitate the inevitability of conflict—ingroups can

coexist with outgroups (even multiple outgroups) quite peacefully—however, there is at

the root of social identity a propensity towards viewing intergroup relations based on a

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[16] McDermott, "Psychological Approaches," 348. See also, *Optimal Distinctiveness*.

[17] McDermott, "Psychological Approaches," 348.

[18] In seeking to determine what escalates ingroup bias into intergroup conflict, Korostelina (*Social Identity*, 147–52), for one, has suggested a four-fold theory: comparison, competition, confrontation, counteraction. At the foundational level ingroup bias clearly plays a critical role. For conflict to occur, there must first be an "us" and a "them." However, again, the mere presence of an ingroup does not, in itself, result in the acts committed in a conflict. Escalation is required. Often the need for shared resources or power amongst intergroups contribute to such escalation. The means through which the competition is addressed determines whether a conflict will escalate or not. In cases of counteraction, a three-fold process based on a collective axiology typically further escalates the conflict: mythic narratives, sacred icons, and teleomorphic models. Summarizing Korostelina, essentially, intergroup conflict can be seen to have escalated according to the following progression: a society comprised of multicultural communities including ethnic, religious, and other social identifiers, develop stereotypes and beliefs both in regards to their ingroup as well as outgroups. Typically bolstered through ingroup bias, the differences between ingroups are perceived based on "We-positive / They-negative" constructs. These differences may be accentuated through the retelling of chosen traumas and glories. Where competition for resources or power occur, group leaders accentuate the stereotypes and beliefs as well as chosen traumas and glories, and appropriate ingroup loyalties towards mobilization. Negative perceptions of outgroups are reinforced, often attributing aggressive goals to them. The perceived threat associated with the outgroup strengthens insecurity among the ingroup. The ingroup identity becomes more salient, mobilized, and ultimately, dominant. The outgroup is dehumanized and perceived as homogeneously evil. It, then, becomes moral and honorable to take action against the outgroup doing whatever possible to destroy it. Cf. Tatum's (*Genocide*, 569–71) "warning signs": history of genocide and intercommunal conflict; severe economic crisis; mobilization along lines of communal cleavage; hate propaganda; unjust discriminatory legislation and related measures; severe and systemic state repression.

"We-positive / Them-negative" perspective.[19] While amenable circumstances (i.e., scarce access to resources) are required to create the atmosphere, and attitudes, conducive for conflict, the polarizing "We / Them" dynamic, powerfully evidenced through "ingroup bias" and inherent in intergroup relations, is the foundational starting point of intergroup conflict.[20] Though not inevitable, intergroup conflict can occur in such ways and on a scale so devastating as to create cultural trauma. The contention of the current study is that the community comprising Jerusalem experienced trauma at the hands of the "other," namely the Babylonians. In response to the rupture of their cultural fabric, the book of Chronicles was crafted both as a reflection of the community, but also as a means to offer alternate social identities for the community to align with. In other words, in light of the destruction of their cultural fabric, the Chronicler sought to repair the traumatic rupture and unite the community by means of their social identities and thus offer a superordinate identity in which all Israel could partake; the move towards a superordinate identity is in contradistinction to the alternative of strengthening specific ingroup biases at the tribal level—which would serve to accentuate rather than alleviate inter-tribal rivalry. As social identity negotiations can be motivated by exposure to cultural trauma(s), a discussion of the relationship between cultural trauma and social identities, will seek to clarify the social identity negotiations appearing in the book of Chronicles.

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[19] Cf. Tajfel ("Social Identity, 89): "acting in terms of group rather than in terms of self cannot be expected to play a predominant part in an individual's behaviour unless there is present a clear cognitive structure of 'us' and 'them.'"

[20] As Tajfel and Turner ("Social Identity Theory," 13) posit, "All this evidence implies that ingroup bias is a remarkably omnipresent feature of intergroup relations."

Cultural Trauma Theory

In order to demonstrate that cultural trauma contributed to the Chronicler's presentation of social identity negotiations, a working definition of cultural trauma theory will first be overviewed. Trauma, induced through any of life's vicissitudes, indelibly transforms recipients in profound and, often, unalterable ways. When the number and frequency of traumatic experiences increases so as to embrace an entire culture—through war, disease, natural disaster, or other force—the very foundation of that culture's identity, including an individual's sense of belonging, is drawn into question. In this, there is a movement from the psychological roots of individual and personal trauma (commonly attributed as PTSD) to a pervasive rift in society that extends throughout the entire cultural fabric. A trauma-inducing event that affects a multitude of people may also, depending on the cohesion of the traumatized community, result in not only collective trauma (i.e., many individual cases), but trauma that disrupts the very foundations of that community's lifeworlds, including beliefs, customs, and social identities. A culture that emerges from such widespread trauma will, either intentionally or unintentionally, transmit recollections of the trauma to subsequent generations. Though these recollections may occur through individual retellings, they occur on a scale and similarity that identifies the tears to the social fabric, at a macro level, as cultural trauma.

Cultural trauma, though sociologically defined, must retain its connection(s) with its psychological roots in order to maintain any definitional precision.[21] Eyerman, for

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[21] Cf. Fromm ("Therapuetic," 49–50): "Today people talk of a real trauma because they missed the train or had some disagreeable experience somewhere. A trauma is by definition an event which goes beyond the charge which the human nervous circuit can tolerate. Since the person cannot tolerate the trauma the trauma has created a deep disturbance. But most traumata in this sense are very rare and what is often called a trauma then is really all those things which happen in life and which have little influence . . . I'm only warning against the loose use of the word trauma, which is today I find very frequent." So also to avoid Kansteiner's ("Genealogy," 214) critique, that "[t]he mere presence of violence, actual or symbolic,

one, makes the concession that "trauma refers necessarily to something experienced in psychoanalytic accounts."[22] Similarly, Sztompka states the foundations for his analysis of cultural trauma in such terms: "I label it the discourse of trauma, as it revolves around this central notion, borrowed as a metaphor from medicine and psychiatry and slowly acquiring new social and cultural meaning."[23] The discussion that follows seeks to trace and connect the psychological roots of trauma with the sociological concept of culture so as to provide a framework to analyse the trauma(s) experienced by the community of Persian Yehud, and specifically, how the Chronicler sought to alleviate the community's residual cultural trauma.

The Psychoanalytical Connections of Individual and Collective Trauma

Recent discussions of trauma tend to find their history in psychoanalysis of the late-19th and early 20th centuries, predominately as introduced by Charcot (with his investigations into hysteria), and subsequently established through his students, individually, Janet and Freud.[24] However, it would not be until the third edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-III) that "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder" (PTSD) was officially acknowledged, under the designation of "Anxiety Disorders."[25] The inclusion in the DSM-III has since provoked a massive tome of studies and publications

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is routinely conflated with the presence of trauma, with the result that those exposed to violence are summarily turned into victims." Cf. Also, Metzger, "Railway, 43": "Even though the term 'trauma' is used frequently outside strictly medical and psychological practice, it was a medical concept long before it entered everyday language and commonplace usage."

[22] Eyerman, *Cultural Trauma*, 3.

[23] Sztompka, "Trauma," 157.

[24] Freud, *Beyond*; Janet, *Psychological*; Cf. Janzen, *Violent*, 28–29; Van der Kolk, "Intrusive," 425–54.

[25] PTSD was originally included in large part to provide a description of the adverse reactions experienced by Vietnam war veterans on their return from combat. Cf. Courtois, "Complex Trauma," 86.

to the point where trauma- and stressor-related disorders has received its own designation in the DSM-5. Admittedly, the psychoanalytical definition of trauma has followed a complex and variegated journey.[26] However, the foundational source of understanding trauma is, perhaps, still best articulated by the American Psychological Association (APA).[27] The DSM-5, published by the APA, summarizes PTSD as follows: "The essential feature of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is the development of characteristic symptoms following exposure to one or more traumatic events."[28] And while the shifting definition of trauma eludes unanimous consensus, there is a noticeable addition of the Cultural Formulation Index to the DSM. Such a move is a fruitful step towards connecting psychological and cultural trauma.

Trauma, though expressed differently across cultures, is universal to the human condition.[29] Clinical data suggests one-third to more than half of those exposed to rape,

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[26] See, for example, Leys, *Trauma*; cf. also, Rothe's ("Irresponsible," 181–94) critique of literary, trauma theory.

[27] Though the APA's publication of the *DSM-5* has been met with criticism, both internally and externally, there is no question that the lab work contributing to its definitions provide great value. See, for example, the various task forces involved with each iteration of the DSM.

[28] *DSM-5*, 274. "The directly experienced traumatic events in Criterion A include, but are not limited to, exposure to war as a combatant or civilian, threatened or actual physical assault (e.g., physical attack, robbery, mugging, childhood physical abuse), threatened or actual sexual violence (e.g., forced sexual penetration, alcohol/drug-facilitated sexual penetration, abusive sexual contact, noncontact sexual abuse, sexual trafficking), being kidnapped, being taken hostage, terrorist attack, torture, incarceration as a prisoner of war, natural or human-made disasters, and severe motor vehicle accidents. For children, sexually violent events may include developmentally inappropriate sexual experiences without physical violence or injury. A life-threatening illness or debilitating medical condition is not necessarily considered a traumatic event. Medical incidents that qualify as traumatic events involve sudden, catastrophic events (e.g., waking during surgery, anaphylactic shock). Witnessed events include, but are not limited to, observing threatened or serious injury, unnatural death, physical or sexual abuse of another person due to violent assault, domestic violence, accident, war or disaster, or a medical catastrophe in one's child (e.g., a life-threatening hemorrhage). Indirect exposure through learning about an event is limited to experiences affecting close relatives or friends and experiences that are violent or accidental (e.g., death due to natural causes does not qualify). Such events include violent personal assault, suicide, serious accident, and serious injury. The disorder may be especially severe or long-lasting when the stressor is interpersonal and intentional (e.g., torture, sexual violence)."

[29] Intercultural assessment of trauma is admittedly difficult as cultures express emotions and reactions to events in diverse manners. Prior to the release of *DSM-5*, see, for example, Stamm and Friedman's ("Cultural," 69–85, especially 72–73) grappling with whether PTSD (as defined in the *DSM-*

military combat and captivity, and ethnically or politically motivated internment and

genocide evidence symptoms of PTSD.[30] As Van der Kolk points out, "The capacity of

these events to produce PTSD varied significantly, ranging from 56 [percent] in patients

who regain consciousness in the middle of surgical procedures, to 48.4 [percent] of

female rape victims, and 10.7 [percent] of men witnessing death or serious injury.

Women have twice the risk of developing PTSD following a trauma as men."[31] Such

events as described in 2 Chr 36:17–20, and others like them, are traumatic.[32] But how,

then, are individual experiences of trauma, such as PTSD, related to cultural trauma?

IV) is the best conceptual tool available. The *DSM-5* categorical inclusion of "Trauma- and Stressor-Related Disorders," in some ways, is a response to such debates, though certainly not definitive.

[30] *DSM-5*, 276.

[31] Van Der Kolk, "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder," 8.

[32] Contra Alexander ("Towards," 8; *Trauma*, 13) who makes the point that "[f]irst and foremost, I maintain that events do not, in and of themselves, create collective trauma. Events are not inherently traumatic." The contention of the current study, however, is that first and foremost, the locus of cultural trauma *is* an event. Alexander (*Trauma*, 17; emphasis mine) even states this when he claims that "for the wider audience to become persuaded that they, too, have *become traumatized by an experience or an event*, the carrier group needs to engage in successful meaning making work." Eyerman (*Cultural Trauma*, 2, 3), as well, clearly emphasizes the centrality of the event in his work, when he makes the blatant point that "National or cultural trauma . . . is also *rooted* in an event or series of events"; and explicitly in his assertion (Eyerman, *Cultural Sociology*, 15, 24; emphasis mine): "Cultural trauma articulates a membership group as it identifies an event or an experience, *a primal scene*, that solidifies individual/collective identity . . . *there must be some relation, real or perceived, to some referent*— an occurrence, experience, or event, which itself appears to be 'always there.'" Also, Smelser's ("Psychological," 44; emphasis mine) definition focuses on the centrality of an event: "cultural trauma: a memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant membership group and *evoking an event or situation*. . ." Similarly, Sztompka's ("Trauma," 158) focus on "traumatogenic" changes can only make sense if such a question is to ascribe certain changes (i.e., events) with trauma-inducing affects. Finally, Giesen ("Trauma," 115; emphasis mine) seems to speak directly contra to Alexander when he states that "All these experiences *were traumatic in their own right*." Leys (*Trauma*) and Rothe ("Irresponsible," 181–94) have issued critiques of trauma theory, predominantly as promulgated by literary theorists, such as Cathy Caruth, the current call for definitional renovation may be seen as an extension, if not echo, of Kansteiner ("Genealogy," 193–221) and Weilnbock's ("Trauma") critique of cultural trauma theory more specifically (though they, too, offer critique of the more philosophically oriented trauma theorists); cf. Kansteiner and Weilnbock, "Against," 229–40. The danger of losing the event as a referent can be seen in Eyerman's (*Cultural Trauma*, 14) contention where he suggests: "In this sense, slavery is traumatic for those who share a common fate," but one wonders, then, if "traumatic" is the right term at this point. Are those, today, *traumatized* themselves, or merely identifying with those who *were traumatized*? Even in Eyerman's (*Cultural Sociology*, 25; *America*, 8) more recent, more polemically inclined definition, the event or occurrence is still ever present: "In this sense, a cultural trauma is a narrative emerging out of *a traumatic occurrence*, where collective identities are at stake"; and again, "a cultural trauma is a publicly articulated *response* to a tear in the social fabric." But, then, is a narrative to be *traumatizing*? For what purpose? Such a move to have the *narration* of a traumatic occurrence being the site of trauma is, as Rothe's ("Irresponsible," 181–94) title suggests, irresponsible

As "trauma," in its psychological definition, is predominantly a wound of the mind, the subjectivity of the traumatized individual is not only relevant but critical to assessing the level and type of trauma they are suffering.[33] The subjective reality contributing to PTSD (and other stressor-related disorders), at the same time, places the individual within a cultural context.[34] As Drozdek points out, "There is no individual experience of psychological trauma without a cultural history, grounding or background. Similarly, there is no individual sense of personal identity without a cultural reference point."[35] That even "individual" trauma has a broader social context is acknowledged by

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nonsense. The search for meaning does not constitute trauma any more than a surgeon's search for the source of blood loss. If the event is not traumatizing, if only in its social construction can a trauma become collective (and thus, in turn, cultural) trauma, then it can only follow that a trauma has not occurred until such time as the social actors declare it so, and thus, the victims' silent suffering remains suppressed (which, in fact, in itself, may well produce a re-traumatization or even initiate a new trauma for the victim)—all of which results in, in Kansteiner and Weilnbock's ("Against," 237) words, "a grave insult toward people who actually suffer from post-traumatic stress." A trauma, then, was never a trauma, for it was never spoken into being. But then, what value is there in maintaining the taxonomy of cultural *trauma*, if no trauma is present? Rather, traumas that have occurred across a collectivity (comprised of either one or several cultures) are transmitted between each other and outwards into the broader masses. A cultural trauma has occurred; its subsequent narration is debatable, but at its root is a traumatic event, whether acute or chronic (i.e., momentary or over a length of time). If only in its narrative can a cultural trauma exist, it is not a cultural trauma, but something else entirely. It may be memorializing (or repressing) cultural trauma; or delineating the process of a traumatic (or triumphant) collective memory; or attempting to create a "completely official version of a collective trauma"; or even simply narrating trauma; but it is not cultural *trauma* in any meaningful sense of the word. Such definitions obfuscate where to locate the traumatic tear in the social fabric. A tear has occurred, the subsequent narration by various carrier groups must be filtered through the point(s) of traumatic tear to the culture affected. Smelser ("Psychological," 50), makes the point that it is nearly impossible to get to the point of a completely official version, but rather, "a continuing counterpoint of interested and opposing voices." I take this focus as the work of cultural trauma theorists: to determine which voices are active within the various narratives and what they are saying to and for whom, but always in light of those affected by a cultural trauma that has occurred—its relevance, significance, and process of remediation, reconciliation, and healing are the work of social actors as they work backwards through to the originating, traumatic event so that they can alleviate any residual trauma moving into the future. When Eyerman seeks to define why traumas are *cultural*, even now the initial question of what constitutes *trauma* remains, mostly, if not entirely, unexplored.

[33] Caruth, *Unclaimed*, 3. Cf. Mucci (*Beyond Individual*, 43), "Most certainly the discriminating factor making an event traumatic is constituted by the victim's subjective feeling of being overwhelmed or threatened or helpless (the feeling Freud called *Hilflösichkeit*), that is, the subjective assessment by the victims is the decisive element. Therefore, even if the reality of extraordinary events is at the centre of PTSD, the meaning that the victims attribute to them is as fundamental as the event itself."

[34] Cf. Bovin ("Importance," 61): "solely relying on an individual's response to define traumatic stress is problematic because it ignores the fact that the response is not happening in a contextual vacuum and that environmental events can be important determinants of outcome."

[35] Drozdek, "Voices," 381.

several theorists: LaCapra;[36] Eyerman;[37] Meek;[38] Erikson.[39] As well, evidence of *multiple*

sites of traumatic impact situate what may be considered solely individual, or even

"massive," traumas within the cultural sphere.[40] In this sense, all traumas have a cultural

context, even in an individualistically-oriented psychological definition. At the same

time, while trauma inherently consists of cultural elements, the connection between

culture and the psychologically dense term "trauma" should never be divorced from its

founding within psychoanalysis.

Kai Erikson was among the first researchers to provide a distinction between

individual and cultural (or "collective," in his terminology) trauma:

> By *individual trauma* I mean a blow to the psyche that breaks through one's
> defenses so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it
> effectively. This is what clinicians normally mean when they use the term, and the
> Buffalo Creek survivors experienced precisely that. They suffered deep shock as a
> result of their exposure to death and devastation, and, as so often happens in
> catastrophes of this magnitude, they withdrew into themselves, feeling numbed,
> afraid, vulnerable, and very alone.[41]

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[36] LaCapra, Writing, Preface to 2014 edition: "It is misguided to see trauma as a purely psychological or individual phenomenon. It has crucial connections to social and political conditions and can only be understood and engaged with respect to them."

[37] Eyerman, *Cultural Sociology*, 30, "In political assassinations, there are at least two victims, the murdered individual and the collective that associates itself with that individual."

[38] Meek, "Cultural," 30, "psychological trauma is never without cultural, social, and political dimensions."

[39] Erikson, "Notes on Trauma," 470–71, "The experience of trauma, at its worst, can mean not only a loss of confidence in the self, but a loss of confidence in the surrounding tissue of family and community, in the structures of human government, in the larger logics by which humankind lives, in the ways of nature itself, and often. . . in God."

[40] Wright and Bartone ("Community," 269) write that, "In the case of the Gander crash, three different community sites were directly affected: the crash site . . . the mortuary site . . . and the victims' home base site," but also families and friends of the victims were "in many different civilian communities throughout the nation . . . the crash affected military communities around the world." Likewise, Norris et al ("Individual," 380) differentiate between "primary" and "secondary" victims: "'primary victims' were those who directly experienced physical, material, or personal losses; 'secondary victims' were those who lived in the affected area, but sustained no personal injuries or damages." They go on to claim that the distinction is important "because disasters are community level events with the potential to precipitate change and stress even for those who experience no direct losses. That is, secondary victims are also subjected to the 'collective trauma.'"

[41] Erickson, "Notes on Trauma," 460.

Cultural trauma (or collective trauma, in Erikson's terminology) he defines as

> a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality. The collective trauma works its way slowly and even insidiously into the awareness of those who suffer from it, so it does not have the quality of suddenness normally associated with "trauma." But it is a form of shock all the same, a gradual realization that the community no longer exists as an effective source of support and that an important part of the self has disappeared. . . . "I" continue to exist, though damaged and maybe even permanently changed. "You" continue to exist, though distant and hard to relate to. But "we" no longer exist as a connected pair or as linked cells in a larger communal body.[42]

This cultural assimilation evidences itself differently within different cultures. For instance, in many Asian cultures, a strong sense of family values forms a foundation of personal identity so that when trauma occurs even on an individual basis there is nonetheless a broad effect that reaches out beyond the individual on to the person's family and social network.[43] As individuals are able to be traumatized, so too, are entire cultures exposed to traumatic affects.

In this, it is straightforward enough to assert that trauma, though the definition eludes an absolute definition, occurs to individuals. Even to extend individual trauma to a collective of individuals that have been exposed to a traumatic event is fairly self-evident as Smelser points out: "many people in the respective populations coped with the same or similar reactions . . . We call this aggregation of individual responses a mass phenomenon because it involved many people having the same reactions and assigning the same meaning."[44] The issue, clearly, with cultural trauma theory is how does a

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[42] Erickson, "Notes on Trauma," 460.
[43] Kinzie, "Massive Trauma," 212.
[44] Smelser, "Psychological," 48. The caveat Smelser provides should be noted clearly as well, "However, we should be careful not to refer to such mass responses as a collective response or defense. To bring them into the latter category, some or all of the following ingredients of 'collective memory work' have to be accomplished."

collective trauma (i.e., an event that traumatizes many people) become *cultural* trauma (i.e., an event that disrupts the lifeworld of a society)?[45]

With the turn towards a cultural sociology, there has been a shift to identify the roots of culture within sociological analysis. The concept of "lifeworlds," such as appropriated by Hall et al, serves to define culture as comprised of the socially networked spaces individuals reside within.[46] Smelser comments that cultural trauma involves destruction of or threat to "cultural *values, outlooks, norms*," while Sztompka relates trauma to the area of "affirmed values and norms, patterns and rules, expectations and roles, accepted ideas and beliefs, narrative forms and symbolic meanings, definitions of situations and frames of discourse."[47] The more formal definition provided by Smelser, then, seems appropriately apt: "A cultural trauma refers to an invasive and overwhelming event that is believed to undermine or overwhelm one or several essential ingredients of a culture or the culture as a whole."[48] In this, traumas that are man-made or interpersonal as opposed to "natural" are far more traumatic for the community.[49]

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[45] Sztompka ("Trauma," 160) differentiates between what he considers "collective" and "massive" traumas, but, perhaps the distinction is more accurately between collective trauma (as something that has happened to a mass of people, not necessarily adhering to a sense of social cohesion) and cultural trauma (as something that has happened across and within a culturally defined group of people)? Part of the discrepancy may reside in the difference of definition between "collectives" as defined psychologically as opposed to its definition sociologically. With the rise of interdisciplinary studies, a more consistent appropriation of the term "collective" by both disciplines would be most useful at this point.

[46] Hall, et al. ("Introduction," 5, 8) list, among other facets of culture: "work, leisure activities, bureaucracy, religion, markets, war, social movements. . ."; as well as being comprised of different social manifestations with cultural aspects: "discourses, identities, practices, material objects, systems, beliefs and values."

[47] Smelser, "Psychological," 38 (emphasis mine); Sztompka, "Trauma," 161.

[48] Smelser, "Psychological," 40. Eyerman (*Cultural Sociology*, 24) subsequently cites Smelser's definition with an attempt to focus on the phrase "believed to undermine," however, an event is distinctly causing the speculation; in psychoanalytical terms, the symptomology (defined by the various *DSMs*) determines whether the condition is traumatic or not, not the other way around, as if to say, "I think I have experienced trauma, therefore I have" (or the disastrous inverse, "I don't know how to express the trauma I've experienced, therefore, it is not trauma").

[49] For example, as Nagata ("Intergenerational," 126) notes, "The treatment of the Japanese Americans was deliberate and planned. Such traumata of human design can lead to more severe and prolonged posttraumatic stress disorder than trauma resulting from natural or accidental design." Cf.

According to Qureshi, "Trauma derives, then, from actions and events that damage social order."[50] Trauma, though culturally conditioned, is an experience nonetheless, so that, as Qureshi continues, "humans do not simply have experiences and then subsequently interpret them through their cultural filters, but rather the event itself is experienced culturally."[51] In other words, the pre-mediated cultural matrices provide a context through which a trauma is *experienced*. First, an event occurs that disrupts the social order, then, cultural carrier groups seek to interpret the nature and extent of the damage.[52] The trauma process, though different for every culture, consists in the reworking, working through, and ultimately the expression or repression of the traumatic event that ruptured the community as it existed.[53]

Levene (*Genocide: Meaning*, 26) who points out the gravity of a "natural disaster" that was man-made: "In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Aché people of Paraguay suffered a man-created catastrophe of such proportions that only a small proportion of them survived. We must surely assume that the searing impact of this disaster upon the individual psyches and collective consciousness of the survivors and their dwindling descendants was no less profound than the effect of the Aghet, or the Holocaust, had been on theirs"; Neria ("Conclusion," 393), "Clinically, interpersonal violence is the worst form of trauma."

[50] Qureshi, "Trauma," 168. Qureshi continues to say that "trauma does not simply follow from the event itself, but is rather entirely caught up in the nexus of the cultural context of experience, expression, and explanation" so that even in this statement, the centrality of the event is not dismissed, though, and rightly so, the experience of the traumatic event can only be *explained* by means of a cultural context.

[51] Qureshi, "Trauma," 162.

[52] Here, indeed, resides a point of difference between psychological and cultural trauma, as Smelser ("Psychological," 39–40) explains: "These features mean that a cultural trauma differs greatly from a psychological trauma in terms of the mechanisms that establish and sustain it. The mechanisms associated with psychological trauma are the intrapsychic dynamics of defense, adaptation, coping, and working through; the mechanisms at the cultural level are mainly those of social agents."

[53] Echoed by Wilson ("Culture," 373) when he writes "what works for whom under what circumstances will take on meaning that transcends culture but not persons whose suffering impels humanitarian care"; cf. Volkan's (*Psychoanalysis*, 89) comment on psychoanalytic engagement with "large group" trauma: "if psychological insights had been available to international decision makers with power at the time this chosen trauma was reactivated, strategies might have been developed to prevent deadly outcomes."

Summary

Social identity negotiations, such as evidenced in the book of Chronicles can be seen as motivated by a community having experienced a traumatic rupture to their social fabric. The connection between individual and cultural trauma is retained by the psychological roots inherent in definitions of trauma. In other words, even a single person experiencing trauma reverberates throughout their immediate social context. When a massive event occurs such as the indiscriminate slaughter of nearly an entire population, the ability for individuals to cope, process, and relate to others in the community is precisely defined as a rupture to the social fabric, and thus the initiation of cultural trauma. Based on the evidence of trauma across cultures, in addition to the prevalence rates of PTSD, the community having experienced indiscriminate slaughter, the destruction of the temple, and forced migration, such as described by the Chronicler in 2 Chr 36:17–20, clearly experienced a cultural trauma. It is in relation to an existing cultural framework that there is, as Alexander frames it, "a fundamental threat to their sense of who they are, where they came from, and where they want to go."[54] In this, Eyerman provides a most apt summary in terms of the engagement of social identity and cultural trauma:

> A traumatic tear evokes the need to "narrate new foundations" . . . which includes reinterpreting the past as a means toward reconciling present/future needs. There may be several or many possible responses or paths to resolving cultural trauma that emerge in a specific historical context, but all of them in some way or other involve identity and memory.[55]

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[54] Alexander, *Trauma*, 15.

[55] Eyerman, *Cultural Trauma*, 4. For an engagement between trauma and memory, see for example, Assmann, *Shadows*.

As the community of Persian Yehud assesses who they are and where they want to go, the Chronicler, by reaching back through all time to Adam (1 Chr 1:1), seeks to relate precisely who they are and where it is they have come from, and this, so they can live together going forward.

Promoting a Superordinate Identity by Means of Recategorization

In the Chronicler's "reinterpretation" of the past, the extensive use of social identity monikers in addition to the frequent appearance of the term "all Israel" suggests that one of the means towards reconciling present/future needs is through the recategorization of the community. Therefore, a brief description of Recategorization Theory as well as Uncertainty-Identity Theory, which can be seen as initiating a need for recategorization will be provided. Finally, placing the book of Chronicles several generations removed from the fall of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration requires a comparison with models of intergenerational transmissions of trauma before moving into the specific methodology that will be followed for the current study.

Recategorization Theory

Gaertner and Dovidio developed the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) as a means to reduce intergroup bias by uniting members of different groups under a superordinate identity which encompasses the ingroup and the outgroup.[56] Simply put, as Oakes et al propose, "People who are categorized and perceived as different in one context … can be recategorized and perceived as similar in another context" without any change to their

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[56] Gaertner and Dovidio, *Reducing.* Cf. Riek et al., "Does a Common," 403.

actual position.[57] CIIM, then, is especially appropriate for understanding the Chronicler's recounting of the community in Persian Yehud, for while the Chronicler retains unique tribal designations such as Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, they are ultimately being called to unite under the superordinate identity of "all Israel." Indeed, recategorizing ingroups within a superordinate identity is a powerful rubric to reduce intergroup conflicts.[58] This is due in part because one of the fundamental findings of social identity theory as proposed by Tajfel and Turner is that ingroup bias places positive associations amongst members of one's own group and portrays them as more varied than members of other groups. Therefore, as Esses and Garcia point out, "recategorization of smaller groups as part of a larger group can greatly alter perceptions between groups. As 'they' become incorporated into 'we,' a one-time enemy can become an ingroup member and can be seen through the lens of positive rather than negative biases."[59] At the same time, though theoretically recategorizing various ingroups within a superordinate identity has the ability to dissolve conflict, the practical transition for certain social identity adherents is, however, not necessarily simple nor absolute.[60] In other words, simply postulating a superordinate identity is not a guarantee that positive intergroup relations will develop. Rather, as Wenzel et al contend, "for more harmonious intergroup relations, it is necessary that the groups develop a shared understanding and consensual representation of their superordinate identity . . . they need to represent the superordinate identity in a

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[57] Oakes et al., "Role of Prototypicality," 79–80.

[58] Cf. Dovidio ("Bridging Intragroup," 11), "When people conceive of others as ingroup members with common identity, the processes that produce cognitive, affective, and evaluative benefits for ingroup members become extended to those who were previously viewed as members of a different group."

[59] Esses and Garcia, "Intergroup Violence," 481.

[60] Cf. Wenzel et al. ("Superordinate," 340), "From the perspective of the ingroup projection model, the evaluation of intergroup differences depends, first, on whether the ingroup and outgroup are perceived to be included in a shared superordinate category. If not, there is no expectation that the outgroup comply with the same norms or values as the ingroup."

way that allows the two groups to be regarded as similarly prototypical and normative of the superordinate category."[61] Such a practice has been implemented more recently by the government of Rwanda where the identity monikers mandated by previous governments of *Hutu* and *Tutsi* are being "deemphasized" in favor of a *Rwandan* superordinate identity.[62] In a similar sense, rather than the Chronicler simply calling the community to rally around a Davidide, of the tribe of Judah, which may have been resented by members of other tribes (i.e., Benjaminites) and thus contributing towards intergroup conflict, a more positive image of Levites leading the community, a community that is recounted throughout their history as "all Israel," is offered by the Chronicler.[63]

Uncertainty-Identity Theory

As a means to understand motivations for people's self-categorizations, uncertainty-identity theory was developed by Michael Hogg in 2000 and elaborated more extensively in 2007.[64] There, Hogg summarizes Uncertainty-identity theory by stating that "feeling uncertain about ones [sic] perceptions, attitudes, values, or feelings is uncomfortable. At best it is an exhilarating challenge to be confronted and resolved . . . At worst, uncertainty is highly anxiety provoking and stressful."[65] As a result, people seek to reduce uncertainty in their lives. And while the caveat is raised that we simply do not care about some uncertainties, at the same time, people will expend cognitive energy to resolve

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[61] Wenzel et al., "Superordinate," 341.

[62] Esses and Garcia, "Intergroup Violence," 481.

[63] In terms of inter- and intra-group relations, Yuki ("Intergroup," 177) makes an interesting point: "Still undermined, however, is [social identity theory's] applicability to behaviors in which individuals are not paying attention to intergroup comparisons but rather to complex intragroup structures."

[64] Cf. Hogg, "Uncertainty-Identity," 943.

[65] Hogg, "Uncertainty-Identity," 73.

uncertainties that are important or matter to them in particular contexts.[66] There are endless facets of our lives that cause uncertainty to arise, however, there are also examples of extreme and enduring uncertainty such as noted by Hogg: "widespread societal uncertainty caused by economic collapse, cultural disintegration, civil war, terrorism, and large-scale natural disasters, or more personal uncertainty caused by unemployment, bereavement, divorce, relocation, adolescence, and so forth."[67] And though, as Pollock argues in *Uncertain Science. . . Uncertain World*, we cannot feel absolute certainty—indeed, it is perhaps best to speak of uncertainty *reduction*—Hogg points out that "the crux of uncertainty-identity theory is that group identification is one of the most potent and effective ways" to reduce uncertainty.[68]

What this says, then, is that in light of the cultural trauma experienced with the fall of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration, the people residing in Persian Yehud (as well as those in diaspora) would have reason to be uncertain about their future. Even after a prolonged period of time, uncertainty is not necessarily abated. For there is within cultural trauma intergenerational affects that reverberate through the community. As group identification provides a powerful foundation to alleviate or at least reduce uncertainty, the Chronicler's recategorizing of the community under the superordinate identity of "all Israel" can be seen as a response to the long-standing uncertainty-identity lingering from the cultural trauma remaining within the community.[69]

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[66] Hogg, "Uncertainty-Identity," 73.

[67] Hogg ("Uncertainty-Identity," 92) continues to note that "under these circumstances, extreme groups may do a better job than merely high-entitativity groups at reducing or fending off uncertainty."

[68] Pollack, *Uncertain*; Hogg, "Uncertainty-Identity," 79.

[69] Brewer (*Intergroup*, 36–39) lists several motivations for group identification among which are: 1. Common Fate, 2. Self-Esteem, 3. Self-verification, 4. Optimal distinctiveness. Cf. Jonker, "Textual," 203; Jonker, "David's," 70. The suggestion from the current study is that cultural trauma is one specific motivation that has initiated the need to (re)negotiate social identities—in other words, cultural trauma impels the motivations that Brewer lists.

Intergenerational Transmissions of Trauma

Trauma, as a repetitious reliving of effects, is often transferred to subsequent generations.[70] In turn, the second generation experiences difficulties living as descendants of those who have been traumatized. In a real sense, there is a re-traumatization that occurs within this generation. The children of traumatized parents will seek ways to act out or re-elaborate the trauma, sometimes even subconsciously. Should the traumatic effects passed on to the second generation still not be worked through, the effects of the trauma continue being passed on to the third generation, and are only further exasperated.[71]

There may be, however, considerable differences in terms of the traumatic effects and the responses elicited between the second and third generation. For example, in the case of the Armenian genocide that occurred early in the twentieth century, although each generation did not differ in most attitudinal measures, the third generation reported, in at least one study, a "lower sense of belonging when in contact with other Armenians and a lower level of self-perceived Armenian identity than the two older generations."[72] The first and second generation placed extreme effort on maintaining their group cohesion, creating a more internalized ethnic identity. However, in the third generation, more accountability has been placed on the Turkish involvement with the trauma, and a greater

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[70] Cf. Schwab (*Haunting*, 49): "Their basic premise is that unless trauma is worked through and integrated, it will be passed on to the next generation. If this happens, the next generation will inherit the psychic substance of the previous generation and display symptoms that do not emerge from their own individual experience but from a parent's, relative's, or community's psychic conflicts, traumata, or secrets."

[71] As Mucci (*Beyond Individual*, 186) suggests, "while the second generation usually carries out the task of the fantasmatisation of the parents' trauma by trying consciously and unconsciously to re-elaborate the trauma and to perform the parents' mourning for them, if no working-through has taken place in the previous generations and if other adverse elements combine, trauma effects for the third generation become very severe."

[72] Kupelian, "Turkish Genocide," 198.

sense of externalizing the trauma is present. In the case of the Armenian genocide, this externalization is in large part due to the suppression of admission by the Turkish government of their role in the genocide.[73]

Though the community in Persian Yehud was several generations removed from those directly victimized by the evisceration of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration, ruptures to the social fabric can last for decades, if not centuries.[74] As Mucci's study above suggests, the direct effects of the first and second generation descendants, often acknowledged through symptoms related to PTSD, are transferred in more generic, cultural terms to the third and subsequent generations. As far as comparable contemporaneous models are concerned, such cultural traumas as the Armenian genocide at the turn of the twentieth century and the Canadian residential school system initiated in the mid- to late nineteenth century place the distance between descendants today and the initiating traumas in equitable terms with the Chronicler's audience—roughly one hundred and fifty years subsequent.[75]

Methodology

Josiah's death, though negatively portrayed, lacks an explicit explanation by the Chronicler as to why his death is so ignominious. As such, recourse to the greater narrative context of the book of Chronicles should shed light on the Chronicler's

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[73] Kupelian, "Turkish Genocide," 200.

[74] Cf. Eyerman's (*Cultural Trauma*, 1) note that the notion of an African American identity was initiated in the "post-civil war era."

[75] Cf. Kupelian ("Turkish Genocide," 191–210) and TRC (*History: Vol. 1*) for more detail in terms of cultural and personal traumas related to these events. Though the fall of Jerusalem occurred in 587 BCE, the forced migration extended over a longer period of time, including trauma of the first and second generations, extending the initiation of cultural trauma possibly even to the "return" (i.e., Cyrus' decree; 2 Chr 36:23) and rebuilding of the temple, circa 520 BCE.

recounting of the death of Josiah. In order to fully understand the Chronicler's recounting, the book of Chronicles will be approached as a historical, yet, literary text.

As outlined in the Introduction, scholarly consensus places the book of Chronicles within the Persian era. Archaeological data suggests that following the evisceration of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, recovery of the surrounding area involved a slow process extending well into the Persian era. Though the comparatively untouched Benjamin Plateau may not have been "flourishing," the administrative centre for the oversight of Yehud by the Persian Empire was nonetheless held in Benjamite territory, at Mizpah and Ramat Rahel. That Jeremiah, a Levite having ministered in Benjaminite territory, issues a lament in the wake of Josiah's death (cf. 2 Chr 35:25) raises the question as to the relations between these tribes specifically as recounted by the Chronicler.[76]

In terms of analysing the Chronicler's social (i.e., tribal) identities, Louis Jonker, for one, speaks of a "multi-levelled socio-historical existence" within which the book of Chronicles was composed.[77] In order to analyze this "very complex society," Jonker has provided a heuristic approach to defining the community of Persian Yehud comprised of, at least, four main levels: international (for example, Persia, Greece, Egypt); provincial (for example, Samaria, Idumea, Yehud); inter-tribal (for example, Judah, Benjamin, Levi); and inner-cultic (for example, priests, Levites).[78] While the Chronicler does not categorize and address each level individually but rather communicates across multiple levels, it is possible to discern the social identity dynamics within any one level within a

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[76] Samuel was also a Levite ministering in Benjamite territory that appears in Josiah's narrative, though Samuel seems to provide a transition between Josiah's laudable Passover and the ensuing death narrative (cf. 2 Chr 35:18).

[77] Jonker, *Defining*, 72.

[78] Jonker, *Defining*, 71–73.

given literary unit.[79] So that even while Jonker rightly demonstrates the interrelationship between the levels and engages each level together as nearly as possible, each level is nonetheless addressed one at a time.[80] At the same time, though tribal identities are treated variously in Jonker's study, the main focus of the inter-tribal level is limited to the tribes of Benjamin and Judah.[81] In many ways, the current study seeks to build on Jonker's analysis by providing a fuller treatment of the inter-tribal level of social identity as recounted in the book of Chronicles. Therefore, the current study will focus on the appearance of all tribes of Israel within the inter-tribal level of social categorization, though it must be noted that each of these levels are present throughout Chronicles and contribute concomitantly to the overall social identity negotiations recounted by the Chronicler. The current study will also build on Jonker's model by clarifying the motivations impelling the appearance of these social identity negotiations.

Social identity negotiations are clearly prevalent throughout the book of Chronicles (as Jonker has demonstrated), however, these social identity negotiations appear *as a response* to some impetus: in other words, there must be an initiating motivation for the Chronicler's social identity negotiations. The contention of the current study is that the cultural trauma following the death of Josiah and associated with the fall of Jerusalem and subsequent forced migration is one of the initiating motivations for the

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[79] Cf. Jonker's ("Engaging," 63) note: "In a response . . . Gary Knoppers indicated that it would have been better if the four levels I distinguish here had been discussed in separate studies. The point of this contribution, however, is to show how interrelated these socio-historical contexts were, and how multi-levelled the process of identity negotiation in this historiographical literature was. The decision to bring together these aspects in one paper was therefore intentional and it serves the main argument of this contribution." In many ways, the current study here attempts to heed Knoppers recommendation without disregarding the concomitant contexts addressed in social discourse, as especially evidenced in Chronicles and addressed by Jonker.

[80] Cf. Jonker, "Engaging," 63–93; *Defining*, 115–273.

[81] Cf. Jonker, *Defining*, 101–6; 193–225.

appearance of social identity negotiations in the book of Chronicles, and thus, one of the prominent motivations for the Chronicler's ignominious portrayal of the death of Josiah.

Social Identity and Cultural Trauma in the Book of Chronicles

Jeremiah (a Levite from Benjamin territory) first appears in the book of Chronicles immediately following the death of Josiah (35:25); Jeremiah's third and final appearance (36:21) occurs immediately following the Chronicler's recounting of the fall of Jerusalem and forced migration (2 Chr 36:17–20).[82] These two appearances of Jeremiah closely connect the death of Josiah with the fall of Jerusalem, destruction of the temple, and forced migration. Based on the description in 2 Chr 36:17–20, along with archaeological evidence conveying an evisceration of Jerusalem, and the *DSM-5* definition for trauma and stressor-related disorders, the community experiencing such events is comprised of a substantial number of traumatized individuals. Though the community was comprised of massive, collective traumas, the cultural affects inevitably shattered the social fabric.[83] The lifeworld of Judeans and Jerusalemites would, in almost all senses, cease to exist.[84] In addition to witnessing trauma-inducing personal atrocities among families and

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[82] Jeremiah's second appearance is in relation to Zedekiah, who "did not humble himself before Jeremiah the prophet, who spoke from the mouth of God" (2 Chr 36:12). Josiah, already, did not listen to the "mouth of God" (35:22), so that this second reference to Jeremiah as the "mouth of God" suggests that the Davidides did not learn from Josiah's mistake(s); 1 Esd 1:26 makes the connection explicit by stating that *Josiah* did not listen to "the words *of Jeremiah*, the prophet, from the mouth of the Lord" (cf. 1 Esd 1:45).

[83] Even though Chronicles only refers to the destruction of Jerusalem (as Japhet [*I&II Chronicles*, 1074] notes, "there is no hint of any damage to the land of Judah or to its people"), the surrounding community would be included within the purview of "multiple sites of trauma," and would nonetheless be affected by the events surrounding the destruction (cf. Wright and Bartone, "Community," 269).

[84] Cf. Ristau's (*Reconstructing*, 11) assessment that "when the Babylonians conquered and destroyed Jerusalem, an ideological and socio-religious system rooted in and dependent on the city fell into disarray and, along with the destruction of Jerusalem and the deportation of its elites and skilled workers, the kingdom of Judah collapsed. This destruction and collapse not only implied that Yahweh had abandoned Jerusalem but even more drastically could be construed to imply the defeat of Judean cult and culture."

neighbors, the destruction of the temple and forced migration become the very definition

of cultural trauma for the Chronicler. In terms of cultural trauma theory, therefore, the

Chronicler as a "carrier agent" relates the trauma script through these descriptions.[85]

The trauma script, as Alexander proposes, entails four main elements: the nature

of the pain; the nature of the victim; relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience;

and, the attribution of responsibility.[86] In the space of four lines, each element of loss as a

"vision of terror" is distinctly noted in the book of Chronicles: in 2 Chr 36:17, slaughter

(הרג) of young men and virgins, old men and aged; in 36:18, spoiling of the temple

treasuries (כלי בית האליהם); in 36:19, burning of the temple (את־בית האלהים) amidst the

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[85] According to Alexander (*Trauma*, 16), "Carrier groups are the collective agents of the trauma process. Carrier groups have both ideal and material interests; they are situated in particular places in the social structure; and they have particular discursive talents for articulating their claims—for 'meaning making'—in the public sphere. Carrier groups may be elites, but they may also be denigrated and marginalized classes. They may be prestigious religious leaders or groups whom the majority has designated as spiritual pariahs. Carrier groups can be generational, representing the perspectives and interests of a younger generation against an older one. It can be national, pitting one's own nation against a putative enemy. It can be institutional, representing one particular social sector or organization against others in a fragmented and polarized social order." In terms of cultural trauma scripts (the interests carrier groups attach to "who did what" and how society should respond), Alexander (*Trauma*, 4) states that "the truth of a cultural script depends not on its empirical accuracy, but on its symbolic power and enactment." However, Alexander goes too far in distancing the script from an actual event, as though the script was conjured from pure imagination, as he continues, "Collective traumas are reflections of neither individual suffering nor actual events, but symbolic renderings that reconstruct and imagine them. Rather than descriptions of what is, they are arguments about what must have been and what should be." Closer, perhaps, is Alexander's concession of "relative independence" or "gap" between event and narration. Certainly, the actual event requires signification and cannot fully be represented, however, an event *is* at the very root of any carrier group's traumatic script (cf. Eyerman, *Cultural Sociology*, 24: "there is likely to be some powerful, shocking occurrence that creates the possibility, providing the opportunity to mobilize opinions and emotions. There are thus two sides to a cultural trauma—an emotional experience and an interpretative reaction."). The gap is real, and the bridge from event to narration is not one merely of imaginatory skill on the part of cultural agents. The event is not identical with narration, however, the relationship is inseparable. Erikson ("Notes on Trauma," 455–56), for example, originally made a three-fold distinction in his discussion on trauma between the "traumatic event," "traumatic process," and "traumatic state"; indeed, Erikson's entrance into identifying the reality of "collective" trauma (from which, arguably, precipitated an entire discipline of cultural trauma) was based on the aftermaths of a catastrophic event: the Buffalo Creek Disaster.

[86] Alexander, *Trauma*, 18.

destruction of the city; and in 36:20, forced migration (גלה).[87] The temple (בית), repeated

twice in the midst of the devastation places a distinct emphasis on the loss of this central

institution.[88] Furthermore, the trauma script begins with slaughter (הרג) and ends with

forced migration (גלה), both terms which will consistently appear throughout the book of

Chronicles. The full embodiment of the trauma script, as defined by Alexander, is

therefore accounted for as follows: The nature of the pain, though succinct, is clearly

portrayed in 36:17–20 by the graphic depiction of "slaughter" (הרג), especially with the

inclusion that the destruction was "without compassion" (לא חמל) as well as the final

result, evinced by those escaping the sword ultimately being forcibly removed from their

homes (גלה); so, also, the nature of the victims is clearly portrayed in 36:17–20 as

indiscriminate across the community of Jerusalem (i.e., no single inter-tribal identity is

excluded); the relation of the trauma victim(s) to the wider audience can be found

perhaps clearest at the end of the Chronicler's narrative where Cyrus' decree includes

"whoever of the people among you" (36:23); finally, the attribution of responsibility,

rather than being directly attributed to the king of the Babylonians whom wrought the

devastation (36:17), the Chronicler suggests that the attribution of responsibility resides

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[87] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 1073. Cf. Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 1072) for a description of these verses from a poetic perspective. While there is perhaps a proclivity to equate the brief treatment of the destruction of Jerusalem and forced migration with only tertiary interest on the part of the Chronicler—for it seems that as soon as the destruction is noted, the narrative moves over seventy years into the future, to a time of hope (cf. 2 Chr 36:21–23)—the very opposite is true: Descriptive length does not of necessity equate to a priority of narrative focus. Oftentimes even a single word is sufficient to express depths of trauma (i.e., Auschwitz; Kosovo; Columbine). Some traumas, indeed, most traumas, need only be referenced to convey their significance without divesting extensive details.

[88] Cf. Boda ("Legitimizing," 315) who provides a summary of rites associated with ancient temple building that, essentially: "set apart and purified a site"; "ensured religious protection"; "memorialized human efforts for divine and human audiences in the present and future, increased the value of the building"; "connected the temple with the divine world"; and "were designed to ensure future blessing for the ruler and people responsible for the project."

elsewhere and can be seen already in Josiah's narrative, in Huldah's prophecy (34:24–

25): those responsible for the destruction (רעה) are those who have forsaken (עזב)

YHWH.[89] Such a description accords well with Smelser's apt definition for cultural

trauma: for an event to be considered a cultural trauma,

> it must be remembered, or made to be remembered. Furthermore, the memory
> must be made culturally relevant, that is, represented as obliterating, damaging, or
> rendering problematic something sacred—usually a value or outlook felt to be
> essential for the integrity of the affected society. Finally, the memory must be
> associated with a strong negative affect, usually disgust, shame, or guilt.[90]

In the wake of a cultural trauma as devastating as occurred to Jerusalem by the hands of

the Babylonians, individual and family lives of survivors certainly continued and would

be rebuilt, however, the rupture to the social fabric would last generations. The book of

Chronicles not only addresses the civic spasm that crippled the social structures of the

community, but seeks to alleviate the associated cultural trauma, for the book of

Chronicles ends with supreme hope, not despair.[91] In order to accomplish this, the

Chronicler begins at the beginning of all people, with Adam (1 Chr 1:1), and addresses

the community's social identity in light of their historic and persistent cultural trauma.

The Chronicler's alleviation of the community's cultural trauma, however, is sought

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[89] Though Zedekiah is noted as having done evil (הרע) and not humbling himself before Jeremiah (2 Chr 36:12), as well as all the officers of the people being unfaithful (מעל) and polluting the temple (36:14), the actions in 36:15–16 suggest a longer timeline for the inciting of YHWH's anger, such as noted by the terms "persistently" (השכם; cf. *DCH* 8:354) and "until there was no remedy" (עד־לאין מרפא).

[90] Smelser, "Psychological," 36. Cf. Smelser ("Psychological," 44): "a memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant membership group and evoking an event or situation which is a) laden with negative affect, b) represented as indelible, and c) regarded as threatening a society's existence or violating one or more of its fundamental cultural presuppositions."

[91] As Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 1077) notes, "The edict of Cyrus is the beginning of a new era in the history of Israel, pointing with hope and confidence toward the future." Such hope, however, points to that which is as yet unrealized, for the cultural trauma evoked by the Babylonian invasion persists into the Chronicler's day; hence the need for such a call to hope.

through recategorizing the community within the superordinate identity of all Israel, and ends, in Jerusalem, the city of peace, following the death of Josiah with the eventual fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy (36:21) and the moving decree by Cyrus, the king of Persia (2 Chr 36:23).[92] In this way, Josiah's death marks the initiation of cultural trauma. That Josiah's death was a military-borne death in direct defiance of a word from God (2 Chr 35:22) following immediately after a laudable Passover places the focus, as it is in the current study, on the Chronicler's narrative engagements between the military and the cult; between kings and Levites. To the engagement of the Chronicler's recounting of social identity and cultural trauma, this study now turns.

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[92] While Zedekiah is not recounted with a death epithet, such silence does not necessarily suggest fulfilment of the Davidic promise (so Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 1072), but rather as Klein (*2 Chronicles*, 542) notes, "the hope at the end of the chapter lies not in the continuance of the Davidic dynasty . . . but in Yahweh's use of the Persian Cyrus as his agent."

CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL IDENTITIES (TRIBES) IN THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES: THE GENEALOGIES OF ALL ISRAEL (1 CHR 1–9)

The book of Chronicles, according to Jerome, is a recounting of the "whole of sacred history."[1] Though Jerome is, perhaps, on the extreme edge of espousing Chronicles, certainly, the Chronicler reaches all the way back in time to Adam (1 Chr 1:1). The genealogies, though beginning with Adam, focus on the tribes of Israel (cf. 1 Chr 2:1 // 9:1). By analysing the social identity negotiations within the tribes of Israel, the markers of cultural trauma that also appear assist in clarifying the Chronicler's self-understanding of the community in Persian Yehud. Though the genealogies are primarily comprised of names, the narrative notes interspersed throughout contribute to the relationships both between and within the tribes of Israel. While the genealogies are not always included in treatments of the book of Chronicles (leading Bodner to remark that "it is not delusional to suggest [that the lists at the beginning of Chronicles] have often been skipped in the history of biblical studies"), the opening nine chapters of Chronicles have the potential to shed considerable light on the social identity negotiations surrounding the cultural trauma flowing from the death of Josiah, as well as the appearance of Jeremiah (cf. 2 Chr

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[1] *PL* 28: 554; cf. "Prefaces: Samuel" *NPNF* 2:06. Indeed, Jerome ("Praefatio Hieronymi in Librum Paralipomenon Juxta LXX Interpretes," *PL* 29: 403) would claim that Chronicles contained "all the erudition of Holy Scripture." Furthermore, in the letter to Paulinus, Jerome ("Letter LIII: To Paulinus" *NPNF* 2.06 §8) states that Chronicles is "of such importance and value that without it any one who should claim to himself a knowledge of the scriptures would make himself a laughing stock in his own eyes." Cf. Isidore of Seville's ("Libros Veteris," *PL* 83: 162) comment also referring to Chronicles as the "erudition" of Holy Scripture.

