The Chronicler's Description of the Temple Administration and the Incorporation of Non-priestly Cultic Personnel among the Levites

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THE CHRONICLER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION
AND THE INCORPORATION OF NON-PRIESTLY CULTIC PERSONNEL AMONG THE LEVITES

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To approach the lesser known topic of the temple administration in the post-exilic period (539-333 BCE), we have examined specific passages in the book of Chronicles that create a portrait of the temple administration. This portrait focuses on gatekeepers (1 Chr 9:17-32; 26:1-19); treasurers (1 Chr 9:26-28; 26:20-32); and tax collectors (2 Chr 24:5-11; 34:9-13). The first two sets of texts belong to what this work will call "David's Installation Block" which provides the major framework for the relevant material of the Chronicler, who authored the book of Chronicles around between the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. The third set of texts shares the Chronicler's characteristic redactional traits in common with "David's Installation Block." These three sets of texts communicate the Chronicler's ideal image of the temple administration.

The guiding question in the present work is whether these selected passages can be used as a source to reconstruct the temple administration in the post-exilic period. We conclude that the Chronicler's description of the temple administration, especially his incorporation of non-priestly cultic personnel among the Levites, must be considered to comprise an argument for an ideal temple administration. The Chronicler's ideal was grounded in his creative exegetical approaches to Pentateuchal traditions and his responses to the contemporary debate about the legitimate priesthood among different

priestly circles; his ideal is not simply a projection of the administrative reality of his own time.

For this purpose, we have expounded on the selected passages through a series of literary analyses. These analyses have enabled us to identify, building on the work of other scholars, the Chronicler's literary methods by which he built his sophisticated arguments. Furthermore, we have compared the Chronicler's presentations of the temple gates, the temple revenue, the temple tax, imperial taxes, and the temple staff with other post-exilic biblical and non-biblical data. This comparative approach successfully shows that the Chronicler's treatments of those topics deviated, to a greater or lesser extent, from his contemporaries, while the Chronicler's work displayed the linguistic and sociocultural peculiarities of Persian era Yehud.

Although the book of Chronicles does not provide straightforward data to reconstruct the actual realities of the temple administration in the post-exilic period, the work done in this dissertation illuminates how the Chronicler engaged ancient traditions and contemporary situations to develop his image of the ideal future temple administration.

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הודו ליהוה קראו בשמו הודיעו בעמים עלילתיו

שירו לו זמרו־לו שיחו בכל־נפלאתיו

התהללו בשם קדשו ישמח לב מבקשי יהוה

</div>

The above quotation is from 1 Chronicles 16:8-10, where the Chronicler cites Psalm 105. It is appropriate to begin my acknowledgments with the Chronicler's own words because I have spent such a long time with him ever since I began to think of my dissertation. My interest in the book of Chronicles began to develop when I had a seminar with Fr. Choi in Korea. Of course, at that time I did not imagine that I would choose a dissertation topic pertaining to the book of Chronicles. My advisor, Professor David Vanderhooft nurtured my interest in the Levites and their presentation in the book of Chronicles. Then I was fascinated about the author of Chronicles, that is, the Chronicler, who knows earlier traditions so well "like the master of a household who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old" (Matt 13:52 NRS). From the beginning I did not know what I could bring out of the Chronicler's treasury, but several insightful moments helped guide me as to where to start digging his field. The One who sent these moments to me is the first and foremost One to whom I express my gratitude. Without His guidance and accompaniment, this dissertation could not have been finished.

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I feel obliged to express my special thanks to all the librarians of O'Neill library at Boston College since their wonderful service made it possible for me to have access to all the books and articles that I needed to read. I am grateful to the staff of the Campus Technology Resource Center that did not spare their time and expertise to fix several problems that I encountered with my computer while I wrote this dissertation.

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	David Noel Freedman, ed. *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. 6 Vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABRL	The Anchor Bible Reference Library
ANET	J.B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
Ant.	*Antiquities*
AJN	*American Journal of Numismatics*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOTC	Abingdom Old Testament Commentary
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATD	Das Alte Testament deutsch
AUSS	*Andrew University Seminary Studies*
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. New ed. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996.
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
Bib	*Biblica*
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DtrH	The Deuteronomistic History
EJ	Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, eds., *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 22 vols. 2nd ed. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007.
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FTS	Freiburger theologische Studien
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte*
Gesenius	Wilhelm Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited and enlarged by E. Kautzsch. Rev. in accordance with the 28th German ed. (1909) by A.E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.

HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HALOT	L Koehler and W. Baumgartner, eds. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. 5 vols. Leiden; Brill, 1994-2000.
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
INR	*Israel Numismatic Research*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
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
JSP	*Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KJS	King James Version
LHBOT	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LTQ	*Lexington Theological Quarterly*
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NAS	New American Standard Bible
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDOT	W. A. VanGemeren, ed., *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
Or	*Orientalia*
OTL	Old Testament Library
PFES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series

SBLSPS	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Paper Series
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SR	*Studies in Religion*
TAD	B. Porten and A. Yardeni, eds. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. 4 vols. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1986-1999.
TBC	Torch Bible Commentary
TDOT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
TSHB	Textpragmatische Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte der Hebräischen Bibel
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
TAD	B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (4 vols.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1986-1999).
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

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Chapter 1. Ground Work

1.1. Introduction

Given that the Jerusalem Temple in the province of Yehud functioned as a socio-economic, political, and religious center,[1] it is certainly important for the historian to know how the Temple was administered. It is generally thought that the Temple, during the Achaemenid era, was run by the high priest as a counterpart of the governor who was appointed by the Persian king.[2] However, significant details about the administration of the Jerusalem Temple remain unknown. How was the administrative staff of the Temple organized? How many levels were in the administrative system? Was service hereditary? How long did individuals hold their positions? How were they paid? All these questions and many more pertaining to the temple administration remain unanswered, or not fully answered due to the lack of relevant information.

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[1] André Lemaire, "Administration in Fourth-Century B.C.E. Judah in Light of Epigraphy and Numismatics," in *Judah and Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (ed. Oded Lipschits et al; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 58, 60-61; O. Lipschits, "Achaemenid Imperial Policy, Settlement Processes in Palestine, and the Status of Jerusalem in the Middle of the Fifth Century B.C.E.," in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. O. Lipschits and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 39; Ephraim Stern, "The Religious Revolution in Persian-Period Judah," in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period*, 203-204; Hugh G. Williamson, "The Temple in the Books of Chronicles," in *Templum Amicitae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel* (ed. W. Horbury; JSNTSup 48; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 15-31; Melody D. Knowles, *Centrality Practiced: Jerusalem in the Religious Practice of Yehud and the Diaspora in the Persian Period* (SBL Archaeology and Biblical Studies 16; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006).

[2] The majority of scholars admit that the high priest had authority over cultic affairs during the Persian period, but not over civil affairs. See, Reiner Albertz, "The Thwarted Restoration," in *Yahwism After the Exile* (ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 11-12; Jeremiah W. Cataldo, *A Theocratic Yehud? Issues of Government in a Persian Province* (LHBOT 498; New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 175-185; James C. VanderKam, *Form Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 43-111; Steven James Schweitzer, "The High Priest in Chronicles: An Anomaly in a Detailed Description of the Temple Cult," *Biblica* 84 (2003): 388-402; and many others.
However, some scholars argue that the political authority of the Persian era Yehud was transferred to the high priest in the fourth century B.C.E., such as Joel Weinberg, *The Citizen-Temple Community* (trans. Daniel L. Smith-Christopher; JSOTSupp 151; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 125-126; Jon L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persian's Shadow: A Social and Historical Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 135-156; Jonathan E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler* (Biblical Interpretation Series 33; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

In this dissertation, we will approach these questions by analyzing material that the book of Chronicles presents about the temple administration,[3] since Chronicles invests substantial interest in the temple administration, even if the description is ostensibly related to the First Temple. With this analysis we attempt to discern how the Chronicler portrays the temple administration, and to ask what social, economic and ideological realities influenced the Chronicler's reconstruction of the temple administration.[4] We will argue that the Chronicler presents a distinctive picture of the temple administration employing various literary methods. His descriptions of the temple administration comprise an argument intended to persuade his readers to accept his own ideas about who should run the Temple, and how the Temple ought to be administered. The Chronicler's descriptions, therefore, do not offer an actual representation of contemporary practices.

Our analysis of the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration will be accomplished in three steps. First, we will select specific passages which contain the Chronicler's distinctive view of the temple administration. Second, through literary

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[3] When we use the phrase 'temple administration' in relation to the book of Chronicles, it includes any information related to the temple personnel, their functions in the Temple, or its organization/installation.

[4] In this dissertation, the term "the Chronicler" designates the author of Chronicles. This could be one person or a group of people who share similar ideas which are presented in the book of Chronicles. However, we do not consider that the Chronicler was also responsible for the composition of the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. Although there are significant similarities between the book of Chronicles and the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, the differences in language, style, literary method as well as in theological views outweigh the similarities. Thus we agree with scholars who argue that Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah were written by two different authors and at two different times. The proponents of separate authorship of Chronicles are as follows: S. Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 (1968): 330-371; ibid, "The Relationship between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah," in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 169-182; H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 1-70; Roddy Braun, "Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah: Theology and Literary History," in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill, 1979), 52-64; Simon J. de Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 7-11; Steven L. McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 71-80; Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 12; New York: Doubleday, 2004), 93-100; and Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 6-10.

analyses of the selected passages from Chronicles, we will pay attention to what the Chronicler says about the temple administration, and what literary methods he uses to make his point. Third, we will compare certain aspects of the Chronicler's descriptions about the temple administration with those of other select biblical and non-biblical sources. This comparison may illuminate how the Chronicler attempted to persuade his readers of his ideal image of the temple administration.

Before moving forward, our exploration of the administration of the Jerusalem Temple in the Achaemenid period based on the book of Chronicles requires methodological justification. Since the Chronicler mostly concentrates on presenting the history of monarchic Israel and his descriptions of the temple administration are ostensibly about the First Temple, why should we relate his portrait of the temple administration to the Second Temple during the Persian period? Our approach to the book of Chronicles is based on the following two interrelated assumptions.

First, the book of Chronicles was written sometime in the Persian Period (from the sixth century BCE to the fourth century BCE). Several markers of time in the book of Chronicles indicate that the author of Chronicles had precise knowledge of the Persian era.[5] Based on textual evidence, the majority of scholars propose a fourth-century BCE date for Chronicles.[6] We agree with the Persian-era date of Chronicles. But we will ask whether or not the evidence that scholars present to prove the fourth-century BCE date was deliberately set by the Chronicler in order to encourage his readers to read the entire

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[5] Such as, the reference to Cyrus in 2 Chr 36:23, the reference to *darics*, Persian gold coins in 1 Chr 29:7, and the reference to Zerubbabel's descendants whose origin is clearly from the Persian period in 1 Chr 3:19-24.

[6] For instance, Gerhard von Rad, Wilhelm Rudolph, Otto Eissfelt, Sara Japhet, H. G. M. Williamson, Isaac Kalimi, Gary N. Knoppers, and the like. Detailed bibliographical information about these scholars' works will be provided in the related section of Chapter One.

book in his own specific temporal setting. Our examination of the evidence for the fourth-century BCE date (in Chapter One of this dissertation) will show that the Chronicler composed his work, aiming at the audience or implied readers of his own time by including several chronological indicators. These indicators point to the Persian era, but exegetical conundrums pertaining to the relevant texts make it difficult to pinpoint them to the fourth century BCE specifically.

The second assumption, which is closely related to the first one, is that the Chronicler's material ought to illuminate the history of the province of Yehud during the Persian period, since the Chronicler retrojected his contemporary understanding into the earlier history of the monarchy. This assumption is commonly found in the works of scholars who approach the book of Chronicles to obtain a better understanding of socio-economic and political realities of Achaemenid Yehud, although they exercise different degrees of caution in resting their works on this assumption. Commentators on Chronicles have often noted that some of the Chronicler's own material reflects the situation of his own time. The following statements are representative of this view in the commentaries on Chronicles:

> Reflecting the actual situation of the Chronicler's own time, they (*the regulations of Nehemiah's covenant*) were seen as anachronistically retrojected to the monarchical period.[7]

> Once again, the Chronicler conforms the narrative to the practice of his own day when the laity were not permitted inside the court.[8]

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[7] S. Japhet's comment on 2 Chr 24:5 (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* [OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993], 843, italics mine).

[8] H. G. M. Williamson's comment on 2 Chr 24:8 (Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* [NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982], 321).

It is risky, of course, to reconstruct the offices that functioned in Solomon's temple from passages in Chronicles, since the Chronicler is more likely describing offices that functioned in his own day.[9]

The extensive roles of the Levites as well as their divisions reflect the situation of the Chronicler's own day.[10]

The Chronicler's description of David's cultic innovations resonates with and provides a historical precedent for the practice of worship at the Jerusalem Temple in the late Persian or early Hellenistic period.[11]

All these statements assume that some of the Chronicler's descriptions, especially about cultic practices, actually reflect practices of the post-exilic period. We follow this assumption that the majority of recent scholarship of Chronicles takes in our reading of Chronicles.

We begin our analysis of the Chronicler's presentation of the temple administration in a deductive way by presupposing these two assumptions. Thus, our first step is to find certain passages that are related to the temple administration. To select such passages, the following criteria will be applied: (1) A passage or section that is related to the temple administration should be found in the Chronicler's unique material, with no parallels in the Bible. This criterion makes it very likely that a selected passage contains the Chronicler's own idea about the temple administration; (2) it indicates a demonstrably Persian date or it should be a text that most commentators agree originates in the Persian period; and (3) to ensure the consistency of the Chronicler's presentation, the idea which a selected text transmits should be identified elsewhere in the book.

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[9] R. Klein's comment on 1 Chr 25:1 (Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 481).

[10] S. L. McKenzie's comment on 2 Chr 35:1-19 (McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles* [AOTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004], 363).

[11] G. N. Knoppers' comment on 1 Chr 15:16 (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29* [AB; New York: Doubleday, 2004], 620).

The first chapter of the dissertation will identify certain sets of texts from the book of Chronicles that fulfill the above criteria. Such texts will disclose the Chronicler's distinctive views on the temple administration, specifically in relation to economic activities in the Temple. Three different sets of texts are chosen pertaining to the following: (1) gatekeepers (1 Chr 9:17-32; 26:1-19); (2) treasurers (1 Chr 9:26-28; 26:20-32); and (3) tax collectors (2 Chr 24:5-11; 34:9-13). These three different types of temple personnel, who were involved in economic activities of the Temple, were Levites according to the Chronicler's presentation. In Chapter One, we will also examine the inner textual evidence that scholars cite to argue the fourth-century BCE date for Chronicles to ask whether the Chronicler intended to set up his work to be read in the setting of Persian-era Yehud. As mentioned above, this process will enable us to validate our first assumption that the book of Chronicles was written sometime in the Persian Period.

Once certain passages are selected, we will analyze them. This analysis will show how the Chronicler retrojected a complex of ideal cultic practices in relation to the temple administration of the Persian period into the monarchic past, and identify methods that the Chronicler applies in his work. A literary analysis of the select texts will be undertaken in Chapter Two, where we will challenge some common interpretations of these texts.

Based on our exegetical analyses of the texts, three main topics in relation to economic activities of the Temple will be chosen for comparison with biblical and extra-biblical data in Chapter Three: (1) *Loci* of economic activities in the Temple: gates, store-chambers and treasuries; (2) temple revenue: tithes, priestly gifts, the temple tax, and

imperial taxes; and (3) temple staff. We will compare the Chronicler's portraits of these three topics with the ones that the comparative data suggest, and this comparison will show that the Chronicler's descriptions have a certain connection with practices of his own time, but that they do not seem to have been intended to present an actual reconstruction of contemporary practices. For this comparison, we first limit our selection of comparable material to data from the Persian period. Second, we limit our topics in the area of economic activities among various duties discharged by the staff of the Temple. The second limitation is set by the availability of comparable data from material and textual sources originating in the Persian period. The current popularity of Second Temple studies has produced new data about material culture, and new insights concerning literary texts and socio-economic circumstances in Yehud and neighboring regions. These new data and insights will provide us a vantage point to discern the Chronicler's plan in his work. Thus, Chapter Three will present biblical and extra-biblical data related to the given topics and they will be compared with the Chronicler's presentations about them.

In the final chapter, we will summarize the Chronicler's literary methods that we identified in Chapter Two and suggest what these literary methods imply in our understanding of the Chronicler's temple administration. Then, we will give a synthesis of the comparative approaches that we did in Chapter Three. Based on this synthesis, we will return to our starting point, that is, our presupposition that the Chronicler retrojected his contemporary ideal into the history of the monarchy. We conclude that the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration, especially his incorporation of non-priestly cultic personnel among the Levites, should be considered as elements within

his argument about the ideal Temple. These were based on his exegetical and creative approaches to known Pentateuchal traditions and to the contemporary debates among competing priestly circles concerning membership in the legitimate priesthood.

1.2. Selection of Texts from Chronicles

In this section, our aim is to select certain sets of texts from the book of Chronicles which can be our main means to examine the Chronicler's view about the temple administration, specifically related to the economic activities in the Temple. By applying the criteria which were mentioned above, we have selected five different sections of Chronicles that provide the Chronicler's general view on the temple administration: (1) 1 Chr 5:27-41 and 1 Chronicles 6; (2) 1 Chronicles 9; (3) 1 Chr 15:1-16:43; (4) 1 Chronicles 23-26; and (5) 2 Chronicles 17-19; 2 Chronicles 29-31 and 2 Chronicles 34-35. Before treating specific details in the Chronicler's descriptions about the temple administration, it is important to have familiarity with the Chronicler's assumptions about the temple personnel or temple organization. For this reason, we will examine the five select sections in brief. Then, among these sections, we will extract specific sets of texts for further analysis and comparison with other biblical and extra-biblical sources which will be treated in Chapters Two and Three, respectively.

1.2.1. 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 and 1 Chronicles 6

While 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 [12] presents the genealogies of the high priests, [13] 1 Chronicles 6 introduces the genealogies of the tribe Levi and the list of the Levitical

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[12] The chapter division of the several English translations (RSV, NRSV, KJS, NAS) follows the LXX and differs from the MT. In this dissertation, we follow the MT unless otherwise indicated. All the quotations from the Hebrew Bible in this dissertation are my own translation unless otherwise noted.

[13] This list has been interpreted as the genealogy of the high priests at least since the time of Josephus, in the mid-first century CE. However, this list does not include several well-known high priests, such as Amariah during the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 19:11), and Johoiada during the reigns of Athaliah and Joash (2 Chronicles 22-24// 2 Kings 11-12). Therefore, G. N. Knoppers suggests that the genealogy of the priests (1 Chr 5:27-41) was not that of the high priests, but a genealogical list intended to legitimate a line of priests in Persian Yehud (Knoppers, "Classical Historiography and the Chronicler's History: A Re-examination," *JBL* 122 [2004]: 627-650).

cities.[14] Here the tribe of Levi consists of three important groups: priests, Levites and Levitical singers. Both 1 Chr 5:27-41 and 1 Chronicles 6 indicate that the Levites are a significant group for the Chronicler. The Levitical genealogy is placed at the center of the genealogies of the twelve tribes of Israel in 1 Chronicles 1-9, which is the preface of the entire book. The account of Levi is second only to that of Judah in length and detail.[15] Both facts attest to the importance of the Levites for the Chronicler.

A short description of the priestly (6:34) and general Levitical duties (6:33) draws our attention. The Chronicler's presentation of the priestly [16] and Levitical duties [17] corresponds with that of the Priestly tradition, since the Chronicler asserts both clerical services originated from the Mosaic installation (ככל אשר צוה משה עבד האלהים v. 34). The novelty that the Chronicler introduces here is David's installation of the Levitical

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[14] The Chronicler's list of the Levitical settlements seems to depend on that of Joshua 21. However, the Chronicler's indicates his redactional work on that of Joshua 21. Whereas the list of Joshua 21 is organized by the distribution and number of the Levitical cities within the individual tribes of Israel, the Chronicler's is reorganized by the order of cities of the Aaronide priestly families (1 Chr 6:39-45) and the cities of non-priestly Levitical families (1 Chr 6:46-66). For this reason, S. Japhet comments that the Chronicler's reorganization underlines a definite distinction between the priests and the Levites (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 147). The historicity of the list of the Levitical cities has been a subject of scholarly discussions. In general, two different views have emerged: (1) The list reflects authentic historical-geographical-sociological circumstances; (2) it is a literary-theological construction. S. Japhet's comment on this list seems to be very convincing. "In the Persian period the great majority of the listed cities were out of the borders of the province of Judah" (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 165). Thus, it seems likely that the Chronicler included this list (based on Joshua 21, but with his own reconstruction of it) with his own agenda: "The focus is rather a matter of principle: the unequivocal right of the sacerdotal orders to settle in the land" (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 163-165). G. N. Knoppers gives a similar interpretation of the Chronicler's intention for presenting the list of Levitical cities (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 442-450).

[15] McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 89.

[16] The Priestly duties are succinctly summarized in 1 Chr 6:34 and each of the functions is mentioned in the Pentateuchal traditions: (1) to make offerings upon the altar of burnt offering (Exod 29:38-42; 30:1-10; Lev 8:1-9:24) and the altar of incense (Exod 30:1-8); (2) to perform all the tasks of the most holy place (Exod 26:33-34; Num 18:1-5); and (3) to make atonement for Israel (Lev 4:20; 16:17; 23:28). Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 424-425.

[17] Specifically, the Levitical duties are described in 1 Chr 6:16-17 and 33-34, and scholars agree that these two passages are added by the Chronicler. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 148-149.

singers before the ark (1 Chr 6:16-17).[18] The roles of the Levitical singers in the cult are

again described in detail in the sections of 1 Chronicles 15:1-16:43 and of 1 Chronicles

23-26.

1.2.2. 1 Chronicles 9

1 Chronicles 9 presents the list of people who returned from the exile and settled in

Jerusalem. They are categorized into four different groups: Israelites, priests, Levites and

temple servants[19] (1 Chr 9:2).[20] Then 1 Chr 9:10-13 enumerates the names of the priests.

The names of the Levites and gatekeepers are listed in the ensuing passages, 1 Chr 9:14-

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[18] The installation of the Levitical singers by King David is introduced in detail in 1 Chr 15:1-16:43. 1 Chr 6:16-17 seems to be a summary of that later section. The singers were appointed to be in charge of song in 'the House of the Lord,' but until the Temple was built, they would serve temporarily 'before the Tabernacle of the Tent of Meeting.' Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 156. The Chronicler's description of David's installation of the musical liturgy does not have any parallel in the Priestly sources or in Deuteronomy. Due to this silence about singers and musicians in the ritual rites in the Pentateuch, Y. Kaufmann, N. Sarna, M. Haran, M. Greenberg, and I. Knohl have asserted that the priestly cult was a silent one. I. Knohl argues:

> The school of the 'Priestly Torah' developed a religious language that rejected nearly every aspect of personality or anthropomorphism in connection with God. … By its very nature, the language of prayer and hymn is permeated with anthropomorphic language concerning God. The refusal to ascribe any kind of characteristics or actions to God makes any positive speech concerning God impossible. Hence, the sole alternative open to one standing before the holy is absolute silence (I. Knohl, "Between Voice and Silence: The Relationship between Prayer and Temple Cult," *JBL* 115 [1996]: 17-30).

According to I. Knohl, the verbal cult only existed outside the priestly realm, and the arrangement for Levitical song took shape during the Second Temple period. In this sense, the Chronicler's description of the choral rite draws our attention. Moreover, the Chronicler's statement concerning Davidic arrangement of the Levitical singers shows a more developed stage in terms of cultic history over against the distinction of Levites and singers in Ezr 2:41, Neh 7:44 (Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 73). For this reason, the Chronicler's presentation of the choral rite seems to reflect his own contemporary situation as many commentators have already argued.

[19] The term 'temple servants (נתינים)' appears only here in the book of Chronicles. Temple servants are the lowest orders of the clergy in Ezra-Nehemiah (Ezr 2:43, 58; 8:17, 20; Neh 3:31; 7:46, 60; 10:29; 11:21), but not included in the cultic organization of Chronicles. Thus the reference to temple servants in 1 Chr 9:2 probably reflects 'the inadvertent survival of a textual detail from Nehemiah 11,' as S. Japhet proposed (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 208).

[20] Its parallel list is found in Neh 11:3-19. Nehemiah 11 is somewhat different from 1 Chronicles 9 in that the former intends to list 'the chiefs of the province who lived in Jerusalem.' Furthermore, in Nehemiah 11, the gatekeepers are not included among the Levites (Neh 11:21). Due to the differences in their overall intentions and contents, the Chronicler's dependence on Nehemiah 11 has been debated and has not won scholarly consensus. For scholarly debate on the relationship between 1 Chronicles 9 and Nehemiah 11, refer to Ralph W. Klein's summary, (*1 Chronicles*, 263-265).

16 and 1 Chr 9:17, respectively. Afterward, 1 Chr 9:18-34, which does not have any extant source, outlines various Levitical functions, especially those of gatekeepers.[21] The gatekeepers' tasks are particularly elaborated and their affiliation to the Levites is repeatedly stressed.[22] The gatekeepers are assigned at the four gates of the Temple. Their duties include not only guarding the gates, but also taking care of chambers, treasuries, inventory and upkeep of the furniture and the holy utensils, and guarding the supplies for the regular service. These responsibilities are intrinsically connected with the temple economy. Thus, 1 Chr 9:17-32 is one of our texts of choice.

1.2.3. 1 Chronicles 15:1-16:43

The whole narrative of 1 Chr 15:1-16:43 describes the successful arrival of the Ark at the tent of David in Jerusalem. The Chronicler's version of the Ark narrative is dependent on 2 Sam 6:12-20, but the author inserted 1 Chr 15:1-24 before his source material, and then added another thirty-nine verses (1 Chr 16:4-42) between 2 Sam 6:12-19a and 2 Sam 6:19b-20.[23] These lengthy additions reveals the author's special concern about the choral service in the Temple.[24]

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[21] The functions of the Levites are presented in the following order: gatekeepers (vv. 18-29); priests (v. 30); Levites and singers (vv. 31-33). This shows that the Chronicler's cultic organization consisted of these four groups: gatekeepers, priests, non-priestly cultic assistants, and singers. All of these cultic personnel belong to the tribe of Levi. In other words, the Chronicler integrates the temple clergy into the Levites. This is the Chronicler's novel presentation which draws our further attention.