35:25).[2] As such, the genealogical section (1 Chr 1:1—9:44) will be addressed first

before moving to address the subsequent narrative of the book of Chronicles (Chapters 4

and 5).

The Genealogies: 1 Chronicles 1:1—9:34[3]

The tribes of Israel within the genealogical section of the book of Chronicles are

structured around cultural trauma.[4] In many ways, the genealogical section parallels the

subsequent narrative in the book of Chronicles: the tribes of Israel begin and end with the

Chronicler's markers of cultural trauma, namely, death and unfaithfulness (מעל).[5] This is

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[2] Bodner, "Reading the Lists," 29. For studies exclusively focusing on the genealogies, see for example, Sparks, *Chronicler's*; Kartveit, *Motive*; Oeming, *Das Wahre*.

[3] The following genealogical study will predominantly appropriate the definitions, structures and ideology surrounding genealogical lists as presented by Wilson, *Genealogy*. As Schweitzer ("Genealogies," 12 n. 10) points out, although also highlighting Johnson's (*Purpose*) study of genealogies, that "[n]early every subsequent treatment of the genealogies in Chronicles, whether article, monograph, or commentary cites Wilson's work and uses his categories and terminology in discussing these lists."

[4] This is not to displace arguments that note the genealogical structure created through the extensive focus specific to the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, but rather to further situate this emphasis within its greater literary setting of the book of Chronicles. For instance, Michaeli (*Livres*, 71) was the first to note the prominent tribes of Judah and Benjamin providing a frame around the centre of the Israelite genealogies, which was held by the Levites. In turn, Knoppers, (*1 Chronicles 1–9*, 260–64, 402, 491) and most commentators (Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 86, 244; Jonker, *1&2 Chronicles*, 31) make note of this emphasis. Berger ("Chiasm," 9), building a chiasm from 1 Chr 2:1—8:40, nonetheless, centres the tribe of Levi between Judah and Benjamin; De Vries (*1&2 Chronicles*, 31) notes an *inclusio* between 2:1–2 and 9:1a; Oeming (*Wahre Israel*, 99, 210), citing Williamson, notes chs. 2–8 are built around Judah, Levi, and Benjamin, with Levi standing in the middle; so, too, Willi (*Chronik*, 196, 238; cf. 57, 188) notes the tribe of Levi as being at the "heart" of the genealogies. For a succinct, though not exhaustive, summary of chiastic attempts to discern the genealogical structure see Berger, "Chiasm," 1 n. 2; 29–33. As well, while the Chronicler notes in 9:3 that the returnees to Jerusalem came from Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh, Knoppers (*1 Chronicles*, 501) points out that "the succeeding verses, which deal only with Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, neglect Ephraim and Manasseh entirely." Boda (*1&2 Chronicles*, 91) makes the further point that it is "the tribes of Judah and Benjamin who dominate the Chronicler's narrative section in 1 Chr 10—2 Chr 36 because they were key groups who comprised the Jewish colony at the start of the Persian restoration period"; Levin ("Chronicler's," 236) cites a frame of the "important (in the Chronicler's day) tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin."

[5] In this, Achar, of the tribe of Judah is "unfaithful" (מעל) in 1 Chr 2:7, which is the same reason as Saul in 10:14; however, the genealogical section ends, following the entire tribe of Judah experiencing forced migration for the very same reason. On the other hand, both the narrative section proper as also the genealogical section end on Sabbath observance in Jerusalem, with the book of Chronicles ending with Cyrus' decree calling for the people to go up to Jerusalem.

seen most clearly in Israel's first genealogical segment, for immediately after introducing the tribe of Judah, Er is put to death (מות) by YHWH in 2:3. Almost as immediately, Achar is noted in 2:7 as being unfaithful (מעל). At the other end of the genealogies, once the tribes of Israel have been listed, the Chronicler explicitly notes in 9:1 that Judah was "removed" (גלה) for their unfaithfulness (מעל). As the tribes of Israel, starting with Judah, are recounted in light of death and unfaithfulness, so, too, does their enlistment end with Judah's removal (synonymous with death) and unfaithfulness.[6]

However, while the tribes of Israel are introduced in the genealogies by evocations of cultural trauma, the genealogies do not end on a traumatic note—just as the book of Chronicles does not end on the traumatic note of the death of Josiah, destruction of Jerusalem and forced migration, but rather, on Cyrus' decree (cf. 2 Chr 36:23). Though the Chronicler recounts elements of the cultural trauma and evokes traumatic memories throughout the book of Chronicles, the purpose is to alleviate cultural trauma and repair the residual damage of a devastated social fabric. For instance, immediately following the enlistment of all Israel and the note of trauma that Judah was "removed" in the genealogical section (9:1), there is a listing of those first to resettle again. This resettlement specifically ends with the mention of Sabbath (9:32), which is immediately after where the book of Chronicles' cultural trauma script also ends: on the Sabbath (1 Chr 9:32; cf. 2 Chr 36:21). After the Sabbath is mentioned, both the genealogical section and the closing refrain of Chronicles are specifically located in Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:34 // 2

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[6] Such a structure places Saul's demise (1 Chr 10:14) as being a result identical to that of the tribe of Judah: "unfaithfulness" (מעל). In essence, rather than Saul perhaps being the epitome of unfaithfulness, the tribe of Judah is first, and specifically, noted as enduring forced migration because of their unfaithfulness (1 Chr 9:1).

Chr 36:23). Thus, in both the genealogical section and the subsequent narrative, while the cultural trauma script is introduced and evoked, there is ultimately a resolution focused on the Sabbath, which occurs (at least implicitly), in both instances, in Jerusalem. In other words, the Chronicler recounts the community's cultural trauma with a hopeful focus on cultic faithfulness (i.e., Sabbath) as a means of alleviating cultural trauma—and this alleviation is open to all Israel, united in Jerusalem.[7]

Cultural Trauma and the Genealogical Section

While the listing of the tribes of Israel begin and end with evocations of the Chronicler's cultural trauma script (i.e., 1 Chr 9:1), there are markers of cultural trauma that arise throughout the genealogical section.[8] After introducing the tribe of Judah in the context of cultural trauma, the Chronicler begins to focus the tribe of Judah on two specific descendants: Bezalel, who was the builder of the Tabernacle, and Solomon, who was the builder of the Temple.[9] The connections between tradition and future hope seem to reside in the appearance of these two building projects. As the Tabernacle previously provided an enclosure for the ark of the covenant of YHWH (cf. Exod 26:33), it will be specifically in Josiah's narrative that the Temple, at last, is to be the permanent location of the ark (2 Chr 35:3; cf. 1 Chr 22:19; 23:26). However, the geographic location of the

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[7] In this, 1 Chr 1 serves as a "funnel" (so Oeming, *Das Wahre*, 208) focusing on the tribes of Israel, and ultimately, Jerusalem. Oeming (*Das Wahre*, 90–91) further notes the geographic nature of Jerusalem as the "middle point."

[8] Markers of cultural trauma will be examined as they arise in their narrative context of this study.

[9] Sheshan, too, is a focus of the Chronicler's genealogy of Judah (see discussion in-line).

Tabernacle resided in Gibeon, while the Temple was built in Jerusalem. The contrast between these sites is captured through the Chronicler's genealogical presentation.

Following the genealogies of all Israel, the Chronicler's narrative proper begins in Gibeon (1 Chr 9:35) and flows directly into a narrative of the death of Saul (10:1). However, the conclusion of the genealogies, just prior to introducing Jeiel, in ch. 8, ends with a reference to Jerusalem (8:28).[10] The close association of Jerusalem and Gibeon with the tribe of Benjamin is explicitly noted in this construction. And now, at the end of the genealogies, the prominence of Gibeon and Jerusalem provides a perfect marriage of both localities. Though the Temple would be built in Jerusalem, the Tabernacle, in Chronicles, resides in Gibeon. This close association seems to be a likely reason for repeating the genealogy of the Gibeonite residents (9:35–44).[11] In introducing those who resided in Gibeon, the immediate context links them with "their brothers" (אחיהם) who lived in Jerusalem (8:32). The bridge between the two along with a familial term places an emphasis on unification, especially by using the term twice: "and these opposite their brothers dwelt in Jerusalem with their brothers" (ואף־המה נגד אחיהם ישבו בירושלם עם־ אחיהם). There is no hint of rivalry between these settlements, though the focus on Jerusalem remains paramount.

The genealogical section is completed by a fitting *inclusio* accentuating Jerusalem in 9:3 and 9:34: "In Jerusalem dwelt. . ." // ". . . dwelt in Jerusalem" (ישבו \\ ישבו בירושלם בירושלם).[12] The next section transitions perfectly by mirroring the final phrase of the

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[10] Hebrew syntax explicitly juxtaposes Jerusalem and Gibeon that may be understated by English translations: ובגבעון ישבו \\ אלה ישבו בירושלם ("these dwelt in Jerusalem // in Gibeon dwelt").

[11] Cf. Edelman, "Saulide-Davidic," 79.

[12] Cf. Boda's (*1–2 Chronicles*, 101–2) mention of a "bracket" here.

genealogical section "in Jerusalem," for the recounting of "all Israel" begins specifically at 9:35 with the phrase "In Gibeon dwelt. . ." (ובגבעון ישבו). In this, the genealogical section focuses on Gibeon and Jerusalem in light of cultural trauma, for just as Judah's genealogy begins with death and unfaithfulness, so, too, will the subsequent narrative begin by recounting Saul's death and unfaithfulness. Both sections, the genealogies and subsequent narrative end, specifically, in Jerusalem. The contrast between Gibeon and Jerusalem, present even in the genealogies, will be addressed in the narrative to follow, specifically, by Solomon, the man of peace (cf. 2 Chr 1:3–6).

Bezalel and Solomon as a Focus in the Chronicler's Genealogy of Judah

Knoppers makes the point that the introduction of the tribe of Judah into the genealogies at 1 Chr 2:3 breaks with two precedents: "the precedent set in 1 Chr 1, in which subsidiary lines were dealt with first, and the precedent set by other tribal listings, in which Reuben appears first."[13] However, Judah's genealogy, at least initially, does seem consistent with the Chronicler's genealogies in ch. 1; as well, it seems that Reuben is the first son listed of the entire tribe of Israel in 2:1. While Judah may seem to be provided prominence by having certain lineages segmented first, the narrative interlude in ch. 2 is immediately initiated with a negative assessment of specific members of the community: Er and Onan. In this way, the genealogy is, at least initially, consistent (contra Knoppers)

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[13] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 302.

with previous treatments of family members, for as Oeming points out, "Der Schluß ist jeweils zentral."[14]

The Chronicler's focus on the "last" descendant's segmentation can be seen in that the first segmented genealogies to be recorded were Japheth (1 Chr 1:5) and Ham (1:8) before segmenting the tribe of Shem (1:17). Joktan (1:20) is segmented before further focusing on Peleg's lineage, beginning, again, from Shem (1:24). It is from Shem that Abraham is descended (1:27). And in this lineage, Ishmael (1:29) and Keturah's sons (1:32) are segmented before Isaac (1:34), as is, subsequently, Esau (1:35) before Israel (2:1). In every single case, the "focused" line is segmented last regardless of birth order or primal listings. When the genealogies move to delineate the sons of Jacob (2:1), Reuben, in fact, does lead the list, but Judah is the first to have any lineages segmented. It seems clear based on the consistent pattern from ch. 1 that Judah is listed to segment first the negative or "subsidiary" lines. In other words, the tribe of Judah is not the tribe *par excellence* due to their being listed first, but rather, as in ch. 1, specific lineages within Judah are being highlighted as opposed to the entire tribe itself; something the Chronicler will make blatantly clear in 9:1: "*Judah* was removed to Babylon because of their unfaithfulness" (ויהודה הגלו לבבל במעלם). With Er being put to death without having any children (2:3), his segment is, obviously, not followed, but also, as a result of this inclusion, the tribe of Judah lacks any claims to superiority based on their faithfulness as a tribe.[15] Following the segmented lineages within the tribe of Judah, it would seem most

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[14] Oeming, *Das Wahre*, 79. English: "The last is always central."
[15] Cf. Knoppers, ("Preferential," 123): "As in the case of Er (1 Chr 2:3), the Chronicler decouples birthright from firstborn status, tying the former to proper conduct." However, if Er, as the first member

likely that the "focused" lineage is Tamar as opposed to the Caananite, Bath-Shua (2:3–4).[16] Even in this distinction, it is clear that the tribe of Judah is not blameless and free from unfaithfulness. Certainly, as the genealogies to this point evidence, being placed first in the genealogy is not *de facto* a desirable position.[17] Rather, it is perhaps best to follow Willi's suggestion at this point that Judah's place in the genealogies is as a member of All-Israel.[18] On the other hand, Judah is central as a geographic location within which the Temple will be built.[19] All the tribes of Israel have experienced cultural trauma together, and all tribes of Israel are invited to participate in worship to YHWH at a central geographic location: Jerusalem in Judah.

In the second level of Judah's genealogy, following Tamar's descendant Zerah, the Chronicler includes mention of Achar (2:7), who was "a troubler of Israel" (עוכר ישראל).[20] Indeed, it is with the identification of Achar, *of the line of Judah*, that the first instance of the *leitmotif* "unfaithful" (מעל) appears in the book of Chronicles (2:7).[21] With such explicit rationale attributed to the sin and "non-selection" of Achar, the lineage moves again through Hezron, one of the sons of Perez; and thus continues the pattern of

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listed for the tribe of Judah was decoupled from his birthright because of improper conduct, how then is the tribe of Judah exculpated?

[16] Cf. Klein, "Between Genealogy," 226.

[17] Contra Knoppers, "'Great,'" 2 (1.2): "Judah enjoys an appealing position among all of the sodalities that collectively comprise Israel."

[18] Willi, "Observations," 160–62.

[19] Cf. Oeming, *Das Wahre*, 116.

[20] The connection of Carmi to the tribe of Judah is opaque, though Joshua 7:1 indicates that Achan (Achar) is "the son of Carmi, the son Zabdi, the son of Zerah." Cf. Sparks, *Chronicler's*, 217; Klein, "Between Genealogy," 230. Knoppers (*1 Chronicles 1–9*, 297) suggests a text critical change from Zabdi to Zimri is "not impossible." It seems most plausible to accept the connection of Carmi to be a descendant of Zerah in this instance.

[21] The term "unfaithful" (מעל) appears in 1 Chr 2:7; 5:25; 9:1; 10:13; 2 Chr 12:2; 26:16, 18; 28:19, 22; 29:6, 19; 30:7; 33:19; 36:14.

the separation of two lineages: one line focused (Isaac, Israel, Tamar, Perez) and one line

not (Ishmael, Esau, Bath-Shua, Zerah).

The genealogy with Hezron leading a lineage (2:9) has long been noted as relying

on previous sources for the Chronicler's segmentation of the tribe of Judah.[22] In so doing,

David has been viewed, by means of chiastic arrangements, as being the centre of the

genealogy.[23] However, Sparks, for one, has issued an apt critique of such chiastic

structuring suggesting that a chiastic structure emphasizes Jerahmeel rather than David.[24]

The mention of Shelah at 2:3, which reappears at 4:21 elicits another, and, perhaps, the

strongest hope for a chiastic structure, though, Oeming, for one, remains reasonably

unconvinced of this as well.[25] Based on the structure of 1 Chr 1, then, the listing of Judah

follows a consistent pattern until Bezalel is listed (2:20). It is at this point, the listing of

the builder of the tabernacle, that the Chronicler breaks with the previous precedents, and

switches to *inclusios* based predominantly on geography (cf. the mention of Jair having

"twenty-three towns" in 2:22).[26] The structure of Judah's genealogies could be portrayed,

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[22] Cf. Willi, "Observations," 160.

[23] Cf. Williamson, "Sources," 358–59. Also, Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 302. Knoppers ("Preferential," 124; "'Great,'" 1) certainly presumes David to be central, marshalling 1 Chr 5:2 of a "leader" (נגיד) arising from Judah to account for David's (and thus Judah's) preeminence, however, the synonymous title of "prince" (נשיא) is attributed to Nahshon in 2:10, and not David. And while Knoppers cites the later reiteration by David as "leader" (נגיד) in 28:4, the question arises as to why the reference should solely apply to David and not Solomon who is anointed as a "leader" (נגיד) in 29:22? In addition, the Levites are twice titled as "leader" (נגיד) in 9:11 and 9:20.

[24] For example, Sparks (*Chronicler's*, 234) convincingly reveals that Williamson's chiastic structure focuses on Jerahmeel and not David as Williamson proposes.

[25] Oeming, *Das Wahre*, 121–22.

[26] Knoppers (*1 Chronicles 1–9*, 307) makes the point that the Chronicler here affirms a traditional connection between Machir and Manasseh and that "it comes as no surprise that these lineages posit multiple ties among a variety of groups and regions."

therefore, via the Chronicler's use of "focused" lineages, *inclusios*, and repetitions as follows:[27]

Sons of Judah (2:3 // 2:4)
Sons of Bathshua: Er Onan, Shelah; Er Dismissed (2:3)
    Sons of Tamar: Perez, Zerah (2:4)
    Sons of Perez: Hezron and Hamul; Zerah Dismissed (2:6–7)
        Sons of Hezron: Jerahmeel, Ram, Caleb; Ram Dismissed (2:10–17)
            Sons of Caleb by Azubah dismissed (2:18–19*a*)
            Sons of Caleb by Eprathah: Hur, father of Bezalel (2:19*b*–20)

Genealogical structure switches to geographically dense *inclusios*:
            Daughter of Machir… "all these sons of Machir" (2:21 // 2:23)
                Abijah bore Asshur, father of Tekoa (2:24 // 4:5)
        Sons of Jerahmeel (2:25 // 2:33)
            Sheshan – 13 generations (2:34–41)
        Sons of Caleb brother of Jerahmeel (2:42 // 2:50)
            Sons of Hur, firstborn of Ephrathah (2:50 // 4:4)
                Shobal, father of Kiriath-Jearim (2:52 // 4:2)
                Salma father of Bethlehem (2:54 // 4:4)
                Scribes in Jabez (2:55 // 4:9)
                David's sons (3:1 //3:9)
Genealogical structure includes a linear listing:
                Sons of Solomon – 16 generations (3:10)
                Sons of Josiah, segmented (3:15)

Sons of Judah: Perez, Hezron, Carmi, Hur, Shobal (4:1)
                Sons of Shobal (4:2)
                Sons of Hur, father of Bethlehem (4:4)
                Asshur father of Tekoa (4:5)
                  Sons of Naarah (4:6 // 4:6)
                Jabez (4:9)
        Sons of Caleb of Jephunneh (4:15)
                Sons of Ishi (father of Sheshan) (4:20)
    Sons of Shelah (4:21)

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[27] Klein's (*1 Chronicles*, 87) caveat that the genealogies in ch. 4 are so fragmentary that even text-critical methods cannot alleviate all their issues is fully acknowledged; as such, the most obvious *inclusios* and repetitions are included, though others are certainly possible (i.e., Joab, as a Kenite [Kenaz]). With such complexities, one does wonder how a chiasm can withstand such chaos without overly minimizing the entire structure? Cf. Boda, "Chiasmus," 55–70.

The line of Hezron begins with a segmentation of Ram being listed first (2:10), which, as the pattern to this point has consistently portrayed, is the lineage that is "subsidiary."[28] The listing of Ram's descendants, though certainly including David, in fact ends with Amasa, explicitly noted as being born by Jether, an Ishmaelite (2:17).[29] Williamson, for one, notes the Chronicler's "sober estimate" placed on David as an individual by the inclusion "without any break" of his two sisters and their families (cf. 2:16–17).[30] The "focused" line, then, would be the second line segmented, which in this case is Caleb (2:18).[31] The inclusion of Caleb in the genealogy at this point is quite intriguing as once Azubah, the first line of Caleb, is "dismissed," his descendant through Ephrath is Bezalel (2:20)—none other than the one associated with the building of the Tabernacle (Exod 37:1—38:22).[32]

Once the genealogy reaches Bezalel (2:20), a shift in structure occurs: opening and closing formulas (*inclusios*) are appropriated as well as repetition of place names. Williamson has deduced such a pattern but, in line with his source-critical mandate,

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[28] Again, as stated in 9:1, the Chronicler makes the point that Judah (no other tribe mentioned) was taken into exile because of their "unfaithfulness" (מעל). As well, the sons of Ram end with the mention of Abigail bearing Amasa, the son of an Ishmaelite (1 Chr 2:17), which highlights not the priority of Judah, but rather the inclusiveness of "all Israel" even within Judah's genealogy. For a fuller treatment of the non-Israelite presence within the tribe of Judah, see Knoppers, "'Great,'" 17 (6.11).

[29] The inclusion of foreign elements is a hallmark of the genealogy of Judah. Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 74) notes the inclusive rather than exclusive position of the Chronicler regarding non-Israelite elements; Oeming (*Das Wahre*, 121–23) argues against the Chronicler's openness to marriage with outsiders, contending that the Chronicler, though faithful to his sources, stands with Ezra-Nehemiah in terms of their negative stance towards foreign marriage.

[30] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 52. Cf. Sparks (*Chronicler's*, 234) treatment of David as "neither the focus, nor the base" of Williamson's chiastic arrangement.

[31] Though the Caleb mentioned here may not necessarily be the same Caleb, son of Jephunneh, of the Conquest, it is nonetheless fitting that just as the land allotment provided for Caleb in Joshua was bifurcated by the tribe of Judah before resuming his occupation of the land (cf. Josh 14:6—15:63), here too is Caleb's genealogy bifurcated by the list of Judah's kings. Furthermore, in the Levitical genealogical notes, the city of Hebron was given to the sons of Aaron (1 Chr 6:40[55]) while "the fields of the city and its villages they gave to Caleb son of Jephunneh" (6:41[56]).

[32] Of note is that Oholiab, of the tribe of Dan, is conspicuously absent in the Chronicler's treatment (cf. Exod 38:23), though, interestingly, a Danite, Huram-abi, does appear in Solomon's narrative to work on the Temple (2 Chr 2:13).

limits his structure to only two occurrences (Jerahmeel and Caleb).[33] A literary-based

pattern would alternatively provide the following: First, the daughter of Machir; then,

Sons of Jerahmeel; followed by Sons of Caleb, brother of Jerahmeel. This structure

highlights and surrounds the descendants of Sheshan, to the thirteenth generation. It is

presumably Sheshan's ancestor, Ishi, that appears in the listings of both the Simeonites

(4:42) and the half-tribe of Manasseh (5:24), creating a genealogical connection between

these tribes.[34]

Following the listing of Sheshan, the Chronicler opens up another scheme that

highlights, by repetition, the sons of Hur: Shobal (father of Kiriath-Jearim / Zorahites);

Salma (father of Bethlehem); and Jabez, all of which appear in the exact same order in

their repetition (contra chiastic structuring). The repetition of these patronyms is

bifurcated precisely by the appearance of Hebron (repeated in 3:1 // 3:4) and the

introduction of Jerusalem (repeated in 3:4 // 3:5), which focuses on Solomon.[35]

The details provided by the Calebite genealogy serve to place David, who was

born in Bethlehem (1 Sam 17:12) and begins his reign in Hebron (1 Chr 11:1), concretely

within the greater Calebite genealogy.[36] Indeed, with the delineation of Hur as the father

of Bethlehem, a natural position for David to enter the genealogy arises, or as Japhet

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[33] Williamson, "Sources," 352. Though Williamson certainly does thoroughly address the members involved with the other *inclusios*, his basic structure is comprised of Jerahmeel and Caleb.

[34] Cf. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 153–54), who notes a possible link between the genealogies of 1 Chr 3:21–22, 4:20 and 4:42.

[35] Willi's (*Juda*, 153–59) study rightly emphasizes geographical markers within the genealogies, however, his sundering of ch. 4 loses the parallels the Chronicler has already established in ch. 2. Rightly, the emphasis is on geography, however, in light of the unity of the tribe of Judah's presentation, the emphasis should be on Jerusalem, which resides in the central geographic position following the pattern of the Chronicler's place names: Kiriath-Jearim, Bethlehem, Jabez, Hebron, Jerusalem.

[36] Cf. Willi's (*Juda*, 144) argument on Caleb's integration into Judah because Hezron did not settle the land of Judah.

states, "[David's] affiliation with Bethlehem and Ephrath is greatly emphasized."[37] With the dismissal of Ram's descendants (by being segmented first, in accordance with the pattern previously established by the Chronicler), the genealogy then moves to the "focused" line of Caleb; it is precisely at this point that Solomon is introduced.[38] This is to say, Caleb is not necessarily introduced to highlight the "Davidic" genealogy (as Williamson's note of Caleb as an "interruption," perhaps would suggest), but precisely the opposite: David, and thus, Solomon, are grafted into a Calebite genealogy.[39] The genealogy at this point seems to heavily emphasize geography.[40]

The genealogy presented at this point is linear, paralleling, in many ways, the descendants of Sheshan to the thirteenth generation (2:34–41).[41] Should the *a priori* assumed focus be on David, the list of kings itself, in fact, begins with Solomon, not David (3:10).[42] Schweitzer has noted that "following the pattern of the practice adduced in the other lineages, it should thus be concluded that the primary line is the *Solomonic*

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[37] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 73.

[38] The absence of Ram in the list of David and Solomon's descendants (3:1–24) is often replaced with David (son of Ram); cf. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 87; Williamson's ("Sources," 358; *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 49) chiasm. However, this obfuscates the overt absence of Ram; the Chronicler's scheme to this point in the genealogies, of viewing the first segmented line as "subsidiary," explains Ram's subsequent absence. In other words, Ram's lineage is not interrupted to be continued later, rather, Solomon is introduced in 3:5, 10 under an entirely new rubric. And one, in line with Willi (*Juda*, 151), that is primarily *geographic* in nature.

[39] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 49.

[40] Willi (*Juda*, 151), too, speaks of Jerahmeel and Caleb being integrated into a genealogy of Hezron, though not necessarily to highlight the Davidic line, but rather to emphasize geographical positioning within Judah.

[41] It should be noted that there is no ascription of the proper name "king" in this list. Mention of "kings" elsewhere include: King Talmai in 3:2; "the king" in 4:23; until David became "king" in 4:31 (note the lack of a proper title such as "King David"); King Hezekiah in 4:41; King Tiglath-pilneser in 5:6; King Jotham and King Jeroboam in 5:17; King Pul and King Tiglath-pilneser in 5:26. These are mentioned in differentiation to the reference of a "leader" (נגיד) coming from Judah appearing in 5:2. Even in 1 Chr 1:43 where it may be assumed that the Chronicler is referencing kings of Israel, it is quite possible for the ל to be translated as "over" as in "before any king ruled *over* the sons of Israel"; cf. Oeming, *Das Wahre*, 88.

[42] As Willi ("Observations," 160; emphasis, original) cautions as part of an overall "all Israel" focus, "*It is not David who makes Judah, but it is Judah that makes David David!*"

line rather than the larger Davidic line."[43] Furthermore, as Boda points out, Solomon's

name rests prestigiously in the honored tenth position both descending and ascending in

the listing of David's sons (3:1–8).[44] Such positioning clearly places Solomon as the

central figure in this section, and specifically attaches Solomon to the city of Jerusalem,

for the order of their appearance in the genealogies follows precisely the order of: David,

Hebron, Hebron, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Solomon (3:1, 4, 5).[45] Finally, the *inclusio* in this

section notes that these are "the sons of David" in 3:1 and 3:9, and thus closes this listing

of descendants, which focuses on Solomon as the tenth son, with the next listing of

descendants beginning precisely with Solomon (3:10); at the same time, an overt shift

from Hebron to Jerusalem is accomplished.[46]

While it is not clear that the Chronicler was entirely for or against inter-ethnic

marriages, it is of some interest that of all six children listed as sons of David in Hebron

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[43] Schweitzer, *Reading*, 63; emphasis, original. Contra Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 356.

[44] Boda, *1–2 Chronicles*, 53. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 95) notes the significance of David being listed seventh, however, the Chronicler does not seem to elevate the seventh position, but certainly elevates the tenth position. The contention of the significance of the seventh position seems to rest on the work of Sasson ("Genealogical," 172), who examined the "seventh position convention" in Hebrew genealogies. However, Sasson limits his genealogical study to Genesis, Ruth, and Samuel, providing no analysis of Chronicles. Consider, for example, the occurrences of tenth descendants in 1 Chr 1–9: Noah (1:4); Shem, the tenth after listing nine sons of Canaan, and followed by nine descendants of his own, making him tenth both ascending and descending like Solomon (1:17); Abraham (1:27); Shaul, of Kohath (6:9[24]); Zadok, of Aaron, though Ahimaaz finishes the list which totals eleven (6:38[53]); Joshua, if traced to Ephraim (7:27). Compare these with those listed as the seventh descendant: Tiras, of Japheth (1:5); Caphtorim, of Egypt and from whom the Philistines come (1:12); Amalek, of Eliphaz son of Esau (1:36); Dishan of Seir (1:38); Beerah of Joel and who was taken into exile (5:6); Eber (5:13); Jahdiel, head of a clan that transgressed (מעל) against God (5:24); Jeatherai, of Gershom, the first segmented (6:6[21]); Asaiah (6:15[30]); Mirmah, of Hodesh (8:10); Jobab, of Elpaal (8:18). Clearly, prior to the mention of David, the tenth descendant contains positive associations and those comprising the seventh contain more negative associations. Of great interest, then, is that Anani, the last descendant of Josiah's segmented lineage, is listed seventh among his brothers (3:24). Also, Dan's placement in 2:2 has been cause for speculation as this listing parallels no other, however, Dan is placed seventh in the Chronicler's list.

[45] In slight, but important contrast to Knoppers (*1 Chronicles 1–9*, 325) who claims that the appearance of Jerusalem here attaches the Davidides to the city; rather, it seems Solomon, specifically, and not David necessarily that is here connected most intimately with Jerusalem. See, also, the lack of mentioning David by name in 3:4, 5, where he is mentioned in terms of the 3rd person pronoun "he."

[46] Cf. Willi (*Chronik*, 100) in his contention that chs. 2 and 3 portray a movement on the part of the Calebite genealogies from Hebron to Bethlehem.

(3:1–4), each was born by a different woman, mostly from different regions.[47] That their children are listed as being born in Hebron is telling, for Hebron has already been linked in the genealogies to Caleb (2:42). The link for this section then stems from David's connection to both Bethlehem and Hebron, and, in this contrast, Jerusalem rises to prominence. For in Jerusalem, Bathshua is the only mother listed, and only after such delineation, is the list of Judah's kings presented, beginning with Solomon (indeed, only the listing of David's sons born in Jerusalem and not those in Hebron are repeated in 1 Chr 14:3–7).[48] As Tamar was the focused lineage within Judah's immediate descendants and Ephrathah was the focused lineage for Bezalel, so now, Bathshua is the focused lineage bearing Solomon. And in this, Jerusalem is central. Tabernacle and Temple are foreshadowed in the midst of Judah's genealogies. Should there have been any anti-Judah (or even anti-David) sentiments in centralizing worship away from Gibeon to Jerusalem, the Chronicler is quick to dissolve them, for Solomon, not David, is most closely associated with Jerusalem. And it will be the Levites that serve at the Temple in Jerusalem, that also minister before the Tabernacle in Gibeon during David's reign (cf. 1 Chr 16:39).

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[47] Cf. Ezra 9:1–2; 10:11, 17. As such, the Chronicler may or may not posit an argument from silence. Certainly, Judah's genealogy is extremely inclusive (cf. Knoppers [*1 Chronicles 1–9*, 356, 358] who notes that while "[a]mbiguity has its place" also notes that "male and female, ancestor and slave, Israelite, Canaanite, Edomite, Moabite, Ishmaelite, and Egyptian" play a role in Judah's genealogies), however, that only one mother is listed in association with Jerusalem is curious.

[48] Knoppers (*1 Chronicles 1–9*, 332) notes that the restatement of children born in Jerusalem in 1 Chr 14:3–7 serves to portray the blessing bestowed on David. Also, likely, is the emphasis on the transference from Hebron to Jerusalem, and Solomon's uncontested association with Jerusalem (i.e., none of the sons born in Hebron, such as Amnon and Absalom, vie for the throne as in 2 Samuel).

Furthermore, the genealogy of kings (though, of course, the Chronicler does not include the specific term "king" [מלך] at any point in this listing), beginning with Bath-Shua's son, Solomon, diverges at the arrival of Josiah (3:15). Following Josiah, the list of descendants is segmented ending with Shallum (שלום) in 3:15, signalling the beginning of Judah's trauma, which is made explicit with Jeconiah appended as "captive" (אסר) in 3:17.[49] Within these segmented genealogies appears Pelatiah, Rephaiah, and Neariah, descendants of Josiah (3:21–22), which are also listed as chiefs of the 500 Simeonites that went to Mount Seir (4:42).[50] That these three are listed following Josiah's break in the lineage (i.e., the lineages are segmented rather than linear) serves to unite these tribes of Israel following the mention in 3:17 of captivity (אסר)—a marker of traumatic memory. The final listing of Josiah's descendants places a focus specifically on Anani, the son of Elioenai, the son of Neariah (cf. 1 Chr 3:23–24).[51] The Chronicler's genealogical connection, therefore, places Anani within the realms of "chiefs" (בראשם) having gone to Mount Seir, which resides within Idumea.[52] Such a note may suggest that tensions or a need for unification with Edom (Idumea) were to be sought for the community of Persian Yehud during the Chronicler's time.

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[49] Cf. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 122–23) who sees it as unlikely that the segmented form of the genealogy after Josiah would provide the "principal" reason for its preservation.

[50] Though Neariah and possibly Ishi evince Greek corruption (cf. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 364), a repetition of these names remains in the MT. Shecaniah, the father of Neariah (1 Chr 3:21), may have been a contemporary of Ezra (cf. Ezra 10:2), pushing the dating of Anani's appearance in Chronicles post-Ezra.

[51] Boda (*1&2 Chronicles*, 57), for one, provides a rationale for segmenting the genealogies at Josiah as a means to highlight the final descendant of Elionai, Anani (1 Chr 3:24), whom is mentioned, possibly, in the Elephantine papyri dated to 407 BCE (for this association, see also, Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 330–31). Elioenai, the father of Anani may be the same Elioenai mentioned contemporaneous with Ezra (cf. Ezra 10:22), placing Anani, in the Chronicler's time after the time of Ezra.

[52] For a possible connection between Mount Seir and Idumea (Edom), see, for example Josh 24:4 and Judg 5:4.

The listing of Solomon's sons are, nevertheless, marked by cultural trauma. Solomon, the temple builder heads the list with a transition occurring with the appearance of Josiah, after whom follows an explicit reference to the community's forced migration (3:17). With Solomon at the head and Josiah at the bottom, the middle of the list rests on Joash / Amaziah.[53] In line with this, the reign of Joash is of interest for many reasons, but especially because Joash is the lone Davidic survivor when Athaliah seeks to destroy the entire kingdom (2 Chr 22:10–11). Indeed, this is the most precarious moment in Judah's history, as 2 Chr 22:9 states, "the house of Ahaziah had no one able to rule the kingdom." But even more striking is that precisely between the Chronicler's narratives of Joash and Amaziah, appears Jehoiada (22:11). At this time of the monarchy, Jehoiada, the priest, eventually and functionally holds sway over the kingdom (2 Chr 23:1–20). In Joash's ascension formula, the king is said to have done right in the eyes of YHWH all the days of the priest, Jehoiada (24:2). It is only after Jehoiada's death that Joash forsakes (עזב) the house of YHWH (24:17–18). Of greatest interest is the statement in 2 Chr 24:16 that Jehoiada is the only priest to be buried in the city of David "among the kings" (עם־המלכים), an honor which not even Joash, the "reigning" king of Judah, nor Jehoram before him, were allowed (24:25; 21:20). If this is the case, then the linear structure could very well be constructed in order to evoke the person of Jehoiada, who held a physical place among the kings (cf. 2 Chr 24:16). Jehoiada's name will again reappear in the

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[53] A Solomon B Rehoboam C Abijah D Asa E Jehoshaphat F Joram G Ahaziah H Joash H1 Amaziah G1 Azariah F1 Jotham E1 Ahaz D1 Hezekiah C1 Manasseh B1 Amon A1 Josiah. The segmentation following Josiah breaks the linear king's list and is significant; one reason may be to create a central focus on the reign of Joash.

fullest listing of all Israel outside the genealogies, when the tribes gather to David in the wake of Saul's death (1 Chr 12:28[27]). Therefore, even with this list of kings, there remains a possible focus centred on the role of the tribe of Levi. And, in this context, the Levites may also be the means to alleviate cultural trauma, or at the least, the means to avert disastrous threats to the community; perhaps, a threat to those associated with Anani, the last descendant of Josiah listed, in the vicinity of Mount Seir (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of Jehoiada's appearance in 2 Chronicles).[54]

Summary

The Chronicler opens a recounting of the history of Israel with a listing of names. In turn, through succinct narrative interludes, social identity is woven with the cultural trauma the tribes of Israel have endured, most prominently as related to death and forced migration (גלה) as appearing in 1 Chr 2:3 and 9:1. By aligning the genealogies with geographic references, the people of the world are eventually listed in relation to all the sons of Israel. By the tribe of Judah being segmented first among the sons of Israel, individual persons within the tribe of Judah are highlighted from within a geographic centre, namely, Jerusalem. In this, the Chronicler associates Solomon, the man of peace, with Jerusalem before listing his descendants, which end with Josiah. With the appearance of Josiah, the Chronicler breaks the genealogical structure by focusing on the segmented

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[54] The preservation of the list of descendants after Josiah (1 Chr 3:15–24) does provide a hopeful note to the community (i.e., a Davidic seed *is* preserved); however, as the Chronicler's narrative will suggest, a Davidic ruler in and of themselves is not sufficient for the salvation of the community: for this, the community requires descendants from the tribe of Levi seeking and serving YHWH.

lineages of Josiah (i.e., the multiple sons of Josiah) following through Jeconiah (the captive) all the way to Anani, a potential "chief" in the vicinity of Mount Seir. The break in the linear listing at this point serves to focus on Josiah as a point where trauma specifically enters. Within the recounting of the tribe of Judah opening with death and unfaithfulness, and Josiah marking the list of the kings of Judah with trauma, it is the geographic centre of Jerusalem that is surrounded by a diversity of ethnic heritages, uniting together. In the wake of trauma, marked by unfaithfulness and captivity, the community is centred in Jerusalem, precisely where the Chronicler's narrative will later end following the death of Josiah and the recounting of the fall of Jerusalem.

The Tribes of Israel United in Forced Migration

Following the introduction of Israel and the listing of his sons, there are six tribes listed, ending with an expanded focus on the tribe of Levi. Following the expansive listing of the tribe of Levi, there are another six tribes listed, ending with another expanded focus on the tribe of Benjamin.[55] The structure then is Judah, Simeon, Reuben, half-tribe of Manasseh, Gad, and Levi followed by Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher.[56] The structure of the tribe of Judah places emphasis specifically on Bezalel and

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[55] This is not to claim that Israel is to be exclusively defined by means of "twelve" tribes, however, this is the structure created by the Chronicler, and follows the number originally listed at the beginning of Israel's genealogy (2:1). Schweitzer (*Reading*, 56–57), for one, notes the complexity of numbering the tribes of Israel in the genealogies, specifically questioning if one is supposed to number Benjamin once or twice? In this, the tribe of Benjamin parallels the focus placed on the tribe of Levi and is not counted twice, but rather a further emphasis is created through this specific structure; and one that ends after listing six tribes first on Levi, then, Benjamin.

[56] The structure explains, in part, not only the absence of Dan and Zebulun, but also the blessing of birthright recounted in 1 Chr 5:2 in that not only was Joseph to receive two allotments (Ephraim and Manasseh), but Manasseh, who though Ephraim received Israel's blessing (Gen 48:17–19), receives two

Solomon, while the tribes leading up to the listing of Levites are united by both kinship

and experience of one of the Chronicler's specific markers of cultural trauma, "removal"

(גלה). This is in contrast to the "other" side where the tribes leading up to and associated

with Benjamin portray a lack of reference to YHWH with an explicit appearance of one

of the Chronicler's markers of cultural trauma, "slaughter" (הרג) resulting in mourning

and disaster (7:21–23; cf. 2 Chr 36:17).

Genealogically, Judah and Simeon are united specifically through the connection

of Pelatiah, Rephaiah, and Neariah (3:21–23 // 4:42). But also, geographically, the tribal

listings begin in the farthest point to the South, and transition to the extreme edges of

Israelite settlement in the North "over the Jordan" with the tribes of Reuben, half–

Manasseh, and Gad; akin, in many ways to the familiar proclamation elsewhere in the

HB, "from Beersheba to Dan."[57] Such recounting is not a means of liminality, as though

these tribes defined the outer limits of what or should constitute "Israel," but rather the

inverse seems apparent, for as far South and as far North as Israel can be recollected, they

are part of, and are representative of all Israel.

The first "half" of Israel's genealogies are heavily geographically oriented, but

also, they are distinctly united in their relation to cultural trauma. Though the listing of

Solomon's sons is virtually absent of commentary, the first reference to forced migration

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land allotments in line with the birthright. The attention placed on the tribe of Levi at 6:1[16] provides a break in the genealogical pattern, as does the further attention placed on the tribe of Benjamin in 8:1.

[57] Willi (*Chronik*) notes the complement of Judah / Simeon with that of Levi / Issachar to complete the listing of all the sons of Leah, but also notes the geographic nature of such listings. "Dan and Beersheba" appear together elsewhere, for example in Judg 20:1; 1 Sam 3:20; 2 Sam 3:10; 1 Kgs 4:25; Amos 8:14.

occurs as a reference to Josiah's son, Jeconiah, as "the captive" (אסר) in 3:17. That

Jeconiah's descendants, after being noted as a captive, are subsequently recounted and

that Pelatiah, Rephaiah, and Neariah become "heads" (בראשם) within Simeon's tribal

listing, explicitly connects their genealogies (3:21–22 // 4:42). Then, almost immediately,

the genealogy of Reuben, the firstborn of Israel, notes that Beerah is "removed" (גלה) by

Tiglath-Pilneser in 5:6. In the following genealogy headed by Gad, though the Trans-

Jordanian tribes were helped (עזר) by God in battle (5:20), they are noted as dwelling

there until the "removal" (הגלה) in 5:22. Ultimately, all three Trans-Jordanian tribes, the

Reubenites, Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh are "removed" (גלה) in 5:26. As for

the Levites, Jehozadak went away (הלך) when YHWH "removed" (גלה) Judah and

Jerusalem by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar (5:41[6:15]). Markers of cultural trauma

related to forced migration, encapsulate the genealogies of the first half of all Israel.

However, the four–fold reference to "removal" (גלה) including the priests of the tribe of

Levi (5:41[6:15]), is followed by an extensive recounting of the tribe of Levi, the "heart"

of the genealogies.[58]

The Tribe of Levi

The beginning of Levi's genealogy almost immediately moves into a linear list focused

on the lineage of the high priest (1 Chr 5:27–41[6:1–15]).[59] This list is the second longest

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[58] Willi, *Chronik 1–10 HKAT*, 196, 238; cf. 57, 188; also, Willi, "Leviten," 66.

[59] It should be noted that the explicit term "high priest" does not appear in this listing; cf. Schweitzer, "High Priest," 389–90 for a treatment of the relationship between "high priests" and genealogical lists, which are not necessarily about the high priests but rather tend to highlight the tribe of Levi and "its importance in Israel's history."

linear list in the entire genealogical section, with 22 consecutive names.[60] The only other

lists outside the tribe of Levi that are nearly as long derive from the tribe of Judah

recorded in Solomon's list (3:10–14) and the tribe of Benjamin recorded in the

descendants of Ner (8:33–38). Within the high priest listing, there are only two additional

notes provided by the Chronicler: the first concerning Azariah, who served as the priest

in the house which Solomon built in Jerusalem (5:36[6:10]); and second, Jehozadak, who

went along when the Lord carried Judah and Jerusalem away into exile by the hand of

Nebuchadnezzar (5:41[6:15]). These notes place a distinct emphasis on the temple (בית)

and removal (גלה): both markers of cultural trauma.

In tracing the list through to the sons of Aaron, Eleazar is prominently positioned

(5:29, 30[6:3, 4]). As with the previous genealogical lists focusing on specific

descendants after first addressing the "subsidiary" lines, so too does this list differentiate

Eleazar from his brothers Nadab and Abihu, for not even all the sons of Aaron were

entirely faithful (cf. Lev 10:1–2). Every one of Israel's sons has sins within their

genealogy; the Levites, and specifically the sons of Aaron, are no exception.

The sons of Levi are then listed a second time, with a segmented genealogy

provided. A transition occurs, however, in the genealogies at 1 Chr 6:16[31]. David is

mentioned as appointing singers to perform before the ark (which was in Gibeon,

Benjaminite territory), that is, until Solomon built the house of YHWH in Jerusalem. The

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[60] The longest linear list in the genealogies is the ascending linear list concerning Heman (6:18–23[33–38]), which contains twenty-three descendants. While the Solomonic king list *can* be traced through twenty-six descendants in ch. 3, the linear list from Solomon to Josiah (from whom the lists become segmented at 3:15) include only sixteen descendants; likewise, the list of Ner's descendants (8:33–38) can be traced to sixteen descendants, though many of those are segmented.

genealogies of the singers then take an ascending form. While some ascending

relationships are recorded in the Chronicler's genealogies, none are as extensive, nor are

there three distinct and major lineages traced back to Levi, with Heman being traced all

the way back to the father of them all, Israel (6:23[38]).[61] This transition is exceptional,

and noticeable.[62]

Prior to this ascending genealogical list, a density of traumatic references to

captivity and removal were mentioned, however, after the ascending genealogy of the

musicians, there is not another reference to removal until ch. 9, which is after all Israel

has been "enrolled" in the genealogies.[63] In this sense, the effects of removal are

reversed, much like the genealogies in this case being recorded as ascending mark a

specific shift in the genealogical structure.[64] This further places an emphasis on the

musicians as a means to highlight not only their lineage, but functional centrality.

The placement of the musicians falls directly in the centre of a chiastic structure

within the Levitical genealogies from 5:27—6:38[6:1–53].[65] It is interesting that Sparks,

whose study predominately focuses on chiastic structures, should not mention the central

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[61] Cf. Willi, *Chronik*, 201.

[62] Which certainly contributes to the potential of one (or more) Levitical singer(s) authoring the book of Chronicles, so Oeming, *Das Wahre*, 46.

[63] The reference to an exile in 1 Chr 8:6 is unclear as to what exile is being referenced and if, in fact, it was Benjaminites that were exiled or who, with a passive interpretation, were the ones exiling others; cf. Boda, *1 Chronicles*, 92. Though it is interesting, nonetheless, that ascending genealogies occur in ch. 8, which is initiated by a reference to exile and once the inhabitants of Gath "flee," several ascending genealogies are also found at that point.

[64] Sparks' (*Chronicler's*) entire chiastic structure, though focusing on the duties of the priest's, is located at nearly the same position in the Chronicler's genealogies (6:33–34[48–49]): the centre of the Levitical genealogy. This study merely shifts the focus to the distinct difference created by ascending genealogies at this point (6:18–23[33–47]), which are also at the centre of a chiasm within the Levitical genealogies, themselves at the centre of a chiasm encompassing all the tribes of Israel: the ascending genealogies are indeed the centre of the Chronicler's entire genealogical structure. Cf. Braun (*1 Chronicles*, 88), who makes the point that, in its final form, Chronicles is "more interested in the lower clergy such as the gatekeepers and, above all, the singers."

[65] The land allotments begin a new section within the Levitical genealogy at 6:39[54].

place of the singers. Rather, Sparks seeks to provide linear comparisons to other ranking

lists of Levites.[66] However, a linear list would not be merely priests, Levites, musicians,

but rather the order is priests (5:29–41[6:3–15]), Levites (6:1–15[16–30]), musicians

(6:16–32[31–47]), Levites (6:33[48]), priests (6:34–38[49–53]): Musicians conspicuously

at the centre and with the longest linear listing.[67]

As well, the lineage of the musicians (6:16–32[31–47]) begins with the *second*

son of Gershom (Jahath), Kohath (Izhar), and Merari (Mushi), whereas the previous list

of Levites (6:2–15[17–30]) followed the *first* son of Gershom (Libni), Kohath

(Amminadab), and Merari (Mahli).[68] If consistency with previous genealogies is to be

followed, especially as seen in the genealogies from 1 Chr 1:4—2:20, the first delineation

is virtually always shorter and the lineage less emphasized, whereas the final listing

provides the lineage to be emphasized. In this sense, yet a further focus on the musicians

is presented.

The purpose of the Chronicler focusing on the centrality of the musicians may be

for several reasons. There is a unification provided by the arrangement of the musicians,

as each head of the musicians (Heman, Asaph, Ethan) trace their lineage to each son of

Levi (Kohath, Gershom, Merari). In this way, all Levites are accounted for, and they,

according to this genealogy, unite the tribe of Levi. Their unification within the tribe of

Levi is a unification as musicians. Leuchter points out that "it is only in Chronicles that

we encounter an attempt to bridge gaps, not only between broad communities but

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[66] Sparks, *Chronicler's*, 88–94.

[67] Noted also by Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 158; Jonker (*1&2 Chronicles*, 65) makes reference to the musicians being "enveloped" by the priestly genealogies; Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 177) notes the *inclusio* but claims that priority is to placed on the high priests since they are listed first—as the previous genealogical study shows, the Chronicler does not necessarily, nor *de facto*, esteem those that are listed first.

[68] Cf. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 156.

between the Levites associated with them."[69] The centre of the genealogies, with a focus specifically on the musicians, is a focus on unity surrounding worship.

The Chronicler may also have been attempting to legitimize their role once the temple was built and they "no longer needed to carry the tabernacle" as the Chronicler will claim in the subsequent narrative (1 Chr 23:26; cf. 2 Chr 35:3).[70] They were still to be valued as Levites, though their functions needed adaptation. There is, further, a subtle mimicry of "going up" to return to the land, for after the musicians (and summary of Levites and priests), the land allotment of the Levites is described. It is the land dwellings that will again be emphasized in ch. 9, which follows a reference of removal (גלה; 9:1).

The land allotments divided among the Levites, essentially places them throughout all Israel. The sons of Aaron, the son of Kohath, are provided the "first lot" and receive land from Judah and Benjamin (6:39–45[54–60]).[71] While emphasis is placed on the sons of Aaron by receiving the first lot (rearranging Josh 21), there is also the focus on the tribes that provided the cities: Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin. The emphasis is not necessarily solely on the sons of Aaron, but also, and perhaps even moreso, on the geography: namely, the land primarily comprising the post-exilic community of Persian Yehud: Judah and Benjamin. Then "the rest of the sons of Kohath" were given land from

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[69] Leuchter, "Inter-Levitical," 278. Cf. Knoppers, (*1 Chronicles 1–9*, 428): "By repeating the material pertaining to the derivation of the Gershonites, Qohathites, and Merarites from Levi . . . the writers tie the priests and singers together. Both groups ultimately share the same Levitical pedigree . . . In this manner, a basic kinship is maintained between the Levites who serve as priests and the Levites who serve as singers."

[70] Cf. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 455.

[71] While the genealogies suggest a "dismissal" of the first lineages segmented, the appearance of "lots" provides a separate rationale, as the Levites will be divided by lots later in the narrative as well (1 Chr 25:8–31), perhaps as a way to prove that God is helping the Levites.

the half-tribe of Manasseh; as well, the sons of Gershom and Merari are noted as receiving land from all the tribes, except Dan.

Textual corruption is often cited as explaining Dan's absence, however, there are two places where Dan appears in Josh 21:5 and 21:23 that do not appear in 1 Chr 6:46[61] or 6:53[68], where they would otherwise be expected.[72] Added to this, however, is also Dan's absence in ch. 7, at which point a clear pattern emerges that makes textual corruption difficult to explain for *all* cases. The absence in the Levitical city allotment may be polemical, for the tribe of Dan abandoned their land to seek another place.[73] Another explanation, however, is that the listing in Joshua was prior to Dan's abandonment of the land and the Chronicler no longer associated the cities with Dan.[74] By abandoning the land, Dan literally no longer had any place in Israel. The only time Dan does appear in the genealogies is in the introduction of the sons of Israel (2:1). The order of sons, and Dan's position in particular, has been cause for much confusion, as this list follows no other list in Scripture. The list in 1 Chr 2:1 follows most closely the order recorded in Gen 35:23–26, however, Dan is, in similar fashion to Chronicles, moved to the middle of Jacob's sons during the blessing of Jacob (Gen 49).[75] Dan's "blessing," includes one of "Dan judging" (דן ידין) his people (Gen 49:16), as a tribe of Israel. The

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[72] Cf. Klein, (*1 Chronicles*, 174 n. 46); Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 161, 162) proposes restoring the Joshua text, in both cases.

[73] Cf. Boda, *1–2 Chronicles*, 77.

[74] Cf. Josh 19:47; Judg 18:1, 28–31.

[75] Sparks (*Chronicler's*, 289) provides a succinct chart of all listings of the tribe of Israel. By Dan being moved to be listed beside Zebulun, both tribes are at the centre of all tribes. In other lists, where the children of wives are separate from those of the concubines, the movement of Dan at this point is exceptional by being moved to the middle of the list immediately following Leah's children, yet prior to Rachel's.

inclusion of Dan in the list of Israel's sons (1 Chr 2:1), could be for completeness sake (i.e., "all" Israel), but also to make a vital point for the post-exilic community: there is to be no more judgment.[76]

The Chronicler finally relates that the Levites were provided lands by lot from the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin (6:50[65]). An appendage is then noted that the rest of the sons of Kohath had cities from the tribe of Ephraim (6:51[66]). In the end, the settlement of Levitical cities *is a settlement of all Israel*. Whether this list, indeed the whole genealogical section, is representative of the actual settlement at the time of David and Solomon or a utopian envisioning during the post-exilic time is debateable.[77] What is clear through the Chronicler's genealogical / geographical listing is that the tribe of Levi, represented by priests and Levites, with a specific emphasis on musicians, unites all Israel, leading Willi, for one, to conclude that "Für den Chronisten ist Levi *eine*, ja *die* Funktion Israels, und umgekehrt ist *Israel* das Volk Levis, spitz ausgedrückt: Es ist weniger Juden- als Levitum."[78]

Benjamin and the Remaining Tribes United

Though the first tribes of Israel are predominantly connected by forced migrations with a hopeful focus on the tribe of Levi, the genealogical section switches to a connection between tribes based on military musters. The second list of tribes (Issachar, Benjamin,

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[76] It should be noted, as Schweitzer (*Reading*, 50) has, that every appearance of Dan in Chronicles may be seen as either positive or neutral, but never explicitly negative. In this way, Dan should not be connected nor representative as a polemic against the Northern tribes in particular.

[77] See Schweitzer, *Reading*, 40–75.

[78] Willi, *Chronik 1,1–10,14*, 200 (English: "For the Chronicler, Levi is a, yes, *the* function of Israel, and conversely, *Israel* is the people of Levi; to put it bluntly: it is less Judean, than Levitic."). Cf. Willi, "Leviten," 67.

Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher) closely follows the listing recounted in the tribe of Levi's land settlements in 6:47[62] (Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, Manasseh). The only difference resides in the placements of Asher and Benjamin and the addition of the tribe of Ephraim.[79] Such an alteration provides at least two structural features: first, military musters begin and end the listing of these tribes (7:5, 40); and second, a genealogical connection between the tribes is achieved by means of Benjamin. The introduction of Benjamin in place of Asher is pivotal for the connections that are to be recounted subsequently.

In this, Benjamin unites the remaining tribes of Israel. For instance, Shuppim and Huppim (7:12) are connected with the tribe of Manasseh, as Machir (of the tribe of Manasseh) took a wife for Huppim and Shuppim (7:15).[80] Beriah (7:23, 31), though perhaps signifying different persons, nonetheless connect the tribes of Ephraim, Asher, and Benjamin, respectively.[81] As Boda points out for Beriah's later appearance in 8:13: "Interestingly, the Benjamin clans led by a certain Beriah (the same name given to Ephraim's new son) successfully routed the inhabitants of Gath . . . This is possibly the Chronicler's way of depicting vengeance for the Gittite attack and accentuating Benjamin's role on behalf of other tribes."[82] By subsequently naming his son Beriah, Boda proposes that Ephraim may be seeking to specifically honor the Benjaminites who

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[79] The second listing of the tribe of Benjamin in 8:1 is an expansion of the first listing, paralleling the focus placed on the tribe of Levi.

[80] Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 175) proposes the first appearance as a "misplaced gloss," but only proffers such as an assumption, and acknowledges that though not original, it was placed there "secondarily," which I assume is to suggest the text, as it stands, is not corrupt.

[81] Cf. Japhet, (*I&II Chronicles*, 182): "Beriah may be taken to represent a quite extensive ethnic element living in the central hill-country; portions of this entity were absorbed into and affiliated with the various surrounding tribes of Asher, Ephraim and Benjamin."

[82] Boda, *1&2 Chronicles*, 85.

lead the charge against the Gittites, dwelling in the Levitical city of Aijalon.[83] Another connection regards Heber, of the tribe of Asher (7:32), which is the name of a lesser family of Benjamin (8:17). Finally, according to Klein, Shomer/Shemer (7:32, 34) may be associated with Shemed, a Benjaminite who built Ono and Lod (8:12).[84]

In response to Benjamin's southern focus, Levin has proposed that the genealogy of Asher relates to the tribe of Benjamin, for "just as we are able to read this genealogy as the story of an Asherite clan that was 'adopted' first into the tribe of Ephraim and then into Benjamin . . . so could they."[85] As well, the reference of Benjaminites residing in Manahath (8:6) further connects the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, for Manahath is previously associated with Calebite Salma in 2:54. Benjamin, literarily as a tribe, unites geographically and genealogically the North and South of Israel.

The initial listing in 7:6–12 serves to place Benjamin within the Northern tribal units; in essence, their initial inclusion in "swapping places" with Asher immediately builds a bridge between the North and South.[86] In addition to the coherence of these

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[83] In response to Klein's (*1 Chronicles*, 251) question in regards to a connection between the Benjaminite Beriah, the son of Elpaal (8:13) and Beriah the son of Ephraim (7:23), Boda, (*1&2 Chronicles*, 93) provides this connection, justifiably so, as a possible answer.

[84] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 238. As well, Sparks (*Chronicler's*, 255) points out both the Ephraimite and Benjaminite "Beriah's" are associated with building, which is typically a positive association according to the Chronicler's presentation; cf. Ben Zvi, "Building," 148–49.

[85] Levin, "Lists," 622.

[86] Four different Benjaminite lists are to be found in Scripture (Gen 46:21; Num 26:38–41; 1 Chr 7:6–12; 8:1–40). The triplicate inclusion of Benjaminite genealogies has been cause for some debate. With the lack of a genealogy for Zebulun and Dan, there has been suggestions over the past century that this first listing of Benjamin (7:6–12) should in fact be attributed to the tribe of Zebulun, which had fallen out (cf. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 169). However, as some scholars have noted, there are no parallels to Zebulun's sons in this list (cf. Gen 46:14; Num 26:26) and yet there are several parallels in 7:6–12 to Benjamin's sons in other lists. Therefore, without a Zebulun (or Dan) corrupted text, there must be other rationale for the inclusion of the tribe of Benjamin at this point, for while a literary perspective does not provide a clear rationale as to its inclusion, a text-critical perspective does not belie the reality of a Benjaminite list (Williamson, *1 &2 Chronicles*, 77–78; Cf. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 221; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 459). Boda (*1–2 Chronicles*, 86) has proposed a polemical rationale for the omission of Dan may be attributed to either the tribe abandoning its tribal allotment in tandem with establishing a rival cultic centre. Zebulun's exclusion is ultimately not clear apart from possible, though unlikely, textual corruption. As well, Hushim

tribes, there are also further bridges created to unite Benjamin and the tribes of both Levi
and Judah. For instance, there appears the mention of two place names Anathoth and
Alemoth, which were cities provided by the tribe of Benjamin for the Levites as recorded
in the Levitical genealogies (6:45[60]).[87] The connection between Judah and Benjamin is
further accentuated with the inclusion of the "time of David" (7:2). As the lists for the
tribes of Issachar, Benjamin, and Asher specifically highlight the military nature deriving
the lists, there is an explicit connection with this reference to "the time of David"
between these tribes and the tribe of Judah.[88] Military, David, Levi, and Benjamin are
highlighted by these listings; lacking entirely, however, is any mention of God or YHWH
such as appeared in the first half of Israel's genealogies (cf. 5:20, 22).

In turn, the only occurrence in the entire genealogical section of the Chronicler's
cultural trauma script as related to "slaughter" (הרג), occurs in relation to Ephraim. There,
the people of Gath slaughtered (הרג) Ephraim's sons because they went to take their
cattle (7:21). As a result, Ephraim mourned many days, and his brothers came to console
him (נחם). Ephraim's wife, then, bears him a son that he will name Beerah (7:23).
Though the Simeonites were, earlier, noted as having struck (נכה) tents and the Meunim
found there (4:41) as well as the remnant of those who escaped (הפלטה) of the
Amalekites (4:43), the first battle to appear is the Reubenites who warred (מלחמה) with
the Hagrites and who subsequently fell before them, living in their tents (5:10). Though

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may be the name of the only son of Dan, which may be a sign that the Danite tribe was "adopted" into the
neighboring Benjamite tribe (cf. Levin, "Lists," 623).

[87] It is not unusual to associate a city with its "founding father"; the same occurs in the list of
Judah with Ephrathah as the father of Bethlehem (1 Chr 4:4).

[88] This connection is intended as literary; for chronological proposals, see Levin's ("Lists," 632–
33) summary.

this recounting remains somewhat ambiguous, the battle is clarified shortly thereafter. Indeed, the Reubenites, Gadites, and half–tribe of Manasseh, received help (עזר) because they cried out (זעק) to God (5:20). Many fell, as the Chronicler records, because the battle was of God (5:22). Almost immediately after recounting this victory by relying on God, their "removal" (גלה) is recounted (5:25–26), specifically because they were unfaithful (מעל). Once victorious in battle by trusting in God, their forsaking of God leads to their destruction. Again, this is precisely the point where the Levites appear (5:27[6:1]). In the second half of the genealogies however, there is no mention of YHWH, though slaughter and destruction do appear. It is in the wake of Ephraim's mourning that the tribe of Benjamin is recounted more fully. Indeed, it is with a lack of crying out to or receiving help from YHWH that the genealogy of Benjamin is once more recounted and Saul's death narrative immediately ensues (cf. 1 Chr 9:35—10:14). In this, as Klein has pointed out, the Chronicler prevents ending the genealogy of ch. 9 with the same summary statement as found in ch. 8: "All these were Benjaminites" (8:40), as though the entire tribe of Benjamin should be concomitantly guilty due to Saul's unfaithfulness, which follows in short succession in ch. 10.[89] The commonality across the second half of the genealogies, however, resides in a distinct lack of seeking YHWH, with the presence of slaughter and mourning ending the listing of all Israel. That Ephraim's brothers come to console him leads well into the description of those first to resettle, which emphasizes the

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[89] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 280, 281.

place of both cultic sites, Gibeon and Jerusalem. In the end, coherence of all the tribes of Israel is the Chronicler's means of alleviating cultural trauma.

Summary

Throughout the genealogical section, Jerusalem is unmistakeably prominent (cf. 3:4, 5; 5:36[6:10], 5:41[6:15]; 8:28, 32; 9:3, 34, 38). However, in the first section, Solomon is intimately attached first to Jerusalem (3:5), and then specifically to the temple in Jerusalem (cf. 5:36[6:10]; 6:17[32]). In the end, Jerusalem serves as a uniting symbol for all tribes of Israel.[90] The earlier references within the genealogies to Jerusalem only occur four times: once, in the listing of the tribe of Judah, in reference to David's sons, of which Solomon is central (3:4–5) and three times in the listing of the tribe of Levi—twice in reference to Solomon as the builder of the Temple (5:36[6:10]; 6:17[32]) and once in reference to the exile of Judah and Jerusalem (5:41[6:15]).

The Chronicler has structured the genealogical introduction as a means of resolving the cultural trauma evoked by the destruction of Jerusalem and subsequent exile, recategorizing the social identity of the community of Persian Yehud within an "all Israel" context. Within this social identity recategorization, the genealogy of the singers Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun rise to prominence. Once the singers' lineages are traced, the genealogies note the listing of Levites and their land settlements, after which the genealogies move to a focus on military musters and evince a lack of any mention of YHWH. The culturally traumatic term associated with "slaughter" (הרג) nonetheless

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[90] Oeming (*Das Wahre*, 210), considered the introductory genealogical section of Chronicles to consist of concentric circles (world – Israel – Jerusalem – Temple), with the Levites in the middle.

appears, and, in fact, ends the listing of all tribes of Israel before moving into a focus on the tribe of Benjamin. Judah, Levi and Benjamin are the tribes clearly emphasized, however, this is not as a means of exclusion for those belonging to "all Israel," but precisely the inverse: the genealogies are incredibly inclusive. And while relying on YHWH leads to victory in battle (cf. 1 Chr 5:20), forsaking YHWH leads to destruction (cf. 5:25). Ultimately, unfaithfulness is the reason for Judah's experience of forced migration (1 Chr 9:1). Indeed, it is Josiah's death that marks the beginning of forced migration (3:15–17). Josiah is first introduced in Chronicles related to cultural trauma, as the Chronicler's narrative recounting his death will also portray. As Judah is introduced into the genealogies in the context of death and unfaithfulness, the Chronicler emphasizes the severity of not serving YHWH, which is precisely what Josiah will fail to do in the face of Neco later in the Chronicler's narrative (cf. 2 Chr 35:22). However, the genealogical introduction, although recounting Israel's experience of cultural trauma, does not end in despair; as also, the Chronicler's subsequent narrative following the death of Josiah does not end on a marker of trauma. But rather, in the wake of cultural trauma, a clear focus on Gibeon and Jerusalem point the way towards alleviating the community's cultural trauma. Though only hinted at perhaps, the locales of Gibeon and Jerusalem will be addressed in the Chronicler's subsequent narrative. As social identity theory suggests, recategorization of a community within a superordinate identity can reduce tribal divisions and thus strengthen communal bonds; therefore, recategorization of a community's social identity allows for the alleviation, at least in part, of cultural trauma: this, as the Chronicler portrays, occurs through enlisting all tribes of Israel uniting at the cultic centre in the city of peace, Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL IDENTITIES (TRIBES) IN THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES: PRE-SCHISM ISRAEL (1 CHR 10:1—2 CHR 9:31)

Throughout the narrative following the genealogical section, various tribal identities appear, though, often, without commentary as to the specific dynamics involved with their relationships. In order to more fully understand the inter-tribal dynamics involved in Josiah's death narrative, the current section seeks to determine the intergroup associations between the tribes of Israel from the perspective of the Chronicler during the time of Pre-Schism Israel (1 Chr 10:1—2 Chr 9:31).[1] At the same time, as in the genealogies, the book of Chronicles includes markers of cultural trauma throughout this section, and as such, the social identities that appear, often appear in relation to the Chronicler's cultural trauma script. This section, therefore, will examine where social (tribal) identities appear in relation to the Chronicler's markers of cultural trauma. As this section seeks to examine social identities, a greater focus will be placed on appearances of intergroup relations in the narrative leading up to the reign of Solomon, during which time only three tribes (Dan, Judah, and Levi) are mentioned.

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[1] One of the contentions of the current study is that despite the North instituting their own kingdom beginning with Rehoboam and Jeroboam (2 Chr 10–11), the Chronicler is seeking to maintain that all Israel has always been united, at least genealogically; therefore, the title of these sections serves to maintain a unity amidst all Israel (as opposed, for example, to the titles of "United" and "Divided" Kingdoms, though such titles remain accurate as well). For practical purposes this study requires divisions, which most naturally occurs at the time of the political schism following Solomon's reign.

The Ark and the Temple from Saul to Solomon

The opening narrative in 1 Chr 10 (almost identical to 1 Sam 31) begins with the

statement that "the Philistines fought against *Israel*" (1 Chr 10:1 // 1 Sam 31:1, emphasis

mine).[2] In light of the preceding genealogical section, it is immediately clear that the

Chronicler's focus is on Israel; it is only after the genealogical introduction that the

figures of Saul and David are then introduced into the narrative proper. In swift prose the

kingdom is transferred from Saul to David (1 Chr 10:1–14). The Chronicler does not list

either ruler in relation to the tribe of their background, though, the genealogical section

does have them placed firmly within their associative tribes (David in 2:15; Saul in 8:33);

for the Chronicler, neither Saul nor David define the entirety of either tribe.[3] The

Chronicler explicitly claims that this was the doing of YHWH (10:14): the kingdom was

taken away from Saul because of "unfaithfulness" (מעל), by seeking mediums and "not

seeking" (לא דרש) YHWH (10:13–14).[4] With the transition of the kingdom being by the

hand of YHWH, David is absolved from any wrongdoing.[5] Indeed, that David will later

comment that Israel is to seek the ark for they did not seek it (לא דרש) in the days of Saul

(13:3) provides a distinct bridge uniting the narratives. The appearance of the ark, in fact,

becomes the major link connecting what may appear as shorter, disjointed narratives, so

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[2] The narrative focus of Samuel, however, then varies from Chronicles for the narrative in Samuel is found in the middle of a greater meta-narrative, whereas the Chronicler is specifically beginning the entire subsequent narrative with this statement. For text-critical differences in general between the book of Samuel and the book of Chronicles, see, for example, McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*.

[3] The narrative section excised in the Chronicler's recounting (i.e., 2 Sam 1:1—4:12) focuses extensively on conflicts between Benjamin and Judah (cf. especially 2 Sam 2:15–16, 31).

[4] A *letiwort* throughout the Chronicler's narrative.

[5] Also reiterated in 1 Chr 12:20[19] in reference to David's role with the Philistines in their battle against Saul: "but he [David] did not help them" (ולא עזרם).

that the entire narrative from Saul to Solomon is connected as a movement from the ark

to the Temple. Jonker states as much when he points out that "the two main events of

David's history in the Chronicler's construction are the transfer of the ark of the covenant

of Yahweh to the City of David and the preparation for the building of the temple in the

reign of his son Solomon."[6] In the wake of cultural trauma caused by the loss of Israel's

political leader (Saul), all Israel led by David (11:1), ultimately unite around the ark

(15:28).[7] So too, in the wake of trauma caused by David's census, the locale of the

Temple is solidified (22:1) and all Israel subsequently gather in Jerusalem (28:1). Both

major events culminate with a central focus on the Levites (16:4–42; 23:3—26:32). Such

a construction parallels the ending of Chronicles, where the death of Josiah initiates the

community's experience of cultural trauma, but is followed by the eventual decree from

Cyrus to "go up" to Jerusalem (2 Chr 36:23). The Chronicler seems to suggest through

these transitions that the means to alleviate the community's cultural trauma is to

recategorize their identity from solely an *intra*group focus centred on tribal affiliations

(i.e., Benjaminites / Judahites, Saulides / Davidites) to one of greater inclusion (i.e., a

superordinate identity of "all Israel") at the central site of Jerusalem.[8]

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[6] Jonker, *1&2 Chronicles*, 167.

[7] See Eyerman (*Cultural Sociology*) for an excellent assessment of cultural trauma(s) associated with the loss of a political leader.

[8] The construction of a superordinate identity does not dissolve or seek to minimize intragroup existence, but rather calls for members associated with specific *intra*-groups to see themselves as part of a greater whole.

Jerusalem in the Wake of Trauma: The Death of Saul

All Israel, which had fled (נוס) in 1 Chr 10:1, subsequently gathers (קבץ) in 11:1. In the interim, however, is a dense evocation of cultural trauma including the repetition of fleeing (נוס), falling (נפל), and, especially, death (מות).[9] As Sabo points out, death appears five times within 10:5–7: "When his armor-bearer saw that Saul was dead (מת) he also fell on his sword and died (וימת). And Saul died (וימת) and his three sons and all his house, together, they died (מתו). And all the men of Israel saw . . . that Saul and his sons were dead (מתו)."[10] Once the men of Israel lay eyes on the carnage, they abandon (עזב) their cities (10:7). Such a description suggests traumatic affects (according to PTSD prevalence rates) would have occurred; that "all the men of Israel" (כל־איש ישראל) saw specifically fallen corpses, places this recounting within the realm of cultural trauma.[11] Such a structure aligns with cultural trauma as marked by ruptures to the social fabric (i.e., "fleeing" [נוס]); however, the alleviation of cultural trauma, at least in part, can be sought through social cohesion (i.e., "gathering" [קבץ]).

Following Saul's death, in the space of the first four verses (11:1–4), the term Israel, as an inclusive moniker, is mentioned seven times.[12] Even in the wake of cultural trauma as associated with the death of Israel's political leader, Saul, the Chronicler clearly emphasizes the corporate unity of all Israel. All Israel, in response to the traumatic

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[9] Fleeing (נוס) appears in 1 Chr 10:1, 7; falling (נפל) appears in 10:1, 4, 5.

[10] Sabo, "Seeking Saul," 50.

[11] Cf. Van Der Kolk, "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder," 8.

[12] 1 Chr 11:1: "all Israel" (כל־ישראל); 11:2: "Israel" (את־ישראל); "my people, Israel" (את־עמי את־); ישראל); 11:3: "all the elders of Israel" (כל־זקני ישראל); "over Israel" (על־ישראל); 11:4: "and all Israel" (וכל־ ישראל).

death(s) of Saul and his house, gather to David as a military leader (cf. 11:2). In the wake of cultural trauma, the first act of "all Israel" (כל-ישראל) is to march against and capture Jerusalem (11:4–9). While 2 Sam 5:6 mentions that "the king and his men" went to Jerusalem, the Chronicler recounts in 1 Chr 11:4 that "David and *all Israel*" went to Jerusalem, elevating the united nature of the community in this monumental endeavour.

In terms of the narrative flow at this point (11:1—12:41[40]), the chronologic rearrangement of this narrative from the Chronicler's *Vorlage* has been cause for speculation (i.e., Jerusalem is conquered *before* David's enthronement); the centrality of Jerusalem, however, is universally conspicuous.[13] Knoppers makes the point that in ancient historiography kings often recounted their greatest achievement as occurring in their first year; often viewed as a technique considered "chronological displacement," which displaces narrative events out of chronological order so as to make a larger point.[14] The same technique will reoccur later in chs. 18–19, where a battle with David and the Arameans will be "re-narrated" in more detail in order to "make a larger point."

However, while the technique of chronological displacement seems consistent with the narrative, the Chronicler's purpose (i.e., the specific focus of this displacement), may not be as clear. Of interest in the Chronicler's recounting, via *Sondergut*, of the capture of Jebus is the specific mention of Joab, the one who "went up" (יעלו) first and became chief (11:6). In this episode there appears a slight contrast between David and Joab: In Joab's going up to Jerusalem in 11:6, though David originally vowed that

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[13] Cf. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 234.
[14] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, 545.

whoever "strikes" (נכה) the Jebusites first would be chief, Joab goes up first and becomes

chief without any mention of battle or even "striking." The first *aliyah* of Jerusalem was

accomplished without any mention of killing or death, and this, by Joab. Joab, it seems,

will play a variegated role in the Chronicler's narrative, and is here, the one completing

the first and "greatest" achievement of all Israel.[15] At the same time, as in the

genealogies, the Chronicler distances David's direct association with Jerusalem: in both

instances, David is closely associated with Hebron (3:1, 4 // 11:1, 3) while, in the

genealogies, Solomon (3:5), and here, Joab (11:6), are associated more closely with

Jerusalem. This will occur once more when Joab refuses to enlist the tribes of Levi and

Benjamin, presumably including the city of Jerusalem, from David's census (cf. 1 Chr

21:6).

Perhaps of even greater interest at this point, though, is that in the very first

mention of Israel's occupation of Jerusalem, the term עלה is used (11:6), which is

precisely where the Chronicler's narrative ends in 2 Chr 36:23, again in reference to

Jerusalem.[16] In both instances, the descriptive death of Israel's first king, Saul, and the

last ruling Davidide, Josiah, are followed in short succession by the appearance of "going

up" (עלה) to Jerusalem (1 Chr 11:6 // 2 Chr 36:23).[17] The deaths of Saul and Josiah are

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[15] Cf. Ristau ("House of Judah," 138) who contends that the focus of Joab in Chronicles, though not a sleight, is nonetheless "at the expense of David." For an analysis of Joab's role elsewhere in Chronicles (i.e., the battle with the Ammonites in ch. 19 and David's census in ch. 21), see Ristau ("House of Judah," 138–47).

[16] Ristau ("House of Judah," 134–35) notes an "inclusio" between these appearances; cf. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 302. This is not to suggest that Josiah's death symbolizes the fall of the Davidic house in the same way that Saul fell, as Boda ("Gazing," 233–34) wisely cautions against, though a connection (thematic and literary) between these narratives nonetheless exists.

[17] See, for example, Youngberg ("Identity," 1–16) for comparisons of Josiah's and Saul's narratives.

intricately linked according to the Chronicler's construction, and may be so that the one

death, Saul, that "haunted" the Chronicler (so Sabo) evokes the other, Josiah, and vice

versa.[18] The Chronicler seems to suggest by beginning and ending the entire narrative

with the falling of Israel's kings in battle, that one means to alleviate any associated

cultural trauma, in both instances, is to unite in Jerusalem. The corporate undertaking of

the Jebus conquest serves to universalize and de-emphasize tribal affiliations associated

with Jerusalem.[19]

The Joining of All Israel in the Wake of Cultural Trauma: Continuity and Discontinuity
in 1 Chr 11–12

Having all Israel involved with the conquest of Jerusalem, the following narrative

(11:10–12:41[40]) serves to define "all Israel" as introduced earlier. In this, Williamson

was the first to point out a chiastic structure within chs. 11–12, beginning and ending

with David's men in Hebron.[20] According to Williamson, a poetic refrain lies at its centre

in 1 Chr 12:19[18] ("We are yours, O David").[21] However, equally important is the

context from which the refrain is issued, for Judah and Benjamin (1 Chr 12:17[16]) are

said to have joined David at the stronghold and it is in immediate response to this

defection that David issues a question of their intention: Do they come to him in peace

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[18] Cf. Mitchell's ("Response," 276) response to Sabo's article where she muses that his article "evoked" in her mind the compulsion in scholarship to focus on the deaths of Saul and Josiah. In this sense, the one death "haunts," as Sabo ("Seeking Saul," 50) suggests, and reminds readers of the other.

[19] For example, lacking in this account is the mention of Benjaminites having failed to take the city (cf. Judg 1:21).

[20] Williamson, "We are Yours," 166. Though not agreeing to all elements of Williamson's chiasm (i.e., the place of Jerusalem; cf. Cudworth, *War*, 11), scholars generally agree to the geographic pattern of Hebron, Ziklag, stronghold, stronghold, Ziklag, Hebron in 1 Chr 11–12.

[21] Williamson, "We are Yours," 172.

(לשלום)?[22] The refrain in 12:19[18] includes a three-fold declaration of peace, set in the centre of the entire proclamation. Amasai issues the response on behalf of the tribes of Israel, specifically, given the context, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (12:17[16]). In light of the death of Saul and immediate transference of the kingdom to David, the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, which perhaps should be the most antagonistic (David's question explicitly addresses the possibility of such tension), overwhelmingly respond in terms of peace and unity.[23] Furthermore, immediately after the proclamation of solidarity (i.e., "We are yours"), the Chronicler mentions that Manassites deserted to David when he went with the Philistines to fight against Saul. Blatantly stated is that David *did not* help the Philistines fight against Saul (12:20[19]). According to the Chronicler, David held no antagonism towards Saul. If there had been tensions between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin during the Persian era, the Chronicler is quick to alleviate them.

What does remain, however, is a remark in 12:30[29]: "Of the Benjaminites, the kindred of Saul, three thousand, of whom the majority, until now, had kept their allegiance to the house of Saul." This remains one of the few places where the Chronicler indicates that Israel is not entirely united. While this may explain the relatively small number of Benjaminites, and reveal some of the tension that may have remained between the tribes, there is also a show of respect for the loyalty to their ruler as expressed on the

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[22] A comparison with the narrative in 2 Sam 3 is rich at this point. Abner is said, in response to Ishbaal, to desire to "transfer the kingdom from the house of Saul and set up the throne of David over Israel and over Judah" (2 Sam 3:10). In Abner's defection to David, he went to tell "all that Israel and the whole house of Benjamin were ready to do" (2 Sam 3:19). In response, David dismisses him and Abner leaves "in peace," reiterated twice more within the immediate verses (2 Sam 3:21, 22, 23). That there is now, in Chronicles, also a three-fold declaration of peace, may be the means to solidify the peaceful terms on which David had left Abner and with him "all Israel."

[23] Cf. Knoppers, (*1 Chronicles 10–29*, 654) commentary on 1 Chr 12:18[17]: "'no violence in my hands.' The declaration reflects tensions between the house of Saul and David." Also highlighted by David "going out to meet them" (the only time David does not automatically receive those coming to him) before Amasai's confession.

part of the tribe of Benjamin.[24] In the end, however, though tribal divisions remain within the community, the army that gathers at Hebron (12:24–41[23–40]) is aptly named as one like "the army of God" (12:23[22]), comprised of members from every single tribe of Israel.[25] Indeed, this listing, other than the genealogies that opened Chronicles, provides the fullest expression of all Israel in the HB: Judah; Simeon; Levi (including Jehoiada and Zadok); Benjamin, as "brothers of Saul" (אחי שאול); Ephraim; Manasseh; Issachar; Zebulun; Naphtali; Dan; Asher; Reuben; Gad; and, the other half-tribe of Manasseh: All these came to *Hebron* "with full intent" (בלבב שלם) to make David king over all Israel (12:39 [38]). As the cultural trauma script recounts the experience of forced migration (2 Chr 36:20), in the Chronicler's time, such descriptions of all Israel gathering together would provide a powerful image.

While the Chronicler remarks that the army was "like the army of God" in 1 Chr 12:23[22], expressed in a state of joy (12:41[40]), the rationale for such joy seems to reside with the gathering having been accomplished with "help" (עזר; cf. 12:23[22]). Indeed, the appearance of "helpers" (עזר) seems to bind ch. 12 together.[26] However, somewhat surprisingly, עזר appears in all of ch. 11 only once and then only indirectly embedded in a name (cf. 11:12). This is of some interest for while the geographic recounting of Israel's gathering creates continuity between chs. 11 and 12 (i.e., Hebron,

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[24] Cf. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 324.

[25] Throughout David's reign, the gathering of all Israel is noted by the Chronicler. Israel gathers (קבץ) in 11:1, 13:2, 16:35; David will consult (יעץ) all Israel to bring up the ark (13:1); David assembles (קהל) "all Israel" in 13:5; 15:3; 28:1; and gathers (אסף) the Levites in 15:4, all Israel in 19:17, and all the leaders of Israel and the priests and the Levites in 23:2.

[26] Cf. Cudworth, *War*, 12–17. "Help" (עזר) appears in 12:1, 18[17], 19[18], 20[19], 22[21], 23[22].

Ziklag, stronghold), the difference(s) between chs. 11 and 12 evince a movement

between them marked by an evocation of the Chronicler's trauma script.

Before a reference to the trauma script appears, however, the narrative section

begins in 10:1 with Israel, in the presence of the Philistines, fleeing (וינס). In 11:13, once

more in the presence of the Philistines, the Chronicler, again, recounts the people fleeing

(נסו). Remarkably, in direct contrast to Saul, who would subsequently fall to his death by

his own sword (cf. 10:4), David and Eleazar stand their ground (11:13).[27] Not only is a

direct parallel between David and Saul accomplished by this account, but Eleazar

(אלעזר), whose name can be translated as "God helps," is the one with David in this

testing episode—one that originally resulted in a cultural trauma following Saul and his

house's tragic death(s). The final result of David and Eleazar's encounter with the

Philistines is that YHWH "saved / provided a great victory" (תשועה; 11:14). The contrast

between David and Saul is clearly portrayed in that with "God's help," YHWH brought

rescue. "All Israel" first gathers (קבץ) to David in 11:1 following the death of Saul by the

Philistines. This construction may well explain the Chronicler's narrative placement of

military campaigns against the Philistines appearing yet again in 14:8–16 (see discussion

inline) and suggest how all Israel, at last, is to avoid fleeing from before the Philistines:

they are to seek God, the one who, as in 11:14, can bring about "great deliverance"

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[27] Of course, the possibility of haplography may explain the differences between 2 Sam 23:9–12
and 1 Chr 11:12–14 (cf. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 537), though the movement of the term "flee" from
the account of Shammah in 2 Sam 23:11 to Eleazar in 1 Chr 11:13 is curious. As well, with only two of the
three warriors listed in 1 Chr 11:12–14 in comparison to 2 Sam 23:9–12, the Chronicler may be allowing
space to suggest God or YHWH is the third warrior.

(תשועה גדולה).[28] In this, Israel gathers to David *because God is with him* (cf. 11:9, 13).[29] The act of seeking YHWH, especially in military and battle situations appears throughout the book of Chronicles (i.e., David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah); failure to seek YHWH, as in the case of Saul, can ultimately lead to an entire community experiencing cultural trauma: the alleviation of which can be sought through gathering with those that YHWH is "with" (עם; cf. 11:9). So, too, is Cyrus' decree at the close of Chronicles (2 Chr 36:23) directed at those for whom YHWH is (to be) with (עם).

Cultural Trauma and the Chronicler's Use of הרג

The Chronicler seems to bind ch. 12 together as a unity by the appearance of "help" (עזר); however, the sole appearance of the term within ch. 11 provides a contrast between these chapters. Indeed, in the midst of one of the Chronicler's most significant social identity negotiations (i.e., chs. 11–12) an evocation of cultural trauma appears, also in ch. 11, in relation to Benaiah (11:22–25).[30]

The very first "vision of terror" in the Chronicler's cultural trauma script (2 Chr 36:17–20) is revealed by the term "slaughter" (הרג; 36:17).[31] However, though "slaughter" (הרג) initiates the Chronicler's cultural trauma script, the term only appears

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[28] If the first mention of "all the men of Israel" fleeing at the battle of the Philisitines in 10:1 is followed through to their gathering in 11:1, this may explain, in part, the placement of the military campaigns, also against the Philistines, of ch. 14 and suggest how Israel defeated them: David, unlike Saul, sought God (cf. 14:10, 14).

[29] Cf. Cudworth, *War*, 13; emphasis original: "Moreover, the Chronicler again inserts the thematic word עזר to show that the band clung to David *because of his relationship with Yahweh*."

[30] In the gathering together of Israel, tensions are still prevalent, however, that joy results provides a powerful image for the community of Persian Yehud that may have experienced tribal tensions. As the largest listing of tribes, this section includes multiple, competing, social identities and is a major component for the Chronicler's construction of "all Israel." When Solomon's narrative arrives, tribal tensions seem to have abated (i.e., tribal affiliations almost never appear), though all Israel remains.

[31] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 1073.

three times in all of 1 Chronicles: 7:21; 11:23; and 19:18.[32] As mentioned in the

genealogical section, the first appearance of הרג results in Ephraim mourning "many

days" (ימים רבים) at the loss of his sons (1 Chr 7:21–22). The remaining two occurrences

appear, first, in relation to Benaiah, son of Jehoiada (11:23), and, later, by David (19:18).

That Benaiah will reappear in 18:17, just prior to the narrative involving the appearance

of הרג associated with David (19:18), serves to foreshadow and emphasize the

significance of this narrative for both contexts.

Before addressing Benaiah's appearance, the narrative flow suggests that the

results of the first test after Saul's death between David and the Philistines, is that

alongside Eleazar, YHWH provided a "great" (גדולה) victory (11:14). However, the very

next narrative relates how David foolishly dares his men to retrieve water from the well

at Bethlehem, being held then by the Philistines (11:16–17); in Knoppers' words, "David

is goading his men."[33] The parallels with this narrative and YHWH's veto of David

building the Temple later in the book of Chronicles (22:8; cf. 28:3) are several, appearing

through the Chronicler's use of synonyms: the men broke through "the camp" (מחנה

פלשתים: 11:18 // "battle" מלחמות: 22:8) and they returned "water" (מים: 11:18)

equivalent to "blood" (דם: 22:8), which David "pours out" (נסך: 11:18 // שפך: 22:8)

before "YHWH" (ליהוה: 11:18 // לפני: 22:8) and then asks if he can drink their "blood"

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[32] The term הרג appears elsewhere in Chronicles in 2 Chr 21:4, 13; 22:1, 8; 23:17; 24:22, 25; 25:3; 28:6, 7, 9; 36:17. In the book of Samuel, הרג appears in 1 Sam 16:2; 22:21; 24:11[10], 12[11]; 24:19[18]; 2 Sam 3:30; 4:10, 11, 12; 10:18; 12:9; 14:7; 23:21.

[33] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 550; only later does David realize that his request was "ill-considered," for "he had needlessly risked the lives of his warriors." Also see Klein's (*1 Chronicles*, 305; emphasis mine) assessment as to the "high mortal *risk*" involved.

(דמ: 11:18 // 22:8).[34] Though this narrative is not to be ushered as a rationale as to

YHWH's later veto, an element of foreshadowing is nonetheless present. That both

instances specifically note David's actions as being "before YHWH" (22:8; cf. "God" in

11:19) adds emphasis to the severity of the act.[35] Even though David's question is

rhetorical, the question of "drinking blood" is an extreme question, certainly intended to

grasp the readers' attention at this point.[36] YHWH's provision of victory in the

immediately preceding episode (11:14) seems to contrast with the image of pouring out

blood, specifically before God (11:19).[37] Though David is exalted before Israel (cf. 14:2),

perhaps especially because he is exalted, the Chronicler provides stark warnings through

David's actions throughout the narrative, not to diminish David's role, but to ensure those

following will follow precisely after YHWH. In a similar way, Josiah, too, is not

explicitly condemned by the Chronicler as Saul is (cf. 10:14), for Josiah, following David

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[34] Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 305) notes, "the water was obtained at such high mortal risk that life was in it, and it had to be poured out as if it were blood"; cf. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 246.

[35] Cf. Kelly ("David's," 59): "The gravity of this offence may be underlined by 1 Chron. 22.8, which further charges that David shed much blood 'on the earth (ארצה) in (Yahweh's) sight.'"

[36] The mention of "blood" as extreme is noted as early as rabbinical interpretations of Genesis and the "first" Eve, who, full of secretions and blood, repelled Adam (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 18:4).

[37] Though certainly possible, this episode remains odd as a libation for God (cf. Knoppers [*1 Chronicles 10–29*, 550] for a summary of comparative offerings), as David would essentially be offering the lives of his men to YHWH. Elsewhere, the Chronicler reserves the rites associated with sprinkling of blood, not even for Levites, but for priest's alone: in a conversation with Yigal Levin during the Annual Meeting of SBL in Boston 2017, he summarized a paper he had recently presented in this way, "the Levites can do almost everything the priest's do, except sprinkling of blood." This is similar in some ways to 2 Chr 26:18 where King Uzziah is denied offering incense to YHWH, as burning incense is "for the priests (לכהנים)." The contrast is further seen in David's later comment following the census where he says he will not offer burnt offerings "at no cost" (חנם; 1 Chr 21:24; cf. Abigail's warning to David in 1 Sam 25:31). In 1 Chr 11:18, the men went at risk of their own lives (11:19) *after* David's request; as such, perhaps David's action could better be seen as an act of contrition as well as portraying a knowledge of Torah legislation regarding "the life in the blood" (cf. Gen 9:4; Lev 17:11) and prohibition from drinking/eating blood (cf. Deut 12:16, 23–25; 15:23—though these legislations relate to animals and not men).

(2 Chr 34:2, 3), did good (חסד) in Israel (2 Chr 35:26). However, the Chronicler does not seem to suggest either that even kings such as David and Josiah are infallible.[38]

The next narrative interlude (11:22–25) further foreshadows the Chronicler's subsequent narrative involving David in ch. 19. That Benaiah, son of Jehoiada, reappears precisely before the narrative of ch. 19 begins (cf. 18:17), creates a connection with ch. 11.[39] Though chs. 18 and 19 will be addressed more fully later in this study, an exploration into the connection between "strike" (נכה) and "slaughter" (הרג) is appropriate at this point, for the first mention of Benaiah involves the appearance of both נכה (three times) and הרג (once): first, Benaiah "kills" (נכה) "lions of Moab," and then a lion in a pit (11:22), and continues to "kill" (נכה) an Egyptian only to end with a "re-narration" stating that Benaiah "slaughtered" (הרג) the Egyptian.[40] The progression from נכה to הרג relates to David's later actions with both terms also appearing, again in a series, in chs. 18 and 19, with ch. 19 providing a focused "re-narration." In both instances, while "strike" (נכה) appears several times in fairly quick succession (11:22–23 // 18:1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 12), "slaughter" (הרג), a term distinctly associated with the initiation

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[38] Cf. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, 550.

[39] In 1 Chr 18:17, the last person mentioned before transitioning into a new narrative is Benaiah; in 27:34, after another listing of military personnel, the last person mentioned is Joab. Joab seems to rise in the Chronicler's esteem following ch. 19 and his refusal to include Levi and Benjamin in the census of ch. 21 (cf. Ristau, "House," 144), further highlighting the significance of ch. 19.

[40] Boda (*1 Chronicles*, 117) rightly points out the Chronicler's account of Benaiah slaying the Egyptian in 1 Chr 11:23 containing parallels to David's slaying of Goliath in 1 Sam 17:7; cf. 2 Sam 23:21. However, the differences are worthy of note, for David proclaims in 1 Sam 17:45 that he comes at Goliath "in the name of YHWH of hosts," lacking in Benaiah's account; the narrator will go on to recount that David prevailed over the Philistine, with *no sword in his hand* (17:50). As well, while 1 Chr 11:23 uses הרג to describe Benaiah's actions, the narrative in 1 Sam 17:49, 50, 57 only uses נכה in all cases. One reason for this difference may be to differentiate the justified killing of Goliath by David, as opposed to an excessive killing by Benaiah.

of the Chronicler's cultural trauma script (2 Chr 36:17), appears singularly (11:23 // 19:18), though prominently in the aftermath of "strikings" (נכה).

Excursus: Striking (נגה) and Slaughtering (הרג)

To understand the differences between the terms that arise in these narratives (נכה and הרג), a brief survey of their appearance elsewhere in the HB will be of assistance.[41] To begin, in analysing YHWH's veto of David building the Temple (cf. 22:8; 28:3), Murray, for one, turns to Numbers where he contends that "killing" (הרג) in battle makes one ceremonially unclean (cf. כל הרג נפש; Num 31:19–24).[42] While YHWH's veto will be addressed in more detail later in the current study, Numbers does provide parallels specifically related to נכה and הרג.

In Num 35:30, נכה is used, however, this appearance is somewhat ambiguous and the one who did נכה is not to be put to death by only one witness. In essence, הרג is less ambiguous than נכה.[43] Within the Torah, sometimes, though rarely, הרג is used as a justified action, though more often than not, the term is used as a threat (cf. Exod 4:23; 13:15; 22:23[24]; 32:27; Lev 20:15, 16; Num 22:33; 25:5; 31:7, 8, 17, 19; Deut 13:10[9]).[44] There are, however, numerous instances in the Torah where הרג is not

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[41] For example, Isaiah (27:7), which is known for word play, contains these precise terms: הכמכת מכהו הכהו אם־כהרג הרגיו הרג.

[42] Murray, "Under," 470.

[43] Cf. Conrad (*TDOT* 9:418): "In the case of *nkh*, however, the focus of the statement is not on the fact of killing as such, but on the act causing the violent death; therefore the ensuing death is often expressed separately by the appended verb *mut*."

[44] Outside the Torah (and Samuel-Kings / Chronicles, which will be addressed separately), הרג appears in: Josh 8:24; 9:26; 10:11; 13:22; Judg 7:25; 8:17–21; 9:5, 18, 24, 45, 54, 56; 16:2; 20:5; Esth 3:13; 7:4; 8:11; 9:6;10–12, 15, 16; Job 5:2; 20:16; Pss 10:8; 44:23[22]; 59:12[11]; 78:31, 34, 47; 94:6; 135:10; 136:18; Prov 1:32; 7:26; Eccl 3:3; Isa 10:4; 14:19, 20, 30; 22:13; 26:21; 27:1, 7; Jer 4:31; 15:3; 18:21; Lam

justifiable, but simply vicious killing (Exod 21:14; cf. Exod 2:14; 5:21; 23:7; 32:12 [evil intent]; Num 11:15; 22:29). The rulings in Num 35:16–34 seem to present נכה as neutral where the context determines the ruling of whether bloodguilt occurs or not (cf. 35:16–21), for there are some instances of נכה that do not result in death (cf. Exod 21:18, 21), and others that even if death occurs, are not attributed with bloodguilt (cf. Num 35:22–23; also, Exod 21:12–13).[45] In this case, the community is to judge between the slayer and the avenger (Num 35:24). Therefore, נכה seems to carry neutral connotations, whereas הרג seems to portray far more intense actions and is overwhelmingly either a justified action (as in vengeance) or not (as in an action invoking bloodguilt; cf. Gen 20:4; 1 Sam 25:31).

Genesis certainly contains graphic connotations associated with הרג.[46] Almost immediately into the recounting of all family life, Cain is the first person to הרג (4:8), which results in his forced migration and fear of death (4:14)—which are, incidentally, also specific markers of trauma in the book of Chronicles. As Sarna comments in regards to this verse and its extremity, "The narrative illustrates one of the most lamentable aspects of the human condition, one that is a recurrent theme in the Bible—namely, the corruption of religion. *An act of piety can degenerate into bloodshed.*"[47] Later, Lamech makes an arrogant boast based on הרג (4:23); Abraham and Isaac are afraid foreigners will הרג them because of their beautiful wives (12:12; 20:4 [Abimelech to God], 11;

2:4, 20, 21; 3:43; Ezek 9:6; 21:11; 23:10, 47; 26:6, 8, 11, 15; 28:9; 37:9; Hos 6:5; 9:13; Amos 2:3; 4:10; 9:14 Hab 1:17; Zech 11:5.

[45] Cf. Milgrom, *Numbers*, 292–96.

[46] Cf. Fuhs, *TDOT* 3:454: "markedly negative overtones."

[47] Sarna, *Genesis*, 33–34; emphasis mine.

26:7); Rebekah notes that Esau is consoling himself (נחם) with the thought of his הרג of Jacob (27:41, 42);[48] Jacob denounces Simeon and Levi (49:6; cf. 34:25, 26), saying he does not want to enter their assembly, for they "slaughtered" (הרג) men in their anger, and, at their leisure, hamstrung (עקר) oxen. But ultimately, the clearest difference between נכה and הרג in Genesis appears amongst all Israel's sons (less Benjamin) in 37:20–22. When the sons of Israel see Joseph from afar, they desire to הרג Joseph (37:20). Reuben, however, replies to their conspiracy with the more neutral נכה (cf. 37:21, 22), seeking perhaps to absolve himself, as he states his plea in inclusive terms "us" (i.e., himself included): "let us not strike life (לא נכנו נפש)" and pleads for them (i.e., "you") not to "shed blood" (לא־תשפכו־דם) as they, without Reuben, had originally desired to "kill" (ונהרגהו) Joseph (37:20). In essence, הרג relates almost directly to bloodguilt, while נכה remains more neutral on Reuben's lips—as Wenham comments, "as long as הרג 'kill' is not understood judicially, we might paraphrase their comment, 'let's murder him,' for this verb is *generally used of illicit taking of human life*."[49] Elsewhere, there are certainly accounts of these terms that are ambiguous, and even position YHWH as subject. However, Num 31:2, for example, is initiated by YHWH saying to "take vengeance" (נקם) before any mentions of הרג (31:7, 8, 17, 19) are recounted. Similarly, Judg 9:16 asks if the actions of Abimelech and his men (i.e., the הרג of seventy sons; cf. Judg 9:18) were done in accordance with what was "deserved" (כגמול).

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[48] Interestingly, 1 Chr 19:2 starts with David sending men to console (נחם) Hanun and ends in a war with the appearance of David "slaughtering" (הרג; 19:18).

[49] Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 353; emphasis mine.

In Samuel-Kings, these terms also appear in relation to death. In 2 Sam 1:15, David orders one of his servants to kill (פגע) the Amalekite messenger that had put Saul to death (מתתי) and so the servant strikes (נכה) the Amalekite and he dies (וימת) with no bloodguilt placed on this action, though the Amalekite's blood (דמיך) was to be on his own head (1:16).

In 2 Sam 4:7, when IshBaal is murdered in his own home, the term נכה is used, but also added is "put to death" (וימתהו). Later, however, in 4:11, David notes the murderers' (Rechab and Baanah) actions specifically with the term הרג with added emphasis (i.e., "how much more" [אף]) in regards to the הרג of a "righteous" man at the hands of the "wicked."

In Joab's murder of Abner in 2 Sam 3:27, only נכה is used to refer to Joab's action; however, when David hears of Abner's murder, he declares that he himself is innocent of the blood of Abner (3:28), after which the narrative summarizes Joab and Abishai's actions against Abner with הרג (3:30). Again, judgement of נכה is to be given by the community (cf. Num 35:24). In this case, David is absolved of Abner's death (cf. 3:37), while, in essence, he judges Joab's actions (3:29). Such a claim is similar to 1 Sam 25:31 where Abigail says to David "my lord shall have no cause of grief, or pangs of conscience, for having *shed blood without cause* (ולשפך־דם חנם)."[50]

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[50] Bodner (*1 Samuel*, 267–68; emphasis mine), for one, makes the point in reference to 1 Sam 25:31, that "Eli's house falls because of gross misconduct; David's house, so reasons Abigail, needs to [be] kept *from needless bloodshed* . . . In effect, Abigail counsels David *not* to be like Saul." Cf. Edelman (*King Saul*, 215): "The audience is left to wonder if David's planned course of action will lead to his rejection by Yahweh, just as Saul's earlier military undertakings in this very same neighborhood against Amalek had led to his rejection for disobedience or failing to be of one heart with Yahweh. Indeed, Saul's erection of the victory stele (*yad*) on Mt Carmel 'for himself in 15.12 . . . instead of crediting it to Yahweh, the true victor, raised the identical issue of the need for the king to rely upon Yahweh to kill Israel's enemies instead of taking personal responsibility (or credit) for the task."

In terms of Chronicles, specifically, נכה and הרג are also seen in a vicious cycle that begins with Joash's killing of Zechariah, son of Jehoiada (2 Chr 24:22). As Joash "slaughters" (הרג) Zechariah (24:22), so too, was he "slaughtered" (הרג) by conspirators (24:25); and yet again, the conspirators were "slaughtered" (הרג) by Amaziah (25:3). There, the conspirators are later noted as having "struck" (נכה) Joash (25:3), which suggests a justifiable (i.e., bloodguiltless) killing of Joash; however, Amaziah took this too far and הרג appears, yet again. Finally, the cycle of excessive slaughter (הרג) is ended when Amaziah is simply "put to death" (וימיתהו) by conspirators (25:27). Clearly, the cycle reciprocates on הרג and not conspirators (קשר). The cycle ends, mostly likely, because Amaziah, though engaging in slaughter (הרג), did not put sons to death for the sins of their fathers (25:4); therefore, his son, Uzziah, should not be put to death for Amaziah's sins.

The intensity associated with הרג for the Chronicler is fairly evident, and may explain why the term initiates the cultural trauma script; this is especially evident when seen against the remaining appearances of הרג: Jehoram "slaughters" (הרג) his brothers (21:4) and the plague (מגפה) and his disease (חלי) will be a result, among other things, specifically because he "slaughtered" (הרג) his brothers (cf. 21:13–15). Finally, foreign powers, too, "slaughter" (הרג) such as the Arabs (22:1), Jehu of Israel (22:8), Pekah (28:6), Zichri, the Ephraimite (28:7) and the king of Babylon (36:17). The final occurrence of הרג in Chronicles arises in the Chronicler's cultural trauma script and occurs through the hand of the king of Babylon, who, specifically, in his "slaughter" (הרג) had no compassion (לא חמלו).

Summary

Though muted and perhaps subtle, David's reference to drinking blood (11:19) and the

narrative of Benaiah including the trauma-evoking term הרג (11:23) both appearing in ch.