[22] The Chronicler's emphasis on the gatekeepers' integration to the Levites led S. Japhet to assume that the controversy against the gatekeepers' Levitical affiliation was not yet silenced in the Chronicler's own time (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 204). The Chronicler's incorporation of gatekeepers to the rank of Levites will be treated in the continuing discussion of the present study.

[23] For the literary analysis of 1 Chronicles 15-16, refer to Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 122-123; McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 143-145; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 294-295. These commentators consider this section as the Chronicler's, though their opinions about later additions are varied.

[24] The Chronicler's description of the choral rite is extensively dealt with in John W. Kleinig's book, (*The Lord's Song: The Basis, Function and Significance of Choral Music in Chronicles* [JSOTSup 156; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993]).

Once the Ark was transferred to Jerusalem, according to the Chronicler, David appointed the cultic officials to minister before the Ark in Jerusalem. Their ministry is mainly to serve before the Ark, to invoke (הזכיר), to thank (הודות), and to praise (הלל) God with choral songs and music (1 Chr 16:4-5). This cultic service was to be offered 'regularly' (תמיד: 1 Chr 16:6, 11, and 37). The use of the adverb תמיד emphasizes that the choral rite was to be an integral part of Israel's worship.[25]

The choirs consist of Asaph as head of a singer guild, followed by nine singers, two priests with trumpets, and gatekeepers (vv. 5-6). When they are on duty, the Levitical musicians are to play cymbals (מצלתים), harps (נבלים), and lyres (כנרות), but the priests blow the trumpets (חצצרות).

In these two chapters, by reporting the installation of the choral rite by David in detail, the Chronicler demonstrates that both the sacrificial rite and the choral rite play an important role in Israel's worship.[26]

From the time of Solomon, the choral rite was considered by the Chronicler as an essential part of the Temple worship (2 Chr 5:11b-13a, 6:13; 7:6; 7:12bβ-15). Earlier, King David prescribed that the choral rite be offered 'every morning and evening,' as well as 'at every burnt offering on Sabbaths, new moons and feast days' (1 Chr 23:30-31). Thus, the Chronicler considers the patronage of the choral rite as a part of the king's duties. This concept appears in his descriptions of several religious reforms in the First

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[25] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 365.

[26] J. C. Endres, "Theology of Worship in Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein* (ed. M. Patrick Graham et als.; JSOTSup 371; New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 172; and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 660. Many commentators point out that for the Chronicler, the national identity of the Post-exilic community is defined as a worshipping community, which offers proper worship to their God in the Second Temple in Jerusalem. For this reason, 1 Chr 15:1-16:43 is interpreted as an indication of the Chronicler's effort to define what proper worship is. See also Jonathan E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 139, 227-228; and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 151-152. We cannot know how closely the ideal matched actual practices.

Temple period.[27] For instance, the Chronicler highlights that Jehoiada restores 'choral rite' after a period of liturgical disorder under Ahaziah and Athaliah (2 Chr 23:18). Hezekiah's ceremony of rededication of the Temple is accompanied by musical worship (2 Chr 29:25-30). King Josiah also re-establishes the choral rite as David prescribed in 2 Chr 35:15.

Thus, the Chronicler's concern about the Levitical singers and musicians is evident and noteworthy for a further study of the origin and development of the choral rite in Israel's worship. However, 1 Chr 15:1-16:43 is to be excluded from our further consideration since the Levitical musicians and their functions in the Temple are not directly related to administrative activities in the Temple during the Persian period.

1.2.4. 1 Chronicles 23-26

The Chronicler's description of the temple administration is quite extensively presented in 1 Chronicles 23-26,[28] in which his interest in the Levites is clearly

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[27] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 61.

[28] Several scholars in the past have considered 1 Chronicles 23-26 as a later addition to the Chronicler's work. Adam C. Welch points out the lack of homogeneity of these chapters and concludes that 1 Chronicles 23-26 was revised by a writer with an intention to rearrange the material in order to divide the several classes of temple officials into twenty-four courses each (A. C. Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler, its Purpose and its Date* [London: Oxford University Press, 1939], 81-96). M. Noth also considers this section as 'a massive insertion' since it interrupts the original connection of 1 Chr 23:1-2a to 1 Chr 28:1ff (M. Noth, *The Chronicler's History* [trans. H. G. M. Williamson; JSOTSup 50; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987] 31-33). Since Noth's analysis of Chronicles mainly depends on its literary coherence, it is not surprising that he considers this section as secondary. The following scholars concede M. Noth's argument: Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronickbücher* (HAT 21; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), 152-153; Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Gestaltung der historischen Überlieferung Israels* (FRLANT 106; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 194-204. On the other hand, Williamson argues that a part of 1 Chronicles 23-26 originated from the Chronicler, but a significant part of it is post-Chronistic additions by a pro-priestly reviser (1 Chr 23:13b-14, 25-32; 24; 25:7-31; 26:4-8, 12-8; 27) (Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-four Priestly Courses: A Study of 1 Chronicles XXIII-XXVII," *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament* [VTSup 30; Leiden: Brill, 1979], 251-68; and *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 157-158). Against these scholars' arguments for the secondariness of 1 Chronicles 23-26, S. Japhet defends the originality of the section because of its literary integrity with the other parts of Chronicles, and attributes the incongruence of the section to the Chronicler's use of varying sources (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 406-410). For us, what is more important than the secondary status of 1 Chronicles 23-26 is to verify that 1 Chronicles 23-26 shares the same views about the Temple

revealed.[29] In these chapters, every detail of the Jerusalem cultic institutions is attributed to David. According to the Chronicler, the status of the Levites was remarkably changed with David's transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem since the Levites no longer needed to carry the Ark (1 Chr 23:26). David assigned them different duties in 1 Chr 23:28-32. These duties are divided into four sub-units: cultic assistants to the priests (הלוים), officers (שטרים) and judges (שפטים),[30] gatekeepers (שערים)[31] and musicians (משררים).[32] Each of these duties would repay careful scrutiny to discern its socio-political implications in the Post-exilic community. However, since our present studies are limited to exploring administrative activities, specifically related to economic undertakings in Temple, the texts directly related to the inflow and outflow of the temple revenue are selected for further study, such as 1 Chr 26:1-19 (the list of the gatekeepers and their organization) and 1 Chr 26:20-28 (a list of treasurers and their responsibilities).

The Chronicler's minimal attention to the priests in 1 Chronicles 23-26 is noteworthy. It contrasts with his preferential concern for the Levites elsewhere. According to the Chronicler, the priests comprise of only one branch of the tribe of Levi. The Chronicler's

administration with other sections in Chronicles which are related to our own interest. The question of redational layers in 1 Chronicles 23-26 will be dealt with again below.

[29] The Chronicler's apparent favoritism for the Levites has led scholars to speculate that the Chronicler came from Levitical circles. For example, Simon J. de Vries states, "It would not be unreasonable to speculate that the Chronicler was himself a Levite, perhaps even a member of the order of singers." ("Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles," *JBL* 107 [1988]: 636). See also, G. von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* (BWANT 4; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930), 81-119; P. R. Ackroyd, "The Theology of the Chronicler," *LTQ* 8 (1973): 111-112; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 16-17; and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 28-29.

[30] More detailed information about officers and judges is given in 1 Chr 26:29-32. Beforehand, a list of treasurers and their responsibilities are presented in 1 Chr 26:20-28.

[31] The passage 1 Chr 26:1-19 introduces the list of gatekeepers and their organization by casting lots.

[32] The Levitical singers are introduced again in 1 Chronicles 25. This chapter describes the origins of the Levitical singers, their duties, their organization in the twenty-four divisions and appointment of their duties by casting lots.

treatment of the priests is limited to their organization into divisions and their assignment to cultic duties by casting lots (1 Chr 24:1-19).[33] In contrast, for all other Levitical groups, the Chronicler provides a much more detailed description of their tasks (1 Chr 23:28-32; 25:1-6; 26:14-18, 20-32).[34]

Could the Chronicler's unbalanced treatment reflect a certain tension between the two groups? The Chronicler admits the priests' exclusive right to certain cultic activities, such as atonement and burning incense, and does not deny the Levitical role as subordinate to the priests.[35] However, the extent of Levitical engagement in cultic activities is much expanded in Chronicles, when compared with that in the Priestly tradition.[36] What is apparent in 1 Chronicles 23-26 is that the Chronicler pays a great deal of attention to promoting the Levites as a 'multi-functional group' in the Temple.[37]

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[33] The system of the twenty-four divisions (מחלקות) of the priests is believed to begin in the early stage of the Restoration period. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 423-424.

[34] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 424-425.

[35] S. S. Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 2001), 100.

[36] In the Priestly tradition the Levites are described as hierodules for the priests. Their cultic role is distinguished from that of priests. In the books of Exodus and Numbers, the Levites are to "carry the tabernacles and all its equipment" (Num 1:50), to substitute for all the firstborn (Num 3:12) and to serve at the Tabernacle (Num 8:15). All these roles of the Levites should be done under the direction of the priests (Exod 38:21; Num 3:9, 32; 8:11). The Chronicler follows the Priestly tradition in terms of the genealogical distinction between the Aaronide priests and the Levites and the general distinction between their cultic roles. However, the Chronicler deviates from the Priestly tradition by expanding their roles as officers and judges, gatekeepers and temple musicians as well as minor clerics. Some of the Levites' cultic activities in Chronicles encroach on the priests' exclusive duties defined in the Pentateuch tradition. For example, "the showbread" (Exod 25:30; 35:13; 39:36; Num 4:7; cf. 1 Chr 9:32; 23:29), "fine flour for the cereal offering" (Lev 2:1; 6:15, 20; *et als*.), "the griddle" (only in Lev 2:5; 6:21; 7:9; cf. Ezek 4:3), "the unleavened wafers" (Lev 2:4; 7:12; Num 6:15), and "flour mixed with oil" (Lev 2:5; 7:10; 9:4; 23:13; Num 7:13, 19, 25) can be handled only by the priests in the Priestly tradition, but in Chronicles, the Levites are in charge of them. According to 2 Chr 31:14, all categories of priestly gifts, which should be given to the priests in Pentateuchal legistaltion, are distributed to the priests and the Levites. The comparison between the Chronicler's description and the Priestly tradition concerning the Levites and their roles will be presented in our further discussion.

[37] A. Labahn, "Antitheocratic Tendencies in Chronicles," in *Yahwism after the Exile* (ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 128-129.

1.2.5. 2 Chronicles 17-19; 29-31 and 34-35

The Chronicler's peculiar approach to the Levites is again demonstrated in his presentations of three great kings' cultic and judicial reforms: Jehoshaphat (2 Chronicles 17-19); Hezekiah (2 Chronicles 29-31) and Josiah (2 Chronicles 34-35). The roles of the Levites, which these three sections describe, mostly correspond to the roles that David assigned to the Levites in 1 Chronicles 23-26. Table 1 lists the ways in which the Levites were involved in the reform that each of the three kings carried out.

According to Chronicles, the Levitical roles in the temple administration that David instituted in 1 Chronicles 23-26 had not been respected throughout the history of Israel. Their existence was noticed only exceptionally by several kings whom the Chronicler praises.[38]

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[38] The roles of the Levites are highlighted in the times of Johoiada and Joash in Chronicles. However, these two kings are not included into Table 1 for the following reasons. First, 2 Chr 23:2-9 asserts that the Levites were deeply involved in Jehoiada's coup against Athaliah, whereas its parallel passage 2 Kings 11-12 completely neglects their participation in the same event. However, S. Japhet argues that 2 Chr 23:2-9 should not be interpreted as glorification of the Levitical role since the Chronicler's interest here is not in the Levites, but in his religious conviction that the entry to the Temple is absolutely limited to the priests and the Levites (*I & II Chronicles*, 822). See also, Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 316. Furthermore, McKenzie comments on the Chronicler's presentation as 'ideologically changed' and 'unrealistic picture' (*1-2 Chronicles*, 310-312). Due to these commentators' varied interpretations of this passage, it is excluded from the list of Table 1. Nevertheless, it appears that the Chronicler tried to set up Jehoiada as another figure who restored the cult according to David's ordinances. For example, in MT 2 Chr 23:18, Jehoiada appointed the Levitical priests to take charge of the house of the Lord, *according to the order of David* after the success of the coup against Athaliah. However, MT 2 Chr 23:18 does not give any detail about the measure that Johoiada took to reorganize the cult. This happened because of the textual corruption of MT 2 Chr 23:18 by scribal error (*homoioteleuton*). LXX 2 Chr 23:18 gives a more detailed information. It reads:

> Jehoiada assigned the care of Yahweh's temple to the priests and the Levites, *and he assigned the divisions of the priests and the Levites* whom David had organized…

MT 2 Chr 23:18 does not have the text in italics, which must have been lost by a skip of the eye from the first occurrence of "the priests and the Levites" to the second one. If we follow the reading of the LXX, 2 Chr 23:18-19 shows that Jehoiada's cultic restoration perfectly reflects the Chronicler's ideal for the cultic system. In this sense, McKenzie argues that the Chronicler's description is ideologically changed (*1-2 Chronicles*, 311-312). Second, King Joash's special treatment of the Levites (2 Chr 24:6-11) is also excluded from the list of Table 1 since the text will be dealt with later in relation to the tax collection in the Jerusalem Temple.

Table 1. The Levites' Involvement in the Three Kings' Reforms

King	2 Chronicles	2 Kings
Jehoshaphat	▪ In the third year of his reign, he sent 5 officials, 9 Levites and 2 priests to teach the Book of Torah of YHWH in all the cities of Judah (17:7-9). ▪ Jehoshaphat appointed judges in every city of Judah and then in Jerusalem he appointed some Levites, priests and ancestral chiefs of Israel for judgment for YHWH and for disputes (19:4-8). ▪ While Jehoshaphat prepared himself to do the battle with the Moabites and Ammonites, he worshipped God and the Levites praised the God of Israel with a very loud voice on the battle field (20:1-27)	
Hezekiah	▪ Hezekiah invited the Levites to purify the Temple (29:4-5, 12-16). ▪ He also made the Levitical musicians and singers attend at the sacrifice in the Temple according to the commandment of David and prophets (29:25-27). ▪ The Levites were allowed to help the priests when they flayed the burnt offerings (29:34). ▪ When Hezekiah and people celebrated the Passover, the Levites helped the priests who were sprinkling the blood (30:16). Moreover the Levites were in charge of slaughtering the Passover lambs (30:17). ▪ In Hezekiah's reform, the Levites were given outstanding roles in many ways and the fact is emphasized in the text (30:22, 25, and 27). In 30:27, the Levites blessed the people together with the priests. ▪ After finishing his purification of the Temple, Hezekiah set up the work-rotations of the priests and the Levites by their divisions (31:2). Then he also ordered people to give the portion due the priests and the Levites (31:4-7). The Levites were appointed for the storerooms of the contribution, tithes, and consecrated things (31:12-15).	
Josiah	▪ After purifying the Temple, Josiah wanted to repair the Temple. Thus the money collected by the Levites, guardians of the threshold, was given to Hilkiah, the high priest (34:9). ▪ The Levites oversaw the workers who repaired the temple (34:12-13). ▪ The scribe Shaphan brought the king the book of Torah that Hilkiah found in the Temple (34:15-18). When celebrating the Passover, Josiah appointed the Levites, who taught all Israel, to a new mission as David had done. According to their division, the Levites will stand in the sanctuary (35:1-10). The priests dashed the blood with the help of the Levites, and the Levites did the flaying (35:11).	The money was collected by the guardians of the threshold (22:4). The scribe Shaphan brought the king the book of Torah that Hilkiah found in the Temple (22:8-10).

David's regulations for the Levites were precisely implemented by his successor, Solomon (2 Chronicles 5, 7, 8). Solomon's concern for his father's chief legacy will be followed by Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah in Chronicles.[39] The Chronicler's presentation reflects his concept of the royal figure as a protector and guardian of the cult, as Wellhausen noted.[40]

During the reign of Jehoshaphat, the Levites were summoned to teach the Book of Torah of YHWH (ספר תורת יהוה) (2 Chr 17:7-9),[41] to participate in the judicial activities in the royal court (2 Chr 19:8-11),[42] and to praise God as musicians on the battle field (2

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[39] Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles* (WBC 15; Waco: Word Books, 1987), 228-229. It is not our concern whether the Chronicler's treatment of these kings' reformative measures mirrors the historical reality or not. Our focus is on what the Chronicler intended to transmit to his audience or readers through his descriptions of these reforms, especially concerning the Levites.

[40] Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 190; repr. of *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Enzies, with preface by W. Robertson Smith; Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885); trans. of *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (2nd ed.; Berlin: G. Reimer, 1883).

[41] What the Chronicler refers to by 'the Book of Torah' is debatable. Some scholars have speculated that it could have been a royal law code or edict. See, Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles* (AB 13; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), 99-100. However, 2 Chr 17:7-9 clearly shows that Jehoshaphat promulgated not his own royal code, but God's law, as Knoppers points out (Knoppers, "Reform and Regression: The Chronicler's Presentation of Jehoshaphat," *Biblica* 72 [1991]: 508-509). S. Japhet and J. R. Shaver have suggested that it could be a version of the Pentateuch (Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* [BEATAJ 9; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989], 234-244; and J. R. Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler's History Work: An Inquiry into the Chronicler's References to Laws, Festivals and Cultic Institutions in Relation to Pentateuchal Legislation* [BJS 196; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 73-86). See also Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 282. Regardless of the identity of this book, the Chronicler's account is noteworthy since it describes that the Levites were chosen as instructors to teach the Torah. The Levites' instructional role as teachers of the Torah is mentioned once again in 2 Chr 35:3. The role of teachers is often considered one of the priestly prerogatives elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (Lev 10:11; Deut 31:9-13; Jer 18:18; Ezek 7:26; Hag 2:11; Neh 8:1-8). Nevertheless, the Chronicler's description of the Levites' instructional role has "an astonishing parallel" in Ezra 7:25, as S. Japhet comments (*I & II Chronicles*, 749). For this reason, Japhet asserts that the Chronicler's account is an anachronistic projection of a post-exilic reality to the monarchic period. See also R. North, "The Chronicler: 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. R.E. Brown et al.; New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs, 1990), 377.

[42] The Chronicler's account of Jehoshaphat's judiciary can be compared with the account of Moses' delegation of his judicial duties to certain magistrates in Exod 18:13-27; Deut 1:9-18, or with the Deuteronomic division of judiciary powers between local courts (Deut 16:18-20; 17:2-7) and a royal court (Deut 17:8-13) (Gary N. Knoppers, "Jehoshaphat's Judiciary and 'The Scroll of YHWH's Torah'," *JBL* 113 [1994]: 71-79). The Chronicler's description of Jehoshaphat's juridical reform has been interpreted in

Chr 20:21-22). Throughout Hezekiah's reform, the Levites' involvement was apparent (2

Chronicles 29-31). According to the Chronicler's account, the Levites participated in

purifying the Temple (2 Chr 29:4-19), and performed the paschal offering with the priests

(2 Chr 30:15-18), since the Levites were considered more righteous in purifying

themselves (2 Chr 29:34).[43] Hezekiah also installed the work rotations of the priests and

the Levites according to their divisions and the provision for the maintenance of the

clergy (2 Chr 31:2-19). Such reform measures were repeated by Josiah in Chronicles.[44]

Moreover, the Levitical involvement in the ritual activity is justified as part of the written

Law of Moses in 2 Chr 35:6, 12 although specific laws for it are not found in

Pentateuchal legislations.[45]

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various ways, either as the Chronicler's justification of the contemporary judicial system (such as, Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*,191; McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 293; Robert R. Wilson, "Israel's Judicial System in the Pre-exilic Period," *The Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series* 74 [1983]: 229-248), as the Chronicler's ideological blueprint for the future (see, Knoppers, "Jehoshaphat's Judiciary," 59-80), or as a reflection of historical reality in the ninth century BCE, based on his own sources which are no longer extant (see, W. F. Albright, "The Judicial Reform of Jehoshaphat," in *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* [New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950], 61-82; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 289; Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 436; Bernard S. Jackson, "Law in the Ninth Century: Jehoshaphat's 'Judicial Reform'," in *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel* [ed. H.G.M. Williamson; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007], 369-397; and Hanoch Reviv, "The Traditions Concerning the Inception of the Legal System in Israel: Significance and Dating," *ZAW* 94 [1982]: 566-575). However, these scholarly discussions have not emphasized the question of why the Chronicler included the large number of Levites in Jehoshaphat's juridical system, or of how the Levitical involvement in juridical system would be significant to the Chronicler.

[43] S. Japhet states that this verse (2 Chr 29:34) has been misinterpreted as "the ultimate proof of the Chronicler's negative view of the priesthood, and his clear favoritism of the Levites." However, she proposes that this verse should be interpreted within its immediate context, which underlines the unexpected situation of widely spread priestly impurity (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 930).

[44] The Levites' participation in slaughtering animals for sacrifice is mentioned in the Chronicler's accounts of Hezekiah's and Josiah's reforms. Hezekiah allowed the Levites to kill the Passover lambs and to assist the priests when they dashed the blood (2 Chronicles 30). But it was a temporary measure due to the lack of the number of purified priests (2 Chr 30:17). This Levitical service was perpetuated during the reign of Josiah (2 Chr 35:6, 11). In Chronicles, the Levites' involvement in the cult has been gradually expanded since Solomon's reign and reached its fruition in Josiah's Passover celebration. Louis C. Jonker, *Reflections of King Josiah in Chronicles: Late Stages of the Josiah Reception in 2 Chr 34f.* (TSHB 2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003), 60.

[45] M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 138.

The Chronicler's narrative (2 Chr 34:8-13) of Josiah's repair work on the Temple based on 2 Kgs 22:3-7 also demonstrates his farvorable treatement of the Levites. By making several changes to his source, the Chronicler highlights that the Levites were involved in collecting people's contributions for repairing the Temple. The Levites' involvement in the process of the restoration of Temple, especially in relation to the supervision of the chest in which people could put their silver for the Temple, is once again found in the Chronicler's version of Joash's restoration of the Temple (2 Chr 24:5-11//2 Kgs 12:5-11). Some commentators argue that the Chronicler retrojected contemporary practices of temple tax collection into these two narratives.[46] If the Levites were involved in the process of temple tax collection, as they argue, the role of the Levites as tax collectors must have been indispensibly related to the temple economy. Thus, we choose these two narratives (2 Chr 24:5-11 and 34:9-13) as key texts for further examination.

2 Chr 36:14 is noteworthy in that the Levites are omitted from the list of those who are blamed for the fall of Judah to the Babylonians: "All the officers of the priests and the people were exceedingly unfaithful, following all the abominations of the nations; and they polluted the house of the LORD that he had consecrated in Jerusalem."

1.2.6. Summary

The various observations concerning the Chronicler's distinctive presentation of the temple administration offer a general overview, which may be summarized as follows: The temple personnel are composed of priests and Levites; the latter include, specifically,

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[46] Edward L. Curtis and Albert A. Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC 11; New York: Scribner's, 1910), 435; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 274; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 842-3; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 189-191; and Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 321.

singers, gatekeepers, and treasurers. Both groups belong to the tribe of Levi, but priests are specifically designated as 'the descendants of Aaron.' Priests have superiority over the Levites in cultic affairs as 1 Chr 23:28 specifies: Levitical duties are 'to assist the descendants of Aaron' (ליד־בני אהרן). On the other hand, the Levites, either as members of the temple treasury committee (1 Chr 28:12; 2 Chr 31:12-16) or as the head of that committee at a point in time (1 Chr 26:24, 29), are deeply engaged in the in-and out-flow of the temple revenue. The Levites also possess significant authority as the temple gatekeepers.

Among all the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration, the tasks of the gatekeepers, treasurers and tax collectors, all of which are assigned to the Levites in Chronicles, are particularly related to the economic activities in the Temple. Thus, the following texts are chosen for our further study: those concerning (1) gatekeepers (1 Chr 9:17-32; 26:1-19)[47]; (2) treasurers (1 Chr 9:26-28; 26:20-32)[48]; and (3) tax collectors (2 Chr 24:5-11; 34:9-13). These texts will first be approached through literary critical analysis to examine what the texts actually tell us about the function of each group and to speculate about its socio-economic implications.

Before moving forward to the literary analyses of the selected texts, two methodological questions should be dealt with: (1) How can we argue that these selected texts from Chronicles represent the Chronicler's views on the temple economy? In other words, do we find any consistency among these texts? (2) Do we find any fixed temporal

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[47] Gatekeepers are also mentioned elsewhere in Chronicles: 1 Chr 15:18, 23; 16:38; 23:5; 2 Chr 8:14; 23:4, 19; 34:13; 35:15. These references to the gatekeepers will be considered in our further discussion about the gatekeepers in order to evaluate the consistency of the Chronicler's depiction. The references to the gatekeepers in Ezra 2:42, 70; 7:7; 10:24; Neh 7:1, 45, 73; 10:28, 39; 11:19; 12:25, 45, 47; 13:5 will be compared with the Chronicler's depiction of the gatekeepers.

[48] The other references to the temple treasurers are 2 Chr 12:9; 16:2; 2 Chr 31:11-16; and 36:18.

indicators that were deliberately placed by the Chronicler to direct the reading of his entire work? If there are some indicators, how did he use those indicators in his work? Do these indicators support the fourth-century BCE date for Chronicles that the majority of scholars of Chronicles accept?

The first question is to be answered by proposing "David's Installation Block" model in section 1.3. The second question is dealt with in section 1.4, where the inner textual evidence that scholars proffer to argue the fourth-century BCE date of Chronicles is examined.

1.3. David's Installation Block

Thus far, we have discussed the Chronicler's description of the temple administration in general. Our preliminary remarks disclose the Chronicler's overall plan for his composition. The following sections, which we have identified above, share specific characteristics: 1 Chr 6:31-48; 9:17-32; 16:4-7; 23-26. The first three passages introduce David's installation of new positions for the Levites in the Temple, such as the musical service for temple worship (1 Chr 6:31-48; 16:4-7) and guarding the temple gates (1 Chr 9:17-32). All these services are once again introduced in David's installation of the temple administration in 1 Chronicles 23-26. For this reason, we propose to designate these sections under a single rubric, which we label "David's Installation Block."

David's Installation Block shares a uniform conception of the Levitical involvement in the temple administration. Particularly, 1 Chronicles 23-26 seems to function as a programmatic section in Chronicles since the genealogical preface of Chronicles (1 Chronicles 1-9) is closely connected with the main body of Chronicles through this section.[49] Furthermore, the section 1 Chronicles 23-26 serves as a criterion upon which kings are evaluated.[50] Only four kings, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah, who minded David's installation and tried to restore or reaffirm it, receive positive evaluation in Chronicles.[51] Its programmatic function is also demonstrated in the Chronicler's

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[49] The genealogical preface of 1 Chronicles 1-9 is connected to the main body of Chronicles through the complementary information about the Levitical singers and the gatekeepers' roles in 1 Chr 6:31-48, 1 Chr 9:17-32, and 1 Chronicles 23-26.

[50] R. K. Duke also points out that the Chronicler's portrayal of David is idealistic and typological, so that David becomes explicitly the model to which the succeeding kings are compared (Rodney K. Duke, "A Rhetorical Approach to Appreciating the Books of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author*, 120-122).

[51] Solomon established the priestly and Levitical divisions '*according to the ordinance his father David*' (כמשפט דויד אביו) (2 Chr 8:14). Jehoiada assigned the priests and Levites to care for the Temple *as David had organized* (2 Chr 23:18). Hezekiah's reformative measure for the Levitical musicians was done

description of the Passovers during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah (1 Chr 30:15-16; 35:5-6, 10-12). In these narratives, the priests and the Levites worked closely together in the sacrifice. This coordination seems to reflect the Chronicler's careful definition of the relation between the priests and the Levites, which is presented in 1 Chr 23:28-32.[52] Thus we may conclude that David's Installation Block is an indispensable element in interpreting Chronicles. We also assume that David's Installation Block was composed by one author, or by a group of editors who shared a common idea about the topic. We also assume that if another passage in Chronicles shares fundamental ideas with this block, it was written by the same hand(s) that wrote David's Installation Block. Among the selected texts for our further analyses, two sets of texts, 1 Chr 9:17-32; 26:1-19/ Chr 9:26-28; 26:20-32, belong to this block, but the other ones, the texts concerning the tax collectors (2 Chr 24:5-11; 34:9-13), do not. However, our literary analyses of them will demonstrate that they were the work of the same author(s) of David's Installation Block. Therefore, our selected texts are likely to reflect a consistent idea about the temple administration. A more detailed analysis of the consistency among these texts will be presented in Chapter Two.

How, then, does our proposed David's Installation Block model relate to other hypotheses that scholars have proposed to explain commonalities and inconsistencies found in Chronicles? What we call 'David's Installation Block' has been dealt with by

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'*according to the commandment of David*' (2 Chr 29:25). Josiah's preparation for the Passover celebration was also done '*following the written directions of King David of Israel and the written directions of his son Solomon*' (2 Chr 35:4). In this celebration of Passover, the Levitical singers participated in the rite '*according to the command of David*' (2 Chr 35:15). All these italicized phrases (the emphasis is mine) underscore the literary function of the David Installation Block in the Chronicler's narration of the history of monarchic Israel.

[52] William M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 165-169.

scholars in various ways. We will survey scholarly discussions since J. Wellhausen, pointing out certain limitations in them, and, finally, defending our own stance.

Scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, who engaged in critical approaches to the major sources of the Pentateuch, applied the same methodology to Chronicles and considered it as an extended work of the Priestly tradition.[53] For instance, J. Wellhausen argued that the alterations and additions in Chronicles can be traced back to "the same author who had a keen intention to do the Judaising of the past from the influence of the Priestly Code."[54]

In contrast, by applying form criticism to Chronicles, Gerhard von Rad identified several speeches of the sermonic genre in Chronicles. Such speeches are frequently seen in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.[55] Thus G. von Rad considered the Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic tradition to be the main layer of Chronicles with the Priestly concerns added onto it later.[56]

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[53] For an excellent historical survey on the scholarship of Chronicles in this given time, see, Kai Peltonen, *History Debated: The Historical Reliability of Chronicles in Pre-Critical and Critical Research* (2 vols.; PFES 64; Götingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); ibid, "Function, Explanation and Literary Phenomena: Aspects of Source Criticism as Theory and Method in the History of Chronicles Research," in *The Chronicler as Author*, 18-69.

[54] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 171, 223. Wellhausen's view on Chronicles was followed by J. W. Rothstein and J. Hänel. In their commentary on Chronicles, (*Das erste Buch der Chronik* [Leipzig: D. Werner Scholl, 1927]), they contended that the basic layer of Chronicles was a continuation of Priestly tradition.

[55] Gerhard von Rad, "The Levitical Sermon in 1 and 2 Chronicles," *From Genesis to Chronicles: Exploration in Old Testament Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 232-242; repr. of *From Genesis to Chronicles: Exploration in Old Testament Theology* (trans. E.W. Trueman Dicken; Edinburgh; London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966); trans. of *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (Theologische Bücherei 8; Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1958). Von Rad's conclusion is extended by Adam C. Welch. Welch supposes two editions of Chronicles: The first pro-Levitical edition based on the Deuteronomic source during the exile, about the time of Ezekiel; and the second, pro-Priestly redaction, which modified and expanded this earlier edition (A. C. Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and Its Date* [London: Oxford University Press, 1939]).

[56] Gerhard von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* (BWANT 4; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930).

Neither the source critical approaches nor the form critical approaches to Chronicles can avoid methodological limitations due to their basic assumptions that the given text can be divided into independent complexes of tradition (sources) or the smallest conceivable unit of tradition (*Gattung*).[57] The main concern of both approaches is to distinguish the differences in the text which indicate various sources or *Gattungen*. As a matter of course, the presence of the editor(s) who weaved different sources or *Gattungen* to form the given text can simply be neglected. Regardless of scholarly contentions as to whether the basic layer of Chronicles is a work of the Priestly tradition or the Deuteronomic tradition, the author(s)/editor(s)'s effort to harmonize both traditions in Chronicles has not been given sufficient attention by these scholars.[58]

The major breakthrough was made by M. Noth who developed the concept of the history of the process of tradition. Since Noth was interested in the final stage of the process of the development of tradition, he paid attention to an author/editor who compiled Chronicles from various sources or traditions to fashion an extended theological history.[59] Through a "purely literary-critical" analysis of the text, Noth aimed to discern the original form of the work of the Chronicler.[60] His main criterion was internal narrative coherence. According to this criterion, 1 Chronicles 23-27 was

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[57] Rolf Rendtorff, *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch* (trans. John J. Scullion; JSOTSup 89; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 11-41, 177-206. It is worth quoting Rendtorff's argument here:

> There exists an obvious gap between the study of the original smallest units and the question of the final shape, formed out of larger complexes of tradition, of the works as they now lie before us. The path from the smallest units to the larger complexes, known as 'larger literary units,' has not yet been methodically trod and examined (Ibidem, 18).

[58] Peter R. Ackroyd, "The Theology of the Chronicler," *LTQ* 8(1973): 108-112.

[59] M. Noth, *The Chroniclers History* (trans. H.G.M. Williamson; JSOTSup 50; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987).

[60] Noth, *The Chroniclers History*, 31-33.

recognized as a secondary addition by Noth because he considered it as interrupting the original narrative connection between 1 Chr 23:1, 2a and 1 Chr 28:1 and the following verses. Then, whichever passages shared a common theme with 1 Chronicles 23-27 (tracing the origins of the late post-exilic divisions of the various cultic servants back to David), were classified as secondary. Noth considered the following passages as secondary: 1 Chr 9:1-34; 12:1-23; 12:24-41; 15:4-10, 16-24; 16:5-38, 41-42; 22:17-19; 23:3-27:34.[61]

Noth's basic stance was followed by many scholars, most notably W. Rudolph,[62] and more recently Roddy Braun,[63] who argue for many such additions. Similarly, recent scholars such as Willi,[64] Mosis,[65] Throntveit,[66] and Welten[67] view some of the so-called Levitical portions of Chronicles as the product of later redactions.

However, the approach that Noth and his followers applied to Chronicles cannot provide sufficient explanation of the significant function of the presumed secondary passages in the overall narrative structure of Chronicles. Furthermore, some scholars have pointed out the inadequacy of the approaches which treat 1 Chronicles 23-27 as a

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[61] Noth, *The Chroniclers History*, 31-42.

[62] Rudolph, *Die Chronikbücher*, 152-85. Rudolph further suggested more than one redactional layer in the lists of 1 Chronicles 23-27 due to the lack of unity of form or coherence of content.

[63] Roddy Braun, *1 Chronicles* (WBC 14; Waco: Word Books, 1986), xix. Braun assumes that the greater part of 1 and 2 Chronicles is the work of the Chronicler, but major additions and revisions have been introduced to the Chronicler's work, principally in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1-9 and 1 Chronicles 23-27. The lesser additions and revisions were also added to expand lists and genealogical data.

[64] T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung* (FRLANT 106; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 194-204.

[65] R. Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichteswerkes* (FTS 92; Freiburg: Herder, 1973), 44.

[66] Mark Throntveit, *When Kings Speak* (SBLDS 93; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 1-9, 115-125.

[67] P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern* (WMANT 42; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirechner Verlag, 1973).

secondary intrusion. For instance, the resumptive repetition between 1 Chr 23:1-2 and 1

Chr 28:1 has been considered as the evidence for attributing the intervening material to a

redactor. However, other examples of the same literary technique appear in several cases

in Chronicles, such as 2 Chr 12:2, 9 (cf. 1Kgs 14:25) and 2 Chr 16:7, 10 (cf. 1Kgs

15:22ff).[68] In the cases of 2 Chr 12:2, 9 and 2 Chr 16:7, 10, the technique of resumptive

repetition indicates the Chronicler's reworking of his original sources, but cannot prove

the insertion of a secondary material. Thus, the argument that the resumptive repetition

between 1 Chr 23:1-2 and 28:1 is a marker of secondary insertion is not conclusive.

Resumptive repetition may indicate the Chronicler's compositional technique.

 Scholarly skepticism toward Noth's approach[69] has eventually led some scholars to re-

examine what Noth thought were secondary materials to find a better way to explain

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[68] I. Kalimi provides many examples of the literary technique, 'resumptive repetition,' which the Chronicler used not only in narrative passages but also in lists. See, I. Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 295-324. Kalimi argues:
> The examples adduced below clearly demonstrate the considerable use that the Chronicler made of this literary technique in giving a renewed literary appearance to the passages that he took from the books of Samuel-Kings. It turns out to have been one of the most prominent writing devices of the Chronicler (Ibidem, 296).

[69] In addition to Noth's and his followers' approach to the redactional process of Chronicles, there is another hypothesis for the redactional process of Chronicles. D. N. Freedman, F. M. Cross and J. D. Newsome, Jr. have suggested a hypothesis for the three-stage redaction of the books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. See, D. N. Freedman, "The Chronicler's Purpose," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 436-442; F. M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," in *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 151-172; J. D. Newsome Jr., "Toward a New Understanding of the Chronicler and his Purposes," *JBL* 94 (1975): 201-217. Recently, Steven S. Tuell follows the three-stage redaction hypothesis (Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, 11-12). All these scholars assume that the book of Chronicles and the book of Ezra-Nehemiah belong to one corpus. According to Cross' three-stage redaction hypothesis, the first editor (Chr$_1$) compiled 1 Chr 10:1-2 Chr 36:21 as propaganda for the restoration of the kingdom and the temple under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Joshua around 520-515 BCE. The genealogical preface of 1 Chronicles 1-9 was later added to the corpus by the third redactor (Chr$_3$) around 400 BCE. However, as Steven L. McKenzie argues, F. M. Cross' hypothesis does not provide satisfactory explanations to the indications of a later setting than the sixth century BCE (McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," in *The Chronicler as Author*, 70-90). Moreover, we do not consider that the book of Chronicles was composed by the same author(s) who finally edited the book of Ezra-Nehemiah because of the differences in language, style, and theology in the two books. For these reasons, we do not follow the three-stage redaction hypothesis. Concerning the separate authorship, see, S. Japhet, "Theodicy in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles," in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 367-398; H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the*

inconsistencies in Chronicles. H. G. M. Williamson made the first move in this direction. Through a careful literary analysis of 1 Chronicles 23-27, Williamson suggests two main literary layers in 1 Chronicles 23-27. The earlier, very much shorter layer was part of the Chronicler's original composition.[70] The second layer was added about a generation later by a pro-priestly reviser under the influence of the institution of the system of twenty-four priestly courses.[71] Based on this observation, he ascribes the following passages to a pro-priestly redactor, who worked about a generation after the Chronicler himself: 1 Chr 15:4,11, 14: 16:6; 23:13b-14, 25-32; 24:1-19, 20-32; 25:7-31; 26:4-8, 12-18; 27:1-34, and a few isolated other passages. Williamson's layer model is followed by several scholars, such as, De Vries,[72] P. Dirksen,[73] and R. Klein[74] although the way in which they identify the literary layers is not the same.

Books of Chronicles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 60-63; Roddy L. Braun, "The message of Chronicles: Rally 'Round the Temple," *CTM* 42 (1971): 502-513; idem, "A Reconsideration of the Chronicler's Attitude toward the North," *JBL* 96 (1977): 59-62; idem, "Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah: Theology and Literary History," in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill, 1979), 52-64.

[70] Williamson includes 1 Chronicles 1-9 as an integral part of Chronicles. He argues that Chronicles constitutes a substantial unity, yet with minor later additions (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 14).

[71] Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Courses: A Study of 1 Chronicles 23-27," in *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography* (FAT 38; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004): 127-140. Primarily based on his literary critical approach to the text, Williamson surmises that the pro-priestly reviser intended to correct the Chronicler's neglect of the importance of the priests in their relationship to the Levites, and to present Davidic legitimation for the recently emerged priestly and Levitical orders (Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 15). Similarly, A. C. Welch argues that Chronicles was written by a pro-Levitical author to substantiate Levitical claims over against the priests about 515 BCE, and later annotated by a pro-priestly redactors to defend their case (Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler*, 5-6). On the other hand, S. L. McKenzie argues that inner-connection among the texts in Williamson's pro-Priestly layer is not strong enough to hold them together as one layer (McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," 78-80). My own critique of Williamson's conclusion will be given in the literary analysis of each selected text in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

[72] De Vries provides a list of thirteen minor glosses and the following substantive expansions: 1 Chr 2:34-41, 42-50ab, 52-55; 6:35-38 (50-53); 15:23-24; 23:24b-32; 24:1-19, 20-31; 25:7-31; 26:4-8, 12-18; 27:1-34; 2 Chr 24:5b-6; 29:25; 34:6-9,11-16. De Vries argues that these additional passages do not always fit comfortably in their context, but rather tend to create disharmony. He analyzes all these additional materials and concludes that these passages reflect a constant struggle of the clerical orders to gain higher dignity. However he admits that linguistic evidence is not strong enough to reach a conclusion whether one

A lack of literary uniformity in Chronicles has pushed some scholars further to suggest multiple redactional layers. Recently E. M. Dörfuss, by applying hyper-critical literary analysis to Chronicles, has suggested a late (Maccabean) 'Moses redaction' of Chronicles which aimed at challenging the idealization of the Davidic kingdom and the Jerusalem Temple in favor of Moses' authority and the Sinaitic institutions, and also giving hope for theocratic leadership in the future.[75] G. Steins goes much further. He suggests three levels of redaction and each level is composed of multiple layers: (1) the first level: a cultic personnel layer, two musician layers and a 'musician-gatekeeper' layer; (2) the second level: the community level; and (3) the third level: a cult layer and a northern layer.[76] Such hyper-critical, fastidious literary analyses of Chronicles are intended to give a better explanation for the considerable unevenness in the text of Chronicles, but they have resulted instead in producing rather over-complicated hypotheses for the reconstruction of its redaction. A hypothesis of multiple redactional layers demands speculation about the socio-historical and ideological backdrop of each layer, and in turn such speculations make the whole hypothesis tenuous. The multiple layers of redaction, then, eventually make it difficult to recognize the significant themes which run throughout the whole book of Chronicles. For this reason, some scholars

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or a few or many were responsible for all these expansions (Simon J. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles* [FOTL 11; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989], 12-14).

[73] Peter B. Dirksen, *1 Chronicles* (HCOT; Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005), 4-5. Dirksen suggests the following passages are secondary: 1 Chr 5:27-41; 6:33f; 9:26b, 28-33 (and possibly 1:32f, 38-42, 43-54) which were probably inserted by the author of 1 Chr 23-27, and 1 Chr 6:35-38.

[74] R. Klein also thinks 1 Chr 26:4-8, 12-18 is secondary. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 11, 487.

[75] E. M. Dörrfuss, *Mose in den Chronikbüchern: Garant theokratischer Zukunftserwartung* (BZAW 219; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1994).

[76] G. Steins, *Die Chronik als kanonisches Abschulussphänomen: Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie von 1/2 Chronik* (BBB 93; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1995).

apply Occam's razor to this issue: 'one should not make more assumptions than the minimum needed.'

A group of scholars has defended the essential unity of Chronicles, while attributing inconsistencies to the variety of sources that the Chronicler used. S. Japhet, I. Kalimi, G. N. Knoppers and R. Dillard all maintain the essential unity of the work.

S. Japhet succinctly comments on those scholarly attempts to account for the apparent heterogeneity of Chronicles by suggesting additional redactional layers in the book, writing:

> Even the most severe forms of literary criticism did not achieve meticulous harmony of the details, and the problems they raised were sometimes greater than those they solved. More problematic was the recognition of how arbitrary some of the arguments actually were. While the possibility of secondary elaboration during the course of transmission was not ruled out – in particular in the lists, which are most susceptible to change – it seemed that a better explanation of the book's variety and composition is the view that it is one work, composed essentially by a single author, with a very distinct and peculiar literary method.[77]

Isaac Kalimi also concludes his extensive study on the Chronicler's historiographical methods and literary techniques with the following comment: "the conclusions of this study may support scholars who hold that Chronicles is indeed the product of a single writer." [78] Furthermore, he persuasively argues that inconsistency and lack of systematization in a biblical work, which deals with a wide span of histories of Israel, such as Chronicles, do not always stem from late additions and redactions.[79] G. N. Knoppers is also skeptical of the claims that Chronicles underwent one or more major

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[77] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 7.

[78] Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 407.

[79] Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 381-403, 410-411.

Priestly, Levitical, or Deuteronomistic redactions.[80] Without ignoring the literary heterogeneity within Chronicles, Knoppers rather pays more attention to the Chronicler's concern to mediate different perspectives within the context of the author's contemporary world.[81] Our "David's Installation Block" model builds on this scholarly trend in favor of unity. By recognizing the literary function of David's Installation Block in the whole book of Chronicles, we intend to underscore the unity of Chronicles.

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[80] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 90-93.

[81] For the Chronicler's harmonistic tendency, see, M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 134-138, 151-158. Here, Fishbane points out the Chronicler's exegetical technique in harmonizing different traditions in the passages of 1 Chr 7:8-10; 2 Chr 30; and 2 Chr 35:12-13.

1.4. The Chronicler's Indicators of Time and the Temporal Setting for the Entire Book

We have chosen certain sets of texts from Chronicles to examine how the Chronicler portrays the temple administration and how he retrojects his ideas into the pre-exilic past. Since the Chronicler's presentations are mainly about the history of pre-exilic Israel, it is necessary to determine whether there are any demonstrable indications that the Chronicler's work originated in the Persian period. Did the Chronicler insert specific temporal markers which were designed for his readers to point to the temporal setting for the entire work? If there are chronological indicators, how did he use those indicators in his work? To answer these questions, we will begin with the inner textual evidence that scholars cite to argue the fourth-century BCE date for Chronicles. By carefully examining it, we will try to discern the chronological setting for the Chronicler's work.

In fact, for a date of Chronicles, a wide range of over three hundred and fifty years (from late 6th century to the mid-2nd century BCE) has been suggested.[82] Each of the proposed dates, whether early or late, has its strengths and weaknesses. The fourth-

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[82] The following is a brief summary of scholars' speculation about the date of Chronicles.
(1) The sixth-century BCE: A. C. Welch (ca. 515 BCE, by a pro-Levitical author to substantiate Levitical claims over against the priests). F. M. Cross (Chr$_1$: ca. 520 BCE); D. N. Freedman, J. D. Newsome Jr., and M. Throntveit (ca. 527-515 BCE).
(2) The fifth-century BCE: W. F. Albright; Rothstein-Hänel, J. B. Myers.
(3) The third-century BCE: M. Noth (ca. 200 as anti-Samaritan polemic); C. C. Torrey (ca. 250 BCE to establish the sole legitimacy of the institutions of Jerusalem in opposition to Samaritan claim) ; and Kim Strübind. See, Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, 69-73; Torrey, *Ezra Studies* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1910), 326; Strübind, *Tradition als Interpretation in der Chronik* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 23-25, 200.
(4) The second-century BCE: P. R. Akroyd; Ernst M. Dörrfuss; and G. Steins (in the Maccabean period). See, Akroyd, "Criteria for Maccabean Dating of Old Testament Literature," *VT* 3 (1953): 113-132; Dörrfuss, *Mose in den Chronikbüchern*, 282-283; Steins, *Die Chronik*, 491-499.
(5) The proponents of the fourth-century BCE date for Chronicles will be introduced in the next footnote.

century dating of Chronicles now represents the main stream of scholarship.[83] The data presented in what follows furnish the intra-textual evidence that scholars have cited to support the fourth-century dating of the book.

(1) The genealogy of Jehoiachin (1 Chr 3:17-24) has been interpreted as a time marker which indicates the fourth-century BCE date for Chronicles. However, the genealogy of Jehoiachin contains text critical, grammatical and syntactical problems which hinder an exact accounting of the number of generations. The line of descent in this genealogy has been suggested from five to fourteen generations depending on the way in which one reconstructs the text of 1 Chr 3:21.[84] For this reason, the genealogical information cannot be used as conclusive evidence to determine the fourth century BCE date of Chronicles. Giving twenty years for a generation, the possible date can be derived from our

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[83] The following scholars have suggested the fourth century BCE as the plausible date for Chronicles: Wellhausen (after the fall of the Persian empire); Von Rad; Rudolph (390 BCE); Ackroyd (350 BCE); Otto Eissfeldt (ca. 350 BCE with a later redaction ca. 190 BCE); K. Galling (the first Chronicler: ca. 300BCE and the second Chronicler, ca. 200 BCE); Curtis and Madsen (300 BCE); De Vries (the fourth century BCE); Japhet (at the end of the fourth century BCE); Williamson (350-325 BCE); Kalimi (the first quarter of the fourth century BCE); Manfred Oeming (350-250 BCE); Knoppers (the late fourth or early third century BCE); and P. B. Dirksen (the first half of the fourth century BCE).

In order to collect these data, the following works were consulted: Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 171; Von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild das chronistischen Werkes* (BWANT 4; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930); Ackroyd, *1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah: Introduction and Commentary* (TBC; London: S.C.M. Press, 1973), 25-26; Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (trans. P. R. Ackroyd; New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 540; Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemiah – übersetzt und erklärt* (ATD 12; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1954), 14-17; Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles* (ICC 11; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1910; repr., Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1952), 5-6; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 23-28; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 15-16; De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 16-17; M. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel: Die 'genealogische Vorhalle' 1 Chronik 1-9* (BWANT 7; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1990), 44-45; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 116; and Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 5-6.

[84] Gary N. Knoppers and R. Klein count eight generations from MT 1 Chr 3:17-24, but twelve generations from LXX 1 Chr 17-24 (as well as the Syriac and Vulgate versions). MT 1 Chr 3:10-17 relates eighteen generations of the descendants of Solomon approximately from 950 BCE to 586 BCE. This reveals that the Chronicler calculated one generation with the twenty-year figure (18 generation × 20 years per generation = 360 years. Then, 950-360=590 BCE). If we apply this figure to the genealogy of Zerubbabel, we arrive at the approximate date of 426 BCE (from MT) or 346 BCE (from LXX). Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 328-330; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 14-15, 119-123. Japhet and Williamson also agree upon this calculation. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 94; and Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 83-84.

calculation within the range of 486 BCE – 300 BCE. This result rules out a sixth century BCE date of Chronicles, specifically for 1 Chr 3:17-24.[85]

"Anani," the last name in the list of Jehoiachin's genealogy in 1 Chr 3:24, has been suggested to be the same figure who appears in the Elephantine papyri from the 14th year of Darius II, king of Persia (407 BCE).[86] According to the letters *TAD* A4.7 (=Cowley 30) and *TAD* A4.8 (=Cowley 31), the Jewish mercenaries sent a letter to Bagohi, the Persian governor of Yehud, to the high priest, Jehochanan (II), and to "Ostan the brother of Anani."[87] Since Ostan is not mentioned in 1 Chr 3:24, which lists Anani's six other brothers, the identification of one Anani with the other remains speculative. Unless other evidence is presented, it may be prudent to reserve our judgment on this issue. Thus the genealogy of Jehoiachin in 1 Chr 3:17-24 cannot be a determining factor in establishing a *terminus ad quem* of the Chronicler's composition since it depends on a speculative reconstruction of 1 Chr 3:21 which can never reach a scholarly consensus without further evidence.[88] Thus, the genealogy of Jehoiachin (1 Chr 3:17-24), which could have been an obvious marker of his own time for the Chronicler, can only confirm a date for this passage sometime after the sixth century BCE.

(2) 1 Chronicles 9 (cf. Nehemiah 11) addresses the identity, pedigree, and destination of the returnees. This chapter strongly indicates that the backdrop of the book of Chronicles

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[85] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 115.

[86] See, I. Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian: Studies in the Chronicler, his Time, Place and Writing* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 46; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005), 59-61; ibid, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context: A Closer Examination," *JNES* 68 (2009): 186.

[87] Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: I. Letters* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1986) (henceforth: *TAD*), 71, 75. See also, I. Kalimi, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context," 186.