11 suggests that David and his men may be in need of help (עזר), which precisely arises

in ch. 12. Previously, in ch. 11, only Benjamin (11:31) and Reuben (11:42) of all the

tribes of Israel are specifically noted amongst all the warriors, many from outside the

"bounds" of Israel (i.e., Zelek "the Ammonite" in 11:39), whereas ch. 12 is replete with

tribal affiliations. As such, the Chronicler seems to be seeking to *recategorize* the

community at this extremely crucial time following Saul's death, within the superordinate

identity of "all Israel," and one with the explicit assistance of YHWH (cf. 11:14). In

essence, in the wake of trauma evocations (i.e., הרג), the community unites together, for

ch. 12 begins with a transition from Hebron to Ziklag. There, the Chronicler immediately

notes that the Benjaminites who came to David are specifically labelled as "helpers"

(12:1).[51]

    With closure of this section ending with "joy in Israel" (12:41[40]) so, too, is

closure brought to the tension between Saul and David and the alleviation of the

community's cultural trauma. In the wake of cultural trauma, "all Israel" has gathered to

David in Jerusalem (11:4), presumably, because YHWH is with him (cf. 11:9); and this,

is cause for joy (12:41[40]). At the end of ch. 12, Saul is only mentioned again when

David refers to the ark (13:3), and as the father of Michal, which appears near the end of

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[51] Gadites (12:8), followed by the mention that some Benjaminites and Judahites went to David, are the first to appear at the stronghold (12:16). Manassites deserted to David when the Philistines fought against Saul (12:19).

the successful transfer of the ark (15:29).[52] The final appearance of Saul in the book of

Chronicles is found in 26:28 when he is listed, in cooperation alongside Samuel, Abner,

and Joab as presenting gifts for the temple.[53] At the same time, the mention of Benjamin

(or Benjaminites) will not appear again until they are excluded from the census in 1 Chr

21.

In the wake of cultural trauma lasting into the Chronicler's time and with a

relatively undamaged Benjamin Plateau, the (re)settling of Jerusalem within Persian

Yehud would inevitably consist of tensions. In the first evocation of cultural trauma

related to the death of Israel's political leader, Saul, the community, comprised of all

Israel, immediately travels with their military leader, David, from Hebron to Jerusalem

(11:4). The Chronicler seems to suggest through the recounting of Israel's first kings that

the means for the community of Persian Yehud to alleviate the enduring affects of

cultural trauma initiated by the death of Josiah, the last ruling Davidide, is to gather

together to where YHWH is: as Cyrus' decree makes clear (2 Chr 36:23), YHWH, who

was with David and not Saul, will be with them in Jerusalem.

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[52] There is a reference in God's speech to David about not taking his "steadfast love" (חסד) away from David as it was "taken away from him before you" (1 Chr 17:13). The reference is most applicable to Saul, however, his name is not specifically mentioned here. That David later seeks to console Hanun (19:2) because his father showed him "steadfast love" (חסד) may be a specific link between these narratives.

[53] As Evans ("Temple Despoliation," 46; emphasis original) points out, "It is for kings to encourage reform and give gifts to the temple, but *not* to take from the temple or view its treasures as their own possession (as Ahaz—the vilified king—appeared to do) or even at their disposal."

All Israel Transfer the Ark Despite a Traumatic Interlude (1 Chr 13–16)

While there is joy experienced following the gathering of all Israel in the wake of cultural trauma (12:41[40]), the test for David, the community's military leader, remains unresolved: as Saul was put to death because he did not seek (דרש) YHWH (10:13–14), will David now seek YHWH? The answer follows immediately, for David specifically petitions the community to bring up the ark of God, for they "did not seek (דרש) it in the days of Saul" (13:3).[54]

The transfer of the ark according to the Chronicler was "the work of all Israel," which is bolstered by the inclusive focus in fully six of the first eight verses of 1 Chr 13, and, later, reinforced by 15:25—16:3.[55] As Israel experienced joy having gathered together with YHWH's help, the community goes to collect the ark rejoicing with full strength (כל עז), including: songs and lyres and harps and tambourines and cymbals and trumpets (13:8). All Israel (cf. 13:2, 5, 6, 8) is united in this action without any reference to tribal identities. However, just as the community seems to be in control, YHWH bursts out (פרץ; 13:11). A cosmic explosion. And yet, the focus is placed on Uzzah as offender, and not YHWH, for YHWH "struck" (נכה) him for outstretching his hand towards the ark (13:10). The focus then turns to David (13:11–12), and David is frightened (PTSD?). Saul died for not seeking YHWH and now Uzzah is struck by YHWH and dies; David is rightly shocked (ירא). As well, "all Israel" disappears from the narrative for a time,

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[54] Willi ("Den Herrn," 135), for one, connects 13:3 with Saul and the larger section from 1 Chr 13–16.

[55] Cf. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 330.

perhaps as a means to leave David to see if he will, indeed, seek YHWH in the wake of trauma.[56]

Hiram providing materials to build David a house (14:1), results in David knowing he has been established as king over Israel (למלך על־ישראל). This will set up perfectly the next appearance of the Philistines who heard that David was anointed king over all Israel (למלך על־כל־ישראל).[57] In both battles (14:8–12; 14:13–17), though an entire army likened to "the army of God" was already gathered together from all Israel (re: 12:23[22]), David, nonetheless, first inquires (שאל) of God.[58] In the first battle with the Philistines (14:8–12) David reiterates the power of God and his ability to break out (פרץ) as happened with Uzzah when he grasped the ark (13:11). In the second instance, it is God alone who brings about the victory (14:15), and God who lays his fear (פחד) on the nations (14:17). It will be God in 15:26 that helps the Levites to carry the ark. From the death of Saul until the transfer of the ark, God is the one who helps and delivers—the only action required is for his people to seek him.

Proof in the reliance of seeking YHWH is accomplished not once, but twice in David's confrontation with the Philistines in ch. 14. The lesson is learned: victory results

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[56] There has been debate regarding the place of ch. 14 within the "ark narrative" of chs. 13–16, moving Wright ("Founding," 45–49), on one side, to contend that with the presence of ch. 14 there is in fact no ark narrative. Street (*Significance*), on the other side, has provided a literary study linking the ark narrative to the beginning of the narrative section in 10:1 until the very end of Solomon's reign. Certainly, 13:3 connects Saul's demise in 10:14 specifically with the ark. Though not entirely agreeing with Eskenazi ("Literary"), who argues for the primacy of the ark narrative, Jonker nonetheless points out, "it remains unlikely that the Chronicler envisioned chs. 13 and 15–16 respectively as separate units. The fact that 2 Samuel 6 was quoted in both these sections points in the direction of some sort of a compositional unity at least."

[57] Cf. Knoppers (*1 Chronicles*, 599) who also notes the previous battle with the Philistines and Saul is here connected by the listing of David's sons (14:3–5).

[58] The contrast of David and Saul seems to be solidified with the word play evident between David's request (שאל) of God (14:10) and the proper name of Saul (שאול). Cf. Riley (*King*, 47) for further connections of Saul's demise as a *cultic* failure.

when YHWH is with the people (cf. 14:10, 15). In this, David immediately, in obedience
to Torah legislation, declares that only the Levites are to carry the ark (15:2).[59] As
Eskenazi remarks, "Wars with the Philistines, even David's anointing and the conquest of
Jerusalem, pale in comparison with this luxuriously long description of the successful
transfer of the ark."[60] Other than the organization of Levites for worship, exceptional
focus is placed on the singers, for the transfer of the ark culminates in a psalm sung by
Asaph and his brothers (16:7–36). The singers and musicians along with Heman, Asaph
and Jeduthun (Ethan) figure prominently in the ordering of Levitical worship being listed
not once, but twice (15:17, 19). And though the leaders of the Levites were told by David
to appoint singers to "raise sounds of joy" (15:16), it was specifically the Levites that
appointed (עמד) their kindred in 15:17–24. Ultimately, though David and the elders of
Israel and commanders of thousands went to bring up the ark, God helped *the Levites* to
carry the ark (15:26).[61] As YHWH was with David in gathering all Israel in the wake of
cultural trauma, so too, is God with the Levites.

Once the ark is settled under the ministry of the Levites, an interesting parallel
emerges, for while Asaph and his kinfolk minister before the ark in Jerusalem, Zadok and
his kindred, along with Heman and Jeduthun, minister at the tabernacle, which still
resides in Gibeon (16:37–42). As Gibeon historically resided within the tribe of

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[59] Although it could be argued that David *should* have known better than to overlook the Levites
in the first failed ark transference (13:5–14), David, nonetheless, cites *verbatim* from Mosaic legislation
regarding the death of Uzzah in 15:13; cf. Evans, "Let the Crime," 77.

[60] Eskenazi, "Literary," 267. Though length of narrative does not, by necessity, translate into a
standard level of importance, certainly, the cult is provided extensive focus in the Chronicler's recounting.

[61] The note of God helping (עזר) the Levites is distinctly absent in the parallel text of 2 Sam 6:12–
15.

Benjamin, here again, the Chronicler relieves the tension between David, as a Judahite, and Benjaminites, for worship is retained in Gibeon. The Chronicler has made it clear: David was not responsible for the downfall of Saul, nor was David responsible for transferring the place of worship. To solidify David's peace with the tribe of Benjamin, the Chronicler is clear: worship at the Tabernacle in Gibeon was not usurped. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, still undergoing unification, are united at this point by the ministry of the Levites at both cultic sites. In the wake of trauma, Israel gathers together and is lead in worship by the singers of the tribe of Levi. This would no doubt provide a poignant portrayal of recategorization for Persian Yehud in the Chronicler's time, and one marked by joy and praise.

The Future Temple and the Trauma that Solidified Its Location (1 Chr 17–29)

Once the ark is settled under the charge of the Levites, plans for its permanence begin for David, almost immediately, has it in his heart to build a temple. The temple preparations and subsequent building clearly dominate the remainder of this narrative section, as Willi points out, "Im Blick steht ein konkretes Gebäude, und zwar der Tempel zu Jeruslaem. Sein Bau und die Vorbereitungen dazu stehen im Zentrum des Interesses der chronistischen Geschichtserzählung, vor allem in den auf 1 Chr 17 folgenden Kapiteln 1 Chr (18–) 21–29. Damit steht nun freilich die Frage im Raum: Wie soll das zugehen?"[62]

Though YHWH is not *de facto* opposed to war, in the wake of cultural trauma, the Chronicler seems to suggest that Israel is to be primarily identified ("recategorized") as a

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[62] Willi, "Gibt es in der Chronik," 190 (English: "In view stands a concrete building, namely, the temple in Jerusalem. Its construction and its preparations stand at the centre of interest for the Chronicler's

cultic, moreso than a military, community. Through the intersections of military and cult within David's narrative, it would seem that the Davidides to follow, while engaging in war at times, are never to neglect the cult.[63] This becomes clear in the transition from the transference of the ark to the temple planning, which sees a transition in 1 Chr 16:37.

David, the Levites, and YHWH's First Veto

Japhet, for one, has pointed out the position of 1 Chr 16:37 as marking a transition within the Chronicler's narrative.[64] The sequence, as Japhet contends, in ch. 16 "is interrupted by the insertion of a long section, vv. 7–37."[65] By such a structure, Japhet summarizes the sequence noting that: "[v]erse 7 is linked to what comes before, v. 37—to what follows."[66] However, often left out of the discussion is what lays at the initiation of the turn in the narrative at 16:37—the mark, as Japhet notes, "to what follows": the term עזב.[67]

Often translated as "forsake" or "abandon," עזב is an integral part of the Chronicler's cultural trauma script: in ascribing culpability to those responsible for the

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historical narrative, especially chapters (18-) 21–29 following 1 Chr 17. Of course, now stands the question in the room: How will it happen?"). Cf. Lynch (*Monotheism*, 212), as he relates David's military episodes to the meta-narrative: "However, the chapters dealing with David's military successes . . . are far fewer in number and Chronistic embellishment than those devoted to the ark . . . and David's preparations for the temple."

[63] Such has been one of the major debates within Chronicles' scholarship, which Boda ("Gazing," 221), for one, has aptly summarized: "the question is whether this emphasis belies hope in the Chronicler for the reemergence of the dynasty or whether he is merely using the dynasty to introduce his real agenda: the legitimacy of the temple community."

[64] Cf. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 312.

[65] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 312.

[66] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 312; cf. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 368: verse 37 "picks up the narrative from v.7."

[67] The term עזב, according to Kelly (*Retribution*, 57), appears with both a "theological sense" while other examples portray its "cultic-religious content," though Kelly only provides a brief survey of its use in Chronicles. DCH (6:326–33) predominantly lists עזב in a dissociated sense, though does provide alternatives in specific instances, often as possible textual emendations. For example, David is noted as subject in 1 Chr 16:37 beneath the sense of 1.b "leave behind persons," listed among the other senses of: "1a. leave, abandon, forsake"; "b. leave behind persons"; "c. leave on one's own"; "d. depart from

destruction (רעה) of Jerusalem are those who have forsaken (עזב) YHWH (2 Chr 34:25). As the Chronicler has just recounted a movement towards community cohesion centred around the Levites (15:1–28), the disparity between cult and military is apparent, for the next several chapters (18:1—20:8) will focus on military campaigns with little, if any, focus placed on the cultus. The issue with a translation of "forsake" or "leave behind" at this point is, perhaps, that the subject in this instance is David.[68] David is the one who ensured "no one but the Levites" were to carry the ark (15:2), told them (אמר) to appoint leaders amongst themselves (15:16) and set (נתן) the Levites apart to invoke, to thank, and to praise YHWH (16:4, 7). However, it may also be possible that the Chronicler is issuing a warning to the community through the actions of David at this point. YHWH, certainly, was with David (11:9), however, as the first ark transference portrayed in graphic terms: YHWH is not in service to the community, or the military; the community, and thus military, is in service to YHWH. And while YHWH was with David to provide

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statutes"; e: "leave 'i.e., give up'"; f. "leave untouched"; "g. leave (in a particular state)" i.e., "a camp as it is. . . a person naked (Ezek 23:29) with sickness, wounds (2 Chr 24:25)"; "h. leave, fail to exercise, withhold loyalty, faithfulness"; "i. leave over, leave for" i.e., Lev 19:10; "j. leave (in the hand of), entrust (to) (Gen 39:6)"; "k. leave (in safety) (Isa 10:3)"; "l. leave unaided"; "m. abandon, i.e., neglect"; "n. let go, in various senses." The specific reference to 1 Chr 16:37 does include a possibility within ellipsis "unless עזב II arrange," which serves to explain (theoretically) typical English translations; however, one wonders if it is solely David's appearance that allows for the possibility and not so much the context, for example, David is already twice noted as having "set" (נתן) the Levites (16:4, 7) with the Levites noted as having arranged (עמד) themselves in 1 Chr 15:17. Cleary, DCH (6:327) lists 1 Chr 16:37 within the litany of senses akin to "leaving behind."

[68] In other words, if another person was the subject of עזב, the translation would in all probability be "abandon" or "left behind" *as it is translated elsewhere every single time* in the book of Chronicles. This is not to suggest a Barrian lexical fallacy (cf. Barr, *Semantics*, 246), though such a translation could result in such fallacy. Rather, the lexicographical nature of עזב is precisely the reason for questioning previous translations of its appearance at this point (i.e., 1 Chr 16:37). The translation, therefore, is not a fallacy that resides in "overloading" the term or illegitimately transferring theological "concepts" to its appearance, but rather, the inverse: a straight lexical translation of עזב is always, as elsewhere throughout the book of Chronicles, with a meaning akin to "abandon." Any theological conceptions that arise at this point arise only *after* the lexical meaning of עזב as "left behind" has been translated.

rescue / victory (11:14), before every battle YHWH is to be sought to ensure approval (14:10, 14). It is possible that David assumed having possession of the ark was sufficient to provide military success, as if the ark was a means to an end (i.e., a "blank cheque": for Nathan will proclaim to David, "do whatever you wish; God is with you"; cf. 17:2). However, YHWH is adamant that the opposite is the order of the day for those who are considered part of all Israel: the military is the means, and not the end in itself: seeking and serving YHWH *is* the end. This is potentially the greatest proclamation afforded by Cyrus, the military commander *de jure*, that he has provided military support sufficient to allow the community to go up with YHWH to Jerusalem (2 Chr 36:23).[69]

Whether the weight of all this can be supported by the term עזב in 1 Chr 16:37 is a valid question.[70] However, a brief survey of its appearance elsewhere may clarify its appearance at this point in the Chronicler's narrative. The first point to draw out is that the term is related to the Levites, specifically Asaph, Zadok, and their "brothers" (אחיו) in Chronicles (cf. 1 Chr 16:37, 39). It is precisely this action that was denounced in both Deut 12:19 and 14:27 where the text explicitly states to "not abandon the Levites" (פן־ תעזב את־הלוי; cf. 14:27: לא תעזבנו). The significance of this charge in Deuteronomy is heighted in that David seems to have just *verbatim* cited Torah legislation (cf. Deut 10:8) in ensuring only the Levites were to carry the ark (1 Chr 15:2).[71] Throughout Chronicles

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[69] David, certainly, can be seen as providing the same function in providing "space" to build the temple, for instance, the Chronicler does not outright condemn David, as Saul was. However, this is not to say that David is not sometimes headed in a wrong direction that requires YHWH's intervention (i.e., Goading his men to draw water from Bethlehem [11:17]; neglecting the Levites' role in the first ark transference [15:2, 13]; excesses in warfare [19:18; see discussion inline]).

[70] In other words, can the translation not simply be in the sense of "to entrust" (cf. Gen 39:6)? Knoppers (*1 Chronicles*, 640), for one, notes GKC § 117n, though does not condition the translation beyond that of "David left."

[71] Cf. Evans, "Let the Crime," 77.

עזב is associated with a sense of abandonment, forsaking, or leaving behind.[72] Gerstenberger, for one, has highlighted עזב within Chronicles itself when stating that, "Increasingly it serves (Chronicles!) to ascribe culpability to the people as a means of generating a consciousness of their sin, doing so in a liturgical context."[73] As it stands, however, 1 Chr 16:37 remains the *only* place in Chronicles where a sense of indifference is often found.[74] As *HALOT* points out, the translation of עזב in 1 Chr 16:37 as "arrange, set in order," is "highly questionable," leaving the sense as elsewhere, perhaps best translated as "to leave behind."[75] The connotation, therefore, is one of dissociation akin to "leaving and having nothing more to do with" as in 2 Chr 24:25 and 28:14.

Clearly, עזב is a consistent *leitwort* for the Chronicler that appears at times as either a warning (cf. 1 Chr 28:9, 20; 2 Chr 7:19, 22; 15:2) or *as an explanation* for the community's cultural trauma (cf. 2 Chr 7:22; 12:5; 13:10, 11; 21:10; 24:18, 20, 24, 25; 28:6; 29:6; 34:25). Johnstone, for one, makes the point elsewhere that עזב is "one of the thematic terms for unfaithfulness about to be used frequently in the ensuing account of the monarchy."[76] As well, Kelly notes how עזב is the "negative" counterpart to דרש, listing this term distinctly in his section titled "Negative Human Responses in Chronicles."[77] Subsequent Davidides will often fail in regards to עזב, with the final

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[72] The term עזב appears elsewhere in Chronicles in 1 Chr 10:7; 14:12; 16:37; 28:9, 20; 2 Chr 7:19, 22; 10:8, 13; 11:14; 12:1, 5; 13:10, 11; 15:2; 21:10; 24:18, 20, 24, 25; 28:6, 14; 29:6; 32:31; 34:25. The Gk term κατέλιπον (which appears in 1 Chr 16:37) carries the associated meaning of "abandon, leave, go away" (cf. *TDOT* 10:585).

[73] Gerstenberger, *TDOT* 10:591.

[74] Cf. ESV, KJV, NASB, NKJV, NIV: "left"; JPS, OJB: "left there"; NLT: "arranged"; CEB, "set."

[75] *HALOT* 1:806–8.

[76] Cf. Johnstone, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 1:359–60.

[77] Kelly, *Retribution*, 57. Also included within the subtitle of "Negative Human Responses in Chronicles" is the term "unfaithful" (מעל).

occurrence of עזב in Chronicles appearing in Huldah's prophecy to "the king" (Josiah) in 2 Chr 34:25. The cultural trauma that is to be unleashed through Nebuchadnezzar (as recounted in 2 Chr 36:17–20), is virtually explicable precisely because of עזב. In 1 Chr 16:37, David "leaves" (עזב) the Levites, and they will not appear again until Joab excises them along with the tribe of Benjamin in the course of David's census (1 Chr 21:6).

In the narrative of the battle with the Philistines directly previous to the ark transfer, a similar construction occurs whereby the Philistines are noted as having, almost in identical terms, "left their gods there" (ויעזבו־שם את־אלהיהם :14:12; cf. 16:37: ויעזב־שם). In many ways, the construction seems to assume some level of correspondence between the Philistines "leaving" their gods, and David, now "leaving" the Levites. On the other hand, the term does seem to suggest trustworthiness *of Asaph and the Levites* paralleled by Pharaoh's abandonment of "everything" (כל) to Joseph in Gen 39:6.[78] That David, too, had previously twice "set" (נתן) the Levites apart (16:4, 7), draws attention to the subsequent and curious appearance of "leave" (עזב) in 1 Chr 16:37.[79]

This action is not necessarily a means of condemning David, as the cult and his institution thereof are yet in the process of being established. However, the Chronicler

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[78] As such, the question may well arise whether or not the Chronicler is then, also, considering David to be akin to Pharaoh? However, even in the context of Genesis, Wenham makes the point that the phrasing in Gen 39:6 "implies that Potiphar *abandoned* his interest in what Joseph was doing because he was so convinced that Joseph was doing the best for him" (Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 374; emphasis mine). The translation of עזב as "abandon," therefore is consistent *even in the case* of Gen 39:6. Hamilton, too, will make the comment that Potiphar's wife is "left alone" to Joseph and "virtually *abandoned* by her husband" (Hamilton, *Genesis 18–50*, 461; cf. Walton [*Genesis*, 671] where he points out that the accusation Potiphar's wife will make of Joseph "making sport" of her [Gen 39:17] is directed at Potiphar "by attributing to him devious motives").

[79] The purpose of the literary technique in Gen 39:6 is summarized well by Sarna (*Genesis*, 272; emphasis mine): "The Hebrew phrase '-z-v beyad in the place of the usual n-t-n beyad, as in verses 4, 8, and 22, is unique, *for elsewhere the phrase '-z-v beyad means 'to abandon to the power of' and has a negative connotation*, as in Psalms 37:33 and Nehemiah 9:28." The reason for the appearance of "abandon" (עזב) in Gen 39:6 is further suggested by Sarna (*Genesis*, 272): "The exceptional style here is probably a

could nonetheless be suggesting that if even one such as David leaves the Levites behind, other kings certainly can (and do so) too—and they are, then, without excuse. The Chronicler may be implying that the Levites, as the bearers of the ark of the covenant of YHWH, were ultimately left alone/abandoned and as a result experienced the trauma recounted by the Chronicler (i.e., the slaughter of young men and old; destruction of the temple; and forced migration).[80] The appearance of עזב here may well serve as a warning, similar in some ways to Wenham's note in regards to Joseph's appearance in Gen 39:6 of "an ominous foreshadowing of the storm about to break."[81] The next mention of the Levites will not appear until David's census (1 Chr 21:6), the consequences of which, even though the tribes of Levi and Benjamin were excised in the process, result in the death of 70,000 Israelites (1 Chr 21:14); the last mention of the Levites in the book of Chronicles will be in Josiah's Passover (2 Chr 35:1–19), after which follows Josiah's death in battle *without heeding the word of God* (2 Chr 35:22), and, in short succession, the arrival of impending disaster (36:17–20). Though perhaps subtle, the Chronicler may be suggesting through the appearance of an evocation of the trauma script (i.e., "abandon" [עזב; 2 Chr 34:25]) at this point, that the Levites were, eventually, abandoned,

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deliberate literary device to hint at impending evil and to allude to a cause-and-effect connection with verses 12, 13, and 15, which employ the same phrase but in a different association."

[80] Cf. the situation in Neh 13:10 where the Levites, not having received their portions, fled to their fields. Also, in Neh 12:47 the terms נתן and קדש are used to describe the portions the Levites received (i.e., *not* עזב).

[81] Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 374. Cf. Hamilton (*Genesis 18–50*, 461) who notes that Gen 39:6*b* "spells potential trouble"; also, Alter (*Narrative*, 135): "a signal of warning in the midst of blessing." This is not to suggest an importation into the book of Chronicles of the exact same concept as derived from the narrative context of Genesis (or vice versa), but to point out that the appearance of עזב in Gen 39:6 points to an "approaching storm"; so too, a storm is approaching (i.e., the death of 70,000 Israelites in 1 Chr 21:14) in Chronicles following the appearance of עזב in 1 Chr 16:37.

and experienced in graphic terms cultural trauma caused by abandonment (עזב).[82] What perhaps starts off seemingly harmless, when headed in the wrong direction, leads to destruction. In such cases, as will be for even one such as Josiah, YHWH must intervene.

That David was perhaps headed in a wrong direction seems to be suggested by YHWH's veto of David's desire to build a house for YHWH in 1 Chr 17:4. Following the installment of the Levites at both Gibeon and Jerusalem, when all the people go to their houses, David then turns (ויסב) to bless his own house (1 Chr 16:43).[83] This is precisely the term used earlier in the narrative to describe YHWH's turning (ויסב) the kingdom from Saul to David (10:14).[84] This same construction occurs in 2 Chr 29:6 in Hezekiah's appeal to the people that their ancestors have been unfaithful (מעל) and have done what was evil in the eyes of YHWH (רע בעיני יהוה־אלהינו), abandoned (עזב) YHWH, and

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[82] Eskenazi ("Literary," 270–71) has suggested that at 1 Chr 15:25 with the Levites carrying of the ark that the terminology associated with the ark as "the ark of God or ark of YHWH" becomes, with increasing frequency, the "ark of the covenant." Thus, the central focus is that *the Levites themselves* and not the ark itself are the bearers of the covenant.

[83] Rather, the term "returned" (וישב) is found in the parallel text of 2 Sam 6:20. There is no parallel to 1 Chr 16:37–38. As well, while seeking a blessing for one's house from God is certainly not a negative action, nowhere in this context is David's blessing sought in the name of anyone else (i.e., YHWH; cf. 1 Chr 16:2. The parallel text in 2 Sam 6:18 flows virtually unbroken into 6:20, whereas in Chronicles, David's "blessings" [1 Chr 16:2, 43] are separated by more than 40 verses).

[84] סבב appears in the Hiphil form in 1 Chr 13:3 and 2 Chr 29:6, however, the differences in meaning are not substantial between the Hiphil and Qal and are often related making context more determinant than form for meaning (cf. *DCH* 6:105–109). Also, in 1 Chr 13:3, David had originally petitioned that "we turn (ונסבה) the ark of our God to us for we did not seek it in the days of Saul." Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 369, 370) notes that the blessing David sought of his own household forms an *inclusio* with 13:14 and the blessing of Obed-Edom. However, in 13:14 David did "*not* turn" (לא־הסיר) the ark to himself, and it was precisely this action that resulted in the blessing of Obed-Edom. In 16:43, then, the assumption is that David desires to be blessed as Obed-Edom was. In other words, David wants his due. This is perhaps more clearly developed in 2 Sam 6:12–20 (Cf. Evans, *1–2 Samuel*, 352; emphasis mine: "*When* David hears that the house of Obed-Edom was blessed by the ark's presence, David decides to give it another shot."); the Chronicler, on the other hand, has included the central role of the Levites in this most grandiose affair of bringing up the ark of the covenant of YHWH (15:1—16:42), and only after their inclusion, does the text return to David's seeking of a blessing for his own household (1 Chr 16:43 // 2 Sam 6:20). In 2 Chr 6:3, Solomon, too, will turn (ויסב), but there he turns to bless the assembly of Israel.

turned away (ויסבו) from the tabernacle of YHWH (משכן יהוה).[85] Here, in 1 Chr 16:43, it seems David has left (עזב) the ark and its ministry, as well as Zadok before the Tabernacle (משכו יהוה), and turns (ויסב) towards his own household while later, when the Levites finally reappear in the Chronicler's narrative (1 Chr 21:6), the narrative specifically notes that "this" was "evil in the eyes of God" (רע בעיני האלהים; 1 Chr 21:7).

The full import of YHWH's veto in 1 Chr 17 seems to appear in the midst of the Chronicler's *Sondergut*. Once David along with the elders, commanders, and Levites bring up the ark (15:25) and all Israel celebrate its successful transference in a song of praise, there seems little reason to doubt that David's request to build a house for YHWH (17:1) would be fulfilled. Even Nathan, the prophet, assumed as much (cf. 17:2). However, this is precisely where YHWH specifically, and immediately, has Nathan tell David, "Not you" (17:4).[86] This declaration is all the more stark when compared to the softer denial related in 2 Sam 7:5 where the interrogative (ה) rather than the abrupt "no" (לא) of 1 Chr 17:4 appears.[87] That the answer of who will be the one to build the Temple

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[85] Of all Ahaz's faults, only the term unfaithful (מעול מעל) in 2 Chr 28:19 and forsaking (עזב) appear in the narrative (28:6), though even in this case "forsaking" is plural and not singularly indicative of Ahaz alone. Also, Ahaz is not said to have done evil in the eyes of YHWH, as here, but rather "he did not do what was right" (ולא־עשה הישר בעיני יהוה). This points to Hezekiah's proclamation extending to times beyond Ahaz alone. That Hezekiah is noted as following David (2 Chr 29:2), a connection between the narratives is already established. With the first acts of Hezekiah moving towards the cult only emphasizes the contrast between the negative action of David at this point with the laudable establishment of the cultus.

[86] This declaration regards timing and not the building itself, so that the author already has temple construction in view, just not by David. Cf. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 674–75.

[87] Knoppers (*1 Chronicles 10–29*, 667), for one, notes the division of Nathan's oracle with the first part, as here, being negative. This is not, of necessity, to ascribe a change on the part of the Chronicler and the *Vorlage*, however, this comparison is meant to note the option of framing the disqualification specifically in this manner. The Chronicler may have been using a text that contained this phrasing (cf. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 376), however, that does not make the statement any less harsh. Cf. Willi, "Gibt es in der Chronik," 191.

does not appear for several verses (17:12) only serves to heighten the focus being upon the disqualification of David as the temple builder.[88]

According to the Chronicler's recounting, in David's remark to Nathan, the initial desire to build a temple seems to suggest a subtle de-emphasising of the ark of YHWH in contrast to his own house of cedars (i.e., note the presence of the definite article attached to "the cedars" [בית הארזים] in 17:1, which is not applied to YHWH's response; as well as how the ark of YHWH remains humbly beneath [תחת], in David's words, curtains [יריעות] in 17:1).[89] The connection between the climax of ch. 16 and the veto in ch. 17 is established by a transition that appears in 16:37 where David is noted as "walking away from" (עזב) the Levites and turning to his own house.[90] The link between these episodes is made specifically through the repetition of "his house" (ביתו) in 16:43 and 17:1, which

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[88] Cf. Cudworth (*War*, 34) where it is noted that "this creates the impression that Yahweh offered David a house/dynasty for the sole purpose of building him his house/temple." It may be possible to see this disqualification proleptically so that the explicit disqualification in 22:8 of David being a man having spilt "much blood" would refer, as a further explanation, to the disqualification arising at this point; cf. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 376–77), where, without explanation, the rejection by YHWH throughout this section is attributed to David's explicit disqualifications in 22:8 and 28:3.

[89] The definite article only appears in David's speech and has no parallel in either 2 Sam 7:2 or YHWH's response in 2 Sam 7:7. The Chronicler amplifies the discrepancy by using the term "beneath" (תחת) instead of "in the midst of" (בתוך) as in 2 Sam 7:2. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 376) notes that according to 1 Chr 17:1, the tent is "a mere awning"; cf. Johnstone, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 1:200.

[90] Prior to 1 Chr 16:37, David seems to have focused rightly on seeking and following YHWH, and will even bless the people "in the name of YHWH" (16:2). However, with the Chronicler's insertion of 16:7–37, the distance between David's blessing of the people in the name of YHWH is interrupted by the term "leave" (עזב) as well as "turn away" (סבב). The impression is that David is focusing on his own house to the neglect of the cult. Cudworth (*War*, 39–50), essentially states the same (i.e., that David is preoccupied with the military to the neglect of the cult) though bases his argument entirely on the census narrative.

will be the site of much ambiguity (i.e., the play on the term "house" [בית]) in YHWH's

declaration to follow.[91]

The contrast with 2 Sam 7 seems to provide greater clarity in terms of the

discrepancy between the house of YHWH and the house of David suggested by this turn

in the Chronicler's narrative. For while in 2 Sam 7 YHWH's speech highlights the focus

on David's dynasty by clearly including the pronominal suffix "you," so that YHWH's

proclamation to David is that "*your* house and *your* kingdom shall be made sure forever

before me; *your* throne shall be established forever" (cf. 2 Sam 7:16; emphasis mine), the

Chronicler, on the other hand, uses a third person suffix in reference to Solomon, not

David. Just to be certain, and to further emphasize that the kingdom belongs to YHWH,

the proclamation to David ends with the Chronicler's emphatic conclusion that it is "*my*

house and *my* kingdom" (1 Chr 17:14; emphasis mine).[92]

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[91] Cf. Johnstone, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 1:197. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 369), on the other hand, notes the relation of "bless" to form an *inclusio* with 16:2 and 13:14, however, this obscures the direct connection between "house" in 16:43 and 17:1, a term that will be used extensively in ch. 17. Blessing will only reappear again at the end of the chapter (17:27), ironically, in relation to David seeking to bless himself. For a summary of the diversity available in defining "house" in ch. 17, see Willi, "Gibt es in der Chronik," 187–192.

[92] Cf. Saebo "Messianism," 101: "The kingship and kingdom of Yahweh—his theocracy—has included and is superior to the Davidic kingship and kingdom; in the end there is only one kingdom, that of Yahweh—and the Davidic king is its representative." As opposed to the promise referring to a "dynasty" for David, the Chronicler has the Temple *building* in view, as Willi ("Gibt es in der Chronik," 191) points out. David's response in 2 Sam 7:18–29 flows perfectly from the threefold declaration of YHWH's promise, signified by the second person pronoun, to David and his house, kingdom and throne (as found in 2 Sam 7:16); however, the Chronicler's text has shifted the focus almost entirely prior to David's response, so that YHWH is primarily more focused on Solomon and not David. David then goes on to rejoice that YHWH will build a house for him, David, *four times* emphasizing his own house (17:23, 24, 25, 27). David never once mentions that one of his sons would build *him*, YHWH, a house. As Knoppers (*1 Chronicles 10–29*, 684) notes, "But of all the assurances accorded to David in Nathan's oracle, David's requests focus on the promises directed toward his dynasty." David, in fact, in 1 Chr 17:17 will proclaim that he is "of high rank / honored" (המעלה), a statement that does not occur anywhere else in the HB (being absent in the parallel account in 2 Sam 7) and contains the very same root letters as one of the Chronicler's primary *leitwort*, "unfaithfulness" (מעל). The MT phrase וראיתני עתור האדם המעלה in 17:17, lacking in 2 Sam 7, is notoriously difficult to translate (cf. Lynch, *Monotheism*, 222–223, for a summary of possible interpretations). Alter (*Narrative*, 95) makes the point that narrative art is created through repetition of word roots apart from a strict semantic association. Here, in the place of a *hapax*, the connection with

This contrast is powerfully summarized as the discrepancy between man and YHWH as Willi states, "Kontrastiert werden nicht die wörtliche und die übertragene Bedeutung von בית, sondern die menshcliche Initiative und der göttliche Rang des Tempels."[93] The Chronicler is not suggesting that David is acting unfaithfully by such actions, however, later Davidides will certainly falter precisely by neglecting/abandoning the cultus. Such a construction at this point in the Chronicler's narrative (i.e., the very initiation of the temple cult) suggests that the only means to ensure the stability of the community in the wake of cultural trauma is to seek and follow YHWH. That a king such as David could even commit this oversight, suggests others, including the "king of kings," Josiah, that follow David's ways (cf. 2 Chr 34:2, 3) are susceptible as well. The Chronicler is establishing a central tenet for the people included as "all Israel" to know for certain: the kingdom belongs to YHWH God, and not men. Though David turned from the cult to tend to his own house, the truth of YHWH's grandeur will be undeniably expressed through David's lips, made explicit only after the traumatic affects are wrought in the wake of his census: "Aus diesem Grund lässt er in 1 Chr 29:1 David 'das Werk,'

Hezekiah's claim in 2 Chr 29:6 of neglecting the cultus seems quite apt; in other words, this anomaly checks all of Hezekiah's boxes without outright claiming David was unfaithful—though he was headed in a poor direction. Also, note how the term (למעלה) appears in Asa's narrative (2 Chr 16:12) in connection with his disease, a narrative which also contains numerous parallels to David's narrative.

[93] Willi, "Gibt es in der Chronik," 191 (English: "It is not the literal and the figurative meaning of ["house"] בית that is contrasted, but the human initiative and divine rank of the temple").

das Salomo auszuführen bestimmt ist, als 'groß' bezeichnen: 'Denn nicht für einen

Menschen ist die Stadtburg (bestimmt), sondern für JHWH, Gott.'"[94]

Summary

Saul was put to death for not seeking YHWH (1 Chr 10:14). However, even seeking

YHWH is not sufficient for the community of all Israel as evidenced by the death of

Uzzah (13:10)—they are to follow the teachings that YHWH has already provided (cf. 1

Chr 15:13). In this, Deuteronomy, which David seems to cite following Uzzah's death,

clearly states that they are "not to abandon the Levites" (Deut 12:19; 14:27). As the

successful ark transfer portrays, YHWH is sought through obedience provided by the

Levites (cf. 15:26). The Chronicler seems to be suggesting through the transition of the

establishment of the cult with the ark and tabernacle, that the Levites were abandoned in

Israel's history leading to the tragic experience of cultural trauma. If a king even such as

David could have left them behind, so, too, can (and do) others. This is perhaps the

greatest reason the Chronicler has to account for the cultural trauma experienced by the

community by the hands of the Babylonians (cf. 2 Chr 34:25). The hope is that by

ascribing such an action to David, the initiator of worship, it will never happen again. The

people of Israel are to be a community that seeks after and follows the teachings of

YHWH; the bearers of YHWH's covenant, as here, are the Levites. Any leader or king

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[94] Willi, "Gibt es in der Chronik," 191–192 (English: "For this reason, in 1 Chr 29:1, David describes 'the work' which Solomon is destined to do as 'great': 'For not for men is the city Castle (to be), but for YHWH God'").

over the people of all Israel should not neglect the Levites—lest one desires to rouse the anger and intervention of YHWH.

David, Excess in Battle, and YHWH's Vetoes Based on דם שפך ***(1 Chr 22:8; 28:3)***

Though David's initial desire to build YHWH a house in 17:1 was met with stark rejection (cf. 17:4), the veto for David to build the temple will be repeated twice more in 1 Chr 22:8 and 28:3. That David is so emphatically denied building the central institution of all Israel is worthy of note. It remains that a rationale for YHWH's vetoes of David building the temple should shed light on the Chronicler's ignominious recounting of the death of Josiah—the very king who began most earnestly following David (cf. 2 Chr 34:2, 3), but also, the king that after celebrating a laudable Passover succumbs to a death that parallels the negative deaths of both Saul and Ahab.[95] That the tribes of Levi and Benjamin appear in relation to the trauma surrounding David's census (cf. 1 Chr 21:6) further draws David's and Josiah's narratives together, for in the wake of Josiah's death, Jeremiah, a Levite from Benjamin territory will issue a lament that becomes a statute in Israel (cf. 2 Chr 35:25).

In terms of David's narrative, the military conquests as recounted in chs. 18–20, are enveloped by the promise of a temple building that initially appeared in 17:1 with its eventual location to be situated at the threshing floor of Ornan, the Jebusite, in 22:1.[96]

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[95] Cf. Mitchell, "Ironic," 421–35; Youngberg, "Identity," 1–16.

[96] Cf. Evans ("Let the Crime," 76 n. 42) where he, too, notes the envelope nature of the temple building highlighted especially by the Chronicler drastically condensing the narrative space between the request for a temple building and the census narrative in the synoptic accounts from seventeen chapters (2 Sam 7:1—24:1) to three chapters (1 Chr 17:1—21:1). The narrative section of military conquests is certainly marked by the *inclusio* of "subdued" (כנע), which appears in 18:1 and 20:4, however, the term was introduced earlier in the only other reference in all of 1 Chronicles, 17:10, which appears amidst YHWH's speech to David that is intimately concerned with temple building.

Just as the transference of the ark by the Levites was the climax for all that preceded its narrative; so, too, the selection of the location of the temple that will house the ark and the Levitical cultic organization is paramount for the subsequent narrative.[97] It is precisely at this point that David recounts YHWH's veto for him building the temple—a point already established in ch. 17, and further elucidated by the narrative in the interim. YHWH's veto of David building the temple follows closely the founding of the temple site in the wake of David's census (1 Chr 21), and is, unlike the veto of 17:4 provided explicit rationale: David has "shed much blood" (דם לרב שפכת; 22:8). In order to fully understand Josiah's ignominious death in the midst of battle and the Chronicler's subsequent response to cultural trauma, the rationale for David's denial to build the temple based on "shedding blood" (דם שפך), which seems to be associated with warfare, requires further examination.

The Gravity of "Shedding Blood" in the HB

The reference to "shedding blood" not only appears twice in 22:8 but reappears yet again in 28:3. Three times David is noted as being disqualified from building the Temple (17:4; 22:8; 28:3) and three times he is noted as having "shed blood" (22:8; 28:3). According to the biblical record, in Murray's terms, this is "*an astounding and shocking charge*"; and yet, that Chronicles scholarship has registered "little of this shock and astonishment" is extremely surprising and perplexing indeed.[98] As if this was not enough, the Chronicler

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[97] Cf. Jonker, *1&2 Chronicles*, 167.

[98] Murray ("Under," 463, see especially n. 18; emphasis mine), does, however, go on to acknowledge Dirksen's claim that such an ascription is "strange and unexpected." Also, that Kelly ("David's," 58–59) acknowledges the severity of 70,000 deaths resulting from the census should be noted.

even adds extra emphasis (רבים | לרב) to portray the extremity of both disqualifications in

22:8 and further heightens the severity by situating the charge on the ground directly

before YHWH (ארצה לפני). Indeed, David is the only person in all of Chronicles charged

as such, and is surpassed in extremity in the entire HB only by Manasseh, and then, only

as according to the narrative found in 2 Kgs 21:16 (cf. 24:4) and not Chronicles.[99]

As Murray points out, of the 33 occurrences of "shedding blood" in non-cultic

settings outside Chronicles, "some 15 of these instances violent death is either explicit, or

unambiguously implicated, in each context, and it is to be presumed in virtually all of the

other, slightly more ambiguous, cases."[100] Nearly all instances of "shedding blood" in the

HB record lethal violence involving "homicides of passion" as in 1 Sam 25:31 and Ezek

18:10, and malice aforethought, as in Gen 37:22.[101] Ultimately, the death penalty is

reserved for such perpetrators (cf. Gen 9:6; 1 Sam 25:33). As the biblical text consistently

records, shedding blood (דם שפך) is considered a most heinous offense; and it is David,

alone, of all people in Chronicles that is ascribed with such an offense.[102]

However, even since the time of Murray's writing, not much has changed. The current author, for one, was not only relieved but ecstatic to find a compatriot espousing my own views on such an audacious ascription as this.

[99] Outside of the three appearances in Chronicles (*all* in reference to David), the phrase דם שפך appears 33 times in non-cultic contexts (i.e., pouring out blood at the altar) or, to use Murray's ("Under," 464) terminology, "a human agent shedding human blood": Gen 9:6; 37:22; Num 35:33; Deut 19:10; 21:7; 1 Sam 25:31; 1 Kgs 2:31; 18:28; 2 Kgs 21:16; 24:4; Isa 59:7; Jer 7:6; 22:3, 17; Ezek 16:38; 18:10; 22:3, 4, 6, 9, 12, 27; 23:45; 24:7; 33:25; 36:18; Joel 4:19[3:19]; Pss 79:3, 10; 106:38; Prov 1:16; 6:17; Lam 4:13.

[100] Murray, "Under," 466.

[101] Other instances include Gen 9:6; Num 35:33; Deut 19:10; 21:7; 1 Kgs 2:31; Jer 22:3,17; Ezek 22:27; Joel 4:19[3:19]; Pss 79:3, 10; 106:38. Cf. Murray, "Under," 466.

[102] Scholars citing David as a "man of war" being the rationale for YHWH's veto (so, essentially, Braun [*1 Chronicles*, 223–25]; Japhet [*I&II Chronicles*, 397–98]) still have to address the issue of David's ascription as a "shedder of blood," which, as the appearance of the term throughout the HB shows, is never attributed to an Israelite warrior (cf. Murray, "Under," 465).

Scholars have sought to explain the ascription דם שפך, arising in 22:8 and 28:3, as

either one directly connected with David's other ascription as one who has waged great

wars (ומלחמות גדלות עשית), as if to say, he is ascribed as a "blood shedder" *because* of

his wars, or as two separate indictments, as if to say, David has waged great wars *and* has

shed blood.[103] The difficulty with conflating bloodshed with warfare, as in the first

approach, involves at least two paradoxes: first, YHWH has sanctioned the wars and

explicitly helped to ensure their victory, so that any disqualification on these grounds is,

in turn, a disqualification of YHWH. Though Japhet, for one, acknowledges such a

paradox, simply goes on to claim that this ascribes to David a "paradoxical and tragic

flaw."[104] However, the notion of being paradoxical does not lessen the extremity of being

a "blood shedder" let alone the incongruent and contradictory narrative such an ascription

ascribes to the Chronicler if indeed those who follow God's will are then charged with

one of the most heinous crimes available in the HB. Secondly, nowhere else in the HB is

bloodshed ever ascribed *to an Israelite warrior*.[105] While the Chronicler is certainly

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[103] The connecting *waw* can be interpreted either way. Gabriel (*Freide*, 65–72) has noted that with the two-fold appearance of blood shedding in 22:8, that this is the central focus of the disqualification. Cf. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 435–437) for a succinct summary of previous scholarship. There is a possibility that the disqualification is, in fact, based on an exclusion by both means, as if to differentiate the charge of a "blood shedder" (דם) with the second indictment of being a "shedder of bloods" (דמים). Admittedly, the distinction between the singular and plural in the HB is slight (if at all, cf. *DCH* 2:443–47; *TDOT* 3:234–50), however, that the term is not identical in the Chronicler's construction has not been noted, to my knowledge, by scholars. It is possible therefore to associate, as Kedar-Kopfstein (*TDOT* 3:242; cf. 235–36 for specific relation of singular and plural usages) does in certain cases, the initial singular דם with the specific connection to that of the "blood avenger," which is always singular, and the second, plural, דמים with bloodguilt.

[104] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 398.

[105] Murray ("Under," 465) cites Ps 79:3, 10 and Joel 4:19[3:19] as portraying "shedding blood" occurring in warfare, however, while the "nations" in Psalms 79 and "Egypt" and "Edom" in Joel 4[3] are ascribed as having "shed blood," warriors are not recorded nor is a context of war prescribed, but rather, an appeal to the slaughter of innocence is made. At any rate, Murray's point serves to prove that "shedding blood" is never attributed to an Israelite warrior. Cf. Kelly ("David's," 57–58), where he contends that though Christ (*Blutvergtessen*, 8) had originally cited 1 Chr 22:8 as the only exception of דם שפך *not* being

drawing a distinction in 22:8, 9 between David as "a man of war" (מלחמות גדלות עשית)

and Solomon, the temple builder, as "a man of peace" (איש מנוח), the extreme ascription

placed on David as a man of blood, at times, is left out of the discussion altogether.[106]

Murray's study seeks to clarify the connection between "bloodshed" and "warfare,"

however, this study, too, succumbs to the paradox that ascribing bloodshed to David,

even based on regulations borne in Numbers, does not resolve the reality that *YHWH* was

the one sanctioning David's wars.[107] This contrast is highlighted again in the differences

portrayed between David and Solomon in 22:8, 9 where David recounts his

disqualification because YHWH told him "you" have shed blood and "you" will not build

my house, because "you" have shed so much blood. In contrast, it will be YHWH, in the

first person, who gives Solomon rest (הנחותי) and YHWH who will give (אתן) Solomon

peace and tranquility (22:9).

The second approach to discerning YHWH's veto seeks to place the fault on

David based on ethical grounds rather than indicting YHWH or ascribing an "ad hoc"

narrative to the Chronicler.[108] In essence, this approach makes the claim that "David has

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a result of warfare (i.e., this occurrence is the *only* time "blood shedding" is a result of war in the entire HB), this may be due to Christ *assuming* interpretations of the passage which sees the ascription to be exclusively a reference to warfare

[106] Cf. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 223–26. Jonker ("Engaging," 83) makes the point that "It is clear that the Chronicler wanted to suggest a pun on the name of David's son (שלמה), and the theme of peace (שלום)."

[107] Murray, "Under," 475. Though Murray does claim that even with YHWH's blessing bloodguilt can still arise in warfare as occurred in Num 31:1–24. However, the context of Num 31 seems to suggest that the "killing" (הרג) was not in line with YHWH's desire as highlighted by Moses' resultant rage (Num 31:14), which in turn would provide an accurate parallel for David's failure before YHWH here. Of course, even though Murray is attempting to connect the narratives in Numbers, it remains that "shedding blood" is nowhere ascribed to the Israelites in this narrative. Rather, if anything, the "killing" (הרג) by some Israelites (Num 31:16) remains the only action of concern.

[108] Dirksen ("David Disqualified," 54) relates an *ad hoc* adaptation of 1 Kings 5:17[3] for the Chronicler. In this, the historicity of David not building the temple caused the Chronicler to adjust the

done wrong and stands guilty before God."[109] If the ascription of David as a "blood

shedder" is not solely attributable to the mere (and arbitrary) fact that he engaged in war,

as in the first approach discussed above, then it only seems reasonable that an alternative

rationale ought to be available to explain such an extreme ascription. In this, Kelly,

Gabriel, and Murray have noted the dual appearance of דם שפך in 22:8 as providing the

focus of the veto on shedding blood.[110] However, the difficulty arises in determining

precisely, if not a generic claim to his wars, the specific action(s) David engaged that

warrant such an extreme disqualification. David Kimhi, for one, saw in the narrative a

reference to David's killing of innocent men as justifiable grounds for the ascription, to

which David's murder of Uriah was suggested; however, without an explicit reference to

David killing Uriah in the Chronicler's narrative, Kimhi's suspicion is often dismissed by

scholars.[111] Kelly, on the other hand, places David's fault within the narrative

immediately prior to this ascription, namely, the disastrous census.[112] While Kelly limits

his focus to the relation of the proper execution of a census with the threat of plagues (to

which Evans provides a further detailed examination of the specificity of David's

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narrative. However, this reasoning, again, diminishes the extreme emphasis placed on David's culpability while also, as Kelly ("Under," 54) notes, "attributes to the Chronicler a certain incoherent, even forced and contradictory attitude toward his own narrative." Or, as Murray ("Under," 461) claims, such a tact "brings against David a charge of bloodshed in war otherwise quite unwarranted in the Hebrew Bible, and incompatible with Chronicles own indication of Yhwh 's support for David's wars."

[109] Dirksen, "David," 53.

[110] Kelly, "David's," 59; Gabriel, *Freide*, 65–72; Murray, "Under," 458–59.

[111] Kimhi, *Commentary*; cf. Japhet, *Ideology*, 371 n. 86.

[112] Kelly, "David's," 53–61. Cf. Murray ("Under," 464–65,460 especially n. 8, 13, 18, 24, 25, 37, 48) for a fuller listing of Murray's arguments contra Kelly. Though Kelly somewhat limits his argument to the parallel text of a plague in Ezek 22, pestilence, at times, is associated with violent death or war (cf. Ezek 6:11; Jer 28:8 etc.) and even appears directly alongside "blood" (cf. Ezek 5:17; 28:23; 38:22) *contra* Murray's critique in n. 24.

punishment residing in Torah legislation), Cudworth contends that the negative nature of this census was a result of David's excessive focus on the military.[113]

The approach of the current study allows for the contention that the Chronicler required "clean hands" to construct the temple building (so Rudolph and Williamson);[114] however, it avoids needlessly sanitizing David or attributing an "ad hoc" narrative (as Japhet and Dirksen propose) to the Chronicler.[115] In the first case, rather than a general ascription of David's involvement in warfare as the means of disqualification (which do not account for the extremity associated with David's ascription), taking aspects of both Kimhi's and Murray's arguments, as well as Cudworth's appraisal of David's excessive focus on the military, a more specific instance of David's fault, and thus a foreshadowing of Josiah's ignominious death, does appear in the Chronicler's narrative: namely, David's excesses in war as seen in 1 Chr 19.