[88] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 94; and Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 83-84.

is the post-exilic period. Since dating Nehemiah 11 is more clear-cut than dating

Chronicles, the relationship between 1 Chronicles 9 and Nehemiah 11 has been debated

in relation to the issue of dating Chronicles.[89]

Comparing 1 Chronicles 9 with Nehemiah 11, we notice that 1 Chr 9:2-17 is almost

identical with Neh 11:3-9, but its middle section (1 Chr 9:18-33) provides new material

about the duties of the gatekeepers, which are described in a single verse in Nehemiah 11

(v. 19). The gatekeepers are included among the Levites only in Chronicles, whereas

they are treated as an independent order among the temple personnel in Ezra-Nehemiah

(Ezr 2:42, 70; 7:7; Neh 7:1, 3, 45, 73; 10:28,39; 12:47; 13:5). Although the textual

dependence of 1 Chronicles 9 on Nehemiah 11 cannot be ascertained,[90] 1 Chronicles 9

must be a later material than Nehemiah 11 in that the Chronicler's description about the

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[89] The relationship between 1 Chronicles 9 and Nehemiah 11 has long been a subject of debate. Moreover, the distinctiveness of the list of gatekeepers in 1 Chr 9:17-34 has complicated scholarly debates on this matter. What follows is a summary of various scholarly opinions on the literary dependence of 1 Chronicles 9 on Nehemiah 11. Scholarly discussions about 1 Chr 9:17-34 and its literary dependence are not included in this summary, which will be dealt with later in section 2.1.1 where we analyze 1 Chr 9:17-32. Klein's concise summary of scholarly debate on the relationship between 1 Chronicles 9 and Nehemiah 11 is referred to, yet with some changes and additions (Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 263-264).
 (1) The literary dependence of Nehemiah 11 on 1 Chronicles 9 is no more argued by present scholars.
 (2) The literary dependence of 1 Chronicles 9 on Nehemiah 11 is argued by Rudolph (*Chronikbücher*, 85, 94); Japhet (*I & II Chronicles*, 202-219); Braun (*1 Chronicles*, 132-136); Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 263-264); Kalimi ("The View of Jerusalem in the Ethnographical Introduction of Chronicles (1 Chr 1-9)," *Biblica* 83 [2002]: 556-562); and W. Johnstone (*1 Chronicles 1 – 2 Chronicles 9: Israel's Place among the Nations* [Vol. 1 of *and 2 Chronicles*; JSOTSup 253; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 120-121).
 (3) A hypothesis of the common earlier source which the Chronicler and the author of Nehemiah 11 reworked independently is argued by Curtis and Madsen (*The Books of Chronicles*, 168); Myers (*1 Chronicles*, 66-73); Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 87-88); and G. N. Knoppers ("Sources, Revisions, and Editions: The Lists of Jerusalem's Residents in MT and LXX Nehemiah and 1 Chronicles 9," *Textus* 20 [2000]: 141-168).

[90] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 510-511; idem, "Sources, Revisions and Editions," 141-168. Knoppers states that the Chronicler's indebtedness to Nehemiah is only one possible explanation of the data. He argues that the Chronicler's source for the list in1 Chronicles 9 is not the same one that the author or editor of Nehemiah used for the list in Nehemiah 11since the differences between the two lists are significant: a great number of non-parallel sections in each of the two lists; different numerical totals; and the significant differences between the MT and LXX versions of 1 Chronicles 9 and Nehemiah 11. Thus, Knoppers concludes that each of them reworked and expanded his own source in very distinctive ways.   Oded Lipschits concedes Knoppers' conclusion without providing additional evidence in his studies of the list in Nehemiah 11. See, O. Lipschits, "Literary and Ideological Aspects of Nehemiah 11," *JBL* 121 (2002): 428-429.

Levitical gatekeepers reflects more systematized development in that cultic institution than that of Nehemiah.[91] Thus, we can say that 1 Chronicles 9 is a strong marker of time that indicates the post-exilic period, perhaps later than the time that Nehemiah 11 implies.[92]

(3) The Chronicler relates that King David collected ten thousand *darics* for the construction of the temple in Jerusalem (1 Chr 29:7). Since *darics* are Persian gold coins, this expression is obviously anachronistic.[93] 1 Chr 29:7 definitely indicates that this verse was written in the Persian period whether it is integral to Chronicles or not. Yet, it is not so apparent when *darics* began to be circulated. Several ancient Greek authors give different data for the date of the first invention of *darics* (Harpocration: before Darius I; Xenophon: Cyrus II; and Herodotus: Darius I), but archaeological findings give the most reliable basis to Herodotus' report.[94] For instance, no *darics* have been discovered in the archaeological excavations of the foundation of the *apadana* in Persepolis, which was built between 517 and 514 BCE (and otherwise yielded four silver Greek coins as well as gold and silver plates with the inscriptions of Darious I).[95] Based on this fact, M. A. Dandamaev and V. G. Lukonin argue that the minting of *darics* should be dated to a time

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[91] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 263-265.

[92] We will further discuss the literary function of 1 Chronicles 1-9 in the entire book of Chronicles in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

[93] This fact was first pointed out by William M. L. de Wette. See, de Wette, Vol. II of *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament* (trans. Theodore Parker; 2 vols.; 3rd ed.; Boston: Rufus Leighton, 1859), 264-265. Some scholars, though citing the late date of this verse, do not consider that it could be a conclusive indicator of the fourth century BCE dating of Chronicles since they consider 1 Chronicles 29 was added by a later redactor. For example, Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*, 105-106; and Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*, 89-96.

[94] Concerning these Greek authors' and their comments on *darics*, refer to M.A. Dandamaev and V.G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 195-197.

[95] Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 196.

after 517 BCE, when the *apadana* was being built.[96] In contrast, a horde of *darics* were

found in a buried treasure on the Athos canal, which was built by Xerxes in 480 BCE.[97]

Thus, Dandamev and Lukonin assert that 480 BCE could serve as the *terminus ante quem*

for the minting of *darics*. The *daric* became the chief gold currency in the world of trade

over the course of several centuries. Consequently, the appearance of the word *daric* in

Chronicles indicates that Chronicles was written after *darics* were circulated throughout

the extensive regions of the Achaemenid Empire in the fifth century BCE at the earliest.[98]

However, it is not certain whether the word *darics* in 1 Chr 29:7 would be an intentional

marker of time of the Chronicler, or his familiarity with contemporary currency slipped

into his work.

(4) The Chronicler substantially abbreviates the Deuteronomistic narration of temple

building and temple furnishings (2 Chr 3:1-5:1; cf. 1Kgs 6:1-7:51). Although the

Chronicler shows an apparent interest in the Temple, in regard to the organization and

management of the cult, he gives far less attention to the architecture, concrete form and

furnishings of the Temple than in the parallel account of 1 Kings.[99] Instead, the

Chronicler pays great attention to buttress the Temple's legitimacy and to address its

policy. In 2 Chr 3:1 the Temple site is described as "Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where

the Lord appeared to David his father, at the place that David had appointed, on the

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[96] Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 196.

[97] Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 196.

[98] In Chronicles, Persian loan words are rarer than they are in Ezra-Nehemiah. Only four cases are found: נדן (1 Chr 21:27); פרבר (1 Chr 26:18); גנזך (1 Chr 28:11); and אדרכנים (1 Chr 29:7). Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian: Studies in the Chronicler, His Time, Place and Writing* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2005), 41. Apparently, the term 'province' (מדינה), a basic administrative unit in the Achaemenid empire, never occurs in Chronicles. This scarcity of Persian loan words in Chronicles implies that the Chronicler deliberately eliminated any explicit indication of the Persian influence. In this sense, the appearance of *daric* in 1 Chr 29:7 is one of the exceptional cases. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 207.

[99] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 549.

threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite." By bringing together independent traditions about the locus of the Temple (יהוה יראה, Gen 22:14; גרן האורנה היבסי, 2 Sam 24:16; Jerusalem, 1 Kings 6), the Chronicler puts an emphasis on the legitimacy and prestige of the Jerusalem Temple.[100] When did the need to defend the legitimacy of the Jerusalem Temple emerge during the post-exilic period? The existence of the competing Yahweh sanctuaries in the surrounding regions, such as the Samaritan Temple, the Jewish Temple in Elephantine, and another Yahweh shrine in Idumea,[101] might have led the Chronicler to defend the legitimacy of the Jerusalem Temple.[102]

It is not certain when the Samaritan temple was built. Recently Yitzhak Magen published his reports of the excavation of the site of the Samaritan Temple, and suggests that the Samaritan Temple existed in the mid-fifth century BCE.[103] From the Elephantine papyri, we know that the Jews in Elephantine also had their own temple and tried to

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[100] These traditions are formed based on later interpretations of Gen 22:14; 2 Sam 24:16 and 1 Kings 6. The final identification of all three sites with the Temple Mount is a product of the Chronicler's own midrashic reading of the texts, which is not found elsewhere in the Bible. The Chronicler's unique interpretation of the temple site should be considered 'an unquestioned datum' in post-biblical tradition, as S. Japhet argues (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 551-552).

[101] A. Lemaire mentions the existence of Yahweh temple in Idumea alongside with temples of other deities. A. Lamaire names this Yahweh temple as 'the Makkedah Temple of YHW,' which may have been built by the small Yahwist minority in Idumea. See, A. Lemaire, "Administration in Fourth-Century B.C.E. Judah in Light of Epigraphy and Numismatics," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (ed. O. Lipschits et al; Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 2007), 62; and Bob Becking, "Do the Earliest Samaritan Inscriptions Already Indicate a Parting of the Ways?" in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* 213-222 (esp. 220).

[102] Kalimi, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context," 190-191.

[103] Yitzhak Magen, "The Dating of the First Phase of the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim in Light of the Archaeological Evidence," *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, 157-211. See also, Knoppers, "Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Zion: A Study in the Early History of the Samaritans and Jews," *Studies in Religion* 34 (2005): 311.

rebuild it around the late fifth century BCE. [104] The existence of these temples could have an issue for the Chronicler enough to press him to legitimize the Jerusalem Temple by underlining continuity between the Second Temple and the First Temple as well as the Tabernacle in the wilderness period. Nevertheless, since this argument is based on a series of speculations, the Chronicler's abbreviation of the Deuteronomistic narration of temple building and temple furnishings, or his emphasis on the legitimacy and prestige of the Jerusalem Temple cannot be a determining factor in fixing the date of Chronicles.

 (5) Chronicles' depiction of cultic institutions has been said to reflect a later stage of development in cultic institutions than those in Ezra-Nehemiah. First, the twenty-four priestly divisions, which 1 Chronicles 24 first introduces in the Hebrew Bible, continue to appear in texts of the post-biblical period.[105] Furthermore, the Chronicler portrays the other clerical classes, Levites, singers and gatekeepers as also organized into twenty-four units (1 Chronicles 23; 25; and 26). The system of the twenty-four divisions of each clerical group is not mentioned in Ezra-Nehemiah. Considering the continuance of the twenty-four priestly divisions, the Chronicler's picture of cultic institutions is likely to reflect a later practice than that of Ezra-Nehemiah.[106] If this speculation is correct, Chronicles should have been written later than in the late-fifth century BCE. Since a

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[104] Paul-Eugène Dion, "La religion des papyrus d'Éléphantine: un reflect du Juda d'avant l'exil," in *Kein Land für sich allein* (ed. Ulrich Hübner und Ernst Axel Knauf; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 243-254; and Stephen G. Rosenberg, "The Jewish Temple at Elephantine," *NEA* 67 (2004): 4-13.

[105] S. Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 (1968): 345-346. According to Japhet, the priestly twenty-four divisions are attested to in *m. Taʿan.* 4:2; *t. Taʿan.* 2; *y. Taʿan.* 4:2; and *b. Taʿan.* 27a, b. This fact underlines that the system of the twenty-four priestly divisions remain unchanged into the post-biblical period.

[106] S. J. de Vries suggests that Chronicles was composed later and canonized later than Ezra-Nehemiah (De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles,* 10, 16-17). S. Japhet also states:
> In the absence of comparative material it is difficult to draw precise chronological conclusions from this general portrayal of the cult organization, but since a prolonged and complex process is involved, a later provenance, certainly later than the one assumed by Ezra-Nehemiah, must be presupposed (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 27).

large section of Ezra-Nehemiah (from Ezra 7 to Nehemiah 13) recounts the events of 458-433 BCE, the book of Ezra-Nehemiah must have been written later than 433 BCE. However, to determine the *terminus ad quem* of Ezra-Nehemiah is another conundrum since it depends on how one understands the process of the composition of Ezra-Nehemiah, as well as how to interpret the mandate of Ezra (458 BCE or 398 BCE?).[107] Thus, the complexity of the Chronicler's description of cultic institutions cannot be a determining factor to date Chronicles to the fourth century BCE. However, it certainly reveals the Chronicler's knowledge about his contemporary practices, such as the twenty-four priestly divisions, which Ezra-Nehemiah does not mention.

(6) The way in which the Chronicler handles ancient textual traditions indicate that Chronicles were written when those textual traditions were available to him. First, the Chronicler cites or alludes to texts from Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah,[108] Ezekiel, Zechariah,[109] and the Psalms.[110] Second, the

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[107] Johanna W. H. van Wijk-Bos suggests that the writing and editing process of Ezra-Nehemiah may have taken place in the early part of the fourth century BCE (Van Wijk-Bos, *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther* [Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998], 14). Concerning the dating issue of Ezra-Nehemiah, several scholars reserve their judgment on it with a very cautious comment, such as: "It is important to recognize that we have no real supporting evidence from other sources which enables us to date either Ezra or Nehemiah" (R. J. Coggins, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* [CBC; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976], 6-7). See also, D. J. A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 12-14.

[108] Louis Jonker argues that 2 Chr 36:15-21 has a strong literary connection with the book of Jeremiah, such as an allusion to Jer 29:10 (Jonker, "The Chronicler and the Prophets: Who were his Authoritative Sources?" *SJOT* 22 [2008]: 275-295.

[109] It has been suggested that in 2 Chr 16:9, the seer Hanani's speech probably would be a quotation from Zech 4:10 (R. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 15; Kai Peltonen, "A Jigsaw without a Model? The Date of Chronicles," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period* [ed. Lester L. Grabbe; JSOTSup 317; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 230). There seems to be more connections between the two books, such as Zech 1:2-4 and 2 Chr 30:6-7 and Zech 8:10 and 2 Chr 15:5-6. S. Japhet comments on this fact as such: "The many verses of classical prophecy quoted by the Chronicler particularly in his speeches prove his familiarity with this corpus" (Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 183). See also, P. Beentjes, "Prophets in the Book of Chronicles," in *The Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist* (ed. J. C. de Moor; OtSt 45;

Priestly tradition and the Deuteronomic tradition are occasionally harmonized in Chronicles.[111] The following two examples illustrate the Chronicler's effort to harmonize the seemingly inconsistent laws from the Priestly tradition and the Deuteronomic tradition.

The first example is 2 Chr 7:8-10, where the Chronicler describes the eight-day celebration of the feast after the Temple was built.[112] The Chronicler's description harmonizes the narrative of 1 Kgs 8:65-66 and the requirement of the priestly law. According to 1 Kgs 8:65-66, Solomon and all of Israel observed "the festival" seven days and on the eight day all the celebrants went home. In other words, they had seven-day celebration of the feast of Tabernacles. It complies with the Deuteronomic tradition (Deut 16:13-15), which defines this feast as a seven-day fall harvest festival. However, the Priestly law has different regulations for this feast. The Priestly law requires eight-day celebration of the feast by adding a regulation for the holy assembly on the eighth

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Leiden: Brill, 2001), 45-53; idem, "Tradition and Transformation: Aspects of Inner Biblical Interpretation in 2 Chronicles 20," *Bib* 74 (1993), 258-68.

[110] According to Beentjes, the Chronicler cites a psalm or part of it seven times in Chronicles. Psalms 96; 105; 106 are incorporated in 1 Chr 16:8-36, and Ps. 132:8-10 in 2 Chr 6:40-42. 1 Chr 16:41; 2 Chr 5:13; 7:3, 6; 20:21 refer to the phrase "Give thanks to YHWH for He is good, for his loyalty endures forever.' This phrase frequently appears in the following psalms (Pss. 106:1; 107:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1). Beentjes points out that these quotations from Psalter are always found in highly liturgical contexts. This fact indicates that the Chronicler was familiar with such liturgical contexts. See, P. Beentjes, "Psalms and Prayers in the Book of Chronicles," in *Psalms and Prayers* (ed. Bob Becking and Eric Peels; OTS 55; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 11, 43-44.

[111] In 1930 Gerhard von Rad already demonstrated that the Chronicler's work stands on both the P and D traditions. Von Rad, *From Genesis to Chronicles*, 232-242.

[112] This feast seems to be the feast of the Tabernacle since 2 Kgs 8:2 reports that the installation of the Ark took place in *Ethanim* (the Seventh month).

day (Lev 23:33-36; Num 29:35-36). Thus, the Chronicler harmonizes the narrative in Kings in accordance with the requirements of the Priestly law in 2 Chr 7:8-10.[113]

 The second example is 2 Chr 35:13, where the Chronicler describes the way in which the Passover lamb was cooked: 'they boiled the Passover lamb with fire' (יבשלו הפסח באש כמשפט). Here, the Chronicler harmonizes the two mutually contradictory requirements for the preparation of the sacrificial meat for the Passover: 'to roast over the fire' (צלי־אש) in Exod 12:9 and 'to boil' (בשל) in Deut 16:7.[114]

Thus, all these examples indicate that the Chronicler was knowledgeable of the textual traditions, which include Pentateuchal legislation (not only Priestly traditions but also Deuteronomic traditions), as well as prophetic traditions and Psalter. This fact also indicates that the book of Chronicles was written in the post-exilic period, when both the Priestly tradition and the Deuteronomic tradition were brought together to create the present form of the Pentateuch.

(7) The *terminus ad quem* for the composition of Chronicles is proposed as the mid-third century BCE for two reasons. First, Chronicles was translated into Greek (*Paraleipomena*) in the mid-third century BCE, and reused in 1 Esdras in the second century BCE.[115] Second, the absence of Hellenistic influence in Chronicles[116] suggests

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[113] I. Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 147-148; and Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 151-153.

[114] Ehud Ben Zvi, "Revisiting 'Boiling in Fire' in 2 Chronicles 35:13 and Related Passover Questions: Text, Exegetical Needs and Concerns, and General Implications," in *Biblical Interpretation in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. Isaac Kalimi and Peter J. Haas; LHBOT 439; New York; London: T & T Clark, 2006), 238-250; and Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 134-138.

[115] Additional evidence for the determination of the *terminus ante quem* is provided by G. N. Knoppers in his commentary, (*1 Chronicles 1-9*, 106-111): Eupolemus' citation of *Paraleipomena* in the second century BCE; an allusion of Dan 1:1-2 to 2 Chr 36:6b-7; an allusion of Sir 47:9-10 to 1 Chr 24:1-19; and the testimony to Chronicles in the Temple Scroll and the War Scroll. Thus, he concludes: "The collective evidence points to a mid-third-century date as the latest reasonable time for composition."

that the *terminus ad quem* is the end of the Persian period. However, the *terminus ad quem* of Chronicles could be traced back to an earlier period since some scholars suggest that the Hellenistic influence in the Levant was witnessed even before the conquest of Alexander the Great.[117] Nevertheless, the lack of any vestige of it in Chronicles at least indicates that the influence must not have been pervasive in the Chronicler's time.

(8) Some scholars date Chronicles to the Persian period based on their linguistic observations. For instance, the Chronicler uses the verb יחשׂ relating to genealogical registration in Chronicles. Of the twenty occurrences of this verb in the Hebrew Bible (always in the *hithpa'el*), fifteen occur in Chronicles (ten in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1-9). The other five occurrences are all in Ezra and Nehemiah.[118] The verb is always used in the context where the issue of identity matters in the community. In Chronicles, the majority of the occurrences of this verb are found in the first nine chapters, the so-called 'genealogical hall.'[119]

P. C. Beentjes' study on the significance of the verb יחשׂ in Chronicles gives some insight in socio-historical situations which may have produced such a predilection for

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[116] P. Welten, interpreting the word חשׁבון in 2 Chr 26:15 as a Greek catapult used in the third century BCE, has suggested the existence of the Hellenistic influence in Chronicles. P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellungin den Chronikbüchern* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 98-114. But this interpretation has been reputed by several scholars, such as Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 337-338) and G. H. Jones (*1 &2 Chronicles* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993], 92-93). A military device for shooting arrows and great stones had been used even before the Persian period as the Assyrian reliefs of the siege of Lachish portrays. Thus, the word חשׁבון in 2 Chr 26:15 cannot be used as evidence for dating Chronicles in the Hellenistic period.

[117] Einat Ambar-Armon and Amos Kloner, "Archaeological Evidence of Links Between the Aegean World and the Land of Israel in the Persian Period," in *Library of Second Temple Studie*s 65 (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 1-22.

[118] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 367.

[119] This term is coined by M. Oeming in his book, (*Das wahre Israel*).

verb יחשׂ.[120] Beentjes concludes that the verb יחשׂ is used in Chronicles as 'literary and theological glue' to bind the forgotten tribes to the rest of the tribes in order to build up the ideal of all Israel.[121]

S. Japhet is cautious about taking this evidence to confirm any specific date for Chronicles since the absence of verb יחשׂ in other books does not necessarily mean that the verb was introduced into Hebrew only at a later phase. It could just reflect a certain author's stylistic preferences.[122] Thus the Chronicler's Late Biblical Hebrew and his preference to certain vocabulary do not give much help to fix a specific date of Chronicles.[123]

All in all, among all these markers of date of Chronicles, it appears that the genealogy of Jehoiachin (1 Chr 3:17:24) and 1 Chronicles 9 were intended to mark a particular time by the Chronicler, and these markers point to a specific temporal context through which the entire book of Chronicles should be read. Whereas these two indicators of time are placed in the prologue of Chronicles, another marker of time appears in the end of the book. The Chronicler ends his work with the edict of Cyrus (2 Chr 36:23) as another maker of time. By placing the indicators of his own time in the beginning and the end of his work, the Chronicler seems to design it to be read against the backdrop of the post-exilic period.

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[120] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*, 187-191.

[121] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*, 191. See also Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 25.

[122] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*,168.

[123] It is argued that the language of Chronicles, which is Late Biblical Hebrew, sets the upper limit of the composition of the book no earlier than the post-exilic period. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 25. And also see, R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976).

As we have examined above, it is hard to pin down the Chronicler's markers of time to the fourth-century BCE. The Chronicler's emphasis on the legitimacy of the Jerusalem Temple, his unique treatment of cultic institutions, his broad knowledge about his textual traditions, the lack of Hellenistic influence in Chronicles and other factors that scholars point out to propose a certain date of Chronicles can help us to narrow down the Chronicler's markers of time to sometime later than the sixth century BCE and earlier than the third century BCE.

Chapter 2 Literary Analyses of the Texts

We now turn to the Chronicler's treatment of Levitical involvement in the Temple economy, by engaging in a close analysis of the key texts: (1) gatekeepers (1 Chr 9:17-32; 26:1-19)[124]; (2) treasurers (1 Chr 9:26-28; 26:20-32)[125]; and (3) tax collectors (2 Chr 24:5-11; 34:8-13).   How does the Chronicler depict the functions of each group of temple personnel? How does the treatment in Chronicles differ from that presented elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible? Following this textual analysis, we will investigate possible socio-economic implications of the Chronicler's description. Attention to the literary consistency of the Chronicler's texts will confirm the value of our "David Installation Block" model presented in Chapter One.

2.1. The Chronicler's Description of the Gatekeepers

2.1.1. 1 Chronicles 9:17-32

1 Chr 9:17-32 introduces the Levitical status of the gatekeepers and their tasks in the Temple. This section belongs to the long genealogical prologue which covers the first nine chapters of Chronicles.[126] Thus, before directly approaching this section (1 Chr 9:17-32), it is helpful to observe its immediate context.

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[124] As we mentioned above, in this chapter, the other references to gatekeepers in Chronicles as well as the references to gatekeepers in Ezra-Nehemiah will also be considered: 1 Chr 15:18, 23-24; 16:38; 23:5; 2 Chr 8:14; 23:4, 19; 34:13; 35:15; Ezr 2:42, 70; 7:7; 10:24; Neh 7:1, 45, 72; 10:29, 40; 11:19; 12:25, 45, 47; 13:5.

[125] The other references to the temple treasurers (2 Chr 12:9; 16:2; 2 Chr 31:11-16; and 36:18) will also be treated in this chapter as we mentioned above.

[126] Scholars have discussed whether the genealogical prologue (1 Chronicles 1-9) is the original component of the entire work of the Chronicler (S. Japhet, G. Knoppers) or a late redactional addition (M. Noth). Since the parallels to the Chronicler's genealogical prologue are found in Greek historiography, scholarly contention that 1 Chronicles 1-9 is an intentional part of the Chronicler's historiography has become mainstream. See, Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 8-10; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 253-260; Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, 36-42; and also Kenneth G. Hoglund, "The Chronicler as Historian: A Comparativist Perspective," in *The Chronicler as Historian* (ed. M. Patrick Graham et al; JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 21-23.

2.1.1.1. The Immediate Context of 1 Chr 9:17-32

1 Chronicles 9, which is the end of the long genealogical prologue (1 Chronicles 1-9), contains the genealogical records of the restored community. 1 Chronicles 9 breaks up the connection between 1 Chr 8:29-44 and 1 Chr 10:1-14. 1 Chr 8:29-44 introduces the lineage of the Saulides, concluding a long catalogue of the pedigrees of the twelve tribes of Israel (1 Chronicles 2-8). This family tree (1 Chr 8:29-44) leads into the account of Saul (1 Chr 10:1-14), which opens the narrative section in Chronicles. Since 1 Chronicles 9 has interrupted this natural flow, the genealogy of the Saulides has been reintroduced in 1 Chr 9:39-44.[127] This passage provides an introduction to 1 Chronicles 10 by making the transition between the genealogies and the historical narrative.[128]

Why does 1 Chronicles 9 intrude into the narrative sequence? We will argue that 1 Chronicles 9 presents the author's view of how the entire set of genealogies should be read. A structural analysis of 1 Chronicles 9 clarifies this intention (see, Table 2).

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[127] D. Kimḥi accounts for this doublet as a sort of "resumptive repetition." According to him, 1 Chr 9:35-44 resumes the progeny of Saul in order to present it in proper sequence and connect it with an account of his fate and of the transfer of the kingship from him to David, since the previous section was interrupted with the matter of the Levites and priests who lived in Jerusalem during their shifts. Yitzhak Berger, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles: A Translation with Introduction and Supercommentary* (Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies, 2007), 113. It also explains why the Chronicler abridged the lineage of Ulam from 1 Chr 8:29-44 in its doublet, 1 Chr 9:35-44. It seems to be an intentional abridgment focused on the genealogy of the Saulides. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 205.

[128] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 205. And also see Aaron Demsky, "The Genealogy of Gibeon (1 Chronicles 9:35-44): Biblical and Epigraphic Considerations," *BASOR* 202 (1971): 17.

Table 2. Structure of 1 Chronicles 9

verses	contents
1 Chr 9:1	A summary of the previous chapters, 'the genealogies of all Israel' and a temporal dividing line between the previous and the following contents: 'the Babylonian exile.'
1 Chr 9:2	A title for the list of those who returned from Babylon
1 Chr 9:3-9	People of Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh: - The sons of Perez; - The Shilonites; - The sons of Zerah; - The Benjaminites; - The Shephatites.
1 Chr 9:10-13	The priests
1 Chr 9:14-34	The Levites: - The Merarites; - The Asaphites; - The Netophathites; - The gatekeepers (vv. 17-32); - The singers (v. 33)
1 Chr 9:35-44	The genealogy of Saul (the repetition of 1 Chr 8:29-38)

Chapters 2-8 of 1 Chronicles introduce the genealogical information of the twelve tribes of Israel. These chapters demonstrate the Chronicler's particular interest in the tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin.[129] Compared to long lists of genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2-8, the list of those who returned from the Babylonian exile (1 Chronicles 9) is much shorter and simpler, but it is effectively connected with the previous chapters. For instance, 1 Chr 9:3-9 claims that the people who returned from the exile are from the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Manasseh and Ephraim, which underlines the inclusion of the northern tribes.[130] Then, the author adds the long pedigree of Levi to this list of people

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[129] The Chronicler's favorable treatment of these three tribes is shown quantitatively. His intention behind this strategic structural plan, however, is not self-evident. Scholars have generally hypothesized that it may be related to the author's contemporary situation in which these three tribes were the main components of the restored community in Yehud. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 263.

[130] M. D. Johnson comments that singling out Ephraim and Manasseh indicates that the Chronicler considers them as the core of the northern kingdom. Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical*

who settled in Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:14-34). In other words, 1 Chronicles 9 highlights the presence of five tribes, Judah, Benjamin, Manasseh, Ephraim and Levi in the restored community. Great attention is also given to these five tribes in 1 Chronicles 2-8.[131] Thus, 1 Chronicles 9, by mentioning these five tribes, establishes the continuity of the post-exilic community with Israel of the monarchy, which is presented by the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2-8.

The following will show that one purpose of 1 Chr 9:17-32 is to emphasize the continuity of the office of the gatekeepers spanning the wilderness and monarchic periods, as well as in the post-exilic period. In this sense, 1 Chr 9:17-32 fits the overall purpose of 1 Chronicles 9, to establish the continuity between the past of the monarchic Israel and the post-exilic community in Yehud.[132]

Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus (2nd ed.; SNTSMS 8; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 69. On the other hand, Yigal Levin asserts that the genealogies of the central tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim, Manasseh, and (southern) Asher seems to reflect the reality of the Chronicler's own day, in his article ("Who Was the Chronicler's Audience? A Hint from His Genealogies," *JBL* 122 [2003]: 229-245).

[131] The genealogies of these five tribes are largely expanded with the Chronicler's own sources or his creation in 1 Chronicles 2-8, whereas those of the other tribes are telescoped into a simple summary of genealogical information from the Pentateuch.

[132] We will treat 1 Chr 9:17-32 without considering its relationship to Nehemiah 11 since the list of gatekeepers in 1 Chr 9:17-32 is obviously different from that of Nehemiah 11. Nehemiah gives very brief information about the gatekeepers with only one verse (11:19). According to Neh 11:19, two named gatekeepers, Akkub and Talmon, and their associates, all together one hundred seventy two, are in charge of the gates. The text does not say how many gates are in their charge or whether the gatekeepers are Levites or not. The Chronicler's list, by contrast, gives much more information about the gatekeepers. The list of gatekeepers covers almost fifty percent of the entire list of the inhabitants in Jerusalem of 1 Chronicles 9. For this reason, commentators have attributed the distinctiveness of the list of gatekeepers in 1 Chr 9:17-32 from the list presented in Nehemiah 11 either to the Chronicler's use of an independent source (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 213-214; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 90; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 275; and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 112-113), or to a later expansion (Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 141-142). In the present study, we will argue that 1 Chr 9:17-32 is the Chronicler's work regardless of his dependence on an earlier source.

2.1.1.2. Literary Analysis of 1 Chr 9:17-32

1 Chr 9:17-32 can be divided into two units: vv. 17-23 and vv. 24-32.[133] The first unit (vv. 17-23) confirms the Levitical status of the gatekeepers and explains the origins of their office in the history of Israel. The second unit (vv. 24-32) provides the specific functions of the gatekeepers in the temple precinct. After analyzing these units, we will consider the significance of gatekeepers in the economic administration of the Temple as presented by the Chronicler.

(1) The First Unit (vv. 17-23)

V. 17:   והשערים שלום ועקוב וטלמן ואחימן ואחיהם שלום הראש׃

Verse 17 does not provide any chronological indicator, but other gatekeeper lists from the Persian period confirm that the gatekeepers introduced in 1 Chr 9:17 were active in the Persian period, cf. Ezr 2:42//Neh 7:45 (the six families of gatekeepers: sons of Shallum, of Ater, of Talmon, of Akkub, of Hatita, and of Shobai); Ezr 10:24 (Shallum, Telem, and Uri); Neh 12:25 (Mattaniah, Bakbukiah, Obadiah, Meshullam, Talmon, and Akkub).[134] The phrase of "up until now" in verse 18 corroborates this conclusion.[135]

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[133] R. Braun divides this section in the same way: vv. 17-23 and vv. 24-32, but other scholars propose alternatives, such as vv. 17-22 and vv. 23-32. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 141-142. Although there is no conspicuous literary marker to divide this passage into two units except for its content, a strong reason to divide it after verse 23 is provided by the word, אהל. It appears in verses 19, 21, and 23, and serves to establish the continuity of the office of the gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel. L. Allen has argued that the Chronicler repeated specific terms as "rhetorical unit markers" to divide the text into "assimilable portions." The word אהל in 1 Chr 9:17-23 may be an example of such rhetorical unit markers. L Allen, "Kerygmatic Units in 1 and 2 Chronicles," *JSOT* 41 (1988): 21-36. Moreover, verse 23 begins with *waw* conjunctive, which means that it is connected to the preceding verse, while verse 24 clearly indicates a new beginning with the respect to its content. For these reasons, we divide this section into two: vv. 17-23 and vv. 24-32.

[134] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 505; and Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 90.

[135] Gary N. Knoppers comments on this phrase as "a reference to the contemporary operation of the Temple" (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 505).

The Shallum (שׁלּוּם) in 1 Chr 9:17 is not found in either MT or LXX Neh 11:19 although Neh 11:19 is a close parallel to 1 Chr 9:17.[136] Neh 11:19 provides only two names of gatekeepers (Akkub and Talmon). Williamson dismisses the absence of Shallum in Neh 11:19, since he thinks that the Chronicler worked here with a source completely unrelated to the list of Nehemiah 11.[137] Klein suggests that Shallum's absence in Neh 11:19 might have been accidental since Shallum appears in a different spelling (Meshullam) in another list, Neh 12:25.[138] In all events, it is not possible to pinpoint why Neh 11:19 omits Shallum from the list of gatekeepers. Our concern is how Shallum is treated in 1 Chr 9:17-32.

By contrast with Nehemiah, the Chronicler presents Shallum as a major figure in 1 Chr 9:17-23. Through him the office of gatekeepers preserves its continuity throughout the history of Israel. He is a descendant of the Korahites, who guarded the threshold of the Tent in the wilderness period (v. 19).[139] He also has a genealogical connection with Zechariah son of Meshelemiah, who was gatekeeper during the reign of David (vv. 22-23; cf. 1 Chr 26:1, 14). Shallum is mentioned twice in verses 17-18. He was the chief among the gatekeepers (v. 17) and also stationed at 'the King's gate on the east' (v. 18).[140]

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[136] Knoppers, "Sources, Revisions, and Editions," 158.

[137] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 90.

[138] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 275. Klein assumes that Meshullam in Neh 12:25 is the same figure with Shallum in 1 Chr 9:17, and, furthermore, that this Shallum and Meshelemiah (the father of Zechariah in 1 Chr 9:21) are the same person. We do not agree with R. Klein's conjecture, see below on verse 19.

[139] The relationship between the Shallum in verse 17 and another Shallum in verse 19 will be dealt with in our exegesis of verse 19.

[140] Regarding the primacy of the east gate, refer to Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 213-214; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 90; McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 112; Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 141; and also, D. Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" *JSOT* 30 (2005): 236. Both Williamson and Braun suppose the most prestigious was the king's gate based on Ezek 46:1-8, according to which the king's gate would be opened on the occasions of Sabbath and the new moon, and only the king would enter the gate to offer sacrifices.

The fourth name Ahiman (אחימן) does not appear in other lists of gatekeepers. Several scholars have suggested that the name originates from a dittography of the following word ואחיהם.[141] Even so, one must explain why אחיהם was changed into אחימן. There are many cases of scribal error due to graphic similarity between Hebrew letters, but any confusion between ה (*he*) and מ (*mem*), or between מ (*mem*) and ן (*nun*) is not reported.[142] Thus, the possibility that Ahiman was another gatekeeper in the Persian period cannot be easily excluded.

Edward L. Curtis concludes that it could be a proper name since he thinks those named in verse 17 are identical with the four, unnamed, chief gatekeepers in verse 26.[143] Consequently, Curtis suggests that Ahiman was introduced to take the place of Ater, whose name slipped out of the original text (cf. Ezra 2:42 and 10:24, where Ater may have been corrupted into Uri.).[144] Curtis' contention is hardly tenable. First, there is not enough literary connection between verse 17 and verse 26 to prove that the first four names in verse 17 are the four chief gatekeepers in verse 26. Second, Curtis does not explain why Ahiman, instead of any other names, replaced Ater, despite the fact that there is no linguistic connection between the two names. Thus, Ahiman still remains a puzzle.

The originality of the MT's pointing of אחיהם as ʾăḥîhem (= 'their kinsman') has been challenged by the presence of another textual witness, which reads it as ʾăḥêhem (= 'their

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[141] Knoppers, "Sources, Revisions, and Editions," 158.

[142] Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 243-249.

[143] Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 174. R. Braun also claims that Ahiman should be a proper name because of verse 26. See, Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 136.

[144] Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicle*, 174; see also Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 275.

kinsmen').[145] The latter witness, however, is not strong enough to require changing the

MT text since the singular form ʾāḥîhem does not create any syntactical tension in verse

17 and the consonantal text would not have distinguished between the two.

V. 18   ועד־הנה בשער המלך מזרחה המה השערים למחנות בני לוי:

Through the phrase למחנות בני לוי, the Chronicler makes it clear that the gatekeepers

are the Levites.[146] The term 'the Levite camp' seems intended to recall the camp of Levi

stationed near the Tent of Meeting (cf. Num 1:53; 2:17).[147] With this phrase, the

Levitical status of the gatekeepers is traced back to the wilderness period.[148] This

perspective is strengthened by the next two verses.

V. 19   ושלום בן־קורא בן־אביסף בן־קרח ואחיו לבית־אביו הקרחים
על מאלכת העבודה שמרי הספים לאהל
ואבתיהם על־מחנה יהוה שמרי המבוא:

The verse gives detailed genealogical information about Shallum: he is the son of Kore,

son of Ebiasaph, son of Korah. The identity of Shallum in verse 19 has been discussed in

relation to another Shallum in verse 17. Are they the same individual? Another Shallum

in verse 17 is a figure in the post-exilic period as we argued beforehand. His

genealogical origin is not known since verse 17 does not provide it, but in verse 19,

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[145] While the MT is followed by the Targum (ואחוהון) and the Vulgate (*frater eorum*), a few Hebrew manuscripts, LXX, Peshitta (ܘܐܚܝܗܘܢ :ואחיהום), Arabic and MT Neh 11:19 witness a third person masculine plural noun, instead of a masculine singular noun.

[146] S. Japhet considers this phrase as the echo of a second source used by the Chronicler because it presents a different view of the gatekeepers from the one introduced in Ezra-Nehemiah (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 213-214).

[147] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 505. Gary N. Knoppers also points out that the Chronicler often adapts the Priestly terms to describe cultic activities around the Temple, such as in 2 Chr 31:2 (בשערי מחנות יהוה). Verse 18 seems to reveal the Chronicler's intention to legitimize his contemporary cultic activities by establishing their conformity to Pentateuchal traditions.

[148] Piet B. Dirksen, "1 Chronicles 9:26-33: Its Position in Chapter 9," *Bib* 79 (1998): 92.

Shallum is introduced as one of Korahites, who were the 'guards of the threshold of the Tent.' Their ancestors had also been the 'guards of the entrance of the camp of the Lord.' In our analysis of verse 21, we will argue that these two Shallums are one and the same figure, and such separate introduction was deliberately intended by the Chronicler.[149]

The phrase הקרחים introduces the Korahites and is followed by the explanation of their role in the past. Genealogical information about the Korahites is presented in Priestly traditions (Exod 6:16-21, 24 and Num 3:17-19, 27; 26:58). According to these Priestly traditions, Korah is the first son of Izhar, who is the second son of Kohath, who is the second son of Levi. This Korah rebelled against the exclusive authority of the Aaronide priesthood in the wilderness period, and was punished by God (Num 16:1-32), but his descendants survived (Num 26:11). In this tradition, it is not clear that the Korahites could have continued serving in the Tent of Meeting, as the Levites were commissioned to do, since Korah dishonored them by his heinous rebellion. The Priestly tradition does not deny the existence of the Korahites, but pays little attention to them. However, the following examination of the Chronicler's treatment of the Korahites will reveal a very different picture of them from the one of the Priestly tradition.

The book of Chronicles includes two different genealogies for the Korahites. In 1 Chr 6:7, Korah is the son of Amminadab, who is the son of Kohath, whereas, in 1 Chr 6:22-23, he is the son of Izhar, who is the son of Kohath. It is not clear whether these two

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[149] R. Braun conjectures that the Shallum of 1 Chr 9:19 and the Meshelemiah of 1 Chr 9:21, together with Meshelemiah of 1 Chr 26:1, the Shelemiah of 1 Chr 26:14, and the Meshallum of Neh 12:25 are one and the same as one of the returnees who came back to the Land with Zerubbabel (Neh 12:1). In other words, Shallum in v. 19 is the Chronicler's contemporary figure (Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 136, 141). P. B. Dirksen, however, suggests that Shallum in 1 Chr 9:19 is the same figure as Meshelemiah in 1 Chr 9:21; 26:1, 14, a contemporary of David and, therefore, Shallum in verse 19 cannot be the same one with the Shallum in verse 17 (Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 146, 149). As we have argued, the text itself does not provide any conclusive evidence to decide between the two arguments. Our discussion about this topic will be continued in verse 21.

Korahs are the same person, or not.[150] 1 Chr 9:19 does not mention who is the father of Korah. Thus, this verse offers no help in solving the puzzle of whose son Korah is.

On the other hand, Heman, another Korahite, who shares the same ancestry with Shallum, was appointed by David to be in charge of music in the Temple (1 Chr 6:16-23). Heman is the descendant of Ebiasaph, son of Korah, son of Izhar, son of Kohath, son of Levi (1 Chr 6:22-23). This passage indicates that Shallum in verse 19 is the descendant of Korah, son of Izhar, son of Kohath.[151] In other words, he is the descendent of the rebellious Korah according to the Priestly tradition.

2 Chr 20:19 describes that the Korahites were also involved in the office of singers during the reign of Jehoshaphat. The Korahites' involvement in the office of singers is verified by the eleven psalms that are entitled 'a song of the Korahites' (Psalms 42; 44-49; 84-85; 87-88).[152] Furthermore, according to 1 Chr 12:6, the Korahites are included among the warriors who rallied to David at Ziklag.

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[150] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 200. The presence of Amminadab in 1 Chr 6:7 is questionable since he is not named among the four sons of Kohath which are introduced in the genealogies elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, in Codex Alexandrinus and a few other LXX manuscripts (LXX^Nag), the name Izhar appears instead of Amminadab. See, Alan England Brooke et al., eds., *The Old Testament in Greek* (3 vols.; London: Cambridge University Press, 1906-1940), 410. Nonetheless, the reason behind the choice of the name Amminadab in MT 1 Chr 6:7 and in other manuscripts still needs to be explained.

[151] The process of our speculation can be schematized as follows:
  Shallum, son of Kore, son of Ebiasaph, son of Korah (1 Chr 9:19)
                                        Korah, son of Izhar, son of Kohath, son of Levi
                                                    (Exod 6:16, 18, 21)
                                        Korah, son of Amminadab, son of Kohath (1 Chr 6:7)
                                        Korah, son of Izhar, son of Kohath (1 Chr 6:22-23)
      Heman, son of Ebiasaph, son of Korah, son of Izhar, son of Kohath, son of Levi
                                                    (1 Chr 6:22-23).

[152] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 505.

Yet again in 1 Chr 9:19, Shallum and his Korahite clan are presented as gatekeepers, a function confirmed in 1 Chr 26:1 and 19. Moreover, during the reign of Hezekiah, Kore was the keeper of the east gate in charge of the freewill offering to God (2 Chr 31:14).[153]

All things taken together, the Korahites' active and diverse involvement in the Temple as depicted in Chronicles is clearly different from the one that the Priestly tradition represents about the Korahites. This fact sheds some light on the conflict between priests and Levites or between the two different traditions which were formed to secure each groups' own status. This issue will be discussed later.

What is also remarkable in this verse is that the Korahites are only singled out as gatekeepers. By contrast, the passage 1 Chr 23:24-32, a text belonging to David's Installation Block, claims that all Levites-Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites- share the responsibility for guarding the Tent of Meeting (1 Chr 23:32).[154] Why does the Chronicler pay more attention to the Korahites here in 1 Chronicles 9? Gary N. Knoppers suggests that singling out the Korahites may be related to the special responsibility that the Kohathites (Kohath is the grandfather of Korah) had for transporting and guarding the most sacred objects in the wilderness (Num 3:31).[155] We will return to this question after verse 21 is analyzed.

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[153] In 2 Chr 31:14, Kore is introduced as a son of Imnah the Levite. It is not so obvious that this Kore is the same one mentioned in 1 Chr 19:9 (the ancestor of Shallum) and in 1 Chr 26:1 (the ancestor of Meshelemiah). These two Kores are said to be Korahites. In the Hebrew Bible, Imnah is always presented as the first son of Asher (Gen 46:17; Num 26:44; and 1 Chr 7:30) except for 2 Chr 31:14. In the latter case, we are told that he is a Levite, not an Asherite. It means that the forefather of Kore is not the first son of Asher. The name Kore appears only three times in the Hebrew Bible: 1 Chr 9:19; 26:1; and 2 Chr 31:14. Thus the Kore in 2 Chr 31:14 is likely to be the Kore, who was the forefather of Shallum and Meshelemiah. In other words, the Kore in 2 Chr 31:14 is a Korahite.

[154] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 505; and Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 216.

[155] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 505.

According to 1 Chr 9:19, these Korahites were the guards of the threshold of the Tent. Who were the guards of the threshold of the Tent elsewhere in Chronicles? How is the term 'the threshold of the Tent' (הספים לאהל) used in the biblical texts? Answering these questions will provide us a clue as to the chronological background of Shallum in verse 19.

The phrase שמרי הספים לאהל, 'guards of the thresholds of the Tent,' appears only in 1 Chr 9:19. However, 'the guards of the threshold' (שמרי הסף) occurs in 2 Kgs 12:10; 22:4; 23:4; 25:18; 2 Chr 34:9;[156] Jer 35:4[157]; 52:24[158]; Esth 2:21; and 6:2. Except in the last two cases, all these guards of the threshold served in the Temple.[159] In the Esther examples, the guards served in the palace. It is likely that, in Chronicles, 'guards of the threshold' refer to temple gatekeepers.

Nevertheless, the expression 'guards of the threshold of the Tent' (שמרי הספים לאהל) seems to be the Chronicler's terminological innovation, which cannot be simply identified with the term, 'guards of the threshold' (שמרי הסף). We suggest that this term was coined by the Chronicler to strengthen the continuity between the Tent of Meeting in the wilderness period and the Jerusalem Temple. According to the Chronicler's scheme, before Solomon built the Temple in Jerusalem, regular sacrificial services had been offered before the Ark and the Tent of Meeting (1 Chr 6:17; 23:32). When Solomon

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[156] 2 Chr 34:9 is a parallel to 2 Kgs 22:4, where the keepers of the threshold, during the reign of Josiah, are mentioned. It is not clear whether these are priests or the Levites in 2 Kgs 22:4, but they are specified as the Levites in a related text, 2 Chr 34:9.

[157] According to Jer 35:4, during the reign of Johoiakim, a certain Maaseiah son of Shallum was the guardian of the threshold.

[158] Jer 52:24 is a parallel to 2 Kgs 25:18, in which three unnamed gatekeepers are mentioned among the officials executed by Nebuchadrezzar after Jerusalem fell into the Babylonians.

[159] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 505.

completed the construction of the Temple, the Ark and the Tent of Meeting were brought into the Temple and became constituent parts of the Temple (2 Chr 5:5).[160] Thus, Shallum and his kinsmen (the Korahites), the guards of the threshold of the Tent, become the gatekeepers who serve at the Temple, which is the continuation of the Tent of Meeting, where the ancestors of the Korahites had served as guards (1 Chr 9:19b). The Chronicler's unique term, 'guards of the threshold of the Tent,' ties both institutions together very neatly.

The phrase על־מחנה יהוה שמרי המבוא explains specifically what kind of cultic function that the ancestors of the Korahites carried out. They were 'guards of the entrance of the camp of the Lord' (על־מחנה יהוה שמרי המבוא). This whole phrase is also a new term created by the Chronicler. The context indicates that they were the guards of the Tent of Meeting in the wilderness period (cf. Num 1:53). With this phrase, the Chronicler holds that the ancestors of the Korahites were the guards of the Tent of Meeting. This fact is once again emphasized by the reference to Pinehas in the following verse.

V. 20   ופינחס בן־אלעזר נגיד היה עליהם לפנים יהוה עמו:

In 1 Chr 9:20, Phinehas is introduced as the ruler of the guards in the wilderness period. In contrast, Numbers 3, in which the duty of guarding the tabernacle is assigned to all the Levites, presents 'Eleazar the son of Aaron' as their leader (esp. Num 3:32).[161]

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[160] Gary N. Knoppers points out that such an association between the Tabernacle and the Jerusalem Temple also sporadically appears in the Apocrypha (Judith 9:8; Sir 24:10-11; cf. 2 Macc 2:4-5), but these associations are not emphasized as in Chronicles (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 506).

[161] Numbers 3 does not say explicitly that the Leviticial duty is to guard the tabernacles, but the vocabulary used to describe the Levitical duties implies that it is closely related to the guard duties. First, the Levitical duties are expressed by the verb שמר (Num 3:7, 8, 25, 28, 32). Second, the Levitical duties are summed up

The replacement of Phinehas in the place of Eleazar might have been intended by the Chronicler in order to associate the Phinehas' incident in Num 25:2-8 with the task of gatekeepers.[162]   Phinehas killed the Israelite man and Midianite woman who were involved in a foreign worship in Num 25:6-8.[163] For the Chronicler, Phinehas would be a better model than Eleazar for the combined cultic and martial duties of the gatekeepers.[164]

Thus, the Korahites' duty as the gatekeepers is consistently presented as continuing that of the desert period in vv. 19-20. The Chronicler's attempt to establish a direct link in the office of gatekeepers between the desert period and his own time is expanded to the monarchic period in the next two verses 21-22.

V. 21   זכריה בן משלמיה שער פתח לאהל מועד:

Zechariah son of Meshelemiah is introduced without any temporal marker. The same individual appears in 1 Chr 26:2 and 14. According to these two verses, Meshelemiah, the father of Zechariah, a Korahite, was the gatekeeper of the eastern gate

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with the phrase שמרי משמרת הקדש in Num 3:28, 32. On the other hand, the Levites' guarding duty for the Tabernacle is explicitly mentioned in Num 1:53 (משמרת משכן העדות).

[162] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 216; and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 506.

[163] 1 Chr 9:20 does not explicitly mention the place from which Phinehas observed the idolatrous couple before he executed them. According to Num 25:6-7, Phinehas saw them first at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting (פתח אהל מועד). Although the text does not provide any detail of Phinehas' role with regard to the entrance of the Tent of Meeting, the Chronicler seems to have paid a special attention to the place where Phinehas' zealous act originatd by referring to the exact phrase פתח אהל מועד in the next verse (1 Chr 9:21) to indicate the guarding post of Meshelemiah the gatekeeper. By this phrase, the Chronicler seems to have attempted to connect Phinehas's role at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting with the gatekeeper's role at the Temple.

[164] McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 113. Interestingly, in the later Levi-Priestly Tradition (we will deal with this tradition in Chapter Three), Phinehas' zeal for God is connected with Levi's zeal to punish the Shechemites (Genesis 34), as well as the Levites' involvement in punishing the apostates at Mt. Sinai (Exod 32:25-29). It is not certain whether the replacement of Eleazar by Phinehas was made by the Chronicler, or a part of certain tradition, which the Chronicler was familiar with. The Levi-Priestly Tradition is found in *Aramaic Levi*, *Testament of Levi* and *Jubilees* 30:1-32:9, which are dated to around the second-century BCE.

during the reign of David. His name appears as Shelemiah in 1 Chr 26:14.[165] In this verse, we are told that Zechariah was his first son, who was in charge of the northern gate. It thus seems likely that the Chronicler mentions here Zechariah son of Meshelemiah to associate the office of gatekeepers with the one that was instituted by David.[166] This association will be strengthened by verse 22.

Here in 1 Chr 9:21, Zechariah, a contemporary of David, is presented as gatekeeper at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting. The term 'the entrance of the Tent of Meeting' (פתח לאהל מועד) frequently appears in Exodus (9 times), Leviticus (25 times) and Numbers (12 times). Outside of the Pentateuch, it appears only in 1 Chr 9:21; Josh 19:51 and 1 Sam 2:22; the last two are related to the Tent of Meeting in Shiloh. Thus this phrase also reflects the Chronicler's general tendency of emphasizing the continuity of the First Temple and the Tent of Meeting in the wilderness period.

Literary analysis of verse 21 reveals the intended function of verses 19-21. Each of these verses shares the same genealogical link: Shallum the Korahite in the post-exilic period (v. 17 and v. 19)[167]; the Korahites in the wilderness period (vv. 19-20); and Zechariah the Korahite during the reign of David (v. 21). These three verses indicate the continuity of the Korahites' office of gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel up to the Chronicler's time. Therefore the Shallum in verse 19 must be the same individual in

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[165] As has already been mentioned in footnote 149, R. Braun conjectures that Meshelemiah in verse 21 is the same individual with Meshallum in Neh 12:25, but there is no other evidence to support his assumption except that the two have the probably same name, which is a very common Hebrew name.

[166] In this sense, P. B. Dirksen's argument, that Meshelemiah must be a contemporary figure of David, is correct, but unlike his argument, it is not so certain whether the Shallum in verse 19 is the same individual with Meshelemiah in verse 21 (Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 149).

[167] D. Kimḥi also considers Shallum in verse 19 as a resident in Jerusalem in the time of Ezra. He claims that it is too obvious that this Shallum would not belong in the earlier context-among his ancestors from the time of David and beforehand (Berger, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*, 109, footnote 354).

verse 17.[168] Verses 19-21 seem to be the Chronicler's parenthetical statement, which explains the identity of Shallum in verse 17. By connecting Shallum with the Korahites, who had the well-established Levitical status as well as the office of gatekeepers, the Chronicler confirms the gatekeepers' Levitical lineage and also emphasizes the continuity of the office of gatekeepers.