The Significance of 1 Chr 19

Though not necessarily idealizing warfare, the Chronicler certainly records YHWH sanctioning and administrating wars when necessary. This is clear in the battles with the Philistines in 14:10 and 14:15, the promised subduing of Israel's enemies (cf. 17:10) in

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[113] Kelly, "David's," 53–61; Evans, "Let the Crime," 65–80; Cudworth, *War.*

[114] Though Rudolph (*Chronikbucher,* 151) and Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles,* 154) note David's ritual impurity, this does not seem, in itself, to bear the weight of disqualification as David's burnt offerings are, nonetheless, acceptable to YHWH.

[115] Cf. Kelly ("David's," 54) who notes that Japhet's approach "attributes to the Chronicler a certain incoherent, even forced and contradictory attitude toward his own narrative"; Murray ("Under," 461) claims, such a tact "brings against David a charge of bloodshed in war otherwise quite unwarranted in the Hebrew Bible, and incompatible with Chronicles own indication of YHWH 's support for David's wars." Dirksen ("David Disqualified," 54), too, relates an *ad hoc* adaptation of 1 Kings 5:17[3] for the Chronicler.

18:1 and 20:4, as well as YHWH's saving of David in 18:6 and 18:13.[116] YHWH is in no

way *de facto* opposed to war, which makes David's disqualification all the more extreme

for since YHWH sanctioned and fought on behalf of David, the indictment should be, if

David's disqualification as a "blood shedder" was a result of generic involvement in

warfare, an indictment against YHWH and not David. In this case, ch. 19 proves to be

pivotal. For while there is a general scholarly consensus acknowledging YHWH's

approval of David's wars, especially as noted in 18:6 and 18:13, a shift occurs in ch. 19

that seems to have been overlooked by scholarship.

Once YHWH saves (ויושע) David in 18:13, in the narrative immediately

following, when the Ammonites gather in battle, David sends Joab (19:8). Though

Japhet, for one, contends that as this was not a full scale war, and therefore Joab and the

regular army could "handle" it, there is nonetheless a shift in terms of David and Joab at

this point.[117] As Joab was provided pre-eminence as accomplishing the "first and

greatest" achievement for all Israel in securing Jerusalem (cf. 1 Chr 11:6), via

chronological displacement in the narrative, so, too, now, the narrative will appropriate

chronological displacement to focus on a specific battle involving David. However, the

displacement only occurs once Joab is noted in 19:8 as leading the "*entire* army (כל־צבא)

of mighty warriors."

The chronological displacement at this point serves to emphasize the role of

David with the Arameans. For already in 18:5–6, David is noted as having struck down

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[116] So, too, in 1 Chr 19:13, Joab ascribes the outcome of the battle to YHWH, in which Joab is ultimately successful, and thus, YHWH saw it "right in his eyes" to deliver Israel. However, this ascription to YHWH is on the lips of Joab and not David.

[117] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 359. Cf. Ristau, "House of Judah," 133–50.

the Arameans with the specific note that "*YHWH saved David* wherever he went" (ויושע

יהוה את־דוד).[118] Therefore, another purpose seems to be required for the Chronicler's

extracting and focusing specifically on this battle and David's actions therein. Indeed, the

Chronicler's narrative has been structured specifically around this battle, placing it under

a microscope so-to-speak. In order to appreciate the Chronicler's focus, it is necessary to

trace the usage of two key terms throughout this narrative section: one, "slaughter" (הרג),

which initiates the Chronicler's trauma script (2 Chr 36:17) and only appears three times

in all of 1 Chronicles (cf. 1 Chr 7:21; 11:23; 19:18); and two, "striking" (נכה).

As noted previously, ch. 11 served as a means to foreshadow certain elements of

the Chronicler's narrative. There, Benaiah is noted as "striking" (נכה) three times. First,

Benaiah is noted as having נכה "lions of Moab" and then a lion in a pit (11:22), and

continues to נכה an Egyptian only to end with הרג (11:23); this relates explicitly to David

striking (נכה) in 18:1, 2, 3 and then ending the same re-narrated battle with הרג, later, in

19:18. Indeed, a clear pattern is created with the appearance of נכה in ch. 18, whereby

David struck his oppressors three times in 18:1, 2, 3, with a brief narrative interlude

recounting the previous battle with another appearance of נכה in 18:5, only to be

followed exactly three times later, in 18:9, 10, 12. Precisely at the centre it is noted that

when the Arameans of Damascus came to help Hadadezer, David "struck" (נכה) the

Arameans (18:5). As a result, the Chronicler specifically notes that YHWH delivered

(ויושע) David (18:6). At the end of the pattern, again, following the final appearance of

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[118] Cf. *DCH* 4:335, 336: "be saved"; "1a. "help, rescue, spare, deliver, save, come to the aid of, defend cause of"; also, noun construct (4:331): "salvation, deliverance, prosperity, help"; as well, the connotations as listed for תשועה in *DCH* 8:683: "salvation, deliverance, victory, help, safety."

נכה in the sequence, the Chronicler notes that YHWH delivered (ויושע) David (18:13). David, therefore, is noted as, and admirably ascribed with, having struck (and thus, defeated) the Arameans. That Benaiah appears precisely before the narrative of ch. 19 begins (cf. 18:17), however, confirms the foreshadowing provided by ch. 11 and serves to transition the narrative and initiate the chronological displacement. For YHWH will still subdue the nations as in 20:3 (to fulfill YHWH's promise originally stated in 17:10), however, David will not be the subject of נכה ever again as the narrative's chronology continues into ch. 20. As such, the question as to why the Chronicler, so willing to drastically shorten the narrative compared to the text of Samuel, should include ch. 19, when the scene was already recounted, including showing David as victoriously "striking" (נכה) 22,000 Arameans? The only change, as a result, is that rather than David described with נכה, as appeared in 18:5, in the second instance in 19:18, now David's actions are described with "slaughter" (הרג).[119] Furthermore, rather than YHWH being explicitly with David, Joab is the person noted as having invoked YHWH to do the "good in his eyes" (19:13). All this occurs in 1 Chr 19.

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[119] In Solomon's narrative in 1 Kings, the specific phrase "YHWH raised up an adversary (שטו) against Solomon" (1 Kgs 11:14), is a result of David, and Joab having "struck" (נכה) Edomites, but also, God rose up another adversary (שטו): Rezon, the servant of Hadadezer (1 Kgs 11:23). The narrative continues to state in 11:24, that this occurs specifically after the "slaughter" (הרג) by David (Joab not being mentioned)! With the adversary appearing in 1 Chr 21:1, directly after David's final appearance in battle and his הרג, alone, with the Syrians (1 Chr 19:18), associated with none other than "the army of Hadadezer" (1 Chr 19:16) makes a clear parallel between these narratives. That Hadadezer went to "put up a monument on the Euphrates" (18:8) (stated as "regain his power on the Euphrates" in 2 Sam 8:3) may be a parallel to Josiah, who meets his death with Neco, on the Euphrates (2 Chr 35:20). As well, that the satan (שטו) appears against David in Chronicles rather than Solomon ensures that Solomon, the builder of the Temple, remains untarnished. Also, that Abishai, and not David as in Samuel's account, is responsible for striking down the Edomites (1 Chr 18:18 // 2 Sam 8:13) maintains the focus on David and הרג in Chronicles. Also, 2 Sam 8:13 notes that David made "a name for himself," which is altogether absent in 1 Chr 18.

While David is recorded as "striking" (ויך) his enemies throughout ch. 18, against

the Arameans, and only in the Chronicler's rendition, David is described with הרג in

relation to 7,000 charioteers and 40,000 foot soldiers and to have "put to death" (המית)

Shophak, the commander of the army of Hadadezer (1 Chr 19:18).[120] That this narrative,

one of chronological displacement involving a battle already attributing success to David,

now includes the far more extreme "slaughter" (הרג) provides ample potential for being

ascribed as a "blood shedder."[121] Indeed, the Chronicler notes that Aram was smote (נגף)

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[120] As David had struck (ויך) the nations around Israel in ch. 18, God, too, strikes (ויך) Israel (21:7). "Striking" (נכה), with David as subject, appears in 18:1, 2, 3, 5; 20:1 [Joab as subject]; 20:5 [Elhanan as subject]. Cf. *Hiphil*: 18:9, 10, 12 [Abishai as subject] and 20:4 [Sibbecai the Hushathite as subject], 7 [Jonathon, son of Shimea as subject]. The term הרג appears elsewhere in 1 Chronicles only in 7:21; 11:23 and here (19:18). Also, in 2 Chronicles in 21:4, 13; 22:1,8; 23:17; 24:22, 25; 25:3; 28:6, 7, 9; 36:17. In the book of Samuel, הרג appears in 1 Sam 16:2; 22:21; 24:11[10], 12[11], 19[18]; 2 Sam 3:30; 4:10, 11, 12; 10:18; 12:9; 14:7; 23:21. Interestingly, the narrative about David "putting to death" (להמית) two of the three sections of Moabites is absent in the Chronicler's narrative (2 Sam 8:2). Furthermore, instead of "putting to death" Shophak as 1 Chr 19:18 records, the parallel in 2 Sam 10:18 simply states that there "he died" (וימת). In essence, this moves the phrase להמית from the otherwise exactly parallel account in 2 Sam 8:2 // 1 Chr 18, to the end of ch. 19. This fits with the Chronicler's narrative that ch. 18 was YHWH's will and blessing, but that David overextended his war efforts in ch. 19. Interestingly, Ezek 9:5–10 contains all four elements as well: striking, murdering, pouring out, and bloodshed. Cf. also Lam 2:20–21 (a case that YHWH went too far?).

[121] This coheres with Murray's ("Under," 470) analysis that killing (הרג) in battle makes one ceremonially unclean (cf. Num 31:19–24). As noted in the discussion above, נכה carries neutral connotations, whereas הרג is overwhelmingly either a justified action (as in vengeance) or not (as in, murder invoking bloodguilt. Cf. 1 Sam 25:31). This is perhaps most clearly portrayed in David's killing of Uriah in 2 Sam. Fuhs (*TDOT* 3:454), too, claims that הרג "as a crime" is "likewise undisputed [in] David's killing of Uriah." For when the narrative first describes the event, נכה is used by David in his letter to Joab where he says to "Set Uriah in the forefront of the hardest fighting, and then draw back from him, so that he may be struck down (נכה) and die" (2 Sam 11:15). Note, especially, the passive (niphal) nature of David's request. However, in Nathan's proclamation of David's guilt (2 Sam 12:9), first נכה is used ("You struck down (נכה) Uriah the Hittite with the sword"), similar to David's directions to Joab in his letter in 2 Sam 11:14 (though with the added complicity of David's direct involvement by using the hiphil), but then, in order to alleviate any neutral or ambiguous connotations, Nathan blatantly claims that David was guilty of Uriah's death by using the term הרג in 2 Sam 12:9 ("and you have slaughtered him [הרגת] with the sword of the Ammonites"). As such, rather than the "striking" being perhaps unintentional as David had first attempted in his letter, the nature of Uriah's death blatantly questions whether David was justified or not by using הרג (Note also the connection with Abimelech in David's initial response to Joab's messenger in 2 Sam 12:21). This serves to absolve the Ammonites who Joab was battling, as Uriah is simply noted as having "died" during the conflict (Cf. 11:17, 21, 24, 26) placing the bloodguilt solely on David. That David

before Israel creating an *inclusio* with 19:16 and 19:19.[122] The Chronicler clearly states in 19:18, directly in the middle of the *inclusio* of Israel defeating the Arameans, that Aram had fled (נוס) before Israel.[123] The appearance of "fleeing" (נוס) and "striking" (נכה) occur together in the same narrative later in regards to Abijah, whereby the Israelites fled before Judah and, as the text notes, "God gave them into their hands" (2 Chr 13:16); there, Abijah and his people "strike" (נכה) Israel and they are subsequently "subdued" (כנע). All this was brought about because Judah had cried out to YHWH and the priests blew the trumpets (2 Chr 13:14). However, later, in almost a complete reversal in Amaziah's narrative, both נכה and הרג appear. Knoppers, for one, notes how the Israelites "in acting as Yahweh's means to punish Judah the Israelites have been *excessive*" and killed (ותהרגו) in a rage that reached up to heaven (2 Chr 28:9).[124] There, God's justice was to be enacted and was completed by Israel who "struck" (ויד) Judah (28:5), but they ultimately went too far and "killed (הרג) in a rage." In David's case, the threat was removed, too, and yet, David, alone, is described with הרג. After this, David is not mentioned in battle again.[125]

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replies to Joab to not let Uriah's death be "bad in his eyes" (לא־ירע בעיניך) in 2 Sam 11:25 and that the sword (חרב) devours "one as well as another" is precisely what the narrator later recounts *was* bad in the eyes of YHWH (cf. 2 Sam 11:27); that Nathan claims David killed Uriah by the sword (חרב) of the Ammonites (12:9), only serves to confirm the guilt of David's actions.

[122] Cudworth (*War*, 33) notes the synonymous nature of נכה and נגף, however, does not differentiate that Israel is the subject of נגף in ch. 19.

[123] Also, in 2 Chr 25:22 Judah is defeated (נגף) and flees (נוס).

[124] Knoppers, "Reunited," 77; emphasis mine.

[125] There is a note in the short narrative ending in 1 Chr 20:8 that the giants "fell" (נפל) before David and his servants. However, this account parallels 2 Sam 21:15–22 where the narrative details the battle between David and Goliath, which is not present in the Chronicler's narrative—though the battles of David's brothers with the giants are, placing the emphasis in Chronicles explicitly on the actions of David's brothers.

The contrast between the military being in service to YHWH (and thus, the cult), and not vice versa can be seen perhaps best as a contrast between war and peace in the Chronicler's recounting. Between the fine line of military support for the cultus, resides the appearance of "slaughter" (הרג). The significance of the term הרג is prominent in both Kimhi's and Murray's analysis. The weakness of Kimhi's argument, namely, that the death of Uriah is absent in the Chronicler's narrative, therefore can readily be maintained in terms of the severity of David's indictment in both narratives by transferring the term הרג from the killing of Uriah in 1 Samuel to the killing of the Arameans in Chronicles.[126] As well, a further parallel with the term הרג occurs in David's charge to Solomon in 1 Kgs 2:5, where he makes the claim that Joab slaughtered (הרג) Abner and Amasa in a time of peace (בשלם) for blood that had been spilt in war.[127] And ultimately, the account in 1 Kgs 11:23–25 (absent in Chronicles), states that an "adversary" (שטן) against Israel arises all the days of Solomon *after* the "killing" (הרג) of Hadadezer by David. The contrast between war and peace is clearly evident between David and Solomon, however, here the connection with הרג appears in both of these instances with the Arameans

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[126] Note also, the similarity between the proper name Shopak (שופך) and David's indictment later in 1 Chr 22:8 as a "blood shedder" (שפכת). The connection with Shophak (שופך), in addition to Alter's (*Narrative*, 95) premise of narrative art constructed with similar word roots apart from strict semantic coherence, would actually comprise the infintive absolue verbal form of "pour out" (שופך). Of course, the form in 2 Samuel is conveniently different, there it is Sho*bak* (שובך).

[127] Though earlier, where the narrative describes Joab's murder in 2 Sam 3:27, only the term "striking" (נכה) appears to refer to Joab's action, here David uses the term הרג. Again, judgement of נכה is to be given by the community (cf. Num 35:24); David, in essence, judges Joab's actions as murder without just cause. Interestingly, David had dismissed Absalom "in peace" (בשלום), after which Joab will kill Absalom. Also, in 2 Sam 18:15 Absalom is struck (נכה) and put to death (וימיתהו) by the men with Joab; in 2 Sam 19:23[22] David accuses the sons of Zeruiah of being adversaries (לשטן) and that no one in Israel should, that day, be put to death (יומת).

making peace (וישלימו) with David, specifically, and not Israel as in 2 Sam 10:19 (cf. 1 Chr 19:19). In fact, ironically then, the very charge David makes against Joab in 1 Kgs 2:5 for killing Abner "in peace," is quite possibly the charge the Chronicler draws upon in the charge against David, to the point of referencing it three times.[128] Similarly, Murray focuses on the term הרג as appearing in the book of Numbers.[129] The weakness of Murray's argument is that his analysis leaves David's disqualification elided with YHWH, for in Murray's contention, YHWH sanctioned all of David's battles.[130] However, if Murray is correct in his equation of הרג with דם שפך, then the appearance in 19:18 of David's הרג would support not only Murray's claim based on the term הרג, but also dissociate YHWH from having sanctioned such extreme actions.[131]

It is almost immediately following this act that the census is conducted.[132] In contrast, in 2 Sam 12:9, David had Uriah slaughtered (הרג) by the hand of the Ammonites.[133] That this specific action was displeasing to YHWH in the book of Samuel (cf. 2 Sam 11:27; 12:9) and is now shifted by the Chronicler to the census being displeasing to YHWH (1 Chr 21:7) with the verb הרג found exactly prior to where the narrative of David and Bathsheba ought to appear (i.e., "when kings go out to war" 2

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[128] Cf. Murray, "Under," 466.

[129] Murray, "Under."

[130] Cf. Murray, "Under," 461.

[131] That YHWH will later subdue the Philistines (1 Chr 20:4), of which David is nowhere present, is an aspect of YHWH's fulfilment of the vow to subdue David's enemies (17:10). Of interest is that only the Philistines are said to be subdued in 18:1 and 20:4.

[132] Cf. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 407), who notes that "In the Chronicler's drastically shorter account [than 2 Samuel], the assault on Rabbah by Joab and then by David seems to happen in quick succession."

[133] In this, Bodner's (*David*, 90–97) treatment of 4QSamᵃ is rather interesting: for the MT of 2 Sam 11:3 reads, "'And David sent and inquired about the woman, and he said, 'Is this not Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam, the wife of Uriah the Hittite?'", but 4QSamᵃ includes the phrase '…Uriah the Hittite *armor-bearer of Joab*?'" As such, the narrative of David's slaughter of Uriah being "bad" in YHWH's eyes places an emphasis on the Chronicler's census (which was equally "bad in YHWH's eyes"), where *Joab* resists David's "abhorrent" census (1 Chr 21:3, 6).

Sam 11:1 // 1 Chr 20:1) is revealing.[134] The absence of the David and Uriah / Bathsheba narrative does not absolve David of any negative overtones, for the census is equally displeasing and disastrous. That the term הרג along with YHWH's displeasure are still maintained in the Chronicler's narrative, though transferred to the census narrative, does not absolve David, yet, Solomon remains untainted.[135] That David had sent men to comfort (נחם) Nahash's son (as the book of Samuel recounts David comforting Bathsheba!) only to have them sent away ashamed (1 Chr 19:2–4) is, in fact, the very action that initiates the narrative of ch. 19.[136]

The course of international events, and specifically the perpetual animosity between Israel and Aram, is highlighted by the Chronicler at this point by David's actions.[137] While Knoppers has noted the consistent denouncement of foreign alliances elsewhere in Chronicles, it is interesting that this episode, which leads to much conflict and trauma between the parties involved (i.e., Israel and Aram), should not be mentioned.[138] It would seem then, that either foreign alliances are not all denounceable in Chronicles, or else David is not so unblemished as to avoid a foreign alliance.

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[134] The reference in 2 Sam 21:1 does charge Saul and his house with bloodguilt (הדמים) for seeking to wipe out the Gibeonites who were to be spared, however, the term הרג does not appear in the narrative. And while strike (נכה) does appear later in reference to Saul's intention (21:5), YHWH charges that Saul had "put to death" (המית) the Gibeonites (21:1), which also appears in David's killing of Shophak (1 Chr 19:18): that three years of famine were the result of Saul's actions raises direct connection with the punishments offered to David.

[135] For Solomon's mother, then, is not recorded as being in the midst of scandal.

[136] The Chronicler initiates 1 Chr 19 with David "sending messengers" to console (נחם) Hanun. That the narrative of Bathsheba is absent in Chronicles is well known, however, the very last section before the Chronicler re-engages with Joab striking Rabbah, also notes that David comforts (נחם) Bathsheba (2 Sam 12:24).

[137] Cf. 2 Chr 16:2–4; 18:30; 22:5; 24:23–25; 28:5.

[138] Cf. Knoppers, "YHWH is Not," 601–26.

In YHWH's speech to David (through Nathan) in ch. 17, he states that he has been with David and cut off all his enemies from before him, which leads to the final proclamation that YHWH will subdue all David's enemies (17:8–10). As opposed to David's seeking of YHWH before battling the Philistines (14:9, 14), immediately following David's self-elating speech in 17:23–27, he alone attacks the Philistines (18:1); YHWH is nowhere to be heard on David's lips. In fact, in the battle against the Arameans, it will be Joab that proclaims, "may YHWH do what seems good to him" (1 Ch 19:13). When David hears that the Arameans from beyond the Euphrates have gathered, only then does he go out to the battle (afraid that Joab will usurp his power?). Once YHWH is noted as saving David in various battles as recounted in ch. 18, 1 Chr 19 then serves as a chronological displacement to emphasize David's excesses in war. After this, David is not mentioned in battle again with Solomon's narrative entirely void of any rivalries or battles.[139] In the end, it will be Sibbekai that subdues the original threat to Israel: the Philistines (cf. 20:4). In this sense, the Chronicler contrasts military and cultic foci, and the need for reliance upon and seeking after YHWH, which Joab, rather than David, will eventually accomplish. For absolute clarity, the Chronicler then recounts the census narrative—the conclusion of which results in the precise location of the temple. In the end, David's excessive focus on the military in the Chronicler's recounting foreshadows Josiah's ignominious death at the hands of Neco. In both instances, there is an overt silence embedded in the narratives: YHWH is not consulted. As the Chronicler

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[139] Solomon is noted as "taking" (חזק) Hamath-Zobah, however, no battle is described nor is any competing figure mentioned (cf. 2 Chr 8:3).

seems to suggest, the more the military seems to succeed, the more YHWH seems to disappear. For a community, such as those in Persian Yehud, living in the wake of cultural trauma remembered vividly as the slaughter (הרג) of young men and old, the desire to depend on human military bloodbaths surely pales in comparison to seeking, serving, and praising the God who delivers and rescues his people from all their enemies.

The Census Narrative (1 Chr 21)

Following David's excesses in battle, the Chronicler introduces the census narrative with the foreboding appearance of "an adversary" (שטן) standing against Israel (1 Chr 21:1).[140] In the process of enumerating Israel, it will be Joab—the one who only just recently, in the absence of David, sought the good in YHWH's eyes (cf. 19:13)—that will now, after the strong-arming of David, excise the tribes of Benjamin and Levi from the abhorrent census (21:6). That Joab was the first one to "go up" to conquer Jebus (11:6) and now defies David in counting Levi and Benjamin in the census reveals that tribal (social identity) tensions exist in the narrative, and especially where Jerusalem is concerned.[141] The centrality of Jerusalem, on the other hand, remains prominent throughout with the removal of both Levi and Benjamin from the census serving to heighten their association with Jerusalem. As Japhet points out, "Benjamin and Levi were in fact free from guilt.

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[140] See Evans ("Divine," 545–58) for arguments as to שטן as a divine intermediary, and one not, of necessity, an archenemy of God.
[141] Cf. Jonker, "Of Jebus," 81–96.

The 'guilt upon Israel' caused by the census justified God's punishment but also warranted the exclusion of Jerusalem."[142]

The guilt and severity of David's census results in the falling of 70,000 Israelites (1 Chr 21:14).[143] The mention of 70,000 Israelites falling in 1 Chr 21:14 is almost, as Ben Zvi has noted, the only instance in the Chronicler's census narrative that the account is *verbatim* to that in 2 Sam 24:15.[144] This may suggest that the cultural trauma of this event lingered within the community for some time, which may have been alleviated by the building of the first temple. However, following the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians and subsequent forced migration, the loss of 70,000 Israelites is no longer part of the trauma script, though does remain a marker of trauma evoking the community's new situation.[145] In both instances, in the wake of trauma, the temple location rises to prominence.[146] If the association with David's purchase of Ornan's threshing floor is

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[142] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 378; cf. Knoppers (*1 Chronicles 10–29*, 753) who suggests Benjamin may have been excepted because "the holy site of Jerusalem was considered to lie within its borders." Wright ("Innocence," 96–97) suggests that in Joab's defiance he did not count Levi and Benjamin because failing to enroll Benjamin would "eliminate nearly one-half of the military strength of the Davidic king" and by omitting the sons of Levi, Joab was removing "the very personnel who might ensure David's military success"; Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 421–22) is unclear as to why both Levi and Benjamin are excepted, though suggests that the cultic site being in Gibeon, which resides in Benjamin territory at this time, may be a likely reason; so, too, Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 145) suggests the tabernacle residing in Gibeon as a possible explanation for Benjamin's exclusion.

[143] Though Wright ("Innocence," 97), for one, contends the fault of the pestilence resides with Joab, see Bailey ("David's," 84–90), Boda (*1 –2 Chronicles*, 175), Jonker, (*Defining*, 238–39), and Evans ("Let the Crime," 67) for a series of convincing contra arguments.

[144] Ben Zvi, "Gateway," 223.

[145] The lack of any repetition from the trauma script (2 Chr 36:17–20) serves to differentiate the loss of 70,000 Israelites from the cultural trauma of those now living in Persian Yehud. At the same time, that the Chronicler notes the men of Israel are "fallen" (נפל) may relate back to Saul and his house "falling" (cf. 10:4–8) with resultant cultural trauma ensuing; though the mention of death, or fleeing, is not as prevalent here.

[146] In addition to David's paying such a hefty price (600 shekels), ultimately the exorbitant price portrays the incomparable worth of the land upon which the temple sits—a place which Ornan was immediately willing to give up. As Rashi has noted 50 shekels, the price recorded in 2 Samuel, for every tribe of Israel equals the 600 shekels name allocated for the temple. Even in the price of land on which the temple sits, all Israel is accounted for.

indeed evocative of Abraham's purchase of Machpelah (Gen 23:9), then the temple site

(or even, Jerusalem) could well be acting here as a memorial site associated with

burial(s).[147] In the wake of 70,000 Israelites, along with the burial of subsequent kings "in

the city of David," with the final destruction of Jerusalem involving the indiscriminate

slaughter of residents (2 Chr 36:17), a lugubrious image arises at this point indeed.[148]

The decision for the altar to be constructed at that specific place was initiated by

YHWH (1 Chr 21:15, 18, 19).[149] Knoppers, for one, notes how the Chronicler, more than

in 2 Sam 24:18, accentuates God's role by having the angel of YHWH tell Gad to

command David to build the altar, which David subsequently "goes up" in response to

the word of Gad, which was spoken "in the name of YHWH" (1 Chr 21:19).[150] YHWH

consumes the sacrifices originally offered by Ornan, the Jebusite, as a mark of divine

appointment, of which the temple site is precisely the climax.[151] Once the altar is

constructed as commanded by the angel of YHWH (21:18–19), David calls out to

YHWH (21:26) and is answered for the first time since battling the Philistines (14:10,

14). Incredibly, even in the wake of cultural trauma arising from 70,000 deaths caused by

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[147] On the textual connections between these accounts, see, for example, Japhet, *1&II Chronicles*, 387; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 427; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 758.

[148] Kings are buried in "the city of David" in 2 Chr 9:31; 12:16; 13:23[14:1]; 16:14; 21:1; 21:20; 24:25; 25:28; 27:9. Ahaz is buried in Jerusalem (2 Chr 28:27); Hezekiah is buried in "the tombs of the sons of David" (32:33); Josiah is buried in "the tombs of his fathers" (35:24).

[149] David is, at last, entirely the respondent to YHWH's decrees—to the degree of being made to follow YHWH's directives even under threat of sword point.

[150] Cf. Knoppers, "Images," 463 n. 55: "The divine authorization for the altar is more explicit in Chronicles than in 2 Sam 24,18. In Samuel Gad simply tells David to establish an altar for Yhwh at the threshing floor, but in 1 Chr 21:18 the messenger of Yhwh tells Gad to inform David to construct an altar."

[151] Cf. Japhet (*1&II Chronicles*, 390): "[1 Chr 22:1] is the climax and, according to the Chronistic context, the denouement of the story: God has chosen the threshing floor as 'the holy place' . . . The house is God's, the altar is for the people." To make explicit YHWH's actions at this point: David did not initiate the place for the altar, nor initiate its price, nor even initiate the list of offerings; David built the altar at YHWH's command, and offered sacrifices that were originally offered by Ornan (21:23), all under the careful watch of an angel bearing a sword (21:27).

David's foolishness (סכל; cf. 21:8), in seeking YHWH, at last once again, David (as Manasseh will be later; 2 Chr 33:12–13) was heard. In both instances, YHWH responds to those who call out and seek after the name of YHWH. The temple site is to be the site where the people's disasters are to be alleviated if only they will call out to YHWH (cf. 2 Chr 7:12–14).

Of interest, of course, is that the angel's sword is not sheathed until David fulfills the command of the angel of YHWH (1 Chr 21:27). YHWH's purposes in specifically determining Ornan's threshing floor as *the* place for worship and offerings to be made will be seen all the way through, even, if need be, with a sword hanging over David until he fulfills what the angel asked. That the angel's sword is not sheathed until the burnt and peace offerings are presented and the name of YHWH invoked lays the foundation for Solomon's exemplary prayer in 2 Chr 6–7. Though Knoppers, for one, proposes an excision of the final verses (21:28–30) from the census narrative, Dion, for one, suggests the sword, which also appears in 21:30, is central to the narrative.[152] Angels with drawn swords only appear elsewhere in the HB in Josh 5:13 and Num 22:22.[153] In Balaam's narrative several features appear that are remarkably similar to the Chronicler's census narrative: that Balak was fearful of the number of Israelites (22:3), places the nation of Israel within both of these contexts (cf. 1 Chr 21:1–5, 7, 14); as well, an angel appears with a drawn sword (Num 22:31 // 1 Chr 21:16); the verb "striking" (ויך) appears in Num 22:23, 27 // 1 Chr 21:7, as does "killing" (הרג) in Num 22:29 // 1 Chr 19:18; both

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[152] Cf. Dion, "Angel," 114–16, especially 116.

[153] Amit ("Araunah's," 138) notes the comparison of the angel being "between heaven and earth" drawing on Ezek 8:3 and Zech 5:9, however, it should also be noted that Absalom, too, was caught "between heaven and earth" (2 Sam 18:9), though the narrative is absent in Chronicles.

instances contain the disapproving reference of "displeasing to the eye" (רע בעיניך) as in Num 22:34 // 1 Chr 21:7; finally, that subsequent to the appearance of the angel, burnt offerings are made to appease God (Num 23:1 // 1 Chr 21:26) makes these narratives conspicuously similar.[154] But perhaps even more revealing is that the adversary (לשטן) appears in Num 22:32 // 1 Chr 21:1 and, in the case of Balaam, the stated reason is because "*your way is perverse* (ירט) *before me*." Only after burnt and peace offerings are made (why else should YHWH direct an *altar* be built?) and David calls on the name of YHWH, does YHWH respond. In this action, David, like Manasseh later (2 Chr 33:13), indeed, is a perfect sinner—though, perhaps, as Balaam was, his way was headed in a wrong direction.

While the acceptance of the burnt offering culminates in the allocation of the temple building and the eventual reunion of the ark and tabernacle, David, himself, does not attempt to unite the two points of worship. Rather, Solomon will go up to the bronze altar in Gibeon (2 Chr 1:3).[155] That the Chronicler is seeking to justify sacrifices at Ornan's threshing floor as opposed to Gibeon seems rather to reflect a Benjaminite polemic and that David was not the one to usurp worship from Gibeon; rather, YHWH was the one designating the Temple site, and this, as a means to unite worship for the

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[154] See Stokes ("Devil," 91–106) for a comparison of synoptic elements in the narratives of 1 Chr 21, 2 Sam 24, and Num 22 in seeking to identify "satan" (שטן).

[155] Knoppers ("Images," 463–64 n. 58; cf. Kittel, *Bucher der Chronik*, 79–81) does attribute 1 Chr 21:28–30 as a later addition (so Kittel), precisely because it "conflicts with the force of 1 Chr 21:26–27; 22:1." However, Curtis and Madsen (*1 Chronicles*, 254) make the point that "[Kittel's] theory falls from its own weight. No reason is apparent why a glossator should insert this verse in Ki.'s original form since it adds nothing and explains nothing." As well, Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 150) notes that v. 28 "does not, fortunately, affect our understanding of the main point of the paragraph as a whole"; cf. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 389: "the theme and phrasing of the parenthetic passage are harmonious with other material in Chronicles." Dion's ("Angel," 114–116, especially 116) focus on "the sword of the angel" depends precisely on the Chronicler's narrative cohesion.

sake of Israel.[156] Japhet states the issue rather clearly: "should [the determination of the Temple site] be viewed . . . as a divine choice and act of grace, or should it be regarded . . . as a concession to human limitation and weakness?"[157] If the temple site is not be attributed to a "weak" David, then, as Japhet contends, in the "spirit of the narrative context," it ought to be attributed *to divine choice as an act of grace*. The altar was to be built on Ornan's threshing floor at the command of the angel of YHWH. In this, it was YHWH's desire to unite Israel's worship in a single location. David (and the Davidides to follow) does not make the temple exemplary; YHWH's presence makes the temple exemplary.

Following the census, David ends his speech in almost a complete reversal of 1 Chr 17, for now David exclusively extols YHWH and His House: Solomon is to build a temple to bring the ark of the covenant of YHWH "into a house *built for the name of YHWH*" (1 Chr 22:19).[158] Furthermore, when David prepares Solomon to be courageous in building the temple, another shift occurs and David mentions "he has chosen my son Solomon to sit upon *the throne of the kingdom of YHWH* over Israel," with YHWH replying, "It is your son Solomon who shall build *my house* and *my courts*" (1 Chr 28:5). Only after the appearance of the destroying angel, does David mention an eternal kingdom for Solomon (28:7), but this time, conditionality is added. The reason for Solomon's chosenness is clearly stated by David: "Take heed now, for YHWH has

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[156] Cf. Jonker, "Of Jebus," 92.

[157] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 390.

[158] Also, the shift for Solomon to build the tabernacle is found here, which provides the impetus for Solomon's first act of going up to Gibeon, but also, as a counteractive to 2 Chr 29:6 where David, by allusion, may have been in danger of forsaking the tabernacle in his abandonment of Asaph and the Levites.

chosen you *to build a house*" (28:10). This is further emphasised later when David declares, "YHWH, our God, all this abundance that we have provided for building *you* a house for *your* holy name comes from *your* hand and is all *your* own" (29:16). David, and his son, Solomon, have been selected for this purpose: to build the Temple for YHWH.[159]

In short turn, once the temple site is established (22:19) and David declares God's commission to "Go and build the sanctuary of YHWH," the narrative instantly skips to when David is "old and full of years," followed immediately by Solomon becoming king (23:1).[160] Time, in many ways, ceases to pass once Solomon becomes king, for even through Solomon's reign, there is not another chronological marker until after the temple is built, burnt offerings accepted, and YHWH responds to Solomon's prayer "at the end of twenty years" (2 Chr 8:1). David's reign, in chronological terms, ends immediately following the founding of the temple site. In the end, it was Joab that sought to exculpate the tribes of Levi and Benjamin. In the end, that a temple will be built in a place acceptable to God (as evidenced by the heavenly fire in 1 Chr 21:26; cf. 21:28) as a result of devastation and repentance would fit well with the post-exilic community which has, also, undergone a cultural trauma and stands before the Temple without the presence of a ruling Davivide. After everything that has occurred to Israel, it is the Temple, as a site and reminder of YHWH's mercy, and the place of exculpation for the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, that endures.

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[159] Cf. Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 162–63.
[160] Cf. Willi, "Völkerwelt," 260.

Summary

By the time the census narrative arrives, David's excessive focus on the military is clear. After potentially leaving behind the Levites in 1 Chr 16:37, YHWH begins to slip from the lips (and mind?) of David, until it is YHWH that strikes (נכה) Israel in 21:7. Though initially tasked with battling the Philistines, David's efforts in war are revealed to be excessive with "slaughter" (הרג), a powerful term associated with the Chronicler's cultural trauma script, attributed to the actions of David in, first, his alliance with, and then, subsequent battle with, the Arameans in 1 Chr 19—an entity that will prove disastrous for Israel on several occasions across their subsequent histories together.

In recounting these narratives in such a fashion, the Chronicler seems to suggest that the community's cultural trauma (evidenced by evocations of the Chronicler's cultural trauma script throughout the narrative), can first be alleviated by the transference of the ark, and then, more permanently, with the building of the Temple. In each alleviation, the Levites rise to prominence. In both instances, the Levites are organized following the deaths of members of the community (Uzzah in the first transference of the ark and 70,000 in the case of the census). While YHWH does not appear *de facto* opposed to war, Israel is only to enter battle after first seeking Him. When a leader does not seek YHWH, the results are, often, disastrous (cf. 1 Chr 13:10; 21:14). By claiming the tribes of Levi and Benjamin as innocent in light of the census, the city of Jerusalem is exculpated. Again, the Chronicler is seeking to relieve any tension that may have arisen from the temple being built in Jerusalem, as opposed to Gibeon. It was not merely David desiring to transfer the tabernacle from Gibeon, but YHWH. The movement from Gibeon to Jerusalem is not to be seen as offensive to the tribe of Benjamin, but rather, since they

were innocent from the plague of the census, are encouraged to join the temple cult in

Jerusalem, the site of a powerful theophany, and one that humbles, rather than glorifies,

David.[161]

As David's disqualification evidences, Israel is to be a community that is

comprised of a military in service to the cult, and not vice versa. As Josiah's narrative

will later recount, failure to heed this distinction results in not only a death in line with

among the worst kings in Israel's history, but destruction of and subsequent cultural

trauma of the entire community. Ultimately, Josiah will later, as David before him,

support the Levites in their cultic rites, preparing the Passover—indeed, one that was not

celebrated since the days of Samuel (2 Chr 35:18)—only to succumb to an ignominious

and military-borne death with the overt absence of any consultation with (i.e., "seeking

of") YHWH. What remains is the role and position of the Levites, excised from the

census and tasked, by the Chronicler, to lead the community—a community that is to be

cohered (recategorized) as "all Israel," seeking YHWH at the site of peace, in the city of

peace, the Temple in Jerusalem.

The Levitical Temple Administration (1 Chr 23–26)

The Levitical administration is of obvious importance to the Chronicler, especially as it

appears immediately following the location and provisions of the future temple site (1

Chr 21–22).[162] Four full chapters outline the extent of Levitical engagement with the

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[161] As Johnstone (*1 & 2 Chronicles*, 1:199–200) notes, the temple will be at the site "marking his [David's] failure, not success."

[162] For a summary of redaction-history scholarship related to chs. 23–27, see Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 445–46.

temple cultus: 1 Chr 23, the listing of Levites; 1 Chr 24, listing of priests (and then, "other Levites"); 1 Chr 25, musicians; 1 Chr 26, gatekeepers.

There is an interesting dynamic recorded in the detail afforded the Levitical administration, and an apparent (proportional?) lack of focus on the priests.[163] However, while there are certainly inter-group identity negotiations occurring within the tribe of Levi, there are no signs of tension or strife across the categories described. Jonker, for example, suggests these chapters indicate that there was a need to "build self-esteem within the cultic sphere."[164] In each categorization, the Chronicler displays a sense of unity and of helping on behalf of each member, as highlighted by the Chronicler's statement that the Levites are to "assist the sons of Aaron in the service of the house of YHWH" (1 Chr 23:32). The enlisting of the Levitical administration, in Knoppers' words, places stress on intergroup "cooperation and complementarity, not competition and hierarchy."[165] Each category assigned to the various Levites provides a role to perform in the greater service of the temple cultus.

Japhet has pointed out, as an argument against ch. 24 being "displaced," that the Chronicler engages with two genealogical strategies: only once the general genealogy of Levitical houses are complete are secondary affiliations recorded: "priests from Aaron; singers from Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun; gatekeepers from Korah, Obed-edom and Merari; and lastly—the additional functions of treasurers, judges, and officers."[166] In other words, all Levites are accounted for as a unity before categorizations based on duties are delineated.

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[163] Cf. Kim, *Temple Administration*, 11.
[164] Jonker, *1&2 Chronicles*, 155–56.
[165] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, 826.
[166] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 410.

In the final categorization of Levites, namely, the treasurers, a transition occurs whereby other tribal designations begin to emerge. As the Chronicler records, "Shelomoth and his brothers were in charge of all the treasuries of the dedicated gifts that King David, and the heads of families, and the officers of the thousands and the hundreds, and the commanders of the army, had dedicated. From booty won in battles they dedicated gifts for the maintenance of the house of YHWH" (1 Chr 26:26–27). Precisely in the dedication of the gifts to the Temple are Israel's ardent enemies, Abner and Joab (based on their recounting in Samuel-Kings), united together. Saul and Samuel, too, are noted as contributing to the Temple (this, an act of unity in service of the Temple, comprises the final mention of Saul in all of Chronicles). The enumeration of officials then moves to the realm outside Jerusalem: the region west of the Jordan (26:30) and on the other side of the Jordan over the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of the Manassites (26:32). It is only after the Levites are enlisted, and specifically the treasurers overseeing the booty from military exploits "for the maintenance of the Temple," that the Chronicler enlists the military commanders in ch. 27.[167] In many ways, this is similar to David's earlier military exploits as a means to portray the grandeur of the Temple; as Boda points out, the description of provisions for the temple in ch. 22 "paints in broad strokes and brilliant colors a vivid portrait of David's preparations in order to accentuate the glory of the Temple project."[168] This grandeur being received from the nations

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[167] In listing the tribal leaders of Israel in 1 Chr 27:16–22, both Gad and Asher are absent. While the HB often has variant orders when listing the tribes of Israel (see, Sparks, [Chronicler's, 289] for an easily accessible chart), it is unusual to have both Gad and Asher (sons of Leah's concubine, Zilpah) absent though often they are presented at the bottom of most lists. The reason for such omission in this list is unclear though Japhet (I&II Chronicles, 471–72) prefers textual corruption as the rationale. The list, without Gad and Asher does add to twelve, though if Aaron and both half-tribes of Manasseh are added the total is higher with thirteen leaders listed in total.

[168] Boda, 1–2 Chronicles, 181.

surrounding Israel would be appropriately appealing to the nation of Israel returning from the nations to Jerusalem during the Persian era.

Summary

The death of Saul left all Israel in a most precarious position without a military leader. Understandably, all Israel flees. In this respect, David provided an apt replacement, but most importantly David's desire to seek YHWH, which Saul had neglected would prove central for the Chronicler. The two major events of David's narrative attest to the centrality of the tribe of Levi, namely, the transfer of the ark and founding of the Temple site. While the tribes are beginning to unite around David, there are still elements within the narrative highlighting the tensions that may have lingered amongst the tribes, of which the Chronicler is prompt to alleviate, especially where Benjaminites are concerned. Likewise, the role of the Levites, in turn, rises to prominence in the face of the first major traumatic event, the death of Uzzah, and second, David's disastrous census. In the Chronicler's narrative construction, the contrast between David's military conquests and service to the cult are made most explicit in David's disqualification from building the Temple, and his attribution as being one who has "shed much blood." David's disqualification arises predominantly due to his excessive engagement in war. However, at the same time, YHWH consistently hears those who cry out to Him. In the wake of cultural trauma, YHWH confronts David via an angel with a drawn sword, causing him to build an altar, a place for burnt offering. In turn, David places exceptional focus on the cult, and specifically the Levitical administration thereof. In both instances, the Levites lead worship, and it will be the Levites that maintain worship before both the ark and

tabernacle. It will be the Levites that God helps. And though David does not seek to unite the ark and Tabernacle, which remains in Gibeon at his death, the stage is primed for Solomon's entrance to not only unite Israel's worship into a central location, but build, as a man of peace, the house of YHWH for whoever should fall within the Chronicler's recategorized, superordinate identity of "all Israel."

Solomon, the Temple Builder

Solomon's reign is presented as the only unblemished, fully united reign in Chronicles.[169] The moniker of "all Israel" is appropriated without any other tribes, except Levi and one reference each to Dan and Judah, mentioned throughout all of Solomon's reign. The peace that all Israel fought for is realized. Despite some scholars' (so Wellhausen, and others) attempt to portray an untarnished David, there remains not only YHWH's explicit appellation that he is a "man of *much* blood" (22:8; cf. 28:3), but also the tragic death of 70,000 Israelites caused by the census ascribed to David. Solomon's narrative, on the other hand, bears no such tarnish (in contrast to the portrayal in the book of Kings).[170] In

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[169] Also confirmed by the dual "incomparability" phrases in 1 Chr 29:25 and 2 Chr 1:12, which, while present in the Kings' narrative of Hezekiah (2 Kings 18:5) and Josiah (2 Kings 23:25), are not found in the Chronicler's narrative of either of those kings, nor any other.

[170] Though Yong (*Impeccable*), for one, does seek to challenge the image of an "impeccable Solomon," such challenges are predominantly waged from outside Solomon's narrative, and usher evidence from statements within Rehoboam and other rulers' narratives (each which arise within their own distinct contexts). However, the narrative of Solomon itself resists any tarnish; Solomon succeeds in his mission to build a Temple for YHWH. For example, the statement made in Rehoboam's narrative that "his father" made their yoke "very hard," may provide an attempt to portray Solomon as at fault for the schism. However, the challenge is, first, issued by Jeroboam, a person of questionable reliability, and, ultimately, the question results in Rehoboam subsequently choosing between the advice of elders or his friends; furthermore, the narrative continues to state that the elders, those that "stood before" Solomon, offered advice to "speak kind words to the people" (2 Chr 10:7). It is specifically this advice that Rehoboam abandons (עזב), after which, the schism follows in short succession. While the text in Kings makes the note that Solomon enslaved Israelites (1 Kgs 5:27[13]; absent in the synoptic parallel of 2 Chr 2:2 and 2:17–18), the Chronicler only mentions that of the people of Israel Solomon, specifically, "*made no slaves*" (2 Chr 8:9; cf. 1 Kgs 9:22).

many ways, while some hold that the Chronicler is attempting to whitewash David by removing much of the "negative" narratives, the narrative surrounding Bathsheba, for instance, in fact reflects negatively on Solomon as being the child of such acts. With the Chronicler's omission of the Bathsheba narrative, Solomon, certainly, and not necessarily David, is the one who remains untarnished. Only in peace can the temple be built, and this includes not only peace concerning external, international borders, but, and perhaps even more so, peace arising from the unification of all Israel. The temple, planned for during David's unifying reign, is firmly at the centre of Solomon's united narrative.

It is within this idyllic time in Israel's past that Solomon unites the tabernacle that was held in Gibeon, with the ark that was held in the City of David at the central location of the threshing floor of Ornan, also known as Mount Moriah: the ultimate place and symbol of sacrifice.[171] According to the account in Samuel-Kings, during David's reign, the House of Saul and the House of David evinced considerable tension. The Chronicler has sought, at nearly every point, to minimize the tribal tensions between David and the Benjaminites (including non-complicity in Saul's death). In this way, it is important to understand that David's maintenance of worship at the tabernacle in Gibeon should inspire no offence from the Benjaminites. On the other hand, Solomon's reign in Kings evidences little tension with the House of Saul; Solomon's tension, at least in Kings, is often in regards to the Northern tribes. Solomon's transition of worship from Gibeon to Jerusalem thus engages the northern tribes to worship together (i.e., Solomon and all Israel go up together to Gibeon) without raising offence towards the Benjaminites.

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[171] Amit ("Araunah's," 142) makes the point that the dispute over temples during the Second Temple period explains "why the Chronicler felt it necessary to establish conclusively that the Jerusalem temple was also Mount Moriah, thereby dismissing any interpretation linking the binding of Isaac with the temple on Mount Gerizim"; cf. Kalimi, "Land of Moriah," 362.

In constructing the temple, Solomon sends to Huram, the king of Tyre, for workers and supplies. The only two times a tribe other than Levi are noted in all of Solomon's narrative are in Huram's sending of Huram-abi, a son of a woman from "the daughters of Dan" (2 Chr 2:13) and in the Queen of Sheba's visit where the Chronicler notes that with the King of Tyre's provisions there had not been seen like them before in "the land of Judah" (9:11). From the North (Huram-abi) and the South (Queen of Sheba), Israel is lauded by foreign monarchs. The inclusion of Dan at this point is of interest, for the genealogical section, other than being listed as a son of Israel (1 Chr 2:1), contains no reference to the tribe of Dan. Joab is said to have conducted the census from Beersheba to Dan, and while the census was "displeasing" to God, the result is the future location of the temple site. Following the census encompassing the people of Israel all the way to Dan, now a Danite is to travel to Jerusalem to build the temple. Part of the Chronicler's strategy in this narrative parallels Oholiab, also of the tribe of Dan, who was selected for work on the tabernacle (Exod 31:6), with Huram-abi, who has skill requisite to build the temple. In this way, the Mosaic tabernacle maintains its continuity with the temple Solomon is to build.

That the only two times in all of Chronicles YHWH's love (אהב) for his people is declared occur both times in Solomon's narrative is intriguing; that both declarations occur on the lips of foreign rulers is intentionally provocative.[172] As a means to envelope the building of the temple, the Chronicler records Huram proclaiming YHWH's love for his people before the temple is constructed (2 Chr 2:11). In conclusion, after witnessing Solomon's grandeur, including burnt offerings, the Queen of Sheba reiterates YHWH's

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[172] Cf. Ben Zvi, "When the Foreign," 209–28.

love for his people (9:8).[173] In the post-exilic setting of Persian Yehud, where Israel was without a ruling Davidide, the dual proclamations of YHWH's love for his people in relation to the temple—and this through the mouths of foreign rulers—is extraordinarily poignant. As these proclamations are made during Solomon's time, the Chronicler ensures they are made in regards to a united Israel with Levites centrally comprising the temple cultus. In the wake of cultural trauma, especially as evoked through the appearance of הרג in David's reign and the subsequent loss of 70,000 Israelites, the peace afforded through the Chronicler's recounting of Solomon's reign, and his devotion to the Temple, is exceptional. That the community of Persian Yehud retains connections (genealogically) to those that experienced slaughter (הרג) and forced migration (גלה) at the hands of the Babylonians (cf. 2 Chr 36:17–20), would potentially find such descriptions of peace to be remarkably profound, perhaps even unbelievable. After centuries of war and the ultimate destruction of their cultural fabric, the community, still reeling from cultural trauma, requires not more war, but peace in order to, at last, cohere together and heal. As there are no tribal tensions, nor mention of wars, yet a consistent focus remains on YHWH (as well as a comparably muted sense of debate within scholarship!), the narrative of Solomon, at least for the current study, essentially speaks for itself. And this, is worthy of praise for those even outside the bounds of Israel, from as far North and as far South as they can be seen.

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[173] Cf. Jonker, *1&2 Chronicles*, 178; Ben Zvi, "When the Foreign," 215.

Summary

While Israel is presented as a unified entity, there are instances even before the schism where tribal tensions are discernible, however, following the death of Saul, Benjaminites, even as Saul's kindred, seek to join the rest of Israel. Ardent enemies from the narrative in Samuel-Kings are listed together in service to the Temple. And while David is portrayed without any antagonism towards Saul, David, is also not portrayed as a perfect ruler. The narrative section following the death of Saul, focuses on the gathering together of all Israel followed immediately by the movement of the ark, which eventually leads to the founding site of the Temple building. At the culmination of both major events, the tribe of Levi, evidencing internal social identity negotiations, prestigiously appear. At both junctures, failures within the community result in the Levites rising to prominence, with David, ultimately, discounted from building the Temple as "a man of much blood." Conversely, Solomon, the man of peace, is chosen by God to build the temple in Jerusalem. That the Temple can only be constructed by a man of peace, and that only three tribal entities are noted throughout his entire narrative, provides a clear appeal to the post-exilic community in Persian Yehud. Josiah, like David, will eventually invoke the favour of the Levites and celebrate, at last, an unparalleled Passover. However, also, like David, Josiah unnecessarily seeks out war, and as a result falls to an untimely demise. As David's narrative portrayed, though YHWH is able to save his people from distress (cf. 1 Chr 11:14; 18:6, 13), the Davidides are never to neglect the cult. Peace that is so desperately sought in the wake of cultural trauma can be achieved, as the Chronicler suggests, by uniting together and seeking YHWH. For the community to unite together, the Chronicler has sought to "recategorize" the community, specifically, as "all" Israel.

The Chronicler, however, maintains that even as one community, "all Israel" is to be a community following and seeking after YHWH, united around those ministering (priests and Levites) on behalf of and before YHWH's dwelling, the Temple in Jerusalem: the site where all Israel can, at last, experience peace and rest, knowing, through songs sung by the Levites, that even though they may have failed to seek after YHWH and have experienced unyielding trauma(s), they can always at all times cry out to God, for "his love (חסד) endures forever" (cf. 2 Chr 5:13).