V. 22   כלם הברורים לשערים בספים מאתים ושנים עשׂר

המה בחצריהם התיחשׂם המה יסד דויד ושמואל הראה באמונתם:

While verses 19-21 are parenthetical explanation of verse 17, verse 22 is connected directly with verses 17-18. This connection makes verse 22 strongly parallel to Neh 11:19. Neh 11:19 states that the gatekeepers, who dwelt in Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time, were 172. The Chronicler counts them to be 212,[169] but does not specify that they are residents in Jerusalem. Rather their enrollment is by genealogies in their villages. Thus S. Japhet suggests that this verse, together with verse 25, reflects the reality of the author's day that the main body of the gatekeepers dwelt outside of Jerusalem.[170]

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[168] S. Japhet also considers the two Shallums as the same figure, but for her, this Shallum in 1 Chr 9:17, 19 is the same one with Shelemiah/Meshelemiah in 1 Chr 9:21 and 26:1. In the last case, our interpretation deviates from hers (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 455).

[169] W. Johnstone suggests that the number 212 would come out of the following calculation: one for each group of gatekeepers at each gate in a fifty-two-week year, plus four chief gatekeepers, that is, $(4\times52)+4=212$ (Johnstone, *1 Chronicles 1 – 2 Chronicles 9*, 126).

[170] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 217. Edward L. Curtis suggests a different interpretation of verse 22. He distinguishes two classes of gate-keepers. The first class is the gatekeepers, who belonged to those of the four families of verse17. Their office of gatekeepers is traced to the wilderness period. They are Levites, who resided in Jerusalem. Their leaders held the office of chief gate-keepers continuously. The duties of the chief gatekeepers are described in vv. 26b-29. The second class is the 'under gatekeepers,' who resided outside of Jerusalem. Their office of gatekeepers is traced to David and Samuel. They performed their duties every seven days (v. 25), and were not reckoned as Levites. See, Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 176-177. R. Klein also distinguishes two classes of gatekeepers in a similar way: the 'subordinate gatekeepers' installed by David and Samuel in vv. 22 and 25; and the 'chief gatekeepers,' who actually resided in Jerusalem (v. 27), traced their office back to Moses himself (vv. 19-20). See, Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 277. Recently, Paul K. Hooker also repeats the idea of a 'two-part pedigree' of the gatekeepers in his commentary, (*First and Second chronicles* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001], 47). R. Braun comments that Curtis' interpretation of the text is more systematic than the text would suggest.

In this verse, the Chronicler legitimizes the office of gatekeepers by mentioning that it was originally established by David and divinely authorized by Samuel the seer.[171] Samuel may have been chosen by the Chronicler because of the functions that Samuel performed in the temple at Shiloh, as well as of the Levitical lineage, with which the Chronicler invested him (1 Chr 6:12-13).[172]

The installation of the office of gatekeepers is expressed by the phrase of … יסד באמונתם.[173] The word באמונה is used three times in 1 Chr 9:17-32 (vv. 22, 26 and 31) and its interpretation is debated. Scholars have translated it either 'because of trustworthiness or faithfulness' or 'in permanent official duty.'[174] The present context,

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Braun, rather, attributes it to divergent traditions about the origins and nature of the porters' service. See, R. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 142. A further critique to Curtis' theory can be added. Curtis missed the literary connection between verses 17-18 and verse 22. Those enrolled by genealogies in their villages (v. 22) belong to the Levite camp (v. 18). Furthermore, Curtis and Klein simply dismissed Zechariah son of Meshelemiah (v. 21) in their classifications of gatekeepers. He is a contemporary figure of David, as well as a Levite. According to Curtis' classification, Zechariah is exceptional in the class of 'the under gatekeepers.' From our perspective, the function of verses 19-21 is not simply to trace the office of gatekeepers to the time of Moses, but to emphasize the continuity of the office of gatekeepers from the wilderness period through the reign of David to the Chronicler's own time and to confirm its Levitical lineage by pointing to the Korahites' age-old duty of gatekeepers. Therefore, the classification of gatekeepers based on the origin of their authorization (either Mosaic or Davidic) is not convincing.

[171] The prophets' involvement in installing the cultic offices is also witnessed in 2 Chr 29:25. According to 2 Chr 29:25, the establishment of the singers is authorized by both David and the prophets (Gad and Nathan).

[172] Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 137; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 214-215; and Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 72. According to I. Kalimi, the Chronicler made Samuel a Levite since his service in the sanctuary was diametrically opposed to the texts in the Pentateuch to which only Levites were permitted to minister in the sanctuary (Num 1:50-51; 3:5-9; 18:2-4, 22-23). The Chronicler's attempt in providing Samuel with the Levitical lineage is to resolve the contradiction between the narrative in Samuel and the verses of the Torah (I. Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 152).

[173] David's installation of the office of gatekeepers is described in detail in 1 Chronicles 26. 1 Chr 9:22 is none other than a concise summary of 1 Chronicles 26 and should be supplemented from 1 Chronicles 26. By verse 22, however, these two sections (1 Chr 9:17-32 and 1 Chr 26:1-19) are closely connected with each other. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 217.

[174] *HALOT*, 62-63. Several scholars interpret אמונה as an attribute. For example, M. Oeming interprets it as 'wegen ihrer Zuverlässigkeit' in his book, *Das wahre Israel*, 203. R. Klein also interprets באמונה in verses 22 and 31 as 'in faithfulness,' but the same word in verse 26 as 'on permanent duty,' which is contrasted to the temporal duty of the gatekeepers who dwelt in their villages (v. 25) (Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 278). On the other hand, Peter B. Dirksen follows Klein's interpretation of the word, but tries to rationalize

however, requires reference to a certain position or duty rather than to an attribute of

gatekeepers.   Since a *piel* form of the verb יסד is used to express 'to found something' or

'to appoint someone in a certain position,' the translation of the word באמונה should be

'in their office of trust' or 'on their permanent duty.'[175]

V. 23   והם ובניהם על־השערים לבית־יהוה לבית־האהל למשמרות:

Verse 23 is connected with the previous verse by a conjunctive *waw*. By means of

David's installation (v. 22), the gatekeepers and their descendants are now in charge of

the house of the Lord (בית־יהוה), the house of the Tent (בית־האהל), as guards (v. 23). The

Chronicler equates the house of the Lord and the house of the Tent as another example of

the continuity between the Tent of the Meeting and the Temple.[176] The phrase 'the house

of the Tent' appears only here.[177] The term must have been coined by the Chronicler to

link the two different institutions, as he previously did in verses 19 and 21.[178]

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this seemingly arbitrary treatment by assuming that the word came from the two different authors (by the Chronicler and a later redactor). Dirksen argues that the later redactor missed the unique meaning of the expression in v. 26 and interpreted it according to its standard meaning 'in faithfulness' under the influence of v. 22 (Dirksen, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 154). This argument still seems to be more arbitrary.

[175] *HALOT*, 417.

[176] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 216.

[177] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 506; and Avi Hurvitz, "Terms and Epithets Relating to the Jerusalem Temple Compound in the Book of Chronicles: The Linguistic Aspect," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. David P. Wright et al.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 179-180. In this article, A. Hurvitz examines the following seven terms, which were employed in Chronicles to refer to the temple compound: בית (ה)מקדש; בית (ה)קדש ;בית קדש קדשים ;בית הכפרת ;בית מנוחה ;בית זבח; and בית האהל. Hurvitz suggests that all these expressions coined by the Chronicler seem to be intended to express the continuity between the Tabernacle in the wilderness and the Second Temple. The phrase, 'the house of the Tent' (בית־האהל) in 1 Chr 9:23 is one of these seven terms that the Chronicler coined.

[178] G. N. Knoppers points out that the Chronicler often used such a strategy to establish the antiquity of a relatively new system of worship. For example, when King Abijah spoke to Jeroboam and all northern people, he claimed that the cult of the Jerusalem Temple was the continuation of that of the Sinaitic era (2 Chr 13:4-12) (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 506; and Curtis & Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 176).

To summarize the first unit (vv. 17-23), it seems clear that the Chronicler has created this unit to confirm the Levitical lineage of the gatekeepers by mentioning Shallum the Korahite, his ancestors in the wilderness period, and another Korahite, Zechariah, at the time of David. All of these individuals served as the gatekeepers of the Tent of Meeting or of the Temple. Emphasis on the continuity of the office of gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel provides additional confirmation that the office and its holders in the writer's own time are legitimate. For this purpose, the Chronicler coined several unusual terms to connect the Tent of Meeting with the Temple. David's installation of the office of the gatekeepers and Samuel's authorization also confirm the legitimacy of such functionaries.[179]

Why did the Chronicler make such an effort to legitimize the gatekeepers by grounding their office in the history of Israel?[180] Were the practices of the gatekeepers in the post-exilic period innovative or unwelcome enough to require such a rationalization? We will deal with this question after analyzing the next unit, 1 Chr 9:24-32, in which the Chronicler describes the duty of the gatekeepers (vv.17-23).

(2) The Second Unit (vv. 24-32)

Verses 24-32 summarize the duties of gatekeepers. Their main duty is to guard the four sides of the Temple (v. 24). This duty will be performed by the gatekeepers who reside in their own villages, along with the four chief gatekeepers. The gatekeepers

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[179] For this reason, S. Japhet considers 1 Chr 9:19-22 as the '*magna carta*' of the gatekeepers (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 214). Peter B. Dirksen claims that the entire section of 1 Chr 9:17-33 is not the list of inhabitants in Jerusalem, but rather "an apologia of the gatekeepers" (Dirksen, "1 Chronicles 9:26-33: Its Position in Chapter 9," 92).

[180] M. Oeming poses the same question, but he does not develop his question further, and concludes: "deutet die neue Einordnung und honorigste Ausstattung der Torwächter auf eine kultpraktische Neuerung der spätnachexilischen Zeit" (Oeming, *Das wahre Israel,* 203-204).

outside of Jerusalem need to come up every seven days to be with the chief gatekeepers (v. 25). Four chief gatekeepers who lodge near the Temple will watch the Temple and open it every morning (v. 27). Their duties also include guarding the chambers and the treasuries of the Temple (v. 26), as well as overseeing the utensils, furniture, the choice flour, wine, oil, incense and spices for cultic service (vv. 28-29). To make the flat cake and the row of bread for offering is another duty given to the Levites, especially to the Korahites (vv. 31-32).

The duties of the gatekeepers introduced in verses 26 and 28-29 are not exactly harmonized with those presented elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, or with those in 1 Chr 23:28-29 (the general duties of the Levites); 26:20-28 (the duties of different branches of the Levites who are not the gatekeepers). How should one understand this contradictory information? Is this second unit simply evidence of the Chronicler's clumsiness in his collecting 'heterogeneous traditions'?[181] We will propose a more satisfactory solution by arguing that 1 Chr 9:26, 28-29 reflect circumstances of the Chronicler's own day unlike 1 Chr 23:28-29 and 26:20-28 which are intended to represent the Davidic time.

V. 24   לארבע רוחות יהיו השערים מזרח ימה צפונה ונגבה׃

The primary duty of gatekeepers is to guard the four sides of the Temple, likely temple gates, since 1 Chronicles 9 refers to the Temple of the Persian period under the figure of the wilderness Tent, as we have argued above. This information is basically identical with that of 1 Chr 26:12-19 which provides a more detailed description of the office of gatekeepers. Here, the Chronicler simply introduces their duties.

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[181] Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 202.

V. 25 ואחיהם בחצריהם לבוא לשבעת הימים מעת אל־עת עם־אלה:

This verse states that the kinsmen of the gatekeepers, who reside in their villages, are obliged to join 'these' (אלה) every seven days, according to a fixed schedule. Who are these? Verse 25 implies that some gatekeepers are stationed at the gates permanently, while their kinsmen will take their turns to come up to the temple gates to assist the four permanently stationed gatekeepers. As mentioned above, verses 22 and 25 may reflect the Chronicler's contemporary situation when most of gatekeepers resided outside of Jerusalem.[182]

The question of who the permanently stationed gatekeepers are is answered in the next verse.

V. 26 כי באמונה המה ארבעת גברי השערים הם הלוים
והיו על־הלשכות ועל האצרות בית האלהים:

Verse 26 begins with כי which introduces a clause indicating the cause of items specified in either the previous clause or the following one. In this case, verse 26 seems to be connected with the preceding sentence since the next clause is linked with another causal clause, which also begins with כי. Therefore verse 26 provides the reason why the gatekeepers who dwell in their own villages need to come up to Jerusalem to guard the temple gates. The four chief gatekeepers who are on permanent duty also have multiple duties connected with the chambers and the treasuries of the Temple. Consequently, the

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[182] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 217.

plural pronoun 'these' in verse 25 must refer to the four chief gatekeepers. The Chronicler once again emphasizes that they are the Levites.[183]

But in 1 Chr 23:28-29 and 26:20-28, supervision over the chambers and the treasuries is not the task of the four chief gatekeepers.[184] In order to explain this contradiction, Peter B. Dirksen suggests an alternative reading of this verse.[185] Dirksen considers 1 Chr 9:26b-c (which corresponds to והיו על־הלשכות ועל האצרות בית האלהים) as a later redactor's addition, connected with 1 Chr 9:28. He links v. 26a directly with v. 27 in order to provide an explanation of the four chief gatekeepers' permanent duty which is in contrast to the temporal duty of the gatekeepers who live outside Jerusalem (v. 25). However, one must explain why a later redactor inserted 1 Chr 9:26b-c in such an awkward way. Why did he not place the additional information right before 1 Chr 9:28? Dirksen treats the awkwardness as a redactor's habit of abrupt insertion, but we find this view unconvincing for two reasons. First, as we have argued above, 1 Chr 9:26b-c explains why the four chief gatekeepers need assistance of the gatekeepers who dwell in their own villages for their guard duties. Second, the disagreement between two different

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[183] As we have mentioned above (see footnote 170), the Chronicler's additional emphasis on the Levitical lineage of the four chief gatekeepers led Curtis to argue that there are two different classes of gatekeepers: one of acknowledged Levitical descent, originated from the wilderness period and the other not reckoned as Levites (Cutis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 176-177). However, Zechariah, one of his subordinate-class gatekeepers is also said to be a Levite in 1 Chronicles 9. Although Curtis' two different class gatekeepers are differentiated by their duties, they cannot be classified by their genealogical affiliation, since both class gatekeepers are Levites in 1 Chronicles 9.

[184] Throughout the history of Israel, supervision over the chambers and treasuries has been assigned to the Levites in general and not specifically to the gatekeepers (2 Chr 31:12; Neh 13:13). In 2 Chr 31:14, however, Kore, the keeper of the east gate, was in charge of the freewill offerings to God and was responsible to apportion them to the temple personnel during the reign of Hezekiah. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 278. J. Wright also points out that the gatekeepers were responsible for collecting funds during the reign of Josiah (2 Chr 34:9) (John W. Wright, "Guarding the Gates: 1 Chronicles 26:1-19 and the Roles of Gatekeepers in Chronicles," *JSOT* 48 [1990]: 77). These two cases show that the gatekeepers were occasionally in charge of the chambers or treasuries in the Temple.

[185] Dirksen, "1 Chronicles 9:26-33: Its Position in Chapter 9," 92-95.

sets of texts (1 Chr 9:29 and 1 Chr 23:28-29; 26:20-28) can be explained without assuming a different literary layer if one reads them in the time frame, which the Chronicler set. We will argue that the Chronicler presents practices of his own day here in 1 Chronicles 9, when we discuss the Levitical duties concerning the chambers and temple treasuries.

V. 27 וסביבות בית־האלהים ילינו
כי־עליהם משמרת והם על־המפתח ולבקר לבקר:

Verse 27 states that the four chief gatekeepers lodge near the Temple because they have to do guard duty and to open the Temple every morning. Guard duty (משמרת) is one of the traditional Levitical duties. In the wilderness period, the Levites were commissioned to defend the sanctuary against lay encroachment (Num 1:53; 3:7-8, 25-26, 36-37; 18:3-5, 22-23; 31:30, 47).[186] David also appointed the Levites to watch the Tent of Meeting (1 Chr 23:32). Ezekiel assigns guard duty to the Levites in his blueprint for the future utopian cultic organization (Ezek 44:11).

Verse 27 is textually corrupted although one can easily make sense of it. W. Rudolph suggests reading משמרת with a *waw* as a pronominal suffix, which might have been dropped out through haplography.[187] The next phrase can also be amended, such as ועלהם מפתחו לבקר לבקר, by deleting הם after משמרתו, adding a *mem* before פתח, and linking the *waw* before לבקר to the end of the preceding word as a pronominal suffix. This emendation gives a structural parallelism between the two phrases (עליהם משמרתו and עלהם מפתחו); it eliminates the awkwardness in the combined *waw* and לבקר. Peter B.

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[186] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 507.

[187] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 90.

Dirksen proposes a less drastic emendation: והם עלהם פתחו לבקר לבקר.[188] Either proposed emendation does not affect the meaning of the MT as it stands.

V. 28   ומהם על־כלי העבודה כי־במספר יביאום ובמספר יוציאום:

This verse states that some of them (presumably, the chief gatekeepers) are in charge of the utensils of service which need to be counted when they are used. In the Hebrew Bible various terms are used to designate the vessels for the cultic service: כלי המשכן in Exod 27:19; כלי המקדש in Num 4:15; 18:3; 1 Kgs 8:4; 1 Chr 9:29; 2 Chr 5:5; כלי הקדש in Neh 10:40; כלי בית־האלהים in 2 Chr 28:24; 36:18; Neh 13:9; כלי בית־יהוה in Ezr 1:7; Jer 27:16; 28:3, 6; כלי העבודה in Exod 39:40; Num 4:26; 1 Chr 9:28; 28:13, 14; and כלי השרת in Num 4:12, 32; 2 Chr 24:14. These references to the vessels of the cultic service indicate that the Chronicler uses the diverse terms to designate them. Furthermore, the term כלי העבודה is neither coined nor preferred by the Chronicler. Peter B. Dirksen argues that 1 Chr 9:28 was added by a later editor, for two reasons: first, charge over the vessels for the service is not specifically assigned to the gatekeepers elsewhere in Chronicles; and second, the same term appears in 1 Chr 28:13, 14. He concludes that 1 Chr 9:28 must have been written by the same redactor as 1 Chr 28:13, 14.[189] Thus, his argument is solely based on the occurrence of the same term כלי העבודה in two different places (1 Chr 9:28 and 1 Chr 28:13, 14). But it is not tenable because the term כלי העבודה is not peculiar enough to be assigned to a specific time or author.

According to Numbers 4, assembling or disassembling of all the vessels of service (כלי השרת, Num 4:12) used in the sanctuary can be handled only by Aaronide priests.

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[188] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 152.

[189] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 153.

The Kohathites' duty is to carry them when the camp moves (Num 4:15). Num 18:3 specifically prohibits the Levites from approaching either the utensils of the sanctuary or the altar. However, outside the Pentateuch, there is no clear cut distinction between priestly duties and Levitical duties in handling the holy vessels. 1 Kgs 8:4//2 Chr 5:5 relates that the priests and Levites brought up the Ark, the Tent of Meeting, and all the holy vessels, which were in the Tent, to the Temple by the command of Solomon, without indicating who carried what. Neh 10:38-39 does not offer support for the Levitical involvement in keeping the holy vessels secure, but it does say that the Levites can freely approach the storehouses in the Temple to bring the tithes there, where the equipment of the sanctuary was also kept. Thus, 1 Chr 9:28 cannot be dismissed as irrelevant to the roles played by the gatekeepers though it cannot be harmonized with the Pentateuchal material.[190]

A clear contradiction between Chronicles and the Priestly material is evident in the next verse.

V. 29 ומהם ממנים על־הכלים ועל כל־כלי הקדש
ועל־הסלת והיין והשמן והלבונה והבשמים:

According to verse 29, some of the chief gatekeepers are appointed over 'the furniture (הכלים) and all the holy utensils (כלי הקדש).'[191] The Priestly source expressly forbids the

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[190] The Chronicler's disagreement with the Pentateuchal presentation of the roles of gatekeepers could be explained in various ways. For instance, it may reflect practices of his own day, so that the Chronicler takes pain to rationalize them by establishing the continuity of the office of gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel. Or, it could imply the Chronicler's idealistic view on the office of gatekeepers, which is a product of his effort to harmonize various traditions in his own way. This issue will be again dealt with later when we analyze verse 30.

[191] According to the Priestly source, כלי העבודה seem not to be the same kind of vessels as כלי הקדש. The latter appear to be more directly related to the sacrificial service (Num 4:15; 18:3), whereas the former seem to be closer to the furbishing of the Tent itself (Exod 39:40; Num 4:26). However, it is not clear how

Levites from approaching these utensils (Num 18:3). The chief gatekeepers are also in charge of the fine flour, the wine, the oil, the incense, and the spices, which are all necessary for daily sacrificial services. The term הסלת (the fine flour or the choice flour) is used primarily in the Priestly texts,[192] but it is never related to the Levites. In the Priestly texts, הסלת is always connected with the priestly duties of sacrifices.[193] Thus, the Chronicler presents here a very different picture from that of the Priestly source. The Chronicler reiterates his perspective again in 1 Chr 23:28-32, on the Levites' cultic duties.[194] For this reason, Peter B. Dirksen argues that 1 Chr 9:29 is a later addition by the same redactor from whom 1 Chr 23-27 came.[195] However, it is possible to explain the Chronicler's deviation from Priestly tradition in 1 Chr 9:29 and 1 Chr 23:28-32, without assuming a different redactional layer. As we have already argued in Chapter

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these two terms are used differently in 1 Chr 9:28 and 29 even if the Chronicler differentiated these two terms.

[192] It appears 39 times among the total 54 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible: Gen 18:6; Exod 29:2, 40; Lev 2:1, 4f, 7; 5:11; 6:8, 13; 7:12; 14:10, 21; 23:13, 17; 24:5; Num 6:15; 7:13, 19, 25, 31, 37, 43, 49, 55, 61, 67, 73, 79; 8:8; 15:4, 6, 9; 28:5, 9, 12f, 20, 28; 29:3, 9, 14; Josh 19:12; 1 Kgs 5:2; 2 Kgs 7:1, 16, 18; 18:17; 1 Chr 9:29; 23:29; Prov 16:17; Isa 7:3; 36:2; Ezek 16:13, 19; 46:14.

[193] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 508. Knoppers also quotes Ezek 46:14 as a similar example with the Priestly tradition which does not associate הסלת with the Levites. However, Ezek 46:14 is ambiguous since it does not specify anyone with regard to הסלת.

[194] This passage is very interesting in that it defines the Levitical duties by using the apparent priestly vocabulary, as G. N. Knoppers points out in his commentary (*1 Chronicles 10-29*, 457). For example, "the showbread" (Exod 25:30; 35:13; 39:36; Num 4:7; cf. 1 Chr 9:32; 23:29), "fine flour for the cereal offering" (Lev 2:1, 2, 4; 6:15, 20, *et als*.), "the griddle" (only in Lev 2:5; 6:21; 7:9; Ezek 4:3), "the unleavened wafers" (Lev 2:4; 7:12; Num 6:15), and "flour mixed with oil" (Lev 2:5; 7:10; 9:4; 23:13: Num 7:13, 19, 25) are all technical terms of the Priestly texts. The Priestly texts, however, never mention these terms in relation to the Levites. They solely belong to the priestly prerogatives in the Priestly texts. Thus the Chronicler's stance obviously deviates from the Priestly author(s)'s. The Chronicler recognizes the superiority of the priests in cultic affairs, but he gives the Levites a promotion by having them take over some priestly duties. Possible conflicts between the priests and the Levites (an interesting topic in its own right) will not be dealt with here. This issue, however, will be briefly discussed later in Chapter Three and Four.

[195] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 153.

One, 1 Chr 9:17-32 and 1 Chr 23-27 are David's Installation Block, which shares the common idea about cultic practices.

The gatekeepers' duties concerning all these items may include purchasing them, bookkeeping, and inventory control. S. Japhet proposes that the chief gatekeepers were responsible for guarding all of these, but the actual administration of them was probably in the hands of the Levites (1 Chr 26:20-28; 2 Chr 31:12-13).[196] Her proposal is an excellent way of harmonizing the texts, but we will raise questions about whether it is reasonable to do so in the exegesis of 1 Chronicles 26.

After introducing the gatekeepers' charge over 'flour, wine, incense and spices' (v. 29), the Chronicler explains who actually prepares these items in verses 30-32: The spices are prepared by the priests (v. 30), but the flat cakes and the showbread by other Levites (vv. 31-32).[197]

V. 30   ומן־בני הכהנים רקחי המרקחת לבשׂמים׃

Verse 30 states that the preparation of the spices is done by the priestly class. The unexpected interpolation of a priestly duty in the description of the Levitical duties has produced various speculations about the possibility of redaction. Verse 30 certainly reflects the Priestly tradition in which concoction of the anointing oil and preparation of the incense are considered an absolute prerogative of the priests (Exod 30:23-33 and 34-38).[198] Peter B. Dirksen claims that this verse was added by the later redactor who

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[196] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 217.

[197] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 217.

[198] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 508.

emphasized the prerogatives of the priests as opposed to the Levites.[199] However, Williamson, who supports the thesis that Chronicles underwent a final priestly revision, does not argue that this verse is interpolated by the priestly reviser.[200] Rather, he leaves it unanswered. Edward L. Curtis considers this verse a gloss, which was intended to limit the work of the Levites in connection with the spices, but he does not specify who added this gloss.[201]

On the other hand, Steven S. Tuell attributes the awkwardness of this verse to the Chronicler's synthetic approach in combining various sources as exemplified in the genealogies and in the treatment of David's stories.[202] We think that Tuell's approach to this verse is more appropriate. If we do not assume that the so-called 'original' Chronicler is always opposed to the Priestly tradition, it would not be difficult to understand this verse as an effort to harmonize the tradition with the temple practice of his own day. For example, the Chronicler admits the priests' exclusive right to conduct certain cultic activities, such as atonement (1 Chr 23:13), and does not deny the Levitical role as cultic assistants (1 Chr 23:28). 1 Chr 23:28 seems to stress the Levites' subordination to the Aaronide priests.[203] Another example also shows the Chronicler's respect for the Priestly tradition. In the Chronicler's treatment of the musicians in the Temple, the horn (שׁופר) and trumpet (חצצרה), the sacerdotal instruments, are always

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[199] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 153

[200] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 91.

[201] Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 177.

[202] Tuell, *First and second Chronicles*, 41.

[203] For this reason, these passages have been considered as secondary by the scholars who defend the Chronicler as pro-levitical. For example, De Wette, Van Rad, De Vries, Williamson, Welch, and others. See, Gary N. Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chroniclers and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118 (1999): 51-52.

played by the priests and never sounded by Levites.[204] If we consider these examples as genuine to the Chronicler,[205] all of these as well as 1 Chr 9:30 reveal that the Chronicler defines a proper system for the temple administration and management beyond competition and hierarchy between the priests and Levites in regard to cultic practices.[206] M. Oeming understands verse 30 in a similar way: "Der Chronist übernimmt z.T. die Tradition, setzt aber seine eigene Zeit (oder sein eigenes Programm?) daneben und dagegen."[207]

V. 31   ומתיה מן־הלוים הוא הבכור לשלם הקרחי באמונה על מעשה החבתים:

We have argued that the Shallum in verse 17 is the same one who is mentioned in verse 19. This Shallum is not the same individual as Meshelemiah in verse 21.[208] This

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[204] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 927-928.

[205] Steven J. Schweitzer's comment on this issue is worth quoting here:
> Priestly duties and Levitical duties are clearly distinguished throughout the larger complex of 1 Chronicles 23–27 in terms consistent with the first occurrence of this language in 1 Chr 6:48-53, and subsequent details given in 1 Chr 9:17-34 (Schweitzer, "The High Priest in Chronicles," 394).

Paul D. Hansen also points out that the non-emphatic acknowledgment of the superior status of the priests characterizes the whole Chronicler's history. See, Paul D. Hanson, "1 Chronicles 15-16 and the Chronicler's View on the Levites," *"Sha'arei Talmon" Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. Michael Fishbane et al.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 74.

[206] Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 139, and 227-228.

[207] Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 202. Furthermore, M. Oeming claims that the concurrence of logically contradictory and not rigidly systematized arrangement of the tradition and its commentary, which is seen in Chronicles, became characteristics of later rabbinic Judaism . A. H. J. Gunneweg comments on this verse in this way: "dieser Widerspruch ist identisch mit demjenigen, der sich in der Zeit des Chronisten zwischen der von ihm übernommenen Theorie und der Praxis auftat" (Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester. Hauptlinien der Traditionsbildung und Geschichte des iraelitisch-jüdischen Kultpersonals* [FRLANT 89; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965], 210).

[208] J. Myers also claims the same idea in his commentary, (*1 Chronicles*, 73).

removes a difficulty in harmonizing verse 21 and verse 31.[209] Zechariah is the first son of Meshelemiah (v. 21), whereas Mattithiah is the first son of Shallum (vv. 17 and 19).

Mattithiah, the first son of Shallum, is in charge of the preparation of the flat cakes (החבתים). The term 'flat cakes' (חבתים) is a *hapax legomenon*.[210] We infer its meaning based on מחבת, which appears in Lev 2:5; 6:14; 7:9; Ezek 4:3; and 1 Chr 23:29. מחבת means a metal plate, pan or griddle, but sometimes designates flat, round cake (esp. in 1 Chr 23:29).[211] Thus, חבתים presumably means the flat cake baked on the griddle.[212] Mattithiah's involvement in preparing the flat cakes is another example of the rise of non-priestly groups through their practical involvement in the cult in the post-exilic period.[213]

In fact, the preparation of the cakes baked on the griddle and the row of bread (v. 32) are also assigned to the Levites in 1 Chr 23:28-32, which delineates the duties assigned to the Levites by David. The Chronicler remains consistent in his description of the cultic practices.

V. 32   ומן־בני הקהתי מן־אחיהם על־לחם המערכת להכין שבת שבת׃

According to verse 32, the preparation of the showbread (לחם המערכת) for each Sabbath is the duty of some Kohathites. Why did the Chronicler single out the Kohathites for that duty? Does it have any relation to the Kohathites' privileged status

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[209] Since R. Braun assumes that Shallum in v. 19 is the same individual with Meshelemiah in v. 21, he tries to explain the obvious contradiction between verse 21 and verse 31, by suggesting that the text (vv. 17-32) was revised and updated through a period of at least three generations (Shallum, Zechariah, and Mattithiah), in which the role of the porters was undergoing substantial review (Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 142). Steven L. McKenzie proffers a similar opinion on this verse (McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 113).

[210] *HALOT*, 289.

[211] *HALOT*, 567.

[212] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 279.

[213] Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 203.

that the Priestly tradition grants them (Num 3:27-31; 4:4-15)?   They are the ones who

should carry the most holy things (קדש הקדשים) that the priests can only touch in the

Tent of Meeting (Num 4:15, 19).   Nevertheless, the bread of the Presence (לחם

פנים[ה]),[214] and even the table of the bread of the Presence were off limits to the Levites

(Num 4:4-7).[215] The bread of the Presence could only be handled and eaten by Aaron

and his sons in the holy place in the Priestly tradition (Lev 24:5-9). Thus, this conflict

between the Chronicler's description and the Priestly tradition raises question of whether

the Chronicler's description is designed to sidestep the Priestly restriction. Or, could it be

a reflection of the Persian period *cultus* in which the non-priestly class was involved

more significantly than the Priestly tradition allows? These questions will be dealt with

in Chapter Three.

2.1.1.3. Summary

The Chronicler's claims in 1 Chr 9:17-32 may be summarized as follows: (1) the

gatekeepers are included among the Levites; (2) the office of the gatekeepers originated

in the wilderness period and continued throughout the history of Israel; (3) the

gatekeepers are involved not only in guard duty but also in the administration of the

Temple. Some of their duties seem to encroach on the traditional priestly roles. This

summary shows clearly the Chronicler's effort to establish the continuity between the

temple administration in his day and the received traditions. At the same time, it also

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[214] The Priestly tradition used the term לחם (ה)פנים to designate the bread displayed on the table before the
Tabernacle (Exod 25:30; 35:13; 39:36; 1 Sam 21:7; 1 Kgs 7:48//2 Chr 4:19), whereas the Chronicler seems
to prefer another term 'the rows of bread' (לחם הִמְערכת) or its shorten version המערכת, which appears
mainly in the Post-exilic texts (1 Chr 9:32; 23:29; 28:16; 2 Chr 2:3; 13:11; 29:18; and Neh 10:34; cf. Lev
24:6, 7, where המערכת occurs, but it denotes a layer or row rather than the bread itself).

[215] Knoppers, *1 Chronicler 1-9*, 509.

indicates that the Chronicler does not simply mirror the traditions, but proposes a new, innovative interpretation of them, either to support current practices, or to suggest an idealistic view on the cultic practices.

2.1.1.4. A Comparison with Descriptions of the Gatekeepers elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible

In this section, we compare the Chronicler's descriptions of the gatekeepers in 1 Chr 9:17-32 with others found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, especially in Ezra-Nehemiah.

The presence of the gatekeepers is attested throughout the Hebrew Bible although Steven L. McKenzie argues that the office of gatekeepers emerges only in later portion of the Old Testament.[216] The office of the gatekeepers is referred to in several ways. The most common expression is שׁוֹעֵר, or שֹׁעֵר and its plural form, שֹׁעֲרִים. The term שֹׁעֵר is found thirty-five times in the Hebrew Bible and all but three of these occurrences (2 Sam 18:26; 2 Kgs 7:10, 11) are in Chronicles and in Ezra-Nehemiah.[217] Another term for the office of guard is שֹׁמֵר, or שֹׁמְרִים.[218] פְּקֻדָּה is also used to designate the office of guard in combination with other words which clarify the object of guard.[219] The Chronicler clearly prefers to use שֹׁעֵר, or שֹׁעֲרִים. The duty of the gatekeepers is explained with four

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[216] McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 112. See 2 Kgs 7:10-11.

[217] John R. Spenser, *The Levitical Cities: A Study of the Role and Function of the Levites in the History of Israel* (Dissert. of The University of Chicago, 1980),110. Spenser mentions 37 occurrences of שֹׁעֵר or שֹׁעֲרִים, but the two cases are excluded from our counting because they are merely designating 'doors.' It is found 19 times in Chronicles, 4 times in Ezra, and 9 times in Nehemiah.

[218] It occurs in Judg 1:24; Isa 21:11, 12; Jer 35:4; Jer 51:12; Isa 62:6; Song 3:3; 5:7; Ps 130:6; 1 Kgs 14:17//2 Chr 12:10; Neh 3:29; 11:19; 12:25; Neh 13:22. Ran Zadok points out that שׁמר שׁער (Neh 13:22) does not occur before Nehemiah's time. The combined expression of שׁמר שׁער indeed appears only in Nehemiah (Neh 3:29; 11:19; and 13:22), but the term שׁמר as a designation of the office of guard is found widely in the Hebrew Bible as the given examples prove. Ran Zadok, "Remarks on Ezra and Nehemiah," *ZAW* 94 (1982): 296-298.

[219] Num 3:36 (פקדת משמרת); 4:16 (פקדת כל־המשכן); 2 Kgs 11:18//2 Chr 23:18; Mic 7:4 (פקדות על־בית); and 1 Chr 26:30 (פקדת ישראל יהוה).

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main verbs: שָׁמַר,[220] שֵׁרת,[221] עבד,[222] and צבא.[223] In Chr 9:17-32, the Chronicler chiefly uses the verb שָׁמַר to express the duty of the gatekeepers, and sometimes chooses another verb, שֵׁרת.

In Chronicles, the gatekeepers are all Levites.[224] Ezek 44:10-11 also depicts the gatekeepers as Levites. While the Levites are excluded from sacrificial service in Ezekiel's future Temple, they are employed as gatekeepers to watch the temple gates and to serve the temple. Nevertheless, the Levitical lineage of the gatekeepers is not always confirmed in other texts. For instance, some are certainly priests (2 Kgs 12:10). These are 'the keepers of the threshold' (שֹׁמְרֵי הסף). The same phrase appears in 2 Kgs 12:10; 22:4; 23:4//2 Chr 34:9; 2 Kgs 25:18//Jer 52:24; Jer 35:4. R. Klein assumes that in all these instances except 2 Chr 34:9, the keepers of the threshold must be priests as in 2 Kgs 12:10, and claims that the priests were probably the keepers of the threshold in pre-exilic times.[225] However, none of these passages provide any information as to whether they are priests or Levites. Only in 2 Chr 34:9, which is parallel to 2 Kgs 23:4, are the keepers of the threshold equated with the Levites. Thus it is not possible to determine whether the keepers of the threshold were the priests in pre-exilic times or not.

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[220] 1 Chr 9:23; 26:12, 16; 2 Chr 8:14; Neh 3:29; 12:45.

[221] Ezek 44:11; 1 Chr 26:12; 2 Chr 8:14.

[222] Num 8:26.

[223] Num 4:23; 8:24; Deut 18:16. J. R. Spenser introduces the usage of the three verbs (שָׁמַר, שֵׁרת, and צבא) in relation to the gatekeepers in his dissertation, (*The Levitical Cities*, 67-86) and also in his article, "The Tasks of the Levites: šmr and ṣb'," *ZAW* 96/1 (1984): 267-271.

[224] Exceptionally, the priests and Levites were hired as the gatekeepers in order to guard the young king who hid himself in the Temple during Johoiada's coup against Athaliah, since the Temple precinct was restricted to the clergy (2 Chr 23:4-5).

[225] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 276; Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 137; and also D. Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" *JSOT* 30 (2005): 224.

In Ezra-Nehemiah, the gatekeepers are not necessarily linked to the Levites (Ezra 2:42//Neh 7:45; 10:24; Neh 7:1, 45; 11:19; 12:25; 13:5).[226] Although the gatekeepers constitute an independent order among the temple personnel, they are usually registered between the singers and the temple-servants (Ezr 2:70; 7:7; cf. Neh 7:72; 10:29, in which the gatekeepers are listed before the singers).[227] According to Neh 13:22, it is Nehemiah who appointed the Levites to guard the gates to preserve the sanctity of the Sabbath. It was not until Nehemiah's second term that the gatekeepers became definitely connected with the Levites in Ezra-Nehemiah. Thus, we may conclude that while the gatekeepers were present throughout the history of Israel (either the keepers of the Tent of Meeting, of the Tabernacle, of the Ark, of the threshold of the Temple, of the city gates, or of the temple gates), their Levitical status was not confirmed until late in the exilic or the post-exilic period.

None of the other books in the Hebrew Bible provide the detailed job descriptions for the gatekeepers found in Chronicles. This unsparing effort to legitimize the office of the gatekeepers needs to be explained. The next section contains the Chronicler's description of the gatekeepers' duties. According to the Chronicler, these Levitical gatekeepers' duties were assigned by David.

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[226] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 489.

[227] Japhet, I & II *Chronicles*, 213-214

2.1.2. 1 Chronicles 26:1-19

2.1.2.1. The Immediate Context of 1 Chr 26:1-19

1 Chronicles 26:1-19 is a part of a longer narrative, 1 Chronicles 23-26, which recounts David's organization of the Temple personnel in anticipation of its construction by his successor Solomon. 1 Chronicles 23-26 has been a subject of scholarly discussion concerning its literary development as detailed above in Chapter One.   A reprise of our understanding of these chapters will serve as a framework for the detailed discussion of 1 Chr 26:1-19.

For the Chronicler, King David was the founder and guardian of the Jerusalem Temple as an institution. 1 Chronicles 23-26 is the epicenter of the "David's Installation Block" in Chronicles.   Table 3 shows how the figure of David dominates this section.

Table 3 The Reference to David in 1 Chr 23-26

Verse	The Reference to David	Notes
1 Chr 23:2	"David assembled all the leaders of Israel and the priests and the Levites."	The initiation of the census of the Levites.
1 Chr 23:6	"And David organized them in divisions corresponding to the sons of Levi: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari."	The organization of the Levites according to their ancestral houses.
1 Chr 23:27	"For according to the last words of David these were the number of the Levites from twenty years old and upward."	The redefinition of the age of the Levites at their initiation into service.
1 Chr 24:3	"Along with Zadok of the sons of Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar, David organized them according to the appointed duties in their service."	The organization of 24 divisions of the priests.

Verse	The reference to David	Notes
1 Chr 25:1	"David and the officers of the army also set apart for the service the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with lyres, harps, and cymbals."	David's installation of the temple musicians and their 24 divisions.
	Exceptionally, the passage 1 Chr 26:1-19 begins without any reference to David.	The divisions of the gatekeepers[228]
1 Chr 26:32	"King David appointed him and his brothers, two thousand seven hundred men of ability, heads of families, to have the oversight of the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of the Manassites for everything pertaining to God and for the affairs of the king."	This verse governs only the preceding verse.

It is David who initiated the census of the Levites, who were not included in his earlier census (1 Chr 21:1-7). The Levites, from the age of 30 and upward, numbered 38,000 (1 Chr 23:3-5). Based on this census, David proceeded with several innovative measures: (1) a new division of the Levites according to their ancestral houses (1 Chr 23:6-26); (2) a re-definition of the age of the Levites at their initiation into service: from the age of twenty and upward (1 Chr 23:24, 27)[229]; (3) the duties newly assigned to the Levites since there

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[228] The divisions of gatekeepers are introduced without a formula which designates David's installation. For this reason, some scholars have considered this section as a secondary addition. However, G. Steins proffers a good counter-argument. According to Steins, David's installation of the gatekeepers is clearly stated in 2 Chr 8:14-15, which relates that Solomon faithfully executed his father's ordinances concerning the installation of the cultic personnel (והשוערים במחלקותם לשער ושער כי כן מצות דויד v. 14). Furthermore, in 1 Chronicles 25, there are no phrases which summarize the development of the cultic personnel according to their genealogical structure, such as 1 Chr 23:24, 31b-32; 24:19; 26:12, 19. This fact implies that 1 Chr 26:1-19 should be connected with 1 Chronicles 25 logically as well as contextually (Steins, *Die Chronik*, 305-307). The present study will also argue that 1 Chr 26:1-19 is an integral part of 1 Chronicles 23-26 in the following discussion. On the other hand, G. Steins applies the above observation to build up a new literary stratum, the so-called, 'Musiker-Torwächter-Bearbeitung,' which we do not adopt. The reasons will be given as our argument develops in the following pages.

[229] The difference of the age of the Levites at their initiation into service between verse 3 (thirty) and verses 24 and 27 (twenty) has been considered as a peculiar example of internal contradictions in 1 Chronicles 23-26. S. Japhet suggests that this deviation resulted from textual corruption (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 412). However, this difference can be understood as a part of David's innovations. Concerning the initiation age for Levitical duties, there are three different traditions in the Hebrew Bible: (1) the age of thirty: Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 39; 43; 47; (2) the age of twenty-five: Num 8:24; and (3) the age of twenty: Ezr 3:8; 1 Chr

is no longer a need for them to carry the Tabernacle (1 Chr 23:28-32); and (4) a new organization of the Levites according to their secondary affiliation as priests, musicians, gatekeepers, treasurers, and officers and judges (1 Chr 24:1-26:32).

Despite internal contradictions, the literary structure of 1 Chronicles 23-26 shows coherence. First, its coherence is demonstrated by the pattern of twenty-four divisions, by which David organizes the Levites, as Table 4 illustrates.

Table 4. David's Organization of the Levites

(1) 1 Chr 23:6-24	The divisions of the Levites according to their ancestral houses	Greshonites (10 בתי־אבות); Kohathites (9 בתי־אבות); Merarites (5 בתי־אבות), totaling 24 ancestral houses.
(2) 1 Chr 24:1-4	The divisions of the Aaronide priests	The Eleazarites (16 ראשים לבית־אבות) and Ithmarites (8 ראשים לבית־אבות), totaling 24 chiefs of ancestral houses.
(3) 1 Chr 25:1-7	The divisions of the musicians	The sons of Asaph (4); the sons of Jeduthun (6) and the sons of Heman (14), totaling 24 divisions.
(4) 1 Chr 26:1-11	The divisions of the gatekeepers	The sons of Meshelemiah (7); the sons of Obed-edom (13) and the sons of Hosah (4), totaling 24 divisions.

This pattern gives coherence to 1 Chronicles 23-26, although its minor sections, the organizations of the Levitical treasurers (1 Chr 26:20-28) and the Levitical officers/judges (1 Chr 26:29-32), do not follow this pattern. The pattern of twenty-four divisions, on the other hand, can help to date this material. The origins of the twenty-four

23:24, 27; 2 Chr 31:17 (during the reign of Hezekiah). The fact that the third tradition appears only in the post-exilic texts, underscores the Chronicler's effort to harmonize his contemporary situations with the older tradition as shown in 1 Chronicles 23. The Chronicler here explains that his contemporary situation (the age of twenty for the Levites' initiation into service) was resulted from David's change. Ehud Ben Zvi proffers a similar interpretation of the Chronicler's change in his article ("Revisiting 'Boiling in Fire' in 2 Chronicles 35:13," 246). Through this change, Ben Zvi comments, "the Chronicler is able to provide legitimacy for the actual practice in the Second Temple period, without disregarding at the ideological level the authority of Num 4:3." Knoppers also agrees with this interpretation (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 819-820).

priestly courses are known to be post-exilic in date.[230]   The Chronicler asserts here that

not only the priestly courses, but also the other temple personnel were organized in the

same pattern of 24 divisions.[231]   Therefore 1 Chronicles 23-26 reflects either the

Chronicler's own situation or his ideal for his own time. In either case, the Chronicler has

retrojected this practice to David times.

   Second, the literary coherence of 1 Chronicles 23-26 is established by its pattern of

casting lots to decide the order of shifts for their duties in each of the secondary

affiliations of the Levites, as Table 5 indicates.[232]

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[230] The reforms of Nehemiah (Neh 13:30-31) are the most likely setting for this development (H. G. M. Williamson, *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, 126-127; and Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 425). The priestly divisions are attested in the following texts, which were written in the Second Temple period, but later than the Chronicles: (1) twelve fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran cave 4 (4Q320-330, 337), which explain calendars of priestly courses. According to these calendars, the various priestly courses rotated the shifts in the Temple for a week at a time from one Sabbath to the following Friday. Florentino García Matínez and Eibert J. C. Tigschelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1997-1998), 678-705, 707; and see also, Shemaryahu Talmon and Israel Knohl, "A Calendrical Scroll From A Qumran Cave: Mišmarot Bª, 4Q321," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells*, 267-301; (2) the works of Josephus: *Ant.* 7:366 (in which the priestly courses were distributed by lot); *Life* 1:2 (twenty-four courses); *Against Apion* 2:108 (four courses of the priests); (3) Luke 1:5; (4) *m. Sukkah* 5:8 and *m. Tamid* 5:1-5:6 and 6:1-6:3; and (5) 1QM 2:1-6 and the Mishmarot texts from Qumran Cave 4 (4Q320, 4Q321, 4Q321a, 4Q322, 4Q323, 4Q324, 4Q324a, 4Q324c, 4Q325, 4Q328, 4Q329, 4Q329a, and 4Q330). (As for a reconstruction of the Covenanters' mishmarot cycles over a six-year period, see S. Talmon with the assistance of J. Ben-Dov, "Calendrical Documents and Mishmarot," Qumran Cave 4. XVI: Calendrical Texts [ed. S. Talmon, J. Ben-Dov, and U. Glessmer; DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001], 2, 8-28). These texts do not agree with one another about the number of priestly courses, but significantly evince the existence of the priestly divisions in the Second Temple period. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 841-842.

[231] This fact is again emphasized in the Chronicler's depiction of King Josiah's reign. According to 2 Chr 35:10, cultic duties are well arranged by Josiah's command for priests and Levites according to their respective divisions.

[232] Concerning the significance of lot casting in the Hebrew Bible, refer to Anne Marie Kitz's article, "The Hebrew Terminology of Lot Casting and Its Ancient Near Eastern Context," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 207-214.

Table 5. Ways to Determine the Order of Shifts

Division	Way to determine the order of shifts
The divisions of the Aaronide priests	ויחלקום בגורלות (1 Chr 24:5)
The divisions of the remaining Levites except the priests	ויפילו גם־הם גורלות (1 Chr 24:31)
The divisions of the musicians	ויפילו גורלות (1 Chr 25:8)
The divisions of the gatekeepers	ויפילו גורלות (1 Chr 26:13)

Lastly, the common phraseology, which is listed in the following table, also exhibits

the literary coherence in these chapters.

Table 6. The Common Phraseology in 1 Chr 23-26

Phrase	Occurrence
(1) מחלקות	1 Chr 23:6 David organized them in divisions corresponding to the sons of Levi. 1 Chr 24:1 The divisions of the descendants of Aaron were these. 1 Chr 26:1 As for the divisions of the gatekeepers: 1 Chr 26:12 These divisions of the gatekeepers 1 Chr 26:19 These were the divisions of the gatekeepers among the Korahites and the sons of Merari.
(2) expressions that designate an equal footing	1 Chr 24:5 all alike (אלה עם־אלה) 1 Chr 24:31 the chief as well as the youngest brother (הראש לעמת אחיו הקטן) 1 Chr 25:8 small and great, teacher and pupil alike (לעמת כקטן כגדול מבין עם־תלמיד) 1 Chr 26:13 small and great alike (כקטן כגדול)

All of these observations make it highly probable that this section was designed as one

unit by a single author.[233] Furthermore they prove that 1 Chr 26:1-19 is an integral part

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[233] S. Japhet points out what we have observed in 1 Chronicles 23-26 and states: "An unprejudiced consideration of chs. 23-27 will reveal that they exhibit a transparent structure, integrate nicely with the literary methods of the book, voice the same views as and have close affinities with the other parts of Chronicles" (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 409).

of 1 Chr 23-26.[234] Therefore, this passage can still be considered as a part of David's Installation Block, although 1 Chr 26:1-19 does not begin with a David's installation formula.

1 Chr 26:1-19 appears right after David's installation of the Temple musicians and their divisions (1 Chr 25:1-31), and it is followed by the list of the treasurers who are appointed by David for the future Temple (1 Chr 26:20-28), as well as another list of officers and judges (1 Chr 26:29-32). These passages present the immediate context of 1 Chr 26:1-19.

2.1.2.2. Literary Analysis of 1 Chr 26:1-19

The passage 1 Chr 26:1-19 introduces the list of the gatekeepers who are appointed by David for the future Temple. This passage can be divided into two distinct sections: (1) vv. 1-12 and (2) vv. 13-19.[235] The first section lists the gatekeepers who will work for the future temple and the second section introduces their assigned positions determined by casting lots.

The literary unity of 1 Chr 26:1-19 has long been challenged. Scholars have often treated vv. 4-8 and vv. 14-18 as secondary.[236] This contention is based on the

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[234] W. Rudolph views 1 Chr 26:1-19 as secondary (*Chronikbücher*, 173). His argument is based on the fact that this passage deviates from Ezra-Nehemiah's categorization of the gatekeepers. For Rudolph, the Chronicler is the author of both books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. Thus, he suggests that 1 Chr 26:1-19 could not have been written by the same author. Once freed from this basic assumption that the books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah were written by one author (the Chronicler), one can easily make the case that 1 Chr 26:1-19 integrates nicely with the whole section of 1 Chronicles 23-26.

[235] 1 Chr 26:1-19 can be divided differently, such as vv. 1-11 and vv. 12-19, as R. Klein does (Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 487). The division of this passage into the two sections really depends on how one understands the function of verse 12. We consider, with Japhet, verse 12 as a concluding sentence of the previous section (vv. 1-11) (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 450).

[236] While G. von Rad argued that vv. 4-8 as secondary (von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*, 116-118), several other scholars have treated both vv. 4-8 and vv. 12-18 as secondary, such as,

intrusiveness of vv. 4-8 (the list of the descendants of Obed-edom) and the appearance of Shelemiah (v. 14) instead of the expected Meshelemiah. We will argue for the originality of these two passages when we analyze them.

(1) The First Unit (1 Chr 26:1-12)

The first unit is framed by an *inclusio* 'the divisions of the gatekeepers' (למחלקות לשערים in v. 1 and לאלה מחלקות השערים in v. 12). Verse 1 introduces the gatekeepers for the Temple according to their ancestral houses, while verse 12 concludes it with a statement that these divisions are done in accordance with their leaders in order to minister in the Temple. Within this structural framework, the genealogical information and the numbers of three different families of the gatekeepers are introduced.