CHAPTER 5: SOCIAL IDENTITIES (TRIBES) IN THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES: POST-SCHISM ISRAEL (2 CHR 10–36)

While the Chronicler presents the initiation of the monarchy as a unification of the tribes of Israel, which culminate in the reign of Solomon, immediately following Solomon's death, there is a major schism amongst the tribes. Residual affects of cultural trauma are evident with such a schism as subsequent narratives highlight a variety of threats to the community and evocations of the cultural trauma experienced by "all Israel." The sites of traumatic memory most threatening to the community in the Chronicler's narrative seem to be: the schism between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, and the subsequent response in Abijah's reign; the marriage alliance between Jehoshaphat and Ahab which leads to the destructive reign and near annihilation of the Davidides; the defeat of the South by the North in Amaziah and Ahaz's reign; Sennacherib's taunting of Jerusalem in Hezekiah's reign; and ultimately, the death of Josiah, after which swiftly follows the fall of Jerusalem and forced migration.

Post-Schism Israel: From Rehoboam to Josiah (2 Chr 10:1—2 Chr 35:19)

The schism in 2 Chr 10–12 between Rehoboam and Jeroboam caused a massive rift amongst the tribes of Israel. As cultural trauma is evidenced by the appearance of ruptures to the social fabric, evocations of the cultural trauma experienced by the community of Persian Yehud, retained in the Chronicler's trauma script (for example, the appearances of "abandon" [עזב] and "slaughter" [הרג]; 2 Chr 36:17–20), will be addressed as they arise within the Chronicler's recategorizing of the community as "all

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Israel." The schism begins during the reign of Rehoboam, therefore, the current section will begin with Rehoboam's narrative and continue with an assessment of tribal designations (social identities) within each succeeding ruler, ending with Josiah, after which, tribal identities never appear again in the Chronicler's narrative. That Josiah's death occurs in battle and that Jeremiah appears to issue a lament following Josiah's death, a specific focus will be placed on inter-tribal relations, and especially where war is invoked in order to more fully understand the Chronicler's ignominious recounting of the death of Josiah.

<div align="center">Rehoboam</div>

Beginning with the schism of the North in 2 Chr 10, the name "Israel" becomes rather fluid.[1] The terms "Israel" and "all Israel" appear in the book of Chronicles in reference to, at the least, the following throughout the post-schism narrative: the geographic boundaries of the Northern Kingdom, the people of the Northern Kingdom, the United Kingdom (post Ahaz), the Southern Kingdom, and the entire population (North, South, and United).[2] The geographic boundaries of Israel identified as the North is fairly consistently applied in contrast to the land of Judah, but what begins to shift is the ideological and cultic referent for "Israel." While the Chronicler notes that "*all Israel* saw that the king would not listen" (לא־שמע) and went "to their own tents" (2 Chr 10:16), a continuity for "Israel" is retained in that Rehoboam reigns over the *Israelites* remaining in Judah (10:17). Should the North be classified as apostate, at the very initiation of the

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[1] See, for example, Cudworth's (*War*, 169 n. 18) note attempting to discern the term "all Israel" just within 2 Chr 10.

[2] Cf. Williamson, *Israel*, 102.

schism, Israel, including those in the North, is defined and located even in Judah.[3]

Williamson notes as much when he makes the point that "there are some indications that

the Chronicler distinguished between the northern kingdom as a political institution and

the population of the north as such."[4] As Rehoboam is cautioned not to battle against his

brothers (11:4), the link for all Israel is solidified: the cleft between kingdoms is not a

cleft in kindred, for all are still genealogically connected as "Israel." Rather, the cleft is

primarily a cleft in the cultic realm. The North are called to join the South because they

are the ones who have the Levites and priests (11:14; cf. 13:9); it is those who "set their

hearts to seek YHWH, the God of Israel" that follow the Levites and priests to Jerusalem

(11:16).[5] "All Israel" is not to be geographically or politically defined. As Jonker points

out, "Yehud's self categorisation hinges not on political and economic power, but on

cultic religious purity."[6] Therefore, though the Chronicler may have required a rationale

to explain the historic schism of "all Israel," the Chronicler immediately claims there

was, even with a bifurcated kingdom, a unity maintained. All Israel is open to those who

seek and worship YHWH. This is, perhaps, the most explicit feature of the Chronicler's

recounting of the schism between Rehoboam and Jeroboam.

Knoppers, for one, has suggested that, "unlike the presentation in the

Deuteronomistic History, there is no warrant for the secession in the Chronicler's

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[3] Cf. Japhet, *Ideology*, 230, "The people remains one even after the monarchy is split in two, and all its elements and tribes continue to be represented in the kingdom of Judah."

[4] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 237.

[5] Part of the rationale for a schism may be connected to Rehoboam's ineptitude, but also, according to Ben Zvi ("Secession," 65), moving the coronation to Shechem, where the schism occurs, displaces the centrality of Jerusalem and its association with YHWH (especially as previously solidified by the reign of Rehoboam's immediate predecessor, Solomon).

[6] Jonker, "Engaging," 85.

history."[7] However, the focus in the book of Chronicles on the cultic centrality for the community of all Israel, also seems to prominently arise in the Chronicler's recounting of the schism between Rehoboam and Jeroboam. It would seem, therefore, that the Chronicler is able to not only provide a warrant for the secession *in favour of the North*, but at almost the same time, also provide an explicit rationale for focusing the remainder of the narrative *in the South*. Both of these massive shifts for the community of Israel at this most precarious moment of their history are accomplished by the Chronicler with precisely the same stroke of a pen: namely, "abandonment/forsaking" (עזב) leading to the Levites gathering in Jerusalem.

Indeed, Jeroboam and "all Israel" seem justified by the Chronicler in their retreat following the assembly at Shechem.[8] This is confirmed when Rehoboam attempts to gather the "House of Judah and Benjamin," specifically *to restore* (שוב) "the kingdom," for this is precisely where Shemaiah, speaking for YHWH, appears to say, "No" (cf. 11:1–4). It is not for kings to needlessly seek out battle. Heeding the voice of YHWH at this point in Rehoboam's career, surely saved the community of all Israel from entering a futile bloodbath. Shemaiah will even continue to say that "this thing" was from YHWH

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[7] Knoppers, "Rehoboam," 424–25. Knoppers certainly engages with earlier studies, however, it still remains, even though Knoppers cites Williamson's (*Israel*, 110) point in this regard, that the Chronicler *twice* states that "the division was from God" (cf. 2 Chr 10:15; 11:4); cf. Japhet, *Ideology*, 228–77.

[8] There is, of course, the note in 2 Chr 10:19 that "Israel rebelled (פשע) against the House of David," which Williamson (*Israel*, 99) views primarily as a geographic bifurcation: "Certainly the North is in a state of rebellion and apostasy, but nevertheless all the tribes are a necessary part of the complete Israel." This note of rebellion against the House of David appears, specifically, after Rehoboam had sent a taskmaster of forced labour (10:18), which exhibits the very advice *Rehoboam had abandoned* of the elders in listening to his friends (cf. 10:7, 10–11). Finally, the act of Rehoboam fleeing in a chariot to Jerusalem parallels (foreshadows?) the negative aspects of the narratives of both Ahab and Josiah later in Chronicles (18:34; 35:24), where both kings die in chariots.

(11:4).[9] Jeroboam, on the other hand, is not even referenced by the Chronicler at the proclamation of secession (i.e., "what share have we in David"; 10:16–19), but rather, the schism was a result that "all Israel" saw that "the king would not listen" (לא־שמע; 10:16)—and this even though Rehoboam had ample opportunity (10:7–8, 13–14).[10] The fault was not, necessarily, a result of Jeroboam's cunning, but rather, explicitly related to Rehoboam's forsaking (עזב) the advice of the elders. Indeed, Rehoboam is noted as forsaking (עזב) the advice of elders, those who specifically served with Solomon, not once, but twice (10:8, 13).[11] Not coincidentally "forsaking" (עזב) is one of the Chronicler's *leitmotifs* explicitly used to explain the destruction of Jerusalem and the community's subsequent cultural trauma (cf. 2 Chr 12:5; 34:25)!

It is only subsequently, once Jeroboam dispels the priests and Levites (11:14), that "weak" (רך־לבב) Rehoboam (cf. 13:7) and the Kingdom of Judah is strengthened by those very priests and Levites (11:17).[12] Immediately following the inclusion that Rehoboam

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[9] For Jeroboam's absence in the narrative, see, for example, the debate between Klein and Gooding (Klein, "Jeroboam's," 217–18; Klein, "Once More," 582–84; Gooding, "Jeroboam's," 529–33); cf. Williamson (*Israel*, 108).

[10] Cudworth (*War*, 169) notes the Chronicler's explanation with the structure of the כי clause making explicit the fallout as a result of Rehoboam's "foolishness." So, too, Klein (*2 Chronicles*, 166), though without reference to the כי clause.

[11] Contra Knoppers ("Rehoboam," 434), who notes that "After the halcyon days of Solomon, the sudden revolt of the northern tribes seems arbitrary."

[12] This is in slight contrast to Knoppers ("Rehoboam," 435) where there may not be enough accounting for the Levites and priests *strengthening* Judah (previously "Judah and Benjamin" are simply "held" by Rehoboam; cf. 11:12), though Knoppers certainly does note that "To proceed without their presence and leadership is ruinous." Indeed, in the middle of the five references to "strengthen" (חזק) in Rehoboam's narrative (cf. 11:11, 12, 17; 12:1, 13), the Chronicler notes that *the community* (i.e., military and cult) strengthened Judah, specifically after which, once Rehoboam is strong he forsakes the law of YHWH. The fault of Jeroboam will, in many ways, become the fault of Rehoboam: for while the military will support both rulers, their faults are both accounted for by neglecting the Levites (i.e., the law of YHWH)—for Rehoboam, this specifically occurs only after the Levites arrive in Jerusalem and he is "strong" (cf. 12:1). In other words, though Rehoboam sets out "strengthening" Judah and Benjamin (cf. 11:11, 12), the Chronicler does not note Rehoboam as "strong" (12:1) until after the community from "all the tribes of Israel" (מכל שבטי ישראל) gather as one in Jerusalem (11:17). The additional appearance of abandoning/forsaking (עזב) in 1 Chr 10–12 may strengthen these connections.

held Judah and Benjamin the first reference to the priests and Levites is made.[13] The priests and Levites came from "all their territories" (11:13). They came to Judah and Jerusalem, specifically, as a result of Jeroboam banning (זנח) their service and installing his own priests (11:14–15). As a result, the Levites abandoned (עזב) their property in the North (11:14). Jeroboam's downfall, according to the Chronicler, seems to be most explicitly attributed to his rejection of the priests and Levites and instalment of his own priests in 11:14–15, which contains the only actions post Shechem attributed to Jeroboam in Rehoboam's entire narrative.[14]

Indeed, those who set their hearts to seek YHWH came "from *all the tribes of Israel* to Jerusalem" (11:16; emphasis mine). The priests and Levites, too, are a community, geographically, comprised from all the tribes of Israel and, thus, are, in fact, representatives of "all Israel"; it is only they, the tribe of Levi, who are specifically mentioned migrating to join Judah and Benjamin.[15] Again, as with the genealogical section, the Levites are at "the heart" of the tribes of Israel. It is at this very point that the term for "seeking" (בקש) YHWH appears (11:16). As Jonker contends, it is the action of seeking YHWH that defines "all Israel" for the Chronicler as opposed to mere geographic

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[13] Jonker (*Defining*, 221) has noted the union of Judah and Benjamin in contrast to the DH by the Chronicler applying the term "house" to both entities as opposed to calling Benjamin a "tribe" (1 Kgs 12:21). Such a move also serves to dispel any hostility that may have remained between David and Saul, for there is no reason to downplay the "tribe of Benjamin" in service to the "house of David / Judah," but rather, the Chronicler is seeking to unite them under a common house. This may have been especially important immediately following Solomon's reign where a division, and an unworthy Davidide reigned, for a claim by the Benjaminites to appear. However, the Chronicler clearly, by aligning the densest use of "Judah and Benjamin" together in the entire Post-Schism narratives, seeks to portray a distinct unity between both tribes at this time in Israel's history.

[14] Indeed, as Cudworth (*War*, 63; cf., Cudworth, *War*, 165) points out, Abijah's speech later in Chronicles condemned Jeroboam "*only for his establishment of a false cult* while saying nothing of northern kingship."

[15] Though 2 Chr 10:19 makes the statement that "Israel has been in rebellion against the House of David," when Rehoboam seeks to restore the kingdom, he assembles the "house of Judah and Benjamin" (11:1); it is precisely this act, the attempted restoration of the kingdom that Ahijah denounces (11:4). In the end, they are gathered together without having gone to war.

designations.[16] The move on the part of the Levites to Jerusalem is due, in many respects,

to a lack of options: Jeroboam dispelled them and made obsolete their roles; however,

there was plenty of need for them yet in Jerusalem, the home of the temple.[17] This is

confirmed by the statement that the priests, Levites, and "seekers of YHWH" came *to*

Jerusalem and there, they strengthened the Kingdom of Judah (11:17). Only once the

Levites are noted as strengthening the kingdom of Judah, does the Chronicler note that

once he was strong, Rehoboam abandoned (עזב)—the *third* appearance of this term

ascribed to Rehoboam—the law of YHWH (12:1).[18] Indeed, Shishak came against Judah

(12:2–4) because they had been "unfaithful" (מעל) and YHWH declares, through

Shemaiah, that since they abandoned (עזב) him, he has abandoned (עזב) them (12:5); that

is, of course, until YHWH saw that "they humbled themselves" (נכנעו), in, of all places,

Jerusalem (12:4–5, 7). This strongly suggests that the Chronicler intends for Israel to be

a community seeking and serving YHWH. The Chronicler is clear: seeking YHWH, with

the assistance of the priests and Levites, leads to strength for the community;

abandonment of YHWH leads to destruction, whether or not the king is a Davidide—for

Rehoboam (and subsequent kings) are not immune to YHWH's retribution simply

because of their ancestry.[19] Or, as Boda puts it, "the Chronicler shows that the values of

David and Solomon can endure through the orders they sponsored (priests and Levites)

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[16] Jonker, *Defining*, 256.

[17] The act of the Levites abandoning (עזב) their land and inheritance (2 Chr 11:14), means that their only place of sustenance will then be in Jerusalem and its environs (which may, in part, explain the direness of their situation in Neh 13:10).

[18] The account in 2 Chr 12:1 does not explicitly mention the abandonment of the Levites specifically, though does mention the abandonment of the law of YHWH. As Jehoshaphat's narrative will later make explicit, however, the Levites are the very ones that teach the law of YHWH (2 Chr 17:8–9).

[19] In quick succession, Rehoboam loses all of Solomon's territory that stretched from the Euphrates to Egypt, with only Jerusalem remaining (2 Chr 12:4, but also vv. 2, 5, 7, 9, 13). Cf. Cudworth, *War*, 176.

and the community they created, even without the royal house."[20] This would no doubt find exceptional comfort for those in Persian Yehud living in the wake of cultural trauma and in the absence of a ruling Davidide. The people can still seek after and worship YHWH, with the assistance of the Levites, who were gathered to the very place of YHWH's relenting, not only in David's time, but also now in Rehoboam's: the city of Jerusalem.

Abijah

While the reign of Abijah, which is focused almost exclusively on his battle with Jeroboam, initially appears to contradict Rehoboam's rebuke *not* to battle his brothers (11:4), a closer reading reveals a united coherence. Rehoboam was not to battle his brothers creating an immediate affinity among the North and South as Israelites, however, Israel is to be a worshipping community that serves YHWH. Only *after* Ahijah tells Rehoboam not to battle his brothers, does Jeroboam, subsequently, set up his own cultus (11:14–15). Had Rehoboam fought Jeroboam before the installation of the North's false cult, the Levites would have been engaged in the battle and divided amongst themselves. Abijah, therefore, after the Levites arrive in Jerusalem, is called to clear the apostasy from within the community of "Israel" (cf. 1 Chr 13).[21] Knoppers rightly highlights that the battle was a result of the Northerners in general and not just Jeroboam's faults.[22] The most distinctive difference between them is the location of

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[20] Boda, *1–2 Chronicles*, 294.

[21] Knoppers ("Battling," 514, 524–29.) makes clear a parallel to an "inner-Israelite sacral war," as in Deut 13 and Judg 19–21; in Deuteronomy (Deut 13:6, 13), the pretense is clearly cultic (i.e., "serving other gods").

[22] Knoppers, "Battling," 519.

Levites at this point. Rehoboam was not to battle his brothers for political purposes; Abijah was called to battle for cultic purposes. Williamson, drawing on Welch's study, sees that Israel had good reasons not to endure Rehoboam's reign, but that following his death, all Israel should have returned to Abijah, where the Chronicler "quite evidently" sees God's hand being with Abijah in his victory over the Northeners.[23] However, what then is to be said of the decline of the Davidides? Indeed, as Evans points out, Ahaz will later go so far as to close the temple, "making Abijah's words to Jeroboam claiming orthodoxy for the South (2 Chr 13:11) null and void."[24] The consistency in both Rehoboam and Abijah's narratives, indeed, in all of the Chronicler's narratives, is the role of the Levites in seeking YHWH. Israel, North and South, is to be a cultic-centred community serving YHWH.

The rationale for the victory by Abijah is clearly explained by the Chronicler: "because they relied on YHWH, the God of their ancestors" (13:18).[25] Japhet asks a pertinent question of the divided kingdom in this respect, "If Jeroboam had instituted legitimate worship in Israel following the rebellion, would his monarchy have been valid?"[26] While the answer is to be answered in the negative (as Japhet contends that for anyone cutting themselves off from Jerusalem eliminates the possibility of true service), the question, in many ways, still remains (for example, the communities such as those in Elephantine).[27] Though Cudworth suggests that Abijah could caution the North not to

[23] Williamson, *Israel*, 111.
[24] Evans, "Prophecy," 146–47.
[25] As Boda (*1–2 Chronicles*, 302) notes, "God is notably the active subject of the verbs in 13:15, while Abijah and the army of Judah are depicted in a passive posture observing the rout. Only after the northern army was in flight did Abijah and his troops spring into action, which is depicted as a cleanup operation."
[26] Japhet, *Ideology*, 242.
[27] Part of Japhet's (*Ideology*, 242) negative answer relies on 2 Chr 11:16, which states that the Levites and priests came to Jerusalem, however, this is not an indication of exclusivity; rather, they came to

battle against YHWH (13:12), as YHWH "presumably resided in the South" misses the point Abijah just related (13:8–12): the priests and Levites, which Jeroboam barred from service, now reside in the South, and therefore, as seekers of YHWH, so does YHWH.[28]

While Abijah certainly does allude to the kingship being entrusted to Davidides (13:5, 8), serving to retain a latent hope of Davidic rule, the emphasis is clearly shifted to the superiority of the priests and Levites (13:9–12), for even the kingship being entrusted to the Davidides by a "covenant of salt" (ברית מלחב) in 13:5 is reminiscent of the priest's rites (cf. Num 18:19; Lev 2:13).[29] The contrast is heightened even more with a comparison to Kings, where several references to David, including preserving a light (1 Kgs 15:3–5), are *all* absent in the Chronicler's account.[30] The kingdom of YHWH (13:8) is elevated before Israel in terms of their priesthood.[31] Abijah certainly does lay claim to his rightful place on the throne as a Davidic heir, however, as throughout Chronicles, the Davidides are only successful so long as the Levites support them. Twice Abijah makes reference that they have priests of YHWH "descending from Aaron, and Levites" (13:9, 10). They will defeat Jeroboam because it is they, the priests of YHWH, that have kept

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Jerusalem because they had nowhere else to go (11:14b). In many ways, the result is an elevation of Jerusalem by the Levites and priests, not necessarily the other way around as Abijah makes abundantly clear throughout his speech: they, the South, have the priests. This is not to say Chronicles does not elevate Jerusalem—it most certainly does—however, it is a gradual rise culminating in the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah.

[28] Cudworth, *War*, 67.

[29] While a reference to a "covenant of salt" does speak to the endurance of such a promise, it strongly alludes to the endurance of the priest's rights (i.e., the kingship is in service to the cultus). Cf. Eising (*TDOT* 8: 332–33) in terms of the prominence of salt within the cultic sphere.

[30] In fact, of all the references to preserving the Davidic dynasty in Samuel-Kings (specifically 1 Kgs 11:13, 32, 36; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19; 19:34; 20:6), only one remains, with two other similar statements in Chronicles (2 Chr 13:5; 21:7; 23:3). Of interest in Chronicles is that these references appear at the greatest threat of the Northern kingdom to the South (Abijah, Jehoram, and Jehoiada), a point where the Davidides appear to be at their weakest and Levites rise to prominence.

[31] And this, in distinction to Jeroboam creating an "us" versus "them" dichotomy centred on the cultus. Cf. Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 203.

the charge of YHWH, unlike Jeroboam who has set up his own priests for what "are not

gods" and forsaken (עזב) YHWH (13:9, 11). If the Davidides were the central priority of

this narrative, would not this be the appropriate place to contrast the North and South

kingdoms?[32] However, the South is elevated, precisely, in terms of its cultus regarding the

role of the priests and Levites.

Indeed, Abijah makes the powerful claim that YHWH *and his priests* are with

him at the front (13:12).[33] Though Abijah was, perhaps, outwitted militarily by Jeroboam

surrounding all Israel both "in front and behind," it is the people of Judah that cry out

(צעק) to YHWH and only once the priests blow their trumpets and the people of Judah

shout out, does YHWH defeat Jeroboam. Abijah and Judah prevail "because they relied

on YHWH" (13:18). If Cudworth is correct in his application of the pronoun "he" (עליו)

in 13:7 to Jeroboam instead of Rehoboam (contra Japhet, et al), thus making the claim

that Jeroboam, and all Israel with him, were indeed acting according to YHWH's will in

the secession, then when Jeroboam is routed by the South (cf. 13:20), the central

difference between Jeroboam in Rehoboam's and Abijah's narratives is clearly evident:

the priests and Levites are exculpated in the secession.[34] The secession was not in itself

the cause for failure of the North; Jeroboam's expulsion of the Levites is. Williamson, for

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[32] For example, Knoppers ("YHWH is Not," 621): "There Abijah repeatedly compares the Israelites, who have the gold calves and 'no-gods' with them and the Judaeans, who have Yhwh with them (2 Chr 13:8-12)." Also, solely focusing on the cultic realm as the means of disparaging foreign alliances: "Judah's entering a covenantal relationship with a tribe, or group of tribes, whose members embrace idolatry would entail transgressing the norms of its relationship with God." Elsewhere, Knoppers ("YHWH is Not," 616, 621) does claim a denouncement of the Northern kingship, but does not cite where the text claims such denouncement.

[33] In this, the question posed by Jeroboam of "what share have we in David?" is answered by Abijah: "we have the priests and Levites!"

[34] Cudworth, *War*, 64–65.

one, sees no difficulty in the Chronicler's positive (or, at least not entirely negative) attribution of "Israel" to the Northerners.[35] Indeed, in 13:12 Abijah pleads not to battle YHWH who is the god *of their ancestors* (i.e., they are kindred); the North is not defeated, necessarily, because they do not have a Davidic leader (for Amaziah, a Davidide, will later be routed by the North), but rather, they are defeated due to their apostasy.[36]

<div align="center">Asa</div>

One of the Chronicler's central ideologies is that of peace and rest.[37] That the land had rest leading into Asa's reign (13:23[14:1]) is significant, especially as this includes relations with the North.[38] Indeed, immediately in Asa's narrative, quiet (שקט) and rest (נוח), are mentioned five times in 13:23–14:6[14:1–7]. Though Abijah's reign provided the initial state of quiet, its continuance is attributed, by Asa, to having sought (דרש) YHWH, which is recounted twice in 14:6[7].[39] Asa's narrative has a distinct structure comprised of two reforms (14:2–4[3–5] // 15:8–15), two battle confrontations (14:8–14[9–15] // 16:1–5), and two confrontations with prophets (15:1–7 // 16:7–10). Though not perfectly paralleling David's narrative, there are a number of affinities between the two.[40] The parallel seems most consistent in Asa's appeal to Ben-Hadad, for there he

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[35] Williamson, *Israel*, 113–14.

[36] Cf. Cudworth, *War*, 66.

[37] Not only does Solomon's name mean "peace," but the Temple was to be built by a "man of peace" in a time of peace (cf. 1 Chr 28:2).

[38] Though Knoppers ("Battling," 529) claims that despite Judah's impressive victory over Israel in Abijah's narrative, the "kingdom as a whole is not united"; however, this skews the central focus of the Chronicler, that the land had rest, and this, included relations with the North. After Abijah, there was peace despite political bifurcation.

[39] Cudworth (*War*, 116–17) rightly notes the inheritance of rest from Abijah (contra Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 212), but also notes Asa's maintenance of rest by seeking YHWH.

[40] This parallels the narrative of David with two ark transferences (13:1–14 // 15:1–15), two distinct battle narratives (14:8–17 // 18:1–13), and two confrontations with prophets (17:3–15 // 21:18–19).

seeks an alliance between them as there was between their fathers (16:3). However, the nearest alliance in Chronicles in reference to Asa's "father" would be between David and the servants of Hadadezer, who made peace (שלים) with David (1 Chr 19:19).[41] Klein, along with most scholars, seems to focus on the direct "father" of Ben-Hadad, as well as, specifically, historically, who Ben-Hadad may be referring to.[42] However, "father," as Asa references, can refer to any ancestor one has, just as "ben" (בן) can, also, refer to the son of any previous patriarch.[43] The ironies (word puns) in this narrative are rich. As such, that David's narrative specifically referred to an Aramean with the name "*Hadad*ezer" (translated as "Hadad helps"; cf. 1 Chr 18:3; 19:16) parallels Asa's petition for a treaty with a king of Aram, named Ben-*Hadad* (translated as "son of Hadad"; 16:2–4). In addition to the repetition of Aramean "Hadads" in both David's and Asa's narratives, Asa had already been confronted by a prophet with the name of Azariah (עזריהו), which, when translated, equates to "YHWH helps." Klein proposes that the name Azariah, which is not found elsewhere in the HB, was just so composed "for this particular context," especially in light of the twice appearing "help" (עזר) earlier in the

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In both cases, in the first battle scenes, both kings rely upon YHWH; likewise, for both kings, though the reforms appear to be done right, they are both confronted by prophets which issue what can be seen as warnings. Also, both kings do not seek YHWH in their subsequent battle confrontations, which leads into, for David, the disastrous census, and for Asa, disease and death. The difference between the kings, with such a focus in Asa's narrative upon "seeking YHWH," is that even though David may falter, he always seeks YHWH in the end.

[41] No alliances are found in Abijah or Rehoboam's narratives, leaving only Solomon or David as possible "fathers." Klein (*2 Chronicles*, 238), though focusing on the direct father of Ben-Hadad, lists 3 possibilities for the treaty: 1) a (proposed) treaty between Asa and Baasha (i.e., there *is* a treaty), 2) between Abijah, and, "presumably" Tab-Rmmon (based on 1 Kings 15:18), or 3) a treaty between Baasha and Ben-Hadad. The treaty referring, literarily, back to David and Hadadezer, therefore, relieves any presumptions.

[42] Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 237–38; cf. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 732–33; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 273. Sergi ("Emergence," 13–15), for one, though working with the account in the book of Kings, notes the "futile attempts" at discerning precisely who Ben-Hadad may have been, however, also goes on to note the literary nature of his inclusion in Asa's narrative.

[43] In contrast to 1 Kings 15:18, Ben-Hadad, in Chronicles, does not include the appendage of "the son of Tabrimmon, the son of Hezion of Aram."

narrative.[44] The contrast is striking, for in Asa's rebuke (16:7–8) he is chastised for

relying on foreign powers rather than on YHWH, on whom he had relied upon for his

battle with Zerah.[45] In that narrative, specifically, Asa called upon YHWH to help (עזרנו

יהוה) and this, because there is no difference between YHWH "helping" (עזור) the mighty

or the weak (14:10[11]). In seeking an alliance with Ben-Hadad, Asa makes a reference

to his father, as in David's narrative, by the name of Hadadezer or "Hadad helps"; Asa,

indeed, was foolish for not listening to the prophet Azariah or, the prophet whose name

means "*YHWH* helps."[46] In the end, the alliance David created with Hadadezer (1 Chr

19:19), due to his excesses in battle (see arguments above), led not only to a failure on

the part of Asa, but even more devasting, to the falling of Dan (cf. 2 Chr 16:4) to a

foreign power.[47]

As described earlier, this narrative was a turning point for David, as it is now for

Asa. Thankfully for David, Joab had sought the good in YHWH's eyes (1 Chr 19:13) and

victory resulted; Asa did not seek YHWH, and though victory resulted, a prophetic

rebuke ensued. Subsequently, both kings are noted as having acted foolishly (סכל): David

acknowledges this after God struck Israel (1 Chr 21:8); Asa is noted as having been

"foolish" by relying on foreign powers (2 Chr 16:9), namely, the Arameans, among

whom *David had enacted a treaty* (שלם) *with* (cf. 1 Chr 19:19). Both saw failure,

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[44] Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 225.

[45] Cf. Evans ("Temple," 37) where Asa's temple despoliation (2 Chr 16:2) is clearly associated as a sign of distrust of YHWH.

[46] Jonker (*1&2 Chronicles*, 226) notes how this narrative could serve as a polemic against Persian rule, in that not only is YHWH greater than the massive Cushite army, but, therefore, by implication, greater than that of the Persians. For an analysis of alliances with foreign nations as negative in Chronicles, see, for example, Knoppers, "Yhwh is Not," 601–26.

[47] This is so even if without Asa's treaty referencing Hadadezer specifically, for the "peace" offered to David can be seen to extend generally to the Arameans (cf. 1 Chr 19:19*b*).

however, David humbled himself before YHWH in the face of death (i.e., the angel of YHWH with a drawn sword; cf. 1 Chr 21:16), while Asa, even in his deathly disease, did not seek (לא־דרש) YHWH (cf. 2 Chr 16:12).

Throughout Asa's narrative there is not a single mention of the Levites. Asa begins his reign focusing on reforms and building within Judah. Benjaminites do comprise a large portion of the army (14:7[8]), so that these two tribes are united, however, it is not until Azariah, the prophet, speaks that "Judah and Benjamin" are united as an all-encompassing identity for the community (15:1–2). In Azariah's declaration he notes that for a long time Israel was without "the true God and without a teaching priest" (15:3). Lynch, for one, correctly points out that Azariah does not lament the lack of a monarchy in Israel's past (as in Judges, for example), but rather attributes their failings to, and thus laments, the lack of *teaching priests*.[48] Teaching priests, as elsewhere in Chronicles, is most probably a reference to the Levites.[49]

Asa's response was to put away the idols from all the land of Judah and Benjamin as well as the towns he had taken in Ephraim (15:8). Subsequently, they were gathered from all Judah and Benjamin and those from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon who were "residing as aliens with them, for great numbers had deserted to him from Israel when they saw that YHWH his God was with him (עמו)" (15:9–10).[50] Following the oath the

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[48] Lynch, *Monotheism*, 194. Cf. Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 719) where, in connection of this passage with Hosea 3:4, notes that while Hosea defines anarchy as the absence of both political and cultic institutions (king, sacrifice, and guiding oracles), the Chronicler sees it "exclusively in religious terms."

[49] The phrase in 2 Chr 15:3 is "without a teaching priest, and without torah" (ללא כהן מורה וללא תורה). This is potentially a rather clever technique on the part of the Chronicler to allow reference to the Levites, while also, at the same time, maintaining their absence in the narrative. In contrast, Jehoshaphat almost immediately into his reign (17:7–9) assigns priests *and* Levites to teach (למד) with the book of YHWH's Torah.

[50] For Simeon's association with the North, see Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 228.

people entered into, all Judah rejoiced (15:15). As such, there is a clear message that all Israel (as represented by Ephraim and Manasseh) has the opportunity to experience peace (i.e., rest from wars) by seeking YHWH (cf. 15:13). Especially significant is that this communal experience (ascribing "Ephraim and Manasseh" as a *chiffre* for the Northern Kingdom) between Judah and Israel (or South and North) occurs during a time of peace.[51] That this ceremony and celebration occurs in Jerusalem, the city of peace, provides a clear signal to the community in Persian Yehud of the role previously exhibited by Jerusalem.[52] Also clear, then, is that those who were to be put to death for "not seeking YHWH" (לא־ידרש; 15:13) places emphasis again on the cultic status of Israel and is not meant to divide South and North genealogically, but that all, wherever they reside within Israel, geographically, must seek YHWH.

Though the tribe of Levi is not mentioned throughout Asa's reign, the tribe of Benjamin is decidedly appropriated. Following the proclamation by Azariah (15:1–7), the tribal identities of "Judah and Benjamin" are extensively utilized, though will not reappear again until much later in Chronicles, in Amaziah's reign (25:5).[53] Asa extends the territory of Judah taking some towns of Ephraim so that there is an inclusion of all Israel within this narrative, which, once again, is centred on cultic reforms. Though Asa did not go far enough with engaging the cult (i.e., the complete absence of the Levites), near the end of Asa's reign, once Baasha abandons Ramah (16:5), it is Asa, the king of

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[51] Cf. Jonker, *Defining*, 172.

[52] In many ways, this narrative parallels the gathering experienced in 1 Chr 11–12 in the wake of cultural trauma caused by the falling of Saul and his house. Furthermore, that following this gathering marked by joy (2 Chr 15:15; cf. 1 Chr 12:41[40]), Asa acts "foolishly" (סכל) by relying on the Arameans (16:9) suggests a correspondence between Asa and David's actions in terms of 1 Chr 19, a possible referent to David's claim of foolishness (סכל) in 1 Chr 21:8.

[53] Indeed, only Rehoboam's narrative contains more references to "Judah and Benjamin."

Judah, that builds up Mizpah, which resides within Benjamin's territory and will become

the central governmental location during the Neo-Babylonian era.[54] That the Levites are

not mentioned, but a density of references to Benjamin are (cf. 15:2, 8, 9; along with

references to Ramah [2 Chr 16:6]—the hometown of Samuel and the place where

Jeremiah will eventually end up among the captives [Jer 40]—and Mizpah [2 Chr 16:6],

both traditionally located in Benjamin territory) suggest a strong association between

Levites and Benjaminites even in Asa's narrative.

Jehoshaphat

Jehoshaphat's reign is initially noted almost exclusively in terms of his relation to

Judah.[55] The only mention of other tribes is in reference to building garrisons in Ephraim

in the cities Asa had taken (17:2) and when enlisting the army, where Benjaminites are

enumerated (17:17–18), but even these warriors were placed throughout Judah.[56] The role

of the Levites and priests, however, is distinctly pronounced. Along with Jehoshaphat's

officials, Levites and priests taught Judah and went throughout the cities of Judah

teaching among the people (17:7–9). So successful was this that the fear of YHWH fell

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[54] Sergi ("Emergance," 13, 15) notes the superiority of Asa outwitting the, militarily, stronger Baasha, in that while Baasha was not even able to fortify one settlement (Ramah), Asa was able to fortify two (Mizpah and Giba), which fortified the Benjaminite borders alongside Ephraim, thus securing the Benjamin Plateau.

[55] He placed forces in the garrisons of Judah (17:2); all Judah brought him tribute (17:5); he removed high places from Judah (17:6); sent teachers to the cities of Judah (17:7); they taught in Judah and all the cities of Judah (17:9); the fear of YHWH fell on all the neighbors of Judah (17:10); he built fortresses and store cities in Judah (17:12); carried out great works in Judah (17:13). Cf. Japhet, (*I&II Chronicles*, 744), who wonders if the emphasis on Judah (as opposed to six mentions of Jehoshaphat; half as many as Judah) was the Chronicler's attempt to highlight the significance of people and land as protagonists at this stage of history. The mention of Jehoshaphat strengthening himself over Israel at the start of his reign (17:1) is seen as a summary of his entire reign, as his union with Ahab dominates the latter narrative.

[56] Such a distinction may be an implicit result that the borders of Judah included Benjaminite territory at this time (i.e., post Asa) as opposed to the Northern Kingdom ruling over their territories.

on Judah's neighbors to the point that Philistines and Arabs brought tribute.[57] The Chronicler, though initially highlighting the strengthening of Judah, will ultimately portray the reign of Jehoshaphat as one of contrast to "Israel" as a political / military entity. But even in this opposition, the Levites and Benjaminites are present in their unity among the people, extending into the land of Ephraim.

Jehoshaphat heavily invests in Judah, and while previously in the Chronicler's narratives "Judah and Benjamin" have been applied in terms of unification, in Jehoshaphat's reign, "Judah and Jerusalem" subsequently appear (cf. 20:5, 15, 17, 18, 20, 27). Nonetheless, there is a clear unity amongst the people whereby Benjamin is included in the military and the borders still include cities in Ephraim, which Asa had taken. Perhaps such a combination may be a result that once Asa had rebuilt Mizpah, the territory of Judah implicitly included Benjamin, which had previously been under the rule of the Northern Kingdom (i.e., Baasha). The Chronicler's focus on Jerusalem at this point, especially in its relation to Judah, serves a couple rhetorical purposes. For one, Jerusalem is further elevated in its relation to the cult—the Levites play a prominent role in Jehoshaphat's narrative. But also, as the genealogies recorded, Benjaminites comprised a large proportion of the population in Jerusalem. By no means is the lack of reference to Benjamin a slight on the people, so long as Jerusalem, where many Benjaminites resided and were recorded as residing, is invoked.

Once Jehoshaphat has strengthened Judah (17:19), he enters into a marriage alliance with Israel, via Ahab (18:1). In turn, the two kings will sit side by side upon thrones at the gates of Samaria (18:9). Japhet contends that the Chronicler is altering the

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[57] Cf. Cudworth (*War*, 129): "while previous kings had engaged in wars to collect spoil and to further build the kingdom, Jehoshaphat achieved this through his focus on the cult."

context of 1 Kgs 22 where Jehoshaphat seems to have an inferior status, to here portraying the kings as equals.[58] The extent of the unity is expressed in his initial affirmation to join Ahab against Ramoth-Gilead when he declares, "your people are as my people" (18:3).[59] And yet, the clear separation between Israel as military jurisdiction and Israel as worshipping community is distinctly present. For upon Jehoshaphat's declaration of unity, and claiming specifically that they are together "in war" (במלחמה), Jehoshaphat immediately petitions that they should first "seek" (דרש) the word of YHWH (18:3–4).[60] Similar to the unity expressed by the narratives of Rehoboam and Abijhah, Israel's unity can only exist as one of a community seeking YHWH, not merely as a geographic / political entity.[61] This is further evidenced in the battle when Jehoshaphat is mistaken as the king of Israel; even though he had ignored Micaiah's prophecy, only after crying out (זעק) to YHWH is Jehoshaphat saved (18:31).[62]

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[58] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 757. Boda (*1–2 Chronicles*, 322) remains unconvinced of the equality seeing Jehoshaphat recede into the background after 2 Chr 18:8. However, the Chronicler seems to dismiss the name of Ahab at this point referring only to "the king" or "the king of Israel" (18:9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 25, 28, 29, 33, 34) with King Jehoshaphat eventually becoming the only king returning safely to Jerusalem. This, perhaps, reveals Jehoshaphat as more superior, and this due solely to his reliance on YHWH. The Chronicler is quite clear at this point: seeking YHWH is the only hope for peace, and in this respect, King Jehoshaphat was superior to Ahab.

[59] The notion of vassal-suzerainty proposed by Gray (*I&II Kings*, 449) is less likely in light of the reversal of "as my people" in 1 Kgs 22:4; here, Jehoshaphat seems to be superior in that Ahab's people are (like) his, Jehoshaphat's. Cf. Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 759), for the kings' equality here.

[60] In contrast to Ahab initially "inducing" (סות) Jehoshaphat, as unto apostasy (cf. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 285).

[61] Contra Knoppers ("Reform," 503), the North is not *de facto* apostate (as Knoppers claims: "the Chronicler views the very existence of the northern kingdom as an affront against God"), but rather is offered the opportunity to seek YHWH, and only as a result of their refusal are they then apostate. This is, then, a point of order: the North is innocent until proven guilty. The secession was not the "sin of all sins" for the North; their gravest sin, as a political entity, it would seem, is dispelling the Levites and failing to adhere to YHWH's cult.

[62] "Crying out" (זעק) appears also in 1 Chr 5:20; 2 Chr 20:9; 32:20. Its synonym צעק appears only once in Chronicles in 2 Chr 13:14.

In almost a complete reversal, however, at the end of Jehoshaphat's reign, he enters into a union (חבר) with the North, which is denounced by YHWH (via Eliezer) who destroys the ship building excursion (20:35–37). Knoppers correctly places the Chronicler's emphasis on the alliance between Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah in deference to the account in Kings.[63] However, by suggesting that the coalition, as an alliance, "in and of itself is at issue," skews the fact that the type of alliance here seems to be different than alliances found elsewhere in Chronicles. In other words, it is the *type of alliance* Jehoshaphat sought that caused YHWH to "break" (פרץ) the ships, and the fact that Ahaziah was "wicked" (רשע), rather than the treaty being a *de facto* indictment simply by having been made with a king of Israel.[64] The term "to join" (חבר) found three times in 20:35, 36, 37 (and nowhere else in Chronicles), is typically used in cultic contexts and connotes a fully united cohesion.[65] In many ways, the union is as strong as marriage (cf. Mal 2:14), which could be the Chronicler's means of foreshadowing the downfall of the House of David that will occur because of Jehoshaphat's union initiated with Ahab (the marriage has already occurred, and thus, the "union" between Judah and Israel has taken place before Ahaziah succeeds Ahab) and seen through to the destructive reign of Athaliah and her children in the near future.

[63] Knoppers, "Reform," 521.
[64] Certainly, foreign alliances are denounced by the Chronicler (cf. Knoppers, "YHWH is Not," 601–26), however, in most cases, as here, the denouncement is not without cause. Solomon, clearly has success in traversing in ships "with the servants of Hiram" (2 Chr 9:21); the Chronicler may well be intending to create this specific parallel rather than a *de facto* denouncement.
[65] For example, the tabernacle curtains, as well as the tent, are "joined" (Exod 26:3, 6, 9, 11; 36:10, 13, 16, 18) as are the shoulder pieces of the ephod (Exod 28:7; 39:4) and, for Ezekiel, the cherubim (Ezek 1:9); Jerusalem is a city "joined to itself" (Ps 122:3; *Pual*). For "magical" connotations, see Cazelles (*TDOT* 4:194–97).

The Chronicler's narrative context has clearly shown, however, that Jehoshaphat had no need to seek alliances outside of his realm.[66] The Chronicler is consistent with military threats: when opposition arises, in defense, if a community, or individual, seeks or cries out to YHWH, they are delivered (cf. 1 Chr 11:14; 14:10, 15; 19:13; 2 Chr 12:7; 13:14; 14:10[11]; 18:31); when a community, or individual, seek out war without YHWH's approval, there are consequences (David's census [1 Chr 21]; Jeroboam [2 Chr 13:15–16]; Asa [16:7]; Ahab [18:33–34]).[67]

While the beginning of Jehoshaphat's narrative is heavily invested in Judah, his prayer emphasizes Israel.[68] After a second, more comprehensive reform in Jehoshaphat's reign, in the face of a "great multitude" threatening Judah and Jerusalem, Jehoshaphat immediately seeks YHWH (20:3). And though the prayer of Jehoshaphat echoes aspects of prayers offered by David and Solomon (so Japhet), here again, Boda notes the shift

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[66] Cf. Knoppers, "Reform," 520.

[67] Cf. Cudworth, *War*, 39–50. Also, "seeking" YHWH results in rescue: 1 Chr 5:20; 14:10, 14; 2 Chr 13:14; 14:10[11]; 18:31; 20:9; 32:20; 33:13. Uzziah defeats the Philistines after "seeking" God, and God helps him against the Philistines, Arabs, and Meunites. As opposed to battles sought without seeking YHWH: The Philistines oppressed Israel, but Saul did not seek YHWH and died in battle; David did not seek YHWH against the Arameans and the census ensued; Rehoboam was oppressed by Egypt but had forsaken YHWH; Asa did not seek YHWH's help, but rather the Arameans and received affliction; Jehoshaphat joined with Ahaziah and their ships were destroyed; Jehoram was oppressed by Edom, Libnah, Philistines, and Arabs, who were "near" the Cushites; Amaziah went with Jehoram against the Arameans and was subsequently "put to death"; Arameans came against Joash, and though small in number, defeated him because he forsook YHWH; Amaziah seeks out Joash, but having taken the Edomite gods, is defeated; Ahaz "did not do what was right" before YHWH and so YHWH brought against him the Arameans, who defeated him with great slaughter because he forsook YHWH and also, the Philistines, Edomites and Assyrians (to whom Ahaz sought help) oppressed him; Manasseh "erred" Judah and Jerusalem to do bad and was taken into exile; Amon did not humble himself, as his father Manasseh did, before YHWH and was therefore put to death; Josiah did not heed the word of God in going out against Neco and was critically wounded. Only Jotham is noted as fighting the Ammonites and prevailing without rationale, which, is precisely the exception that proves the rule: for his ways were "established" before YHWH.

[68] Jehoshaphat "proclaimed a fast throughout all *Judah. Judah* assembled to seek help from YHWH; from all the towns of *Judah* they came to seek YHWH" (2 Chr 20:3–4); but then a shift occurs in Jehoshaphat's prayer whereby the community is connected to the people of Israel in history: "before your people *Israel*" (20:7); "whom you would not let *Israel* invade when they came from the land of Egypt" (20:10). Centrality of the cultus is paramount in Jehoshaphat's plea: "Did you not, O our God, drive out the inhabitants of this land before your people *Israel*. . . They have lived in it, and in it have built you *a sanctuary* for your name" (20:7, 8).

away from "individual accomplishments and actions of Solomon and the Davidic dynasty to the corporate acts of the people," centred around the Temple.[69] In turn, further focusing on the centrality of the cultus, the spirit of the LORD came upon a Levitic singer, Jahaziel ("a Levite of the sons of Asaph"; 20:14), who addresses first the people, then the king.[70] Again, a singer takes centre stage at a prominent time for *Israel*, and this time, in a time of great distress (cf. 20:12).[71] Indeed, this is the only time in Chronicles when a Levite actually speaks.[72] While Jehoshaphat bows down and all the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem fall (נפל) on their faces before YHWH, the Levites, on the other hand, are the ones who "rise up" (קום) to praise the LORD, the God *of Israel* (20:19). Furthermore, it is the singers of YHWH that go *before* the army and as soon as they begin to sing, YHWH delivers the victory (20:22). Israel is to be a worshipping community seeking YHWH, not a military force in their own right: the battle was explicitly God's (20:15). Indeed, YHWH provided a thorough routing of the coalition forces (20:22) without Judah even lifting a finger (cf. "stand still and see" in 20:17).[73] After three days of collecting booty, on the fourth day, the community blesses YHWH and returns to the temple in Jerusalem, with "harps and lyres and trumpets" (20:25–28). As a result, "the fear of God came on all the kingdoms of the countries when they heard that YHWH had fought against the enemies *of Israel*" (20:29). Only then does "the realm of Jehoshaphat"

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[69] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 789–90; Boda, *1–2 Chronicles*, 329.

[70] For more on the role of Jahaziel as a prophet, see Jonker, *Defining*, 260–61.

[71] That Jehoshaphat had a most impressive army (over a million warriors; cf. 2 Chr 17:14–19) and yet is required to forego its strength and rely solely on God (re: 20:15) creates a paradox, that, for Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 792–93), "may illustrate the comprehensiveness of the religious element in the Chronicler's historical philosophy."

[72] Cf. Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 289.

[73] Or, as Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 798) says, "the Chronicler has chosen a series of strong verbs to express the destruction."

experience rest (נוח), and this, from beginning to end, was a result of God's intervention (20:3–30) enclosed in a scene which begins and ends in the Temple (cf. 20:4–5 // 20:27–28).[74]

In Jehoshaphat's marriage alliance with Ahab, Israel is united.[75] In spite of the victory resulting from Jehoshaphat seeking YHWH, the union still exists, even with Ahaziah, to his detriment. While a geographic / political unity was achieved with Ahab, the cultic differences clearly separate what it means to be "all Israel." For not only does Jehoshaphat go out from Judah (Beer-Sheba) to Israel (the hill country of Ephraim), and "return" them (וישיבם) to YHWH (19:4), Jehoshaphat extols the Levites, along with priests and head of families, as YHWH's judges and arbiters (19:8), as well as enlisting them as officers (19:11). At a time of their greatest distress, a Levitic singer, will even pronounce their victory (20:15–17). However, the marriage union contracted between Jehoshaphat and Ahab's families provides a major transition in the Chronicler's narrative. While Abijah, Asa, and Jehoshaphat all sought YHWH and were victorious in battle, there will be no such victories for the rest of the Davidides' history;[76] rather, the cult will

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[74] As Knoppers ("Reform," 517) claims, this was a war "between YHWH and the coalition."

[75] So Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 758): "a *de facto* unification of the two dynasties is formed, the disastrous consequences of which for the Davidic dynasty will come to light only in the next generation with Athaliah's rule and policy." Cf. Knoppers ("Reform," 511) who notes that such marriages were not uncommon in the "formation of a political league" between ancient Near Eastern states.

[76] Amaziah does defeat 20,000 Edomites (2 Chr 25:11–12), but with the loss of 3,000 Judeans and the "plundering much booty" from the Judean cities (25:13), his battle bears little resemblance to the overwhelming victories provided for other kings; similarly, though Hezekiah's defiance of Sennacherib is exceptional, it is entirely YHWH's doing (32:21) with no battle, or booty, even mentioned. Certainly, Uzziah and Jotham are helped in military exploits by God (26:7), however, again, not to the degree that prior kings prevailed; the listing of tribute in these accounts seems more prominent (cf. 26:8; 27:5). If anything, for Uzziah, his building and military focus proves a distraction as seen in 26:16, leading to unfaithfulness (מעל) with YHWH (cf. Cudworth [*War*, 39–50] in relation to David's preoccupation with the military to the neglect of the cult).

rise to its greatest heights in, first, Hezekiah's reign, and then, ultimately, in Josiah's.[77]

By being united politically, the house of David reaches its most precarious moments in its

history. Indeed, both Jehoshaphat's son, Jehoram, and his son, Ahaziah, follow Ahab in

his apostasy (cf. 21:6; 22:3), to which even Judah will succumb. The difference between

the North and South is not necessarily that the South has a ruling Davidide and the North

does not—the marriage alliance means they are, or at least will be, united (cf. 22:12)—

rather, the difference between South and North is primarily their seeking of YHWH and

preservation of the cult. The note at the end of Jehoram's succession of a promise to

retain a lamp for David forever (21:7), is followed by a note that Libnah revolted against

him because he forsook (עזב) YHWH (21:10).[78] The success of Israel is not secured *de*

facto through Davidic succession; the success of Israel is based on cultic faithfulness.

Following Jehoram's reign, the fragility of the House of David is revealed as

Ahaziah's mother, Jehoram's wife, is none other than Athaliah, the daughter of "evil"

Ahab (cf. 21:6). Indeed, following Jehoshaphat, the Davidides rapidly decline, repeatedly

experiencing defeat, until at last, the last king of any hope, Josiah, falls to a tragic death,

following which, the gravest trauma that Israel could thus far experience is unleashed (2

Chr 36:17–20). All this seems to be initiated based on a vicious cycle of slaughter (הרג),

for *immediately* after the progeny of Jehoshaphat's marriage union with Ahab takes the

throne, Jehoram, Jehoshaphat's son, will slaughter (הרג) all of his brothers (21:4); in turn,

Jehu, too, will slaughter (הרג) all of Ahaziah's brothers' sons, and even put to death

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[77] For the transition of the cult from David and Solomon to, then, Hezekiah and Josiah, see Jonker, *Reflections*, 59.

[78] Cf. Schweitzer (*Utopia*, 100) where he says the proclamation that Jehoram was not destroyed because of the Davidic covenant (cf. 2 Chr 21:7), "will be seriously challenged in the narrative that immediately follows regarding Athaliah." Indeed, Jehoram passes unmourned and to no one's regret (21:18–20).

Ahaziah (cf. 22:8–9). By the time Athaliah arrives, there is little left of the Davidic

house to destroy. The elevation of the Levites, therefore, occurs at the weakest moment

of the Davidides, where there was no one able to reign (22:9). However, this is precisely

where the appearance of Jehoiada occurs.[79]

Jehoiada

The appearance of Jehoiada in the Chronicler's narrative presents a most baffling

interlude.[80] For though Jehosheba, the wife of Jehoiada, by the support of the Levites,

preserves a Davidic heir from the ragings of Athaliah, the "Omride Princess," it is that

very heir that will go on to kill Jehoiada's son (Zechariah).[81] While the king is preserved,

there is only rest while Jehoiada, the priest, lives. While Jehoiada lives, he commands a

variety of duties and reforms, functioning as king *de jure*.[82] Indeed, Joash's name is all

but absent during Jehoiada's rule and even in the ascension formula, though Joash is

noted as "doing right," the caveat, present in no other king's regnal formula, is that this

was so *all the days of Jehoiada* (24:2).[83] While some regnal formulas refer to walking, or

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[79] In the shorter narratives of Jehoram (2 Chr 21:1–20) and Ahaziah (22:1–9), though certainly themes of international engagement, apostasy, and the name of "Israel" does appear (for Jehoram "walked in the ways of the kings *of Israel*"; cf. 21:6, 13), there are no inter-tribal references to be detailed until Jehoiada appears.

[80] Klein ("Ironic End," 126–27) lists at least eight "ironic" occurrences arising throughout the narrative.

[81] Rightly, as Boda (*1–2 Chronicles*, 346–47; cf. Selman, *2 Chronicles*, 442) notes, the narrative begins as a "tale of two women."

[82] As De Vries (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 340) notes, "Jehoiada is very active, and always the boss." In light of such apostasy by Joash, indeed, to the point of killing Jehoiada's son, one wonders why the need to preserve the king is even included, not to mention initiated by Jehoiada. Clearly, YHWH's promise is fulfilled, but why through Jehoiada? Japhet has noted that even at the knowledge of a living Davidide the people rally to Jehoiada's *coup* (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 829). Jehoiada, then, required a king, perhaps any Davidic king, to appease the people to dispel the ruling monarch, Athaliah. For it was Athaliah who posed the greatest threat to Jehoiada, indeed all Israel, with Baalism. Only by entirely eliminating the ruling monarch could restoration occur, even if that meant the installment of a puppet king.

[83] The lack of mentioning Joash by name serves to subordinate Joash to Jehoiada (so De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 345). The proper name "Joash" is only mentioned once (2 Chr 22:11, where Jehoiada,

not walking, in the ways of previous "fathers," it is Jehoiada who appears here. The extent of Jehoiada's position and influence is summarized in his death formula whereby he is buried with the kings of Israel, which not even Jehoram, Ahaziah, or Joash, all Davidic kings, were afforded. Jehoiada is placed among the kings because he "did good *in Israel*" (24:16). Athaliah killing the royal family (22:10–12) actually serves to unite, Israel, politically.[84] However, Israel is to be a cultically united community. While Jehu executed judgement militarily in the North, Jehoiada preserved YHWH's worship through the Levites. With the threat from the North infiltrating the South via Athaliah and Baal worship (cf. 24:7), Jehoiada provides a basis for all Israel to worship YHWH.[85] After Jehoiada's death, Joash sought the advice of the "officials of Judah" (24:17); the advice results in the abandonment (עזב) of the house of YHWH and though the officials of Judah were responsible, wrath fell upon Judah and Jerusalem (24:18). Clearly, Israel's success is linked to the faithfulness of the cult and not *de facto* to the Davidide. Or, in Jonker's words, "it seems that both versions [i.e., Kings and Chronicles] wanted to

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too, is mentioned) until after Athaliah's death; that his name is not anywhere mentioned in Jehoiada's proclamation "Live the king!" (23:11) begs the question at this point: who is king *de jure*? In total, there are six occurrences of "Joash" in the entire narrative (22:11; 24:1, 2, 4, 22, 24) compared with 18 occurrences of "Jehoiada" (22:11; 23:1, 8, 9, 11, 14, 16, 18; 24:2, 3, 6, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 22, 25), where in each of Joash's birth/hiding (22:11), regnal (24:2), and death reports (24:25), Jehoiada appears every time; indeed, of the two, Jehoiada is the last name mentioned in the narrative.

[84] The role of the Queen Mother, as attested in Near Eastern parallels, are provided prominent positions in the royal courts and can rule in place of an unexpected death of the king, as a substitute; cf. Jonker, *1&2 Chronicles*, 240. The unification of Israel at this point is based on the Chronicler's portrayal; in Kings, Jehu rules the North (cf. 2 Kgs 9:3, 6, 12; 10:36), a point which the Chronicler does not include, though the Chronicler does mention YHWH's anointing of Jehu to enact judgment on the house of Ahab (2 Chr 22:7–8).

[85] Indeed, de Vries (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 339) considers this narrative, primarily, the downfall of Baalism.

emphasize that the Jerusalem cult was indispensable for the continuation of the house of [Judah; re: 22:10]."[86]

While Schweitzer notes that Jehoiada eventually concedes his role with Joash asserting political dominance over the cult, the Chronicler seems to be making a more direct polemic.[87] Jehoiada essentially rules, however, this is limited to the cultic sphere. What the Chronicler is seeking to emphasize is separation of political and cultic realms.[88] Joash is all but passive in nearly the entire narrative while Jehoiada lives, except in his desire to restore the Temple and his command for the Levites to collect tithes from "all Israel" (24:5; cf. 24:6, 9).[89] However, even here, Joash refers to the house of "*your* God," when speaking to the priests and Levites (the only time he actually speaks). In turn, Joash's questioning of Jehoaida's lack of seeking the Levites to "hurry" (מהר) is curious (cf. 24:5–6). This, it would seem, is the only time the Levites actually receive a negative attribution in all of Chronicles.[90] That the Levites do not go out to the cities, but rather a "chest" is built to receive collection suggests that Joash's question was not a rebuke in the end, but a better solution resulted than Joash initially purposed.[91] In fact, by Joash summoning Jehoiada and repeating exactly the initial quest to "send out" the Levites and, only then, made alternate plans (omitting "hurrying" entirely [i.e., the issue, according to Joash, was not that the Levites did not "hurry," but that *they did not go out*]), suggests

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[86] Jonker, *1&2 Chronicles*, 243.

[87] Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 103–4.

[88] Cf. Schweitzer, "High Priest," 398.

[89] Cf. Kalimi's (*Reshaping*, 174–76) suggestion that the Chronicler is "rendering" the character of Joash as "less significant" throughout this narrative.

[90] Cf. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 320), though proposing a late addition for the passage, nonetheless, notes that "there is no hint of this unfavorable attitude elsewhere in the story."

[91] Cf. Klein (*2 Chronicles*, 339–40) for a summary of debates surrounding the secondary nature of 2 Chr 24:5b–6.

that Jehoiada was the resultant cause of the "new plan." In this, Joash seeking to "send"

(יצא) the Levites out (24:5) is completely opposite to Jehoiada having, originally,

"brought" (בוא) them in (23:2).[92] By appealing to Mosaic legislation (24:6; cf. Exod

30:11–16; 38:26) a compromise is found.[93] Taxes and tribute being brought into

Jerusalem as opposed to going out and being sought is emphasized elsewhere by the

Chronicler (cf. 2 Chr 2:2–15[3–16]; 9:9–11). While Schweitzer, here, sees a

subordination of the cult to the king, there is, rather, a coordination of equals (cf. Boda).[94]

For the Levites bring the money in (24:8); the king's secretary *and* the officer of the chief

priest return the chest (24:11); the king *and* Jehoiada dispense the money (24:12); and the

rest of the money is brought to the king *and* Jehoiada (24:14).[95] As the funds are used for

the Temple, subordination of the cult to the king is hardly present; if anything, the reverse

is true in that the king does not have free reign with the contributions.[96] In the end, this

narrative points to coordination with the Imperium, while espousing cultic autonomy: in

the end, the Levites are faithful stewards of contributions being received.[97]

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[92] "Going out" and "coming in" is typically used of military actions in Chronicles (cf. 1 Chr 11:2; 20:1). As Joash was raised in the Temple surrounded by armed Levites, his petition here may well be for the Levites to "go out," battle ready to collect (cf. Joab, the commander of the army execution of David's census in 1 Chr 21); but to what end: perhaps Joash intended for the Levites to be a military unit garnering tribute throughout the land, and beyond.

[93] Klein (*2 Chronicles*, 339) notes that no reason is given for the Levites not going "quickly," though suggests that fear of their income diminishing was a possibility. However, if the Mosaic legislation is appropriated by Joash in 2 Chr 24:6, it may have been the fear of a census like David's, where Joab excluded the tribes of Benjamin and Levi (1 Chr 21:6), that was upon them. For, in citing the Tabernacle and collections, the census noted in Exod 30:11–16 provides a natural reference. See Evans ("Let the Crime," 65–80) for a comparison of David's census and the Mosaic legislation.

[94] Schweitzer, *Utopia*, 104, especially n. 69. See Boda (*1–2 Chronicles*, 354–55) for examples of the royal and priestly offices working alongside one another.

[95] Though, in contrast with 2 Kings 12:10–17[9–16], the appearance of "the king" is highlighted in Chronicles, so, too, is mention of the specific name "Jehoiada."

[96] So Evans, "Temple," 32; emphasis mine: "Contrary to David Noel Freedman's suggestions long ago that Chr purposed to give a basis for the authority of the house of David over the temple and its cult, *Chr actually limits even the Davidides' temple privileges* compared to Dtr in his reworking of the Davidic despoliation notices of the book of Kings"; cf. Evans, "Prophecy," 156.

[97] The faithfulness of the Levites, therefore, may explain, at least in part, the lack of Joash's despoliation narrative in Chronicles, which seems to be somewhat mysterious by Evans' ("Temple," 37–38;

Throughout even this narrative, mention is made only of "the king," and often alongside "Jehoiada" (cf. 24:12, 14). In the end, burnt offerings (the cultic epitome in Chronicles) occur, only, "all the days of Jehoiada" (24:14). The king, even a Davidide that was saved and raised in the Temple, does not have any claim to its functions. Indeed, as Schweitzer continues, subsequent kings, including Joash, Amaziah and Uzziah all are declared unfaithful due, specifically, to their cultic improprieties.[98]

The contrast between Joash, "the king," and Jehoiada is perhaps nowhere conveyed more powerfully than in the Chronicler's evocations of the cultural trauma script (2 Chr 36:17–20) involving the term הרג. Following Jehoiada's death, Joash's reign ends initiating a most tragic cycle centred on the term of David's most prominent excess: הרג. This vicious cycle begins with Joash's killing of Zechariah, Jehoiada's very son, who, as he is dying, proclaims that YHWH will see and seek out (24:22). As Joash "slaughters" (הרג) Zechariah (24:22), so, too, was he "slaughtered" (הרג) by conspirators (24:25); but, so, too, again, will the conspirators be "slaughtered" (הרג) by Amaziah (25:3). There, the conspirators are later noted as having "struck" (נכה) Joash (25:3), which suggests justifiable killing; however, Amaziah took this too far and "slaughters" (הרג) them. Finally, the cycle of excessive killing (הרג) is ended when Amaziah is simply "put to death" (וימיתהו) by conspirators (25:27). Though Joash was saved from the devastation wrought by Athaliah by means of the Levites (22:11), so, too, Joash does not even remember the kindness (חסד) of Jehoiada (24:22), having gone so far as to abandon (עזב) YHWH (24:20; cf. 24:18). In what is perhaps the most extreme senses possible, the

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46–47) account; as well, as the association with Joash as "the king" being closely associated with foreign rulers.

[98] Schweitzer, *Utopia*, 105.

Chronicler recounts the lowest point of the Davidic house resulting in their preservation

through the Levites, only to have them be abandoned and slaughtered; perhaps, this

episode is recounted as a means to portray the loss felt by the Levites following the

destruction by the Babylonians (cf. 2 Chr 36:17–20).

And yet, the role of "the king" remains paramount; the king is required to provide

materials to support the Temple.[99] Each office has its respective functions, but also, each

office has boundaries.[100] And, as Joash's narrative without Jehoiada insinuates, any one

claiming to be "the king," *de jure* or *de facto*, that neglects the Temple will be defeated in

battle (cf. 24:23). Clearly, the density of the term "the king" without a direct name

attached throughout the narrative, can be seen as a polemic for the Chronicler's day,

specifically, one directed at the Persian rulers (but holds true for any occupying power).

If the Levites are to minister before YHWH and the community, they cannot be forced to

work their own fields (as occurs, for example in Neh 13:10); rather, they require

provisions from elsewhere. And what better place than the Imperial treasury? In the wake

of monarchic anarchy, in Persian Yehud where the community lacks a ruling Davidide,

any ruler that acknowledges YHWH and provides for the Temple is indispensable (i.e.,

Cyrus), and thus, the cultus can function and community gather. A Davidide may very

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[99] Schweitzer (*Utopia*, 104 n. 71), rightly, notes the provisions of kings in Chronicles (i.e., Hezekiah and Josiah; but also, David and Solomon), especially compared to Levitical provisions, and continues to make an apt parallel that the role of the Persian kings to provide for the Temple may be reflected here.

[100] Following Schweitzer (*Utopia*, 104), the Chronicler's narrative is not here supporting a high priesthood political hegemony in the Second Temple period, but rather the narrative suggests that cultic autonomy is required, with receipt of royal provisions to be allocated for Temple maintenance (at least until the community can become self-sufficient). Evidence for a high priest rule in the Second Temple era remains scant, at best; and, is hardly supported by the Jehoiada narrative. For Jehoiada, in the face of oppression from Athaliah—as Athaliah was a counselor for doing wickedness (2 Chr 22:3), the cultic schism between North and South could hardly be greater, for it was Athaliah's children (Joash's nearest relatives!) that broke into the Temple to use its supplies for Baal (24:7)—ensures cultic purity, not political administration.

well rule over Israel again, given the right circumstances, for a seed *is* preserved. However, in the meantime, the Levites can lead the community in praise to YHWH; and, perhaps, through the perseverance of the Levites, and only through their perseverance, a Davidide may one day rise again.[101]

Amaziah

Amaziah, following the Chronicler's transition and elevation of the Levites during Jehoiada's narrative, provides nearly a reversal to the narrative of Abijah in 2 Chr 13. Rather than the South (Judah) defeating the North (Israel) as Abijah did, the complete opposite occurs.[102] While some scholars have noted two phases to Abijah's narrative with the first part positive and second part negative, Cudworth has demonstrated that even Amaziah's "positive" narrative is full of caveats and only "superficially" positive.[103] Though Jonker, for one, notes that the Chronicler alters the text from 2 Kgs 14:3 where David is mentioned, explaining that the Chronicler wanted no association "in any way" between Amaziah and David (nor Joash), such rationale is not entirely clear.[104] For one, by stating, as 2 Kgs 14:3 does, that Amaziah *did not* follow David, precisely and unequivocally distances the two; if the rationale was to dissociate the two, clearly 2 Kgs 14:3 accomplishes precisely this. Rather, by altering the text in 2 Chr 25:2, though maintaining the identical caveat, "except not" (רק לא), the Chronicler actually

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[101] Not coincidentally, the book of Luke begins with *a priest*, named Zechariah (1:5), who will bear a son named John, who will "prepare the way" (3:4) for Jesus, a son of David (3:31).

[102] Williamson (*Israel*, 114–18) proposes the reign of Abijah being reversed by Ahaz, however, the defeat of Judah by Israel first occurs in Amaziah's reign.

[103] Cudworth, *War*, 147–52. Cf. Klein ("Amaziah," 240), who states in relation to Amaziah's hiring of Ephraimite mercenaries that "even the first part of his life was not carried out with a completely whole heart."

[104] Jonker, *1&2 Chronicles*, 249; cf. Klein, "Amaziah," 240–41.

accomplishes at least two things: an association between Amaziah and David is *strengthened*, and, as a result the *cultic* failures of Amaziah, like David before him, are heightened. For by including the caveat that Amaziah did right, except not with a "whole" or "peaceful" heart (בלבב שלם; 25:2), alludes, directly, to Solomon. Also, by eliminating the reference in 2 Kgs 14:3 that Amaziah did "all" (כל) that Joash did, would seek to align Amaziah with the positive aspects of Joash, which, singularly (as shown above), were related to the Temple. In all ways, therefore, Amaziah was more like David in his focus on war over the Temple, and not like Solomon or Joash in their faithfulness towards it.[105]

After an absence in several of the previous narratives, the collocation of "all Judah and Benjamin" reappears (25:5).[106] As the narrative of Amaziah predominantly focuses on interactions between Israel and Judah, Benjamin's unity is explicitly noted as being with Judah and not with Israel, as the North.[107] This distinction seems especially apt as it is Amaziah's rule that sees the defeat of Judah by Israel (25:22). First, by the Ephraimites, then, by Jehoash. Benjamin, as the Chronicler relates, however, was not complicit in this defeat and is, in fact, one of the tribes included, at least implicitly, in defeat alongside Judah. Again, the defeat in battle is linked to Judah's absent reliance on

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[105] Note David's disqualification in 1 Chr 22:8–9 as a "man of war" with Solomon's acceptance as the one who was to build the Temple, as a "man of peace." The difference, then, between Amaziah and David is that David does, eventually, call out to YHWH, which Amaziah never does, but rather, as a result of going to war, worships the very gods he conquered.

[106] The last mention of "Judah and Benjamin" was in Asa's narrative in 2 Chr 15:9, with the last mention of Benjamin appearing in Jehoshaphat's narrative (17:17). Only in Rehoboam's and Asa's narratives does "Judah and Benjamin" appear before this point (cf. 11:1, 3, 10, 12, 23; 15:2, 8, 9). In turn, "Judah and Benjamin" will only reappear together again in Hezekiah's and Josiah's narratives (cf. 31:1; 34:9, 32).

[107] Cf. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 350: "The theme that binds this all together is enmity with the north, first in Amaziah's treatment of the northern mercenaries, vv. 6–10, 13, and then in the episode of the war with Joash of Israel."

YHWH. There is a clear proclamation from the anonymous prophet that "YHWH is not with Israel—all these Ephraimites" (25:7). Such a statement could infer a negative polemic against the Northern Kingdom, however, such a reference, especially in the context of battle, follows the Chronicler's rebuke in both Abijah's (13:4–12) and Jehoshaphat's (19:1–3) narratives in relation to the *military / political* alliance between the South and North.[108] Furthermore, the Ephraimites represent military prowess, especially so in light of Jehu's conquest (22:7–9), and the Chronicler is consistently clear: Israel is to be a community centred around the cult relying on YHWH and not solely the military.[109] In light of 1 Chr 4:42, the fact that Simeonites dwelt on Mount Seir "to this day," may very well be a evocation by the Chronicler of another inner sacral cleansing by YHWH.[110] The striking of Edomites (2 Chr 25:11–12), might, therefore be better attributed to an inner sacral purging than as success based on Amaziah's faithfulness, which, is almost entirely lacking in this narrative. This, then, also explains the plundering of Judah for though the Ephraimites are noted as returning angry (25:10), it is not until *after* the Edomites are struck down (25:11–12) that the narrative relates the loss of 3,000 Judeans (25:13). This is immediately followed by Amaziah bringing back the Edomite gods, setting them up and sacrificing to them (25:14). The cultic failure of Amaziah, which was to be the major impetus for battle against the Edomites (for no oppression is noted; only that the Edomite gods could not "deliver" [נצל] their own people from Amaziah is noted in 25:15), is highlighted by the Ephraimite plundering, which will later be completed by Jehoash of Israel. Amaziah eventually listens to the prophet and releases

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[108] Cf. Japhet, *Ideology*, 251; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 357.

[109] The cultic failure of the North is amply clear in Kings whereby the Kings of Israel consistently follow the sins of Jeroboam, who had set up idols in Dan and Bethel.

[110] Cf. 2 Chr 34:6, 33, where Josiah's reforms extended from Simeon to Naphtali.

the Ephraimites, however, he subsequently seeks the Edomite gods, which is defiant of the sole identifier of success for the Southern Kingdom: reliance on YHWH. While Abijah relied on YHWH and was granted success (13:18), now, Judah sought (דרש) the gods of Edom and not YHWH, and were defeated, by God (25:20). And this, completely opposite to Abijah, was decreed by God through the hands of Israel over Judah. Having a Davidide upon the throne cannot stop defeat; only a community that seeks YHWH can enter into rest.

Uzziah / Jotham

There are no tribal designations mentioned during Uzziah or Jotham's narrative aside from singular mentions of building in Judah for each (cf. 26:2; 27:4) and mention of "the people of Judah" making Uzziah king (26:1). However, there is a reference to the "heads of ancestral houses" when enlisting the army (26:12), which may serve as the first hint at a unified Israel, militarily, even prior to the captivity experienced by the Northern Kingdom during Ahaz's reign—though the defeat of the North by Assyria is not explicitly recounted by the Chronicler. As well, the priests, as descendants of Aaron, are invoked in opposition to King Uzziah's presumption of offering incense in the Temple. Again, once Uzziah is "strong" militarily, he "acts unfaithfully" (מעל) against YHWH, his God, to his undoing (cf. 26:16). While the Chronicler makes it clear that Uzziah sought advice from Zechariah, who "instructed him in the fear of YHWH" and as long as he sought (דרש) YHWH, God gave him success (26:5), once he relies and "exalts himself" (גבה לבו) on his own might (26:16), he fails. The narratives for both kings

involve successful battles with their international neighbors, but no inter-tribal relations within Israel are specifically invoked.

Ahaz

It is within Ahaz's narrative that the clearest non-negative polemic towards the North is evidenced: the Israelites provide for their Southern captives (28:8–15). All is not lost for the North; they too are still welcome as part of all Israel.[111] Williamson has noted that the reign of Ahaz "reverses" the narrative of Abijah.[112] However, it seems that rather than a reversal being initiated by the reign of Ahaz, already, in Amaziah's reign, the reversal has begun. If Knoppers' critique is taken into account, that Hezekiah does not rule a united kingdom, but rather, Josiah will be the ruler to oversee a united kingdom at last, then, Williamson's notion of a reversal is not entirely without merit.[113] If the defeat of a Davidide by a ruler of Israel begins with Amaziah's reign, and the cultic practices highlighted by Abijah are reversed by Ahaz, then it is still possible that the narrative is culminating in a reversal of the Davidic kingdom post-Josiah.

In many ways, this narrative serves to prepare the way for Hezekiah's attempt to unite all Israel.[114] The downfall for Ahaz is immediately linked to his cultic practices and

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[111] The polemic of "all Israel" may be part of the reason for the Chronicler separating the coalition of Israel and Aram, though, Evans ("Prophecy," 143–65) perspective of a "dialogue" between Isaiah 7 and 2 Kings 16 as the source for 2 Chronicles 28 remains solidly plausible. Also, perhaps, they are separated relating back to the treaty established between David and Aram in the wake of his slaughtering (הרג) in 1 Chr 19.

[112] Williamson (*Israel*, 114).

[113] Knoppers ("Reunited," 74–88) has provided a critique of Williamson's study, highlighting the reality that the Davidic promise, also part of Abijah's speech, has yet to be reversed, but also, Israel is, according to the Chronicler, not united until the time of Josiah.

[114] Williamson (*Israel*, 118), makes the observation that with the fall of the Northern Kingdom, the state of rebellion has been removed, and so it should not be odd to have Ahaz titled as King of Israel. According to Kings, Hoshea became a vassal to the king of Assyria and this relationship is ascribed in relation to the time (the twelfth year) of the reign of Ahaz (2 Kings 17:3). It is not necessary to claim that the state of rebellion has been removed, as Williamson suggests, for there is now *de facto* only one ruler of

"walking in the ways of the kings of Israel" (28:2). Because of his detestable practices, YHWH hands him, and the people of Judah over to defeat. Again, the slaughter occurs because they had abandoned (עזב) YHWH, the God of their ancestors (28:6). As such, judgment was meted out against Ahaz's sons by a warrior of Ephraim (28:7). It would also be the chiefs of Ephraim (28:12) following the rebuke by the prophet, Oded, that would be responsible for returning the captives of Judah (28:9–15). Of interest is that in Oded's rebuke to the Israelite warriors, it is noted that they had taken captive "their kin" (מאחיהם), and not specifically referring to them as Judahites. Though Oded does question their intention to subjugate the people of "Judah and Jerusalem," in the end, they are called to send back those they have taken from their kindred (28:8, 11). The kinship between the people of the North and the South has never been broken, even under the reign of "bad" rulers. The rebuke, present also in Rehoboam's narrative, is a means to remind the people that both the North and South are still brothers. The Chronicler has consistently maintained a link between the people. The reason that YHWH has brought them low is because they have abandoned him, not for military prowess or political means.[115] Indeed, Ahaz's cultic practices lead to the ruin not just of himself but "all Israel" (28:23). To finalize the inclusion of all Israel, even in such a narrative as negative as Ahaz's reign, is the statement that Ahaz was buried in Jerusalem, but "they did not bring him into the tombs of the kings *of Israel*" (28:27; emphasis mine). The only kings

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"Israel." Later the Chronicler will highlight the tensions still remaining amongst the tribes in Hezekiah's reign (i.e., Ephraim, Manasseh, and Zebulun "mocking" in 30:10), however, there is no longer a king reigning in the Northern Kingdom.

[115] Indeed, Ben Zvi ("Gateway," 227; emphasis mine), makes the point, "Had Ahaz understood that the reason for his misfortune was his forsaking God and accordingly repented and changed his behavior as did Rehoboam and Manasseh . . . a further disaster might have been avoided. But Ahaz thought that he was defeated simply because of his *military inferiority*."

in Jerusalem at this point in the narrative have been the Davidides as kings of Judah. This note serves to include the community that remains as Israel. For with the invasion by Assyria, the Northern Kingdom ceases to remain; however, without a ruling monarch for Israel (as Northern Kingdom / political community), Israel (as cultic community) can still exist.

Hezekiah

With the fall of the Northern Kingdom to the Assyrians, there remains only one bastion of Israel. However, even without a competing monarch, the North does not immediately respond to Hezekiah's appeal (30:10); it will not be until Josiah's reign that Israel is defined as a unity, much akin to Solomon. Throntveit, building on the study of Williamson, concludes that "Hezekiah restores the ideal situation of David *and* Solomon that had been lost."[116] In establishing the connections between Hezekiah and both David and Solomon, there is in many senses a parallel construed with the coming together of Israel, though the narrative would suggest Hezekiah's reign falls short of being entirely idyllic.[117]

Hezekiah's narrative is immediately focused on uniting Israel. For as soon as the Temple is sanctified, the burnt offering and sin offering were made on behalf *of Israel*, at King Hezekiah's request (29:24). The service was provided by the priests and the Levites. Though King Uzziah was confronted by the priest, Azariah, and eighty priests with him (26:16–20), the tribe of Levi is not mentioned from the time of Jehoiada (24:11)

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[116] Throntveit, "Relationship," 121.

[117] Cf. Schweitzer, (*Utopia*, 112; also 141, 143), who makes the concession that Hezekiah's reign was not ideal, though may be considered "utopian."

until the reign of Hezekiah. The narrative of Hezekiah is heavily focused on the cult, and especially the work and position of the priests and Levites.[118] Their initial work was to be done for YHWH, the God of *Israel* (29:7, 10). The sin offering was offered for "the kingdom and for the sanctuary and for Judah" but then also a sin offering was made "to make atonement for all Israel" (29:21, 24). As the burnt offerings were made and the song of YHWH elicited, a reference to David as King *of Israel* is invoked (29:27). Following the burnt and sin offerings, Hezekiah sends to all Israel and Judah to celebrate the Passover—again, this is to be done for YHWH, the God of Israel (30:1). The letter of invite is addressed to the "people of Israel" (30:6). All are invited to return to YHWH; and all lay claim to their "ancestors" (30:7, 8). However, while couriers went throughout Ephraim, Manasseh, and as far as Zebulun, "only a few from Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem" (30:11). And while many people joined in the Feast in Jerusalem, "a multitude of the people, many of them from Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves" (30:18). It is in this gathering that Israel is being united, and this around the centrality of cultic celebration. There is no hint that the people are gathering specifically to a Davidic descendant; they are gathering to worship together. The people celebrated and gave thanks to YHWH, the god of their ancestors. The common bond is not North versus South, but rather, seeking YHWH, as seen in the letter beseeching them not to be faithless (מעל) like their ancestors and brothers (30:6–7). The full inclusion of Israel is finally realized: "The whole assembly of Judah, the priests and the Levites, and the whole assembly that came out of

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[118] Cf. Knoppers, "Reunited," 82 (emphasis mine): "However substantial a role Hezekiah plays in Chronicles, the unity engendered through his leadership is *primarily of a cultic character* and is only temporary in nature."

Israel, and the resident aliens who came out of the land of Israel, and the resident aliens who lived in Judah, rejoiced" (30:25). Indeed, there was reason for great rejoicing for since "the time of Solomon son of King David *of Israel* there had been nothing like this in Jerusalem" (30:26). Israel had not been united since the time of Solomon, and as with Solomon's devotion to the Temple, here again, Israel celebrates united around the Temple. Following the celebration, "all Israel who were present went out to the cities of Judah . . . throughout all Judah and Benjamin, and in Ephraim and Manasseh" (31:1). After this, the "people of Israel" becomes a consistent referent in terms of service to the cult (cf. 31:5, 6, 8).

However, once the service of the Temple is prepared and the Levites and priests enrolled, the narrative focuses exclusively on Judah (31:20). King Hezekiah is titled several times as King Hezekiah of Judah (32:8, 9, 23); when Sennacherib approaches Jerusalem, it is the inhabitants of "Judah and Jerusalem" that are mocked to distrust Hezekiah (32:9, 12); as well, his messengers speak in "the language of Judah" (32:18). YHWH ultimately rescues Hezekiah and "the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (32:22). At Hezekiah's death, it is "all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" that pay him honor (32:33).

Part of this transition from desiring to unite all Israel to solely having Judah invoked may be in part due to the destruction by the Assyrians to the Northern Kingdom, so that Judah, and even only Jerusalem, is all that remains intact at this point. However, as Knoppers has pointed out, the narrative is clear that even at this point Hezekiah is "the

King of Judah" while "all Israel" is yet to be united; for "until the reign of Josiah the focus of the narrator remains on Judah and Jerusalem."[119]

Manasseh / Amon

Though the narratives of Manasseh (33:1–20) and Amon (33:21–25) are rich with accounts of apostasy (33:2–9), repentance (33:12–13), and disobedience (33:23), there are no inter-tribal designations mentioned, except Judah and Jerusalem; as such, the next narrative to appear that includes tribal designations is in the reign of Josiah.

Josiah

Though Hezekiah was faced with scorn in his attempt to initially unite Israel (cf. 2 Chr 30:10), Josiah's reign portrays a united Israel. He purged Judah and Jerusalem and in "the towns of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Simeon, and as far as Naphtali . . . demolished all the incense altars throughout all the land of Israel" (34:5–6, 7). Also, cultically, the Levites had collected "from Manasseh and Ephraim and from all the remnant of Israel and from all Judah and Benjamin and from the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (34:9). Not only geographically, but cultically Israel is united. Upon finding and hearing the words of the book of Torah, Josiah seeks to inquire of YHWH as regards those that are left "in Israel and in Judah" (34:21). Israel and Judah are united in his seeking of YHWH. In turn, Josiah took away all the abominations from all the territory that belonged to the people of

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[119] Knoppers, "Reunited," 83.

Israel and furthermore made all who were found in Israel serve YHWH: geographic and cultic unification (34:33).[120]

The Passover conducted by Josiah provides the pinnacle of cultic formation in Chronicles.[121] In this, Josiah instructs the Levites, "who taught all Israel," to put the ark in the house that Solomon, the son of David, king *of Israel*, built. Furthermore, the Levites were to serve YHWH and his people Israel (35:3, 4). The Chronicler ends the Passover ceremony by noting that "the people of Israel" kept the Passover and with a final three-fold repetition of Israel states: "no Passover like it had been kept in Israel since the days of the prophet Samuel; none of the kings of Israel had kept such a Passover as was kept by Josiah, by the priests and the Levites, by all Judah and Israel who were present, and by the inhabitants of Jerusalem" (35:18).

Following the Passover ceremony, the Chronicler notes a turning point for the entire narrative with the phrase in 35:20, "after all this, when Josiah established (הכין) the house (את־הבית)."[122] Though Hezekiah brought Jerusalem out of the despondency caused by Ahaz and was able to gather people to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, it is not until after Josiah's Passover, which was celebrated in the right way and on the right day,

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[120] The only time in Chronicles the dual appellation of those who were present "in Jerusalem and in Benjamin" is applied appears in 34:32. Judah is typically paired with either Israel or Jerusalem. There has been some attempt at textual emendation (cf. *BHS*), however, the inclusion here of Jerusalem and Benjamin, though perhaps odd, is by no means out of place for the Chronicler's presentation.

[121] Boda (*1&2 Chronicles*, 421) points out that following the death of Josiah that his "acts of devotion" (חסד) are mentioned, which only appear in the Chronicler's *Sondergut* here (2 Chr 35:26) and in Hezekiah's epithet (32:32). The greatest similarities between Hezekiah and Josiah occur in terms of their temple faithfulness (i.e., the temple feasts). Cf. Jonker (*Reflections*, 59) where a distinct transfer of the Passover from Hezekiah to Josiah can be discerned in the Chronicler's narrative; such faithfulness by both kings is well remembered by the Chronicler.

[122] See Ristau ("Rereading: Critical," 230–31) and Jonker (*Reflections*, 34–47) for an excellent literary analysis as to the significance of the Passover within Josiah's narrative (so Jonker), and specifically this phrase as a turning point for the Chronicler's entire narrative (so Ristau).

that the Temple is said to have been "established" (כון; 35:20).[123] Following this transition, the narrative concerning Josiah, and in turn the entire Davidic line, slides into decline ushering Israel both into and, via Cyrus, out of the exile. At the end of Josiah's reign, the Chronicler notes that "all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah" and the lament Jeremiah uttered for Josiah and the singing men and women that sang of him in their laments were made "a custom *in Israel*" (35:24, 25). Josiah, who instituted the proper cultic formation and led a united Israel in worship, dies with a lament being issued as a custom in Israel.

Summary

It seems that as soon as the community of all Israel is settled as one around the temple in Jerusalem in the reign of Solomon, a schism breaks out following his death. The schism between North and South can be seen as a result of Rehoboam abandoning (עזב) the advice of the elders that served under Solomon (2 Chr 10:8, 13; cf. 2 Chr 12:1). The appearance of abandoning marks the turning point between the North and the South with the Levites abandoning their fields in the North due to Jeroboam's apostasy. However, it is these very Levites that serve to maintain a unity amongst all-Israel and will strengthen the South. Such is the case in Josiah's narrative, where abandonment of YHWH marks

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[123] Cf. Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 523. Also, see Jonker (*Reflections*, 59–60) for a structural approach to the comparison between the Temple preparations beginning with David being completed by Solomon, paralleled later with the Passover being initiated by Hezekiah to be completed/established by Josiah. As to the relationship between Hezekiah's and Josiah's Passover, Jonker (*Reflections*, 54–55) makes the point that "the qualitative comparison would present the Josiah Passover as the climax of the building-up process. The comment does not devalue Hezekiah's Passover, but accentuates Josiah's Passover as the proper celebration. Together with some communicative structural indications, Josiah's Passover is presented here as the culmination of a long process of development that started with David and Solomon."

the cause of destruction; and yet, the Levites will be marshalled to minister a laudable Passover only to be followed by a military encounter between Josiah and Neco.

The contrast between cultic and military priorities is evidenced as early as Abijah's reign. Clearly, YHWH is not opposed to war; however, as Rehoboam was not to battle the North for political reasons, Abijah was to battle for cultic reasons. This contrast appears most obvious, however, in the engagement between Jehoshaphat and Ahab. While the two kings are presented as near equals, they are differentiated in seeking after and calling out to YHWH—which Jehoshaphat is successful in and Ahab destructively fails at. It is the very union between these two kings that, in turn, leads to the lowest point for the Davidic kingdom. Following Jehoshaphat, the South will never be as victorious in battle again.

Indeed, Jehoshaphat's son will marry Ahab's daughter, Athaliah, and immediately the carnage begins. As soon as Jehoram ascends the throne a most vicious cycle of slaughter (הרג), repeatedly evoking the Chronicler's trauma script, appears. The only reprieve from the royal bloodbaths, from the time of Jehoram all the way through until the time of Uzziah, is the appearance of Jehoiada and the Levites. It will be Jehoiada that rules *de jure* and is buried among the kings of Israel, because he did good in Israel. And yet, as soon as Jehoiada dies, the political carnage is re-invigorated with Joash slaughtering (הרג) the very son of the one who saved him from annihilation, Jehoiada's son, Zechariah. Following Jehoiada's death, the kingdom of Judah continues to suffer defeat, even by the North, until, at last, following the Passover elevating the Levites, Jerusalem is saved from the threat of Sennacherib. Without Hezekiah or the elders even seeking battle, YHWH intervenes. Again, following a time of apostasy through Manasseh

and Amon's reign, Josiah will unite all Israel around a laudable Passover with the esteemed assistance of the Levites.

In light of a traumatic past as severe as occurred to the people and city of Jerusalem (cf. 36:17–20), the Chronicler begins with the schism of Israel during Rehoboam's reign to construct an image of the community that contains tensions and perhaps even hostilities, but calls for them to be recategorized as kindred descending from any tribe, around the Temple in Jerusalem in service to YHWH. In this, by unifying under the superordinate identity of "all Israel" within the hopeful future provided by the city of Jerusalem, the community's cultural trauma can, as the Chronicler seems to suggest, at last be alleviated.

Following Josiah's laudable Passover, once the temple is thus "established" (כון), the narrative will turn to a familiar scene with a king of Judah in the face of militaristic pursuits: Josiah and Neco. The only question remaining is how will Josiah react: with seeking after or not seeking after YHWH?

CHAPTER 6: JEREMIAH'S LAMENT AND THE DEATH OF JOSIAH

In the Chronicler's recounting, the death of Josiah left the community in a most
precarious situation, especially so in light of Huldah's prophecy (2 Chr 34:24–25):
YHWH's evisceration of Jerusalem hangs imminently over the narrative following
Josiah's death. It is precisely at this point, following an ignominious recounting of
Josiah's death in line with among the worst kings in Israel's history that Jeremiah appears
(2 Chr 35:25). Jeremiah, a Levite from the territory of Benjamin (i.e., Anathoth)—the
two tribes excised from David's census in 1 Chr 21:6—issues a lament in the wake of the
death of Josiah, the king of Judah.[1] Jeremiah's appearance at this point in the
Chronicler's narrative seems to represent the embodiment of a superordinate identity for
which the community should rally: namely, a community united around the tribes of
Levi, Benjamin, and Judah, recategorized as one under the inclusive identity of "all
Israel."[2] The mention of Jeremiah's lament being sung by "all the singing men and
women" as opposed to the familiar "Levites" or "sons of Asaph" already hints in this

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[1] Of course, it should be noted that the Chronicler does not introduce Jeremiah explicitly as a
Levite from Benjamin territory. Rather, such information requires recourse to books and references outside
the book of Chronicles. However, the book of Chronicles does provide for a connection between the
Levites and prophets, so that there is a connection, nonetheless, between Jeremiah as a prophet (2 Chr
36:12) and the Levites as prophets (for a discussion of Levites as prophets in the book of Chronicles, see,
for example, Schniedewind, *Word of God*, 174–88; Schweitzer, "Exile," 96–101). Though the title of Levi
may be lacking, there is a clear assumption that Jeremiah's Levitical associations are being drawn upon,
both with the prior inclusion of Samuel (also a Levite from Benjamin territory) in 2 Chr 35:18 and with the
appearance of "all the singing men and singing women" in 2 Chr 35:25, which seems to be an implicit
reference to the Levites.
[2] See my article (Youngberg, "Identity," 1–16) for an examination as to Samuel's rhetorical role in
the transition of the Chronicler's Josiah narrative; one that specifically serves to transition Josiah's
narrative from a laudable Passover to a negative death.

direction (cf. 2 Chr 35:25).[3] That Jeremiah appears following the cultural trauma

associated with both the death of Josiah (2 Chr 35:25) and the evisceration of Jerusalem

(36:21), suggests Jeremiah's appearance is integral to the alleviation of the Chronicler's

cultural trauma script.[4] And yet, Jeremiah's appearance continues well past Josiah's

death, transitioning the narrative not only into the traumatic destruction of Jerusalem, but

through the land's sabbath rest (2 Chr 36:21) into the hopeful issuance of Cyrus' decree

(36:23).[5] The means through which the appearance of Jeremiah accomplishes this may

best be sought by examining the relation of Josiah and Jeremiah in the book of Jeremiah,

for there, specifically, Jeremiah suggests that Josiah, the last Davidic king of any

substance, should not be wept for. Indeed, the book of Jeremiah suggests rather, that

those who have experienced cultural trauma related to forced migration are those who

should be wept for (cf. Jer 22:10–12). In order to best understand why the Chronicler

recounts such an ignominious death as that of Josiah, therefore, an examination into the

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[3] For example, at the highpoints of pre-schism Israel, after the successful transfer of the ark, "Asaph and his brothers" are noted as singing (cf. 1 Chr 16:7), and also, when the ark is brought to the temple, the Chronicler specifically lists "all the *Levitical* singers, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, their sons and kinsmen" (2 Chr 5:12; cf. 8:14). In Jehoshaphat's narrative, in the presence of a "great multitude from Edom" (2 Chr 20:2), ultimately, "the *Levites*, of the Kohathites and the Korahites stood up to praise YHWH" (20:19).

[4] Cf. Knowles, *Jeremiah*, 263: "[2 Chr 36:21–22], in fact, as perhaps the earliest commentary on his career, summarizes Jeremiah's ministry by emphasizing both aspects in parallel phrases: even as Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem and exiled Judah 'to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah . . . so Cyrus repatriates the exiles to rebuild the Temple, 'that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished."

[5] Jeremiah's prophecy of "seventy years" is located only here and in the book of Jeremiah (cf. Jer 25:12); the prophecy in 2 Chr 36:21 seems to merge two separate concepts (Jer 25:12 and Lev 26:33–35) into one (cf. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 1074–76). As Leuchter ("'Prophets,'" 35–36), though examining the relationship between prophets and Levites in the book of Chronicles, notes: "The Jeremiah tradition thus factors significantly into the Chronicler's substitution of 'prophets' from his source in Kings with 'Levites' in his own account and takes center-stage in the formation of the Chronicler's historiography of Judah's final years and eventual restoration. A useful purpose may therefore be served by looking to the portrayal of both prophets and Levites in the book of Jeremiah." In essence, the book of Jeremiah can provide assistance in examining the book of Chronicles.

appearance of Jeremiah in both the book of Jeremiah and the book of Chronicles will follow.

Jeremiah, Josiah, and All Israel

Jeremiah first appears in the book of Chronicles issuing a lament (ויקונן) for Josiah (2 Chr 35:25).[6] The Chronicler, however, does not record the contents of Jeremiah's lament for Josiah, though the lament does become a statute (חק) for Israel.[7] According to Japhet, "the mourning over Josiah is described in the most elaborate manner," to the extent that "the short passage contains a three-fold repetition of 'lament' and 'for Josiah' (vv. 24b, 25), highlighting these two as the leading themes."[8] Lamenting the death of Josiah, the king who, at last, "established" (כן) the temple (cf. 35:20), seems appropriate enough according to the Chronicler, however, that *Jeremiah* issued the lament elicits a need for further exploration. The appearance of Jeremiah occurs not only where the community's

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[6] A multitude of scholars have either noted or explored the relationship between Jeremiah and the book of Lamentations in its connection to the book of Chronicles (see, for example, Boase, *Fulfilment*; Gerstenberger, "Elusive," 121–32; Gosse, "Lévites," 47–56; Jonker, "Jeremianic," 176–89). For instance, the term utilized by the Chronicler is *qinot*, whereas nowhere in Lamentations is the term to be found (cf. Jonker, "Jeremianic," 182). Though the Old Greek and later rabbinic traditions do ascribe the title Qinot to the book of Lamentations, a connection should perhaps not be made *a priori* between the lament attributed to Josiah in Chronicles and the book of Lamentations. The connection may well be then, first, a connection between Josiah and Jeremiah and then, via Jeremiah's association with Lamentations, a connection between the lament for Josiah and the book of Lamentations (cf. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations*, 5: "The strongest evidence for Jeremianic authorship [of Lamentations] . . . is best explained as resulting from the fact that the two compositions originated in the same general historical period, and thus likely reflect the same dialect of Biblical Hebrew . . . Jeremiah lived at the right time and was thought to have composed laments [2 Chr 35:25]"). Conversely, Talshir ("Canon-related," 400–401) suggests that the Chronicler refers specifically to a written book, and therefore "must be the source for the tradition which attributes "Qinoth"—the name used by the Sages for the scroll otherwise known as "Echa," i.e., Lamentations—to Jeremiah."

[7] Statute (חק) appears earlier in 2 Chr 34:31 where Josiah made a covenant to follow YHWH with "all his heart and all his soul." Jeremiah's lament also being a "statute" may serve as a reminder for the people of the severity of not following YHWH as happened to Josiah.

[8] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 1058.

cultural trauma seems to precipitate most profoundly (with the death of Josiah marking

"the beginning of the end" so-to-speak), but also, where social cohesions and the uniting

of Israel and Judah seem to appear at their highest point.[9]

According to the book of Chronicles, Leuchter, for one, notes that "The

Chronicler treats Josiah's reign as a turning point of sorts, where the role of the Levites

and prophets are channeled into the character of Jeremiah."[10] However, Jeremiah's

relationship to Josiah remains somewhat opaque only appearing after Josiah's death in

Chronicles; on the other hand, a specific connection between Jeremiah and Josiah is

immediately apparent in the book of Jeremiah.[11] Three times Josiah's name is mentioned

at the very introduction of the book of Jeremiah (Jer 1:1–3).[12] Within Jeremiah's

introduction, Josiah is specifically associated with Judah only to end the introduction

with a reference to when "the people of Jerusalem went into exile (גלה)" (1:3).

Immediately, therefore, in the book of Jeremiah, Josiah is linked to forced migration.

Furthermore, the same three constituent tribes that were most prominent in the book of

Chronicles, and essentially comprised the community of Persian Yehud, namely, Levi

(priests), Benjamin, and Judah, are all specifically singled out in Jeremiah's brief

introduction in Jer 1:1–2: "The words of Jeremiah son of Hilkiah, of the *priests* who were

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[9] Cf. Knoppers, "Reunited," 83.

[10] Leuchter, "'Prophets,'" 35.

[11] Cf. Leuchter, "'Prophets,'" 34: "By the Chronicler's day, Jeremiah and Kings were part of a single literary tradition fostered by a distinct scribal group, and it is thus fitting that he conflated both sources as he created his own narrative."

[12] Despite the difficulty in attributing a date to the composition, let alone redactions and further editorial activity for the book of Jeremiah, as the book of Chronicles is dated late in the Persian era, it is sufficient to assume the book of Jeremiah in nearly its final form would have been available in the Chronicler's time. Whether the revisions occurred in the book of Jeremiah in light of the book of Chronicles or vice versa is perhaps indistinguishable, however, it is most likely that the book of Jeremiah in some form was composed prior to the book of Chronicles. Cf. Talshir, "Canon-related," 397, 399–400; cf. 401–3 for a brief discussion of Chronicles' late dating.

in Anathoth in the land of *Benjamin*, to whom the word of the LORD came in the days of King Josiah son of Amon of *Judah*."[13] The relationship between Jeremiah and Josiah in the book of Jeremiah seems to focus on the same constituent tribal designations of all Israel, as was the case for the book of Chronicles. Even more, tribal identities appear in the book of Jeremiah, as with the book of Chronicles, within the overtones of one of the Chronicler's most powerful signifiers of cultural trauma: forced migration (גלה).[14]

Therefore, the relationship between Jeremiah and Josiah within the book of Jeremiah seems to clarify what amounts to a more or less opaque appearance of Jeremiah in the book of Chronicles. By addressing the relationship between Jeremiah and Josiah in the book of Jeremiah, the purpose for the Chronicler's recounting such an ignominious death of Josiah can be elucidated. In other words, the current study seeks to address the impact of the Chronicler introducing *Jeremiah* to issue a lament in the wake of the death of Josiah.

Josiah in the Book of Jeremiah

Jeremiah enters the book of Chronicles following Josiah's death and initiation of the community's cultural trauma (cf. 2 Chr 35:25; 36:12, 21); Josiah, on the other hand, enters the book of Jeremiah immediately at the introduction (cf. Jer 1:1–3). However, while the introduction of the book of Jeremiah explicitly states that the word of YHWH came to Jeremiah in the days of Josiah, the only temporal marker related to Josiah in the

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[13] Cf. Jer 33:21 which uses the phrase "Levites, who are priests" to make explicit the Levitical relationship with priests.

[14] Indeed, as Berlin (*Lamentations*, 32; emphasis mine) has commented elsewhere in terms of Jeremiah's persona in the book of Jeremiah in relation to the book of Lamentations: Jeremiah is "the prophet of the destruction and exile *par excellence*."

entire book of Jeremiah occurs in Jer 3:6.[15] Interestingly, this passage contains a word

from YHWH that would ultimately be for both the House of Israel and the House of

Judah (3:18)—two identities overtly present in the Chronicler's recounting. And yet, as in

the book of Chronicles, the identification of "Israel" in Jer 3:11–12 has been the cause of

some consternation.[16]

Among the issues with defining Israel in Jer 3:11–12 concerns the fact that

YHWH tells Jeremiah that Rebellious Israel is more righteous than Traitorous Judah.

Two identities are referenced, and, in this case, the one, Israel, is elevated above the

other, Judah. Should the *a priori* ascription of Israel be applied to the Northern Kingdom

versus Judah as the Southern Kingdom, a predicament arises, for the issuance of a return

to YHWH is solely addressed to Israel in 3:12, and as such a preference for the North

over the South is the implicit result.[17] However, while Scripture at times clearly suggests

a time where the people of the north will join the people of the south, as Crouch has

pointed out, nowhere in Scripture is there a preference for the North to the exclusion of

the South.[18] In order to resolve this apparent contradiction, interpreters are left to

determine not only to whom the message of 3:6–11 was directed but also how Israel and

Judah are being defined in this proclamation.[19]

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[15] There is a reference in Jer 25:3 (cf. Jer 36:2) to Jeremiah's proclamation occurring beginning with the thirteenth year of Josiah, however, the proclamation itself is framed by a message "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim" (25:1). Beyond the introduction, Josiah is noted as a father (i.e., "x son of Josiah") in Jer 22:11, 18; 25:1; 26:1; 27:1; 35:1; 36:1, 9; 37:1; 45:1; 46:2.

[16] See Plant (*Good Figs*, 50 n. 15) for a brief summary of interpretations.

[17] While some commentators (i.e., Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 64–65) ascribe v. 18, which speaks of both Judah and Israel as joining together, to later tradents, even if the text remains as is, there is a definite absence of Judah throughout the appeal for Israel to return until v. 18.

[18] Cf. Crouch, "Playing," 5.

[19] Whatever differences may arise in the course of this study, I would like to note my extreme gratefulness and indebtedness to Crouch for sharing her work with me and for the excellent scholarship she provided in her study, without which, any strengths that appear in my study would otherwise not have arisen.

Crouch, for one, has provided an excellent study specifically addressing this apparent predicament, stating that the Northern Kingdom was already a century removed by Jeremiah's time, and therefore any attempt at a prophetic proclamation to a disappeared kingdom stretches the "bounds of plausibility."[20] Certainly, Crouch is correct in stating that Jeremiah cannot be proclaiming righteousness of a, then, defunct Northern Kingdom; Israel must refer to something other than the Northern *political* entity. This much is common ground. However, by claiming that "Rebellious Israel" as recounted in 3:12 is equivalent solely to the elites of Jerusalem, as Crouch ultimately contends, would be to create a unique one-time association of a very select group under the profound title of "Israel." As Crouch summarizes, "Thus, we have seen that Israel is well-established as a name for the elites of Jerusalem, who are now exiles in Babylonia. Rebellious Israel is this group personified. . . Judah, by contrast, is used to refer to the population of the kingdom more generally."[21] In essence, to make the elite of Jerusalem that were sent into exile equivalent to *all* Israel is a bold statement. But also, one that does not appear congruous with other appearances in the HB of the term "Israel."

In certain cases, as Crouch points out, Israel is applied to the community that is in exile (cf. Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah).[22] To confine this ascription to a select group of Jerusalemites, to the exclusion of Judahites (i.e., those outside Jerusalem), however, would restrict and exclude the greater part of the exiled and diasporic community.[23]

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[20] Crouch, "Playing," 6–7.

[21] Cf. Crouch, "Playing," 15.

[22] Cf. Crouch, "Playing," 11–12.

[23] Rom-Shiloni ("Group Identities," 24) does propose a minimal layer of Jeremiah's prophecies that could be interpreted as referring only to the exiles accompanying Jehoiachin, though goes on to state later that "This explicit (and at times only implicit) polemic between Babylonian Exiles and the people who remained in Judah is fairly limited in Jeremiah. Much more prominent are emphases on ingroup definitions within each community." However, even for Rom-Shiloni, the community associated exclusively with the Judean exiles in Jer 24 is nowhere attributed as "Israel."

Furthermore, the rhetoric of the passage is not absolved by equating Israel with the Jerusalemite elites, for in either case, whether Northern Kingdom exiles or Jerusalem exiles, neither entity is, nor can be, present for there to be any validity to the proclamation in Jer 3:11–12 that Rebellious Israel is more righteous than Traitorous Judah if the *proclamation* is to be made in the South.[24] Rather, those in exile, which certainly includes Jerusalemite elites is not at the same time exclusive of the rest of the community that has also been exiled. Perhaps the greatest difficulty with Crouch's proposal is seen in a complementary passage in Jeremiah: that of the good and bad figs (Jer 24:1–10).[25] There, Jeremiah is faced with a similar situation whereby there are one good batch of people and one bad batch of people. If the passage is to be read consistent with Crouch's proposal, the same entities should be appropriated, namely, Israel (as referring to Jerusalem elites) and Judah (as referring to those left in the land).[26] However, the complete inverse is true: the good figs are the "exiles of *Judah*" (24:5) and the bad figs are the "remnants of *Jerusalem*" (24:8).[27] If Israel in Jer 3:11 was solely referring to Jerusalemite elites, it would seem that Jer 24 would be a natural position to appropriate the same entities as it is within this passage that both Judah and Jerusalem are specifically used (i.e., the good figs would then be the "exiles of Israel (Jerusalem)" and the bad figs "those remaining in Judah," or even vice versa). That such is not the case makes it

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[24] Cf. Crouch, "Playing," 9–12: "the evidence from the book of Jeremiah suggests that it is the claim that Israel refers to an entity which is *not* resident in the southern kingdom which requires special pleading" (11).

[25] Plant (*Good Figs*, 87; emphasis mine), for one, places Jer 24 post-597, yet pre-587 BCE: "Accepting the authenticity of Jer 24 does, however, solve the enigma of its exclusive focus on those deported in 597; the reason it says nothing about 587 exiles is because *587 had not happened yet.*"

[26] This is not to absolve contentions as to the composition of Jer 24, however, scholars are accepting of a *Sitz im Leben* somewhere between 597 and 587 BCE; cf. Plant (*Good Figs*, 85–87) for an overview of scholarly conjectures.

[27] Furthermore, the text here makes reference to the remnant (שארית) of Jerusalem, so that even this opposition is not entirely inclusive of either entity.

difficult to associate "all Israel" solely with the Jerusalem elite *to the exclusion* of Judah.[28] Likewise, Jeremiah's letter to the exiles in Jer 29 references those in exile almost entirely as exiles of Jerusalem.[29] However, never are they equated with Israel, but rather Jerusalem is repeatedly set in opposition to Babylon (cf. the construction "from Jerusalem. . . to Babylon" in Jer 29:1, 2–3, 4, 20). When Judah, as opposed to Jerusalem, does arise in 29:22, it is in reference to "all the exiles *of Judah* in Babylon." Finally, as the restoration of Israel is at stake in Jer 3, Jer 31 clearly portrays a rejuvenation of the Northern territory including "the mountains of Samaria" (31:5) and "the hill country of Ephraim" (31:6). Indeed, Jer 31:1 includes a statement from YHWH that he "will be God for *all the families of Israel*."

Rather, Jer 3:11, in referencing Israel as more righteous than Judah, seems to be drawing on the exilic state of the North and equating those of the South that have been exiled with them. This is to say, the Jerusalem exiles are equated with the greater Israel in exile as opposed to the inverse suggested by Crouch's interpretation, namely, that all Israel is subsumed by a select Jerusalemite exilic community. In other words, Jeremiah's reference to Rebellious Israel is an allusion to the exile of the Northern Kingdom. The danger of Crouch's interpretation is the nullification of the return of the ten tribes of Israel. Rather, that the exiles are equated with Israel and that they are offered a return to YHWH would suggest that the House of Israel and the House of Judah share equity through exile (which further explains the abrupt appearance in v. 18 where Judah is being called alongside Israel from the north); and this is precisely as opposed to those

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[28] As Holladay (*Jeremiah*, 658) comments, the exiles referenced here are used as a collective.

[29] Of course, Carroll (*Jeremiah*, 555; emphasis mine), for one, clearly considers them Judeans just the same in his comment: that Jeremiah's role was "proclaiming a policy of co-operation with the Babylonians to the *Judeans* now living in Babylon."

remaining in Jerusalem and Judah holding to the inviolability of Jerusalem. Though the bulk of Jeremiah's proclamations were to be made "in the hearing of Jerusalem" (cf. Jer 2:2; 4:3, 5; 11:6; 18:11; 19:3; 25:2; 34:6; 35:13), there were occasions where Jeremiah specifically addressed a northern community (i.e., 29:1, 31).[30]

The main thrust of Jeremiah's rhetoric at this point has been, informatively, introduced by the temporal marker "in the days of Josiah" (3:6). This ascription places the proclamation of 3:11–12 post-exile of the Northern Kingdom, as Crouch agrees, but also pre-destruction of Jerusalem. The thrust of the message seems to be precisely against those holding to the inviolability of Jerusalem, which implicitly would have looked at the North with derision (cf. 5:11, 12; 7:4, 14).[31] Rather, Jeremiah is claiming that Jerusalem will be destroyed.[32] The extreme antagonism he faces is directly a result of such claims.[33] To cement his audacious proclamation in 3:11–12, Rebellious Israel, the community involved with the forced migration of the Northern Kingdom, as well as any of the South that have gone into exile at that point, is marshalled and shown to be more righteous: they have been humbled. Jerusalem, on the other hand, still holds on to her pride. But such pride will be swept away, and though Judah, and Jerusalem, may have felt they had grounds for pride over their sister to the North, both entities will experience forced

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[30] This is not to suggest, however, an appeal for Jeremiah's early ministry to the North in tandem with Josiah's reforms; cf. Crouch's ("Playing," 7–9) excellent, albeit perhaps brief, summary of scholarship on this issue.

[31] Cf. Shields, *Circumscribing*, 87.

[32] As Allen (*Jeremiah*, 322) succinctly points out in regards to Jeremiah's letters to the exiles and Shemaiah in Jer 29:1–32, "Jeremiah got it right; the prophets in Babylon did not."

[33] See, for example, Jer 20:1–3.

migration.[34] However, rather than exile resulting in the disintegration of a national entity (i.e., "Israel"), it is precisely at that point that they will, at last, be *united*.[35]

Crouch is correct that too quickly eliding Israel and Judah can obscure the rhetorical thrust and profound extremism of Jeremiah's proclamation in 3:11–12, however, Jeremiah is also consistent with the usage of Israel and Judah.[36] Rather than creating a one-time association with a select group of elites, Jeremiah consistently maintains a distinction between Israel and Judah throughout. And though they are often on equal terms (i.e., the House of Israel and the House of Judah), they are also always differentiated (Israel and Judah refer to different entities). What Jeremiah is constructing is a uniting of identities, not yet a complete elision. However, while Crouch contends that Judah refers to the surrounding country outside Jerusalem, therefore affording a bifurcation between the two entities, such bifurcation is without precedent in the biblical texts. It would seem, rather, that Judah and Jerusalem are collocated continuously throughout the HB. Israel, as a reference to Jerusalem, is never set in opposition with Judah.[37] Indeed, Jeremiah's letter to the exiles specifically mentions "the surviving elders" among the exiles (29:1). Such an ascription would suggest that the Jerusalem elite are the surviving elders, who are now a part of the greater exilic community. They are one and the same (cf. the joining of houses in Ezek 37:19). Also included, however, are the exiles from Judah (29:22) so that Jerusalem and Judah are specifically *not*

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[34] This is, in many ways, similar to McConville's (*Judgement*, 39; emphasis mine) assertion that for Judah, too, "there lies a way back to God *beyond an exile which she in turn must endure*."

[35] Cf. Fischer, *Jeremia 1–25*, 204.

[36] Cf. Crouch, "Playing Favorites," 4 n. 10.

[37] Ezek 12:8, 9 does mention the "House of Israel" located in Jerusalem, however, this is not in distinction or opposition to Judah.

differentiated.[38] The Jerusalemite elite, along with the exiles of Judah, are equated with the Israelite community that had already been exiled, and it is this community, designated as Israel, that is more righteous than those holding to the inviolability of Jerusalem while remaining in their unrepentant ways. Ezekiel, too, associates the detestable practices of those *remaining in* Jerusalem as Israel so that it cannot be merely the elite of Jerusalem in exile that are Israel and those remaining in the land as Judah.[39]

The significance of the proclamation in Jer 3:6–18 of Rebellious Israel's righteousness occurring in the days of Josiah, rather than eliciting grounds for a late editorial gloss, provides an excellent explanation for Jeremiah's rhetorical thrust.[40] For it is in relation to Josiah that Israel is to be united at last. Though this unity occurs distinctly *in* exile, Josiah's reference is specifically intended to mark the beginning of exile, as does

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[38] As shown also by the ascription in the letter to the officials (שׂרי) of *Judah* in Jer 29:2.

[39] Rabbinic tradition holds that Jeremiah travelled to the Northern Kingdom to bring back the ten tribes of Israel (Cf. R. Yohanan as cited by Wieder, "Josiah," 61). As the book of Jeremiah has gone out of its way to date the proclamation in Jer 3 as being situated in the days of Josiah, the Talmud made the following declaration: "Jeremiah brought [the Ten tribes] back; Josiah son of Amon ruled over them" (Wieder, "Josiah," 64). As such, the proclamation in Jeremiah 3 is ascribed to the reforms of Josiah and Jeremiah's role for the Northern tribes, which accords with the MT's inclusion of both "the days of Josiah" (Jer 3:6) and that Jeremiah was to proclaim the message "to the north" (Jer 3:12). Subsequent interpretation, though perhaps not always accepting the actual journey of Jeremiah to the North, nonetheless maintain that the message was directed to the north (This is perhaps seen most clearly in the connections between Josiah and Jeremiah portrayed by Leuchter, *Josiah's Reforms*). That Jeremiah's proclamation is to be sent as a message to the exiles in the north, makes sense of the lack of appeal to Judah if the message is for the exiles, including those equated with the Northern Kingdom. For though Jer 2:1 situates the proclamation in the hearing of Jerusalem, the proclamation in 2:4 is directed at "the House of Jacob, all you clans of the house of Israel" and reiterated in 2:14, 26, 31. Only in 2:28 is Judah mentioned in tandem to the previous mention of Israel in 2:26 (Though this could potentially also be seen as a means to contrast they / Israel and you / Judah, the reverse construction occurs within the same passage with you / Israel as referent in 3:20). Cf. Ezek 8:6; 9:8: "remnant of Israel in Jerusalem"; 11:15: "people of Jerusalem say of your fellow exiles and all other Israelites they are far away from YHWH, this land is our possession", but what of 12:8, 9 where Israel is referred to both those with Ezekiel and those in Jerusalem; 12:19: those living in Jerusalem and the land of Israel; 21:7[2]: "against Jerusalem and the land of Israel"; 21:25[20]: "against Judah and fortified Jerusalem"; 23:11: "Oholiab was more depraved than her sister"; 25:3: destruction of sanctuary was the "land of Israel and people of Judah"; 33:24: "in the land of Israel . . . surely the land was given to us."

[40] Though Cazelles ("Israel du nord," 158) places Jeremiah's rhetoric on a return to Zion, the Davidic kingdom, and victories of old, nonetheless, the association with "the days of" Josiah in Jer 3:1 is duly noted. My contention is that the oracle of Jer 3 must be framed by Josiah's days, however, Josiah's days, according to Jeremiah, are associated primarily (if not exclusively) with *the beginning* of exile.

his death (and thus the end of his "days") in the book of Chronicles. In the end, Israel, though already sent into exile, following Josiah's death at first coheres with Judah, and only then, once forged through the traumatic experience of forced migration, can the House of Israel and the House of Judah emerge truly united.[41]

Jeremiah Issues a Lament for Josiah

Josiah and Jeremiah are only mentioned together in the book of Chronicles following Josiah's death (2 Chr 35:25) after which, the fall of Jerusalem and forced migration occur in short succession;[42] in the book of Jeremiah, Josiah is also associated with Jeremiah both in terms of the exile (Jer 1:3), and with the unification of Israel (Jer 3:18)—specifically the tribes of Levi, Benjamin, and Judah (Jer 1:1–2). In this, the engagement between Jeremiah and Josiah's reforms have been the focus of some debate, mostly, framed by the narrative in 2 Kings.[43] However, if the dating from Chronicles rather than 2 Kgs 22:1–3 (i.e., in Josiah's eighteenth year) is drawn into the discussion, it appears obvious that Josiah's reforms (2 Chr 34:3–7), initiated in the *twelfth* year of his reign (2 Chr 34:3), would have been underway before Jeremiah, whose prophecy is dated to the *thirteenth* year of Josiah (cf. Jer 25:3), ever received a word from YHWH (Jer 1:2).[44] As

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[41] Interestingly, the "ark of the covenant of YHWH" appears in Jer 3:16 just prior to the mention of the joining of Houses (3:18), for in 2 Chr 35:3, the "holy ark" also appears at the initiation of the Passover and just prior to Josiah's death.

[42] Cf. Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 1061) who notes that when the account in 2 Chr 36 is compared to 2 Kgs 23–25, "the fact which immediately strikes the eye is the great brevity with which this period is described . . . from fifty-seven verses in 2 Kings 23–25 to only twenty-three in Chronicles . . . Unable to ignore this period altogether, [the Chronicler] chooses to portray it in the briefest possible terms."

[43] Cf. Perdue, "Jeremiah," 2–6.

[44] Indeed, it would seem reasonable that the Chronicler, aware of some form of the book of Jeremiah, may have intentionally indicated Josiah's reforms as initiating in his twelfth year specifically to differentiate this from Jeremiah's initial engagement as YHWH's prophet, which is noted as beginning in the thirteenth year of King Josiah (Jer 1:2; 25:3; 36:2). Though it certainly is also possible that a later editor of Jeremiah altered the text to reflect the Chronicler's chronology, the point is the same: Jeremiah was not active during Josiah's northern reforms.

such, Jeremiah would have been present during the intervening years and certainly by the

time of Josiah's eighteenth year, the highpoint of Chronicles, would have at least been

aware of the Temple celebrations, namely, Josiah's laudable Passover.[45] Subsequent to

such a Passover not having been celebrated since the days of Samuel (2 Chr 35:18), the

death of Josiah would provide ample motivation for Jeremiah to be propelled to the

forefront of the prophets. Scholars have suggested that nowhere are Jeremiah's

proclamations dated prior to the death of Josiah, so that, in many ways, the death of

Josiah is the initiation of Jeremiah's appearance.[46]

As Japhet points out, Jeremiah's mourning over Josiah is clearly attested to in Jer

22:10–12:[47]

> Do not weep for him who is dead, nor bemoan him; weep rather for him who goes
> away, for he shall return no more to see his native land. For thus says the LORD
> concerning Shallum son of King Josiah of Judah, who succeeded his father Josiah,
> and who went away from this place: He shall return here no more, but in the place
> where they have carried him captive he shall die, and he shall never see this land
> again.

The emphasis of Jeremiah's appeal to Josiah's kin is distinctly placed on the latter not

seeing the land again. Indeed, Josiah is actually not to be wept for, but rather that those

who follow him, and are not to see the land, is where the lament arises.[48] The land,

therefore, is elevated rather than mourning the passing of the king. In other words, the

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[45] Cf. Jonker's (*Reflections*, 58) reference to Josiah's Passover as a "building up."

[46] Cf. Rowton ("Jeremiah," 129–30): "In the circumstances it seems permissible to infer that he would have fully supported the Megiddo expedition. Indeed, he can hardly have opposed it, or we would have heard from him a good deal on the subject. It is therefore particularly instructive . . . that none of the extant prophecies of Jeremiah goes back beyond the death of Josiah in 608[9]."

[47] Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 1043; cf. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, 588. Carroll (*Jeremiah*, 422–23) notes the participial phrases in v. 10 distinguish in terms "of state or activity rather than identity," though goes on to say that "if spoken on a specific public occasion the immediacy of the utterance within that social context may have identified the subjects instantly." Furthermore, "the explanation [v.11] identifies the one who is dead as king Josiah."

[48] Cf. Fischer (*Jeremia 1–25*, 656) as to the positive nature of appealing to Josiah's death.

plea in Jeremiah would be associating the death of Josiah to the more dire implication:

that following Josiah's death, the community will ultimately experience forced migration.

Those who are dead cannot be traumatized any further; trauma only exists for those who

remain and have lived to experience traumatogenic events.[49] The loss of a ruling

Davidide is not to be wept for as much as forced migration, one of the major components

of the Chronicler's cultural trauma script (cf. 2 Chr 36:17–20). To further substantiate

this claim, the book of Chronicles ends only after the land experiences its cultically-rich

sabbaths (2 Chr 36:21), and that even without a ruling Davivide, the people of YHWH

are called to not only go up to the land of Judah (36:23), but specifically to go up to that

which resides in the land: the temple in Jerusalem.

It would seem, then, that Josiah's appearance in the book of Jeremiah is strongly

associated with both the exile (cultural trauma) and uniting of Israel and Judah (social

identity). Though the "days of Josiah" appear in Jer 3 related to the joining of the Houses

of Israel and Judah (Jer 3:6, 18), Josiah's death is specifically *not* to be wept for (Jer

22:10).[50] The cultural trauma (i.e., forced migration) of the community at this point is

marked by weeping and lament. Though mentioned in Jer 22:10–12, perhaps nowhere in

the book of Jeremiah is lamenting this loss more clearly evoked than with Rachel

lamenting the loss of her children (Jer 31:15).[51] There, a voice is heard, specifically, in

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[49] As Eyerman (*Cultural Sociology*, 30), cited earlier, points out: "In political assassinations, there are at least two victims, the murdered individual and the collective that associates itself with that individual."

[50] Though there may be a tendency to view 2 Chr 35:25 as contrasting with Jer 22:10–12, perhaps it is best to view the Chronicler as accentuating the peitition in Jeremiah not to weep for Josiah. For elsewhere Jeremiah seems to hold out extreme hope for the "righteous branch" of David (i.e., Jer 23:5–6); however, only specific to Josiah does Jeremiah issue a petition *not* to weep over his death.

[51] Cf. Kozlova, *Maternal*, 157: "Yet, the nexus of maternal grief, politics, ritual zeal, and the restoration of a group is nowhere evident as powerfully in the Hebrew Bible as in the book of Jeremiah, which deals with the cessation of Israel's monarchy."

Ramah.[52] Ramah is a site of cultural trauma and social identity coherence *par excellence*.

For example, when Saul is rejected as king, Samuel goes to Ramah to grieve (אבל) (1

Sam 15:35). In Jeremiah, it is precisely in Ramah that the captives are awaiting

deportation (Jer 40).[53] As the North (i.e., Ephraim) was taken captive from 722 BCE, so

now the South is being held captive in Ramah.[54] The vital link between North and South,

not only geographically (as 2 Chr 16:6 relates Baasha of Israel built up Ramah, but

subsequently, Asa of Judah took the materials from Ramah to build Geba and Mizpah),

but now also genealogically is united by Rachel weeping in Ramah. Lindar summarises

this unification well: "Though Rachel cannot be regarded as the mother of the race like

Sarah (cf. Is. 51:2), as the mother of Joseph and Benjamin she is the ancestress not only

of Ephraim but also of the Benjaminite elements in the southern kingdom."[55] This is also

one of the few places in the entire book of Jeremiah that the title of Ephraim appears.[56]

So what we see with the appearance of Josiah in Jer 3:6 is an association with the North,

and one that foreshadows the return of Ephraim as described in Jer 33; but also, and even

more importantly a social cohesion occurs in both passages between the North and South

(cf. Jer 3:18).[57] So that, even in the book of Jeremiah, the identity of Josiah is associated

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[52] The terms in Jer 22:10–12 are "weep" (בכה) and "grieve" (נוד); in Jer 31:15, the terms are "lament" (נהי) and "weep" (בכה).

[53] As Fischer (*Jeremia 26–52*, 157) also points out.

[54] Cf. Lindars, "Rachel Weeping," 54.

[55] Cf. Lindars, "Rachel Weeping," Note 21.

[56] Elsewhere in Jeremiah: genealogically as "Ephraim" (7:15; 31:9, 18, 20); geographically, as "Mount Ephraim" (4:15; 31:6; 50:19).

[57] Cf. Lindars ("Rachel Weeping," 53): "Though the imagery of the mourning mother and some of the language used, have parallels elsewhere in Jeremiah (6:26; 9:9-10, 16-21) . . . it seems to me possible that the prophet is here quoting a traditional lament associated with Rachel's tomb. This is suggested by the structure of the piece, in which the lament is clearly differentiated from the reply, which forms the oracle proper. If this suggestion is accepted, and of course it cannot be proved, then the lament of verse 15 might well have been composed in the situation following the fall of the northern kingdom. If so, then one can imagine the poignancy of this place, when it is used for the transit camp of the captives in 586."

with the uniting, at last, of all Israel. And yet, though Josiah's death marks the beginning

of the end for the Davidides, and though "all Israel" will eventually be joined together as

a result of the forced migrations initiated in the wake of Josiah's death, Josiah is,

nonetheless, the king for whom lamentations are issued.[58] And yet, though Josiah marks

the initiation of cultural trauma for the community, this does not in itself explain why the

Chronicler records Josiah dying such a *negative* death.

Josiah's Ignominious Death

To better understand the Chronicler's narrative involving the death of Josiah, a brief

historical reconstruction may be of assistance. As history reveals, Josiah reigned in the

waning era of Assyrian dominance.[59] Assyria was responsible for the captivity of the

Northern Kingdom (722 BCE), yet, for Judah and the South, the inviolability of

Jerusalem found supremacy in the face of an Assyrian affront (especially as seen in 2 Chr

32:22–23).[60] This leaves interpreters with limited options in terms of Josiah/Judah and

Assyrian relations: one, Josiah (and thus, Judah) were faithful vassals of Assyria to the

bitter end; two, Josiah (and Judah) were enemies with Assyria, seeking to stall any

assistance they might have conjured; or three, Josiah (and Judah) were essentially

indifferent and were seeking to capitalize on the vacuum left by the retreat of Assyria to

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[58] The Chronicler's lack of *all three* of David's laments over specific persons in 2 Samuel (i.e., Saul in 2 Sam 1:17–27; Abner in 2 Sam 3:31–39; and Absalom [though lacking the term "lament"] in 2 Sam 18:33—19:4 [19:1–5]), makes the lament for Josiah all the more exceptional. For a treatment of David's mourning the death of certain people in 2 Samuel, see, for example, Zhixiong (*The King Lifted Up*, 10–11), where it is suggested that "it is rather clear that, in one way or another, they are all connected to the question regarding the control of the royal throne of Israel."

[59] Cf. Evans, "Historical," 24; Kuhrt, *Persian*, 19, 30–33.

[60] While Manasseh is bound and taken to Babylon (2 Chr 33:11), the city of Jerusalem was left untouched.

the North.[61] In any case, scholars are generally agreed that Neco was assisting Assyria against the Babylonian-Median coalition following the fall of Nineveh.[62] Josiah's confrontation with Neco, whom the Chronicler explicitly notes was enroute to battle (cf. 35:21; lacking in the account in 2 Kgs 22–23), was, therefore, thoroughly militaristic.[63]

Josiah's interruption of Neco and the Egyptians in their alliance with Assyria could be seen as a means to prevent any assistance for Assyria, in many ways, hoping for their final demise and repayment for the anguish they caused Israel.[64] If, as the historical records seem to indicate, Neco was allying with Assyria, and, if Josiah's reforms (2 Chr 34:6–7) were intended to cleanse Israel of any residual Assyrian hegemony, why then would Josiah's seeking to halt Egypt's support of Assyria be against the purposes of God? In fact, it makes all the more sense that Josiah *should* specifically halt any assistance being afforded Assyria.

However, this is precisely the point the Chronicler is making. God's people are to be, above all else, seekers of YHWH. This is perhaps most obvious in the conspicuous absence in Josiah's confrontation with Neco of first seeking YHWH, as both David, initially (cf 1 Chr 14:10, 14), and Jehoshaphat did (2 Chr 18:4). In fact, such deafening silence is made explicit when the Chronicler distinctly states that Josiah disobeyed (לא

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[61] Cf. Evans, "Historical," 24–29.

[62] Evans, "Historical," 29–30. Cf. Welch, "Death," 255–60; Cannon, "Notes," 63–64; Alfrink, "Die Schlact," 173–84. As such, any previous attempts to align Josiah with supporting Assyrian vassalage in an attempt to battle Egypt is premised on faulty grounds.

[63] The note of Josiah being transferred to a "second" chariot (2 Chr 35:24) is also most likely a signal that the king was prepared for battle. Of interest may be a possible parallel with Joseph who rode in Pharaoh's "second" chariot (Gen 41:43), perhaps denoting processional, or at the least, administrative rather than military prominence. Cf. YHWH's denouncement in Joshua 11:6: "They came out with all their troops and a large number of horses and chariots—a huge army, as numerous as the sand on the seashore. All these kings joined forces and made camp together at the Waters of Merom to fight against Israel. YHWH said to Joshua, 'Do not be afraid of them, because by this time tomorrow I will hand all of them, slain, over to Israel. You are to hamstring their horses and burn their chariots.'"

[64] Cf. Rowton, "Jeremiah," 129.

שמע) the word of God (35:22).[65] Why, according to the Chronicler, was Josiah *not* to battle Neco, an action explicitly confirmed as a word from God?[66] Surely, his death was impelled by more than an arbitrary ascription of a word by a capricious God through a foreign ruler (Pharaoh Neco)—and one presented as a word derived from an Egyptian god at that!—as if it was simply a test that Josiah could only ever fail.

Mitchell, for one, asserts that Josiah's fault lay elsewhere than solely disregarding an (otherwise arbitrary) word from God; however, rather than the fault residing, as Mitchell proposes, in Josiah's Passover (which is virtually unanimously regarded as laudable by scholars), the fault seems to reside elsewhere.[67] Ristau, on the other hand, has pointed out that "in the case of Amaziah, the fundamental justification is explicit . . . In the case of Josiah, there is no comparable statement, so justification must be deduced from the account of Josiah's death and the narrative context as a whole."[68] To be sure, Mitchell is correct that the notion of Neco acting as an overlord is not a likely scenario in the Chronicler's construction, however, this does not absolve Josiah entirely from seeking battle without seeking YHWH: Josiah should have known better.[69] The book of Chronicles, however, as Ristau suggests does provide a rationale within its greater

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[65] Cf. Japhet's (*I&II Chronicles*, 1057) envisage of entrapment whereby if Josiah ceased confronting Neco who was invoking "his own god" (i.e., little "g"), Josiah would have been acknowledging and fulfilling the word of an Egyptian god—a tricky, or in Japhet's words, "an impossible," situation. However, even such a claim of a foreign god from a foreign ruler still did not compel Josiah to seek YHWH. This is clarified somewhat further with the traditions such as 1 Esdras where little "god" is in no uncertain terms big "God" (translated as "The Lord" in 1:27 or "The Lord God" in 1:27, 28) or even through the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah (cf. 1 Esd 1:28). In other words, Josiah should not have mistaken this word, however, he adamantly did, yet interpreters are left to ponder why God would be opposed to Josiah detracting Neco.

[66] Japhet (*I&II Chronicles*, 1042), for one, sees Josiah's sin and subsequent punishment resting on "acting willfully against God's expressed command," however, the rationale for God's command itself is not explained.

[67] Mitchell, "Ironic," 425–27.

[68] Ristau, "Reading: Chronicler's," 236.

[69] Cf. Mitchell, "Ironic," 426–27, especially n. 28.

"narrative context" as to why God was opposed to Josiah seeking to interfere with Neco's assistance of Assyria, Israel's ardent enemy.

Josiah's defiance of Neco, and his word from God, can be seen as primarily related to Josiah's political interest in the land of Israel.[70] The Chronicler, however, has consistently addressed this precise issue throughout the narrative, namely, that Israel is to be primarily a *cultic* community moreso than a *military* community. Josiah's greatest achievement is that he successfully brought about a cultic reform centralizing worship in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Chr 35:20 as the turning point of Josiah's narrative). Neco's dismissal of Josiah in 2 Chr 25:21 ("What have I to do with you, King of Judah?") speaks to the irrelevance of the cultic centrality to Neco's political aspirations.[71] In other words, Neco was not antagonised with Josiah's ability to rally Israel around the cult.[72] Rather, the failure of Josiah was in seeking a *political* dominance of "all Israel," when he had already successfully accomplished a *cultic* centrality for all Israel. That Neco does not appear concerned with Josiah as a threat, though the Jerusalem cult has been established, speaks to the endurability of the cult within a politically hostile environment. In going to battle with Neco, (or even, in Welch's less contentious construction of Josiah being court marshalled by Neco), proved to Neco that the seat in Jerusalem was unstable politically.[73]

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[70] Cf. Welch's ("Death," 260) conclusion, "So far as Josiah and his court were concerned, however, it [the interruption of Neco's army] was largely a political plan, intended to increase the power of Judah"; also, cf. Williamson (*1&2 Chronicles*, 410), "Josiah's move against him at Megiddo was 'a bold decision based on far-reaching political and military considerations,' aimed at cutting off this Egyptian aid."

[71] Cf. *BDB* (553d; emphasis original): "often used in questions to which the answer *little*, or *nothing*, is expected, and it thus becomes equivalent to a *rhetorical negative*"; also, cf. *DCH* 5:156: "perh. what harm have I done you. . . (that you have come to fight)?"

[72] A possible parallel appears in 2 Sam 19:23–24[22–23] with David when he asks, "What to me and to you?" to the sons of Zeruiah. The speech ends with David calling them "adversaries" (שטן) and remarks "do I not know that I am king over Israel?"

[73] Welch, "Death," 257.

As such, not only did Josiah needlessly die young, but his son, Jehoahaz, would almost immediately be deposed (2 Chr 36:1–3), and the vassalage of Jehoiakim would subsequently be established under the Babylonians. Truly, Josiah's death was lamentable. The king who had sought YHWH (34:3) and established the Temple (35:20) was also the king who went out to battle (35:22) without seeking YHWH.[74] If even such a king as Josiah could commit such a fallacy as the worst kings of Israel, perhaps the only option was to remove their persistent reliance on their militaristic prowess and allow the people of Israel to at last, by means of destruction, rely on their only source of true hope: YHWH alone. Indeed, the book of Chronicles ends on this hope-filled premise: for YHWH to be with those who go up to Jerusalem (2 Chr 36:23).

This may well provide a rationale as to Josiah's parallel being built on Ahab, for it was Jehoshaphat that sought and cried out to YHWH and was saved (2 Chr 18:31), whereas Ahab disguised himself, as a means to rebel, unnecessarily pursuing war and was killed by an archer in battle (2 Chr 18:28–34). Josiah, by seeking war without seeking YHWH, acts precisely like one of the worst kings in all of Israel's history.[75] The Chronicler is consistent in recording that every person, wherever they are, can call out to YHWH and he will answer (cf. 1 Chr 5:20; 2 Chr 13:14; 14:10[11]; 18:31; 32:20; 33:13). For Josiah, the absence of seeking YHWH before (and during) his encounter with Neco is perfectly in line with not only Ahab's and Saul's lack of seeking (1 Chr 10:14; cf. 2 Chr

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[74] Cf. Cudworth, *War*, 162: "As piously as Josiah had acted throughout the first thirty-one years of his reign, he at no point sought Yahweh in this confrontation with Neco. Moreover, the Chronicler even claims that Yahweh warned him through the words of Neco that he should not try to intervene." In response to Ristau ("Reading: Chronicler's," 236) and Mitchell ("Ironic" 424–25), each claiming Josiah's punishment is to be found in the *telos* of God's will, Cudworth responds, "However, it is hard to imagine the Chronicler reporting the carelessness of a king in starker terms" (162 n. 152).

[75] Cf. Aquino ("Por Que Josias," 104) who concludes that Josiah dies precisely for failing to heed God's word not to go to war—though this does explain why Josiah dies an untimely death does not necessarily fully explain the Chronicler's extremely negative portrayal.

18:1–34), but also, David's excessive military pursuits (cf. 1 Chr 19).[76] As such, Josiah succumbs to a death specifically reminiscent of Saul and Ahab, and thus portrayed as justified and emphatically negative.[77] At the same time, Josiah is not considered entirely unfaithful as Saul explicitly was (1 Chr 10:13), for even after succumbing to such a negative death, Josiah's faithfulness (חסד), as related to his Passover, is remembered (cf. 2 Chr 35:25); the cult endures.[78]

The death of Josiah in 609 BCE initiates the beginning of the end for the community of "all Israel" in Jerusalem. Indeed, Josiah's death, according to the precision of Jeremiah's prophecy (36:21), is "seventy years" before the traumatic ruptures can cease flowing, that is, until the land can experience sabbath rest as defined by the proclamation of Cyrus in 539 BCE (cf. 2 Chr 36:23). Josiah's death, though coinciding with the fall of Israel's long-time enemy Assyria, signalled not celebration at the fall of their enemy, but a far graver reality: YHWH's destruction would arise somewhere else.[79] The hope, according to the Chronicler, is that seventy years after Josiah's death, once the land enjoyed Sabbath as Jeremiah prophesied, a king arose issuing a decree to go up to

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[76] Cf. Coggin ("Kings," 60) who notes that the appearance of "disguise" occurs, at least in Samuel-Kings, where "an unacceptable line of kingship" is condemned. Also, the appearance of a "lament" or "lamenting" (קנן), as appears in 2 Chr 35:25 in the wake of Josiah's death, only occurs in the historical books of the HB elsewhere: related to Saul (2 Sam 1:17), in which the lament concludes without mentioning the king again, but rather, as Evans (*Samuel*, 314) notes, conveys that David's "greatest grief" was related to the loss of Jonathan (cf. Auld, *I&II Samuel*, 362); and Abner (2 Sam 3:33), the lament serving, in at least some ways, for David's uniting of the North and South (cf. Evans, *Samuel*, 335).

[77] For parallels of Josiah's death with previous kings such as Saul, Ahab, Ahaziah, and Amaziah, see, for example, Mitchell, "Ironic," 421–35; Youngberg, "Identity," 1–16.

[78] The note in 2 Chr 35:25 highlights Josiah's "acts of devotion [חסד]," which Boda (*1–2 Chronicles*, 421), for one, connects with Josiah's acts of "covenant faithfulness"; whereas 2 Kgs 23:28 only notes "and all that he did." Josiah's Passover is comprised of but three verses in 2 Kgs 23:21–23 compared with nineteen verses in 2 Chr 35:1–19, suggesting the inclusion of devotion (חסד) refers primarily to the Chronicler's expanded Passover.

[79] Cf. Evans ("Historical Issues," 30). Rowton ("Jeremiah," 129–30) observes that: "News of the Assyrian king's downfall would have reached a people still bowed in grief over the death of their own beloved king. To Jeremiah it would have brought, not consolation, but the dawn of an appalling thought: Assyria was indeed no more, but Yahwe[h] had chosen an avenger elsewhere."

the land of Judah, to the Temple in Jerusalem, where, at last, the community, recategorized as "all Israel" could seek to alleviate, together, the cultural trauma they have so long endured. Such a decree to be with YHWH in Jerusalem, the city of peace, would surely resonate through the affects of cultural trauma awaiting alleviation even into the Chronicler's day.

Josiah as a Symbol of Cultural Trauma

The appearance of Jeremiah issuing a lament for Josiah marks Josiah's death as the initiation of cultural trauma for the community of "all Israel." Though the Chronicler's community is several generations removed from the time of Josiah and the initiation of the community's cultural trauma, the memorializing of Jeremiah's lament for Josiah lingers on. For though Josiah died, the community's trauma has not; further death and ruptures to the social fabric yet remain. Jerome's response to the news of the fall of Rome captures the effects of such devastation even though separated by a great distance:

> alas! intelligence was suddenly brought me of the death of Pammachius and Marcella, the siege of Rome, and the falling asleep of many of my brethren and sisters. I was so stupefied and dismayed that day and night I could think of nothing but the welfare of the community; *it seemed as though I was sharing the captivity of the saints, and I could not open my lips until I knew something more definite; and all the while, full of anxiety, I was wavering between hope and despair, and was torturing myself with the misfortunes of other people.* But when the bright light of all the world was put out, or, rather, when the Roman Empire was decapitated, and, to speak more correctly, the whole world perished in one city, 'I became dumb and humbled myself, and kept silence from good words, but my grief broke out afresh, my heart glowed within me, and while I meditated the

fire was kindled'; and I thought I ought not to disregard the saying, 'An untimely story is like music in a time of grief.'[80]

Death, dying, and as a result, lament, are universal to the human condition in all places and for all time.[81]

Derrida, for one, wisely writes in one of his musings: "One should not develop a taste for mourning, and yet mourn we *must*."[82] We all die. In every place and at all times, we are a dying breed. United in this singular inevitability. The means through which people, societies, approach death and, as a corollary, mourning, nonetheless varies. Not only do cultures tend to mourn differently, but some deaths elicit different types of mourning.[83] In this, lament can be seen as a specific aspect located within the broader category of mourning, which is ubiquitous across cultural boundaries.

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[80] Jerome's preface to the commentary on Ezekiel (*NPNF* 2/06:1083; emphasis mine). Cf. Jerome's (*NPNF* 2/06: 127 §8, 12; emphasis mine) response to the fall of Rome though he was far removed in a cave by Bethlehem at the time: "A dreadful rumour came from the West. Rome had been besieged and its citizens had been forced to buy their lives with gold. Then thus despoiled they had been besieged again so as to lose not their substance only but their lives. *My voice sticks in my throat; and, as I dictate, sobs choke my utterance.* The City which had taken the whole world was itself taken."

[81] Cf. Blenkinsopp ("Remembering Josiah," 250–52) who cites comparable laments outside the biblical world memorializing "great" heroes, found in such examples as *Beowulf, The Song of Roland*, poems celebrating Milos Obilic's assassination of the sultan Murad (the 600th anniversary of which contributed to renewed devastation in the Balkan wars through the 1990's), as well as the Shiite festival of Ashura, commemorating the death of Hussein ibn Ali, grandson of the Prophet, at the battle of Karbala (680 CE).

[82] Derrida, "Mourning," 110; emphasis original.

[83] In terms of mourning in the Old Testament, see, for example, Boda ("Lament, Mourning," 473): "The most common forms are related to mourning for the dead (funeral dirge), petitionary mourning (communal and individual lament), and mourning over the destruction of a city (city lament) . . . although the distinction between these various forms is not always clear . . . The dirge is a 'composition whose verbal content indicates that it was composed in honor of a deceased person sometimes eulogizing the individual, sometimes merely bewailing the loss' . . . It can be uttered by either an individual or a community (2 Sam 1:17–27; 3:33–34). Mourning included visible rites such as loud weeping and wailing, tearing clothes, self-mutilation, shaving the head and beard, fasting, and placing dirt on the head, but it could be followed by a period of silence, and then by voices of comfort . . . The ritual mourning period lasted for a portion of a day (2 Sam 1:12), a single day (2 Sam 3:35), seven days (Gen 50:10; 1 Sam 31:13) or thirty days (Num 20:20; Deut 34:8)."

Also, Johnston ("Burial," 105): "According to Genesis, Abraham 'went in' to where his dead wife lay 'to bewail and weep for her' (Gen 23:2–3). No further details are given here, but ancient mourning customs included weeping (Gen 35:8; 37:35; 50:1, 10–11, mentioned regularly), tearing clothes, wearing sackcloth, disheveling hair, covering with dust and fasting (Gen 37:34–35; cf. 2 Sam 1:11–12, etc.). Some burial accounts do not mention mourning (e.g., those of Abraham and Isaac), while other texts indicate

The death of political leaders, for example, were (and are) mourned not necessarily merely because we are bonded by our mutual humanness (i.e., because we identify as fellow human beings), but rather these personages were representative of something beyond their mere material substance.[84] Hope, peace and innocence were extinguished with each passing and the grave fragility of our own lives is, often, inescapably revealed.[85] For the Chronicler, the death of Josiah symbolised the cultural trauma experienced by the community: indiscriminate slaughter, destruction of the temple, and, for those escaping death by the sword, forced migration.

Summary

Though Josiah is distinctly memorialized through Jeremiah's lament (2 Chr 35:25), it remains that Josiah's death is recounted by the Chronicler through a starkly negative portrayal. As such, the Chronicler seems to suggest that the community, though comprised of distinct tribal identities, is to be a *united* ("recategorized") community that seeks after and serves YHWH. As Jer 22:10–12 has made clear, the community is not to weep for Josiah. However, Josiah's death marks the initiation of cultural trauma for the community in Persian Yehud, specifically for those who experienced forced migration and the resulting affects of cultural trauma are those who should be wept for. Those who have died cannot experience any more trauma; only those who have witnessed traumatic atrocities resulting in cognitive paralysis are condemned to endure the devastation of

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long-lasting grief (Gen 24:67; 37:35). Official mourning lasted seventy days for Jacob in Egypt (Gen 50:3) and thirty for Aaron and Moses in Israel (Num 20:29; Deut 34:8; cf. a month of mourning allowed to a female captive before enforced marriage, Deut 21:13)."

[84] Cf. Eyerman, *Cultural*, for assessments of cultural trauma related to political assassinations.

[85] Cf. Freud ("Mourning," 243): "mourning is regularly the reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one's country, liberty, an ideal, and so on."

PTSD and ruptures to the social fabric of their very being. In this, Josiah provides a symbol *par excellence* for the community to memorialize, for though Josiah united all Israel to celebrate a most laudable Passover, the failure to subsequently seek YHWH was swiftly followed by unimaginable destruction and remains a grave reminder that the kingdom and the glory belong to YHWH alone.

CHAPTER 7: SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has set out to answer the question as to why the Chronicler recounts such a negative death of Josiah. Though Josiah's failure to heed the word of God in his confrontation with Neco explains his untimely death, the Chronicler recounts a negative portrayal of Josiah's death not only to mark the initiation of cultural trauma for the Chronicler's community but to point towards the hopeful alleviation of the community's residual trauma.

The community's cultural trauma. In light of cultural trauma theory and based on the evidence of trauma across cultures, in addition to the prevalence rates of PTSD, the community having experienced indiscriminate slaughter (הרג), the destruction of the temple (בית), and forced migration (גלה), such as described in 2 Chr 36:17–20, clearly experienced a cultural trauma. Having been subjected to a cultural trauma as devastating as unleashed upon Jerusalem by the hands of the Babylonians, fractures within the community's social fabric would last generations. However, following the death of Josiah in 609 BCE, Jeremiah's prophecy *is* fulfilled seventy years later with the moving decree by Cyrus, the king of Persia (2 Chr 36:23), ending the exile in 539 BCE. Josiah's death, as a failure to seek YHWH, therefore, marks the initiation of cultural trauma for all Israel, and is rightly portrayed by the Chronicler as negative.

Josiah's death marks the initiation of cultural trauma. Josiah's failure is primarily a failure to seek YHWH before or during battle (cf. 2 Chr 35:22). The contrast between military reliance with those seeking YHWH as opposed to those without YHWH can be seen already in the Chronicler's genealogies. Though Achar was unfaithful (1 Chr 2:7), it would be the trans-Jordanian tribes that specifically experienced military success by crying out (זעק) to YHWH, and military defeat by being unfaithful (מעל) to YHWH (cf. 1 Chr 5:19–22; 25–26). So, too, Saul dies, and the community experiences resultant cultural trauma, for his failure to seek YHWH (cf. 1 Chr 13:3). Conversely, in nearly the identical situation, David is successful, having sought God, not once but twice (1 Chr 14:10, 14). However, the Chronicler seems to suggest that the community is to continually seek after YHWH, as suggested through the narrative of 1 Chr 19 where David's excesses in war follow swiftly into the destructive plague resulting from the census being "bad" (רע) in YHWH's eyes (cf. 1 Chr 21:7). The contrast between success in battle and defeat being attributed to seeking YHWH is also evidenced through the time of post-schism Israel. Almost immediately after the schism, success is primarily attributed to the Levites, who in moving to Jerusalem saw a trail of migrants following after them who had "set their hearts to seek (בקש)" YHWH (2 Chr 11:16). However, once Rehoboam abandons YHWH, he nearly experiences defeat until he and the princes of Israel humble themselves before YHWH (cf. 2 Chr 12:7). The turning point for successes in battle in the Chronicler's narrative of post-schism Israel is most prominently recounted as a contrast between Jehoshaphat and Ahab, specifically in terms of seeking YHWH. Though Jehoshaphat will cry out to YHWH and be saved (2 Chr 18:31), Ahab will die without having sought YHWH (18:33). After Jehoshaphat, Judah will never

again experience greater success in battle. Significantly, Josiah's death portrays distinct affinities to the death of Ahab, both of which lack crying out to YHWH and both of which are negative. Josiah's death, and the community's resultant cultural trauma, was a result of failing to seek YHWH.

Josiah's death points towards alleviation of cultural trauma. The Chronicler has consistently suggested that the community of "all Israel" is to be a community that seeks and serves YHWH. In order to accomplish this, the Levites are indispensable. Precisely at the weakest moment of the Davidides, in the wake of evocations of cultural trauma through recurring appearances of slaughter (הרג), arises Jehoiada and the Levites (cf. 2 Chr 23:1). The Levites are consistently elevated in the Chronicler's portrayal, even at, or rather, *especially* at, the lowest point of the Davidic house. In the wake of cultural traumas throughout the history of Israel, the Levites are able to rally the community. In light of recategorization theory and the ability for superordinate identities to diminish intergroup hostilities, rather than the Chronicler simply calling the community to rally around a Davidide, of the tribe of Judah—which may have been resented by members of other tribes (i.e., Benjaminites) and thus contributing towards intergroup conflict—a more positive image of Levites leading the community, a community that is recounted throughout their history as "all Israel," is offered by the Chronicler. Therefore, it is with the appearance of Jeremiah, a Levite from the tribe of Benjamin, that the death of Josiah is most clearly connected to the community's experience of cultural trauma. Though the book of Jeremiah places a uniting of all Israel (i.e., the House of Israel and the House of Judah; Jer 3:18), within the days of Josiah, Jer 22:10–12 makes it clear that Josiah, as a dead king, is not to be wept for. Josiah's death, therefore, appeals to the greater

community. Rather than weep for Josiah, as a marker of cultural trauma for the community in Persian Yehud, those who experienced forced migration and the resulting affects of cultural trauma in the wake of Josiah's death are those who should be wept for. And though throughout their history Davidides fail to seek YHWH, kill his servants, and even go so far as to outright abandon YHWH, the Chronicler is clear: wherever anyone is, regardless of what they have done, they can seek after or even cry out to YHWH and will be heard. Though Josiah failed to seek YHWH and fell to an ignominious death, his death is marked by a note of his times of covenant faithfulness (חסד; 2 Chr 35:26). The death of Josiah, as also the book of Chronicles, ends with supreme hope, not despair. The cult, and the remembrance of "acts of devotion" (חסד) remain.

The community's alleviation of cultural trauma. The book of Chronicles presents several potential avenues for the community to work towards resolution of and alleviation of the residual cultural trauma they have experienced. As a deeply reflective treatise on the history of "all Israel," there is not necessarily a new trauma that occurred to initiate the creation of the Chronicler's history; rather, the environment following the fall of Jerusalem and experience of forced migration contributed towards the deep reflection witnessed in the book of Chronicles. Following nearly all cultural traumas, significant time and multiple generations are required to be able to process and give voice to not only the trauma(s) that they have experienced, but the means of alleviation. The book of Chronicles suggests the following means of alleviating cultural trauma:

1. The Chronicler primarily seeks to alleviate the community's cultural trauma through the appeal to a superordinate identity (i.e., "all Israel") so as to recategorize and unite the community. As the archaeological data suggests,

Persian Yehud was comprised of a decimated community that lasted well into the Hellenistic period. The people would have required cooperation for survival.

2. The Chronicler not only petitions the community to unite, but specifically to unite around the cultus. The book of Chronicles repeatedly suggests that seeking after and worship of YHWH is a powerful tool for the community to alleviate their cultural trauma.

3. The genealogical presentation provides distinct elements of hope, especially with the lineage of the tribe of Judah continuing well past the time of their initial experience of forced migration (1 Chr 3:15–24).

4. Trust in YHWH's love is also foundational in alleviating the cultural trauma experienced by "all Israel." Within Josiah's death epithet a note is retained in 2 Chr 35:26 of his "acts of devotion" (חסד), which recalls songs Levites sang at the most critical moments in Israel's history declaring that YHWH's love (חסד) endures forever (cf. 1 Chr 16:34, 41; 2 Chr 5:13; 7:3, 6; 20:21).

Conclusions. Josiah's death is portrayed as negative by the Chronicler because of his failure to seek YHWH, and is evidenced by the appearance of previous battles throughout the book of Chronicles won and lost based on reliance on YHWH. The extremity of Josiah's failure results not only in his untimely death, but marks the very initiation of the community's cultural trauma. Though the Chronicler consistently conveys that everyone who cries out to YHWH is heard, the deafening silence of Josiah in the face of a foreign monarch is indeed lamentable. Josiah should have known better. The Chronicler swiftly follows the death of Josiah with the indiscriminate slaughter of

the people in Jerusalem, the plundering and evisceration of the temple, and for those escaping a cruel death, forced migration. For the Chronicler, a lament for Josiah is a lament for the experience of the community's cultural trauma. However, even at the end of Josiah's narrative, the hopeful note of his faithfulness (חסד) remains. In the end, even in the absence of a ruling Davidide, the community can still gather as one, recategorized within the superordinate identity of "all Israel," united at the place where YHWH is: the temple, in the land of Judah, in Jerusalem: the place where together, the people's residual cultural trauma may at last be alleviated, but only, if the community supports and does not abandon the Levites, the ones who teach YHWH's Torah, praise and worship YHWH, and let everyone know, regardless of what they have done, that "his love (חסד) endures forever" (2 Chr 5:13). As Cyrus made clear so many years ago: for those who desire to be called by the name of YHWH, let them be with him, and *aliyah* ("go up").

Areas for Further Research

The insights gained through the methodological constructs provided by cultural trauma theory have much to offer biblical studies. The current study has gone beyond recent scholarship by providing a larger contextual analysis as instigated, for example, by Ristau's work on the death of Josiah in "Reading and Rereading." The current study has allowed a more comprehensive explanation as to the Chronicler's extremely negative recounting of Josiah's death in contrast to his laudable Passover. As well, the current study was able to move beyond the social identity negotiations evidenced by Jonker's work, as especially seen in *Defining All Israel*. For instance, at the level of inter-tribal identity, Jonker's work is predominantly concerned with the tribes of Judah, Levi, and

Benjamin, whereas the current study identified the appearance of all tribes of Israel throughout the book of Chronicles, which specifically contribute towards the Chronicler's appeal to a superordinate identity—an identity that offers the potential towards alleviating their cultural trauma. Cultural trauma theory has assisted in explaining why social identity negotiations, as Jonker has cogently identified, have appeared—in essence, the need for the Chronicler's extensive presentation of social identity negotiations was, at least in part, motivated by the community's experience of cultural trauma. In this, though the constraints of analyzing tribal identities and especially their engagement with the Chronicler's trauma script were the primary focus of the current study, the narrative of Solomon as recounted in the book of Chronicles provides extensive material for further research as to the role of the Temple and temple worship in alleviating cultural trauma.

The fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians and experience of forced migration was a, if not the, monumental event in the history of Israel. By utilizing cultural trauma theory other books of the OT/HB are able to be examined from this perspective. For instance, the focus of and denouncement of inter-ethnic marriage in Ezra-Nehemiah may be a movement towards identity preservation in the wake of cultural trauma. Cultural trauma theory and social identity theory can assist in such an analysis. As well, the post-exilic prophetic books, such as major portions of the book of Isaiah and the book of the Twelve are reflective of and seem to have been processed through the perspective of cultural trauma. The book of Job, at least for scholars dating the work to the Persian period, may provide another possible avenue for further research with benefits available from cultural trauma theory—not necessarily that the author(s), specifically, were experiencing

something akin to PTSD, but that the book of Job is engaged at some level with the experience of cultural trauma.

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