The structure of the first unit is as follows:

Rothstein and Hänel (*Das erste Buch der Chronik*, 469-473), Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 169-171), and Braun (*1 Chronicles*, 250-251).   Among those who argue both vv. 4-8 and vv. 12-18 as secondary, some consider that the later addition was done by a pro-priestly reviser under the impact of the institution of the system of twenty-four priestly courses, such as, Williamson ("The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Courses: A Study of 1 Chronicles 23-27," in *The Historical Books of the Old Testament* [ed. J. A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill, 1979], 251-268), Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 487), and S. L. McKenzie (*1-2 Chronicles*, 199-201). On the other hand, others argue that those verses were later added by the Chronicler himself. See Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler*, 91-93; and Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 308. G. Stein proffers another opinion: vv. 4-8, 12-13 and 16b-18, which belong to a later 'Musiker-Torwächter-Bearbeitung," were added later to an older text (Steins, *Die Chronik*, 327-331). After having considered all these various opinions, we will argue that David's organization of the temple personnel into divisions cannot be severed from the allocation of their duties, which is introduced in vv. 13-18. The process of casting lots for duties (vv. 13-18) seems to be deliberately introduced in order to emphasize that every division is on an equal footing. This will be dealt with later in our exegesis of the second unit (vv. 13-19).

1a: The introduction

1b: The Korathites

 2-3 The genealogy of Meshelemiah

 4-7 The genealogy of Obed-edom

 8   The number of gatekeepers of Obed-edom

 9   The number of gatekeepers of Meshelemiah

10-11a: The genealogy of Hosah, the Merarite

11b: The number of gatekeepers of Hosah

12: The conclusion

  This arrangement demonstrates that the first unit is neatly designed as one literary unit. First, each of three enumerations of the gatekeepers in verses 2, 4 and 10 begin with the same *lāmed* phrase (למשלמיהו, ולעבד אדם, and ולחסה, respectively), in which the preposition *lāmed* designates possession.[237] The sons of each family of gatekeepers are identified by ordinal numbers (vv. 2-3, 4-7 and 10-11a). Second, the number of each family of gatekeepers is reported in the same pattern: a number + ל family name (לעבד אדם [v. 8b], ולמשלמיהו [v. 9], and לחסה [v. 11b]) + a phrase of בנים ואחים (vv. 8, 9 and 11b). Third, as Japhet notes, there is an inner chiastic structure between vv. 2-7 and vv. 8-9, by which the unity of this unit is expressed.[238] This chiastic structure seems to explain in a better way why the genealogy of Obed-edom appears to disconnect the genealogy of Meshelemiah (vv. 2-3 and v. 9). The seeming intrusiveness of vv. 4-8 (the sons of Obed-edom) has often caused scholars to doubt its originality. However, a

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[237] Concerning the possessive function of the preposition *lāmed*, see Paul Joüon, *Part Three: Syntax* (Vol. II of *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*; trans. and rev. T. Muraoka; repr. with corrections; Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto, 1993), § 133d, 487.

[238] S. Japhet notices an inner chiastic structure in these verses. Verses 2-9 is laid out according to a basic pattern: genealogy first and statistics second. First, the genealogy of Meshelemiah is introduced and followed by that of Obed-edom. Then the number of gatekeepers of Obed-edom is first presented and followed by that of gatekeepers of Meshelemiah. By making the last verse refer to the first, these verses have an inner chiastic structure. This fact supports the literary unit of these verses (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 451).

hypothesis of later interpolation of vv. 4-8 does not give a full explanation of why a later interpolator did such a poor job. A later editor could have inserted it after verse 9 as a supplement applying the genealogy and census to the second group.

If our understanding of the structure of this unit is correct, the Korahites consist of two sub-branches: the sons of Meshelemiah and the sons of Obed-edom, while the Merarites are represented only by the sons of Hosah. This understanding is appropriate to verse 19, which concludes the whole section of 1 Chr 26:1-19 with a summarizing sentence: "These were the divisions of the gatekeepers among the Korahites and the Merarites." We will proceed to our literary analysis based on this structural framework.

V. 1   למחלקות לשערים לקרחים משלמיהו בן־קרא מן־בני אסף׃

The phrase למחלקות לשערים in verse 1 defines the topic of 1 Chr 26:1-19. This section will present the divisions of the gatekeepers installed by David. David is not mentioned here, but 1 Chr 26:1 is connected to the beginning of 1 Chronicles 25 (David's installation formula),[239] which states that David was assisted by 'the officers of the army' (שרי הצבא) when he organized the Temple musicians (1 Chr 25:1). The Chronicler's designation of the officers of the army as David's assistants is peculiar, because David was assisted by the priests Zadok and Ahimelech (1 Chr 24:3), when he installed the twenty-four divisions of the priestly class in 1 Chronicles 24. Why did the Chronicler designate the officers of the army as David's assistants when the king organized the Temple musicians? Considering the facts that musicians accompanied armies on the battle field (2 Chr 20:21-22) and the gatekeepers were reckoned as אנשי־חיל (1 Chr

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[239] Stein, *Die Chronik*, 304; and also Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 308.

26:8)[240] in Chronicles, it is not surprising that the Chronicler says that David was assisted by the officers of the army in this task. Thus, the beginning of 1 Chronicles 25 seems to be intended to dictate 1 Chronicles 26 as well.

In 1 Chr 23:28-32, the Chronicler describes David's assigning duties to the Levites. In that passage, the duties of the gatekeepers are also included (1 Chr 23:32). It shows clearly that according to the Chronicler, the divisions of the gatekeepers are included in David's overall plan for the organization of the Temple personnel. For this reason, Williamson argues that 1 Chr 26:1-3, 9-11, and 19 belong to the primary strand which originated with the Chronicler, although he considers 1 Chr 26:4-8 and 12-18 as secondary.[241] We will show that these two sections (1 Chr 26:4-8 and 1 Chr 26:12-18) also fit well into the structure and phraseology of 1 Chronicles 23-26.

לקרחים in verse 1 should be read together with the concluding verse 19. In verse 19, the twenty-four divisions of the gatekeepers consist of the Korahites and the Merarites. The Korahites are introduced in vv. 1-9, and the Merarites are in vv. 10-11.

The phrase משלמיהו בן־קרא מן־בני אסף in verse 1 introduces the first gatekeeper family of the Korahites: Meshelemiah. He is said to be the son of Kore, of the sons of Asaph. LXX[Bc2] 1 Chr 26:1 reads the name Asaph as אביאסף, while MT 1 Chr 9:19 has אביסף. Since in the Hebrew Bible the son of Korah is either Abiasaph (Exod 6:24) or Ebiasaph (1 Chr 6:37 and 9:19), אסף seems to be a scribal error caused by *homoioarchton*. If the MT *Vorlage* had אביאסף, the scribe might have skipped from the

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[240] איש־חיל is used to designate a warrior in the following cases: Judg 3:29; 20:44, 46; 1 Sam 9:1; 14:52; 31:12; 2 Sam 23:20; 24:9; 2 Kgs 5:1; 1 Chr 10:12; 11:22; and 2 Chr 13:3.

[241] Williamson, *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, 134.

first *aleph* to the second *aleph* of the name. Thus, Meshelemiah is the son of Kore, son of Ebiasaph. Meshelemiah is clearly identified as a Korahite.

Since he shares exactly the same ancestry as Shallum in 1 Chr 9:19, S. Japhet argues that Meshelemiah is the same individual as Shallum.[242] As we have argued in section 2.1.1.2, however, her proposal disregards the temporal setting of the text that the Chronicler constructed quite deliberately. Meshelemiah is presented in this verse as a figure that was selected as a gatekeeper during the last years of the reign of David. We may suggest that Meshelemiah, a figure in the time of David, is singled out or invented by the Chronicler to emphasize the Korahites' position as gatekeepers. The Chronicler traces back the Korahites' possession of the office of gatekeepers to the wilderness period (1 Chronicles 9), and now to David's time (1 Chronicles 26).

Vv. 2-3   ולמשלמיהו בנים זכריהו הבכור ידיעאל השני זבדיהו השלישי
                                        יתניאל הרביעי עילם החמישי יהוחנן הששי אליהועיני השביעי:

Verse 2 is connected with verse 1 with *waw* conjuctive, so that it should be translated: "And Meshelemiah had sons…." Meshelemaih has seven sons, but his family will be counted as 18 including his brothers in verse 9. Meshelemiah's sons are enumerated with the ordinal numbers. This pattern is followed by the next verses where the sons of Obed-edom (vv. 4-5, 7) and the sons of Hosah (vv. 10-11) are introduced.

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[242] S. Japhet argues: "Shallum should be identified with Meshelemiah and the family regarded as having its origin in the earliest days of the Restoration." (Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 452).

Vv. 4-7   4 ולעבד אדם בנים שמעיה הבכור יהוזבד השני יואח השלשי ושכר הרביעי
ונתנאל החמישי: 5 עמיאל הששי יששכר השביעי פעלתי השמיני
כי ברכו אלהים:
6 לשמעיה בנו נולד בנים הממשלים לבית אביהם כי־גבורי חיל המה:
7 בני שמעיה עתני ורפאל ועובד אלזבד אחיו בני־חיל אליהו וסמכיהו:

Scholars, who favor the view that vv. 4-8 should be regarded as secondary, have
offered three main reasons: (1) Verses 4-8 intrude into the natural flow between verses 2-
3 and verse 9; (2) vv. 4-8 appears to be an independent literary unit, enveloped by an
inclusio 'belonging to Obed-edom' in verses 4 and 8; and (3) Obed-edom is not explicitly
connected to the Korahites, unlike Meshelemiah (v. 1bβ).

The first observation can also be explained by a chiastic structure between vv. 2-7 and
vv. 8-9. The second argument is not tenable since verse 4 and verse 8 do not share a
common phrase except the name of Obed-edom to form an *inclusio* (cf. ולעבד אדם בנים
[v. 4] and כל־אלה מבני עבד אדם [v. 8]). We prefer to consider verse 8 as a new
beginning, which parallels verse 9. The third reason, a suspicion about the Levitical
origin of Obed-edom, needs to be demonstrated. Obed-edom appears several times in
Chronicles as follows:[243]

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[243] 'Obed-edom' occurs fourteen times in Chronicles (1 Chr 13: 13, 14 [twice]; 15:18, 21, 24, 25; 16:5, 38
[twice]; 26:4, 8 [twice]; 2 Chr 25:24, but it appears ten times in the Chronicler's account of the
transportation of the Ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 13-16) (Nancy Tan, "The Chronicler's 'Obed-dom': A
Foreigner and/or a Levite?" *JSOT* 32 [2007]:218).

Table 7. Obed-edom in the Chronicler's Ark Narratives

Before the transfer of the Ark	The procession of the Ark to Jerusalem		Before the Ark in Jerusalem		In the Temple
Obed-edom the Gittite	Obed-edom (musician)	Obed-edom (gatekeeper for the Ark)	Obed-edom (musician)	Obed-edom (?) and Obed-edom, son of Jeduthun	Obed-edom (gatekeeper)
1 Chr 13:13, 14//2 Sam 6:10, 11, 12; 1 Chr 15:25	1 Chr 15:18, 21	1 Chr 15:24	1 Chr 16:5	1 Chr 16:38	1 Chr 26:4, 8, and 15.

Before the Ark was transferred to Jerusalem by David, it had remained in the house of

Obed-edom the Gittite for three months, according to 2 Sam 6:10-12//1 Chr 13:13-14.[244]

After this, Obed-edom the Gittite is never mentioned again in Chronicles. 1 Chr 13:14//2

Sam 6:11 relates: 'the LORD blessed Obed-edom and his entire household.'

Commentators often connect this blessing with phrase כי ברכו אלהים in 1 Chr 26:5.[245]

Obed-edom's large family is understood to reflect this divine blessing. If we follow the

Chronicler's version of the Ark narrative, it seems that Obed-edom the Gittite was

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[244] Obed-edom the Gittite (2 Sam 6:10//1 Chr 13:13) is certainly non-Yahwistic name ('servant of [the deity] of Edom') of non-Israelite ethnic origin. The majority of commentators connect 'the Gittite' to Gath, a Philistine town. See, P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB, 9; New York: Doubleday, 1984), 170; Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 215; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 588. On the other hand, Anderson argues that Obed-edom is not necessarily a Philistine, since there is another place called Gath, that is, Gath-Limmon, a Levitical city (Josh 21:24-26) (A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel* [WBC 11; Waco: Word Books, 1989], 105). Japhet proposes another view that the Chronicler understood the designation 'the Gittite' as referring to residence, rather than ethinic origin (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 281-282). All these scholarly discussions indicate that David's temporary transfer of the Ark to Obed-edom's house remains as a perplexing question. Regardless of whether 'the Gittite' refers to either residence or ethnicity, why did David deposit the Ark with a foreigner or a non-Israelite place? Why did David transfer the Ark which had been brought back from the Philistines to another Philistine town or a Philistine man's place? 2 Samuel 6 does not give any explanation of this, but the Chronicler seems to tackle this question in his Ark narrative. However, the Chronicler's treatment of Obed-edom seems to cause only to even more confusion. Thus, S. Japhet tries to release the Chronicler from such accusation by commenting that Obed-edom's Levitical origin originated not with the Chronicler, but with an earlier tradition that the Chronicler has known (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 281-282). We continue to discuss this issue in the following pages.

[245] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 455-356; and Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 490.

incorporated into the Levitical gatekeepers when David organized the gatekeepers for the Temple as 1 Chronicles 26 presents.[246]

When the Ark was transferred to Jerusalem, the Chronicler envisions this scene in a very distinctive way (1 Chr 15:1-16:43).[247] He depicts the procession of the Ark from Gibeon to Jerusalem as a well-organized liturgical procession guided by sacerdotal law.[248] The procession is portrayed in detail in 1 Chr 15:19-28. From this portrayal, the procession can be pictured as follows:[249]

1. Three heads of singers/players of bronze cymbals - Heman, Asaph, and Ethan
2. Harp players
3. Lyre players
4. Chenaniah, director of transport (שׂר־הלוים במשׂא)
5. Two gatekeepers for the Ark (Berechiah and Elkanah)
6. Seven priestly trumpet blowers
7. Two other gatekeepers for the Ark (Obed-edom and Jehiah)
8. David
9. The elders of Israel
10. The commanders of the thousands
11. All Israel

The Levitical singers and musicians lead the procession (1 Chr 15:19-21). After them, Chenaniah, the director, guides the transportation of the Ark (v. 22). Then the Ark is

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[246] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 295.

[247] The Chronicler's version of the Ark narrative is essentially based on 2 Sam 6:12-20, but the Chronicler inserted 1 Chr 15:1-24 before his source material, and then added another thirty-nine verses (1 Chr 16:4-42) between 2 Sam 6:12-19a and 2 Sam 19b-20. Such significant additions reveal the author's special concern with this cultic ceremony.

[248] David's command (in 1 Chr 15:2), given to the Levites to carry the Ark, accords with Mosaic Law, as found in Deut 10:8 (cf. Num 7:9). A summary statement of 1 Chr 15:15 emphasizes the fact that all had been done according to Mosaic law as set forth in Exod 25:13-14; 37:4-5; Num 1:50. Paul D. Hanson, "1 Chronicles 15-16 and the Chronicler's Views of the Levites," in "*Sha'arei Talmon*," 70.

[249] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 350. Klein considers that only nos. 4, 5 and 6 in our list are related to the actual procession, and suggests that the singers and musicians stand after the Ark. If nos. 4, 5, and 6 describe the scene of the procession, as Klein argues, there is no reason to think that 1 Chr 15:19-21 (nos. 1,2, and 3 in our list) is not related to it.

carried by four gatekeepers: two for the front, and two for the rear (vv. 23-24). The seven

priests, the trumpet blowers, surround the Ark (v. 24). The Ark is followed by David, the

elders of Israel, the commanders of the thousands (v. 25) and all Israel (v. 28). [250]

According to the Chronicler, Obed-edom, belonging to the second rank of the

Levitical musicians (1 Chr 15:18),[251] participated in this procession as a lyre player (1

Chr 15:21). The second Obed-edom is introduced as a gatekeeper for the Ark in 1 Chr

15:24. He was carrying the Ark at the rear in this procession.[252] Therefore, Obed-edom,

a lyre player, cannot be the same individual with Obed-edom, a gatekeeper for the Ark,

unless he is able to be present simultaneously in two different spaces.[253] Thus we can

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[250] John Kleinig has presented a convincing case for the integrity of the procession as it stands in the text, 1 Chronicles 15, including a reasonable explanation for the gatekeepers' presence there: they are necessary to prevent anyone from touching the Ark (J. Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 44-51, esp. 50).

[251] The concluding phrase (השערים) of MT 1 Chr 15:18 causes a problem, so that W. Rudolph considers it a later gloss from 1 Chr 15:24b (ועבד אדם ויחיה שערים). See, Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 116. His view is followed by the following commentators: Rothstein and Hänel, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch der Chronik*, 277; and Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 295. These commentators' opinion is convincing with two reasons: First, in 1 Chr 15:18, it is not clear how many of the preceding names are in apposition to השערים; and second, the same fourteen people as introduced in 1 Chr 15:18, are presented as singers and musicians in 1 Chr 15:20-21(only one person's name is introduced differently). On the other hand, G. N. Knoppers proffers a uniquely creative interpretation of this verse:

> In v. 18 fourteen individuals are appointed as gatekeepers. These should be understood, as the general description implies, simply as a class. The lists of vv. 23 and 24 are more specific. Where the persons appointed earlier were simply assigned to the general office of gatekeeper (15:18), the individuals in 15:23, 24 are appointed to play a more precise role, as 'gatekeepers for the ark' (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 622-624).

However, Knoppers' reading does not eliminate the conflict between verses 18 and 21 concerning the identity of Obed-edom. Even though the gatekeepers assume multiple functions in Chronicles as he argues, it is hardly possible that the same figure could assume two roles in the same liturgical procession, which is systematically described by the Chronicler (1 Chr 15:21-28). Therefore, we, with many other commentators, understand the ending of 1 Chr 15:18 as a later gloss. The fact that some manuscripts of LXX (LXX^{c*m}) 1 Chr 15:18 do not have this ending corroborates our conclusion (A. E. Brooke et al., eds., *The Old Testament in Greek*, 439-440).

[252] It is highly likely that Obed-edom the Gittite was picked up as a gatekeeper for the Ark since it had been placed in his house. However, it cannot be conclusive unless other evidence is found.

[253] Williamson also points out that the reference to Obed-edom and Jehiah as the gatekeepers for the Ark (v. 24) contradicts their role as singers in verses 18 and 21, and also clashes with verse 23, where Berechiah and Elkanah were mentioned as the gatekeepers for the Ark. Williamson explains this contradiction within the narrative as either a reflection of some tension between the minor cultic officials, or as the result of a later clumsy revision (Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 126).

identify two different Obed-edoms, one is a musician, while the other, a gatekeeper, appeared in the procession of the Ark to Jerusalem.[254]

Once the Ark is transferred to Jerusalem, David appointed Levitical musicians to praise God before the Ark (1 Chr 16:4, 37). Obed-edom is also included among these musicians (1 Chr 16:5). After citing a long song of the Levites, the Chronicler resumes David's installation of the choral rite before the Ark (1 Chr 16:37-38). These two verses need to be examined carefully since verse 38 contains an exegetical issue concerning the identity of Obed-edom.

Vv. 37-38   ויעזב־שם לפני ארון ברית־יהוה לאסף ולאחיו לשרת לפני הארון
תמיד לדבר־יום ביומו:
ועבד אדם ואחיהם ששים ושמונה ועבד אדם בן־ידיתון וחסה לשערים:

This passage raises several questions: (1) Who is the first Obed-edom in verse 38? Is he a musician or gatekeeper? (2) How can we understand the third person plural suffix of אחיהם, which has only a singular antecedent? (3) Who is the second Obed-edom, son of Jeduthun in verse 38?

Who is the first Obed-edom? R. Braun translates this passage, connecting v. 38a to v. 37: "and also Obed-edom and his sixty-eight kinsfolk."[255] According to this

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[254] What would be the Chronicler's reason for this intensive use of the strange name Obed-edom (seven times) in 1 Chronicles 15-16? N. Tan tries to explain this as an example of the Chronicler's inclusive tendency to accept foreigners as a part of Israel when they are willing to become Yahweh worshippers (Tan, "The Chronicler's 'Obed-edom'," 227). Her suggestion can be one possible reason for it, but we propose another possibility that the Chronicler tries to legitimize David's choice of Obed-edom the Gittite, which is perplexing to himself, by making Obed-edom worthy of keeping the Ark. If this was the case, one still can ask whether the Chronicler's peppering the name Obed-edom either as a musician or a keeper of the Ark in his narrative came from an earlier tradition that he has inherited, or is his own creation. This question will be dealt with again when we conclude our discussion about Obed-edom.

interpretation, David left Asaph and his brothers (1 Chr 16:37) and Obed-edom, totaling 68 (1 Chr 16:38a), before the Ark. Then, this first Obed-edom is a musician. S. Japhet points out that this translation is not syntactically justifiable.[256] We could add another reason to consider this translation untenable. In order to consider ועבד אדם (v. 38a) as a coordinate phrase with לאסף ולאחיו (v. 37a), the preposition *lāmed* is required prior to עבד אדם, since the verb עזב is often used with the preposition *lāmed* in order to express the idea of 'to leave something to someone' as in 1 Chr 16:37 (cf. Exod 23:5a).[257] Thus it is more reasonable not to connect this Obed-edom to the musical guild represented by Asaph.[258]

Second, how are we to understand the plural pronominal suffix of אחיהם, which does not match with its singular antecedent? According to the BHS exegetical apparatus, the manuscripts of LXX, Pershitta, Vulgate, and Arabic have a singular suffix instead of plural suffix, while the Targum follows the MT. W. Rudolph, however, suggests inserting an additional phrase, ויחיה before the plural pronominal suffix, by referring to 1 Chr 15:24b, where Obed-edom is paired with Jehiah as gatekeepers for the Ark.[259] Instead of Jehiah, Gary N. Knoppers suggests 'Jehiel' based on 1 Chr 15:18, 21; 16:5,

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[255] Curtis and Madsen, *The books of Chronicles*, 225; Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 183; and Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 360.

[256] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 320.

[257] *HALOT* 807. There is one case when the verb עזב is used without *lāmed* with the same meaning (Jer 49:11).

[258] Peter B. Dirksen also notices the absence of the object marker *lāmed* in this phrase in his article ("1 Chronicles 16:38: Its Background and Growth," *JNSL* 22 [1996]: 86).

[259] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 126. Williamson also follows Rudolph (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 130). However, there is no textual evidence for this suggestion.

and presumes that ויעיאל was lost by *homoioarkton* before ואחיהם.[260] It means that Knoppers considers this Obed-edom as a musician. It is unlikely. As we have argued before, this Obed-edom would hardly be a musician. Furthermore, since David's regulation for the Ark in 1 Chronicles 16 was given after the Ark had been transferred to Jerusalem, it does not necessarily need to be harmonized with the one in 1 Chronicles 15, which described the procession of the Ark to Jerusalem.[261] Thus, it seems more reasonable to read the pronominal suffix of ואחיהם as singular. As for the additional insertion of ויחיה right before ואחיהם, there is no textual evidence to support it. Therefore, it appears that this Obed-edom is probably Obed-edom, who was incorporated into the class of gatekeepers in 1 Chr 15:24.

In 1 Chr 16:38 the number of Obed-edom's family is said to be 68, whereas the number of Obed-edom's family in 1 Chr 26:8 is 62. Considering a possible confusion between ושמונה and ושנים,[262] we may think that one of them (either 1 Chr 16:38 or 1 Chr 26:8) has a correct number, and the other one has a wrong number due to a scribal error.

Our third question is as to who Obed-edom, son of Jeduthun is. W. Rudolph, Edward L. Curtis and S. Japhet consider the phrase ועבד אדם בן־ידיתון as a gloss, and propose to delete the phrase.[263] R. Braun sees ועבד אדם בן־ידיתון וחסה לשערים as a later

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[260] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 640.

[261] The order of the gatekeepers seems to have fluctuated many times throughout the history, as S. Japhet commented: "We have already noticed that the order of the gatekeepers has undergone many changes, and that there is no continuation of the original families, mentioned in Ezra. Most of these have disappeared and only Shallum, claiming its descent from Korah, survived (1 Chr 9:17)" (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 323).

[262] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 126.

[263] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 126; Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 224; and Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 320.

interpolation.[264]   R. Klein gives another view: ואחיהם ששים ושמונה ועבד אדם בן־ידיתון

was added by a later hand.   However, there is no extant textual evidence for these

scholars' proposals. The majority of manuscripts include this phrase, as the MT stands.

  P. B. Dirksen assumes that the phrase 'Obed-edom son of Jeduthun,' reflects a later

glossator's confusion between Obed-edom a singer and Obed-edom a gatekeeper.[265] Due

to this confusion, the glossator calculated the number of Obed-edom's brethren as 68,

which comes from addition of 6 of the sons of Jeduthun (1 Chr 25:3) to the 62 members

of Obed-edom's family (1 Chr 26:8). Thus, according to Dirksen's reconstruction, the

original gloss was like this: "And Obed-edom was the son of Jeduthun, and their brethren

were sixty-eight."[266]

  Following Dirksen, we also assume that ואחיהם ששים ושמונה ועבד אדם בן־ידיתון was

added later either by the Chronicler or by a later glossator to back up the incorporation of

Obed-edom the Gittite into the Levitical gatekeepers. עבד אדם בן־ידיתון in1 Chr 16:38 is

the only case in which Obed-edom's patronymic is given.[267] According to 1 Chr 16:42,

the sons of Jeduthun were standing at the gate in Gibeon, where the Tent had remained

before it was transferred to the Temple.   Thus, Jeduthun's sons could be counted as

gatekeepers. However, once the Tent was transferred to the Temple, these gatekeepers

except Obed-edom were all absorbed into the temple musicians (1 Chr 25:3). Ironically,

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[264] Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 186.

[265] Dirksen, "1 Chronicles 16:38: Its Background and Growth," 89.

[266] Dirksen, "1 Chronicles 16:38: Its Background and Growth," 89.

[267] In this phrase, Jeduthun, a contemporary figure of King David, is first introduced in Chronicles. Jeduthun appears in the following places: 1 Chr 9:16; 16:38, 41, 42; 25:1, 3, 6; 2 Chr 5:12; 29:14; 35:15; Neh 11:17; Ps 39:1; 62:1; 77:1. Jeduthun's name first appears as a patronymic in 1 Chr 9:16, but Jeduthun himself is introduced in 1 Chr 16:38 and 41. He was appointed as a musician for the Tent in Gibeon (1 Chr 16:41), but he and his sons were later chosen as the temple musicians by David (1 Chr 25:1, 3).

such an artificial connection of Obed-edom with Jeduthun has caused a further confusion between Obed-edom a singer and Obed-edom a gatekeeper, and has complicated identifying who is who in this whole section. To summarize our reconstruction of 1 Chr 16:38 would be as follows: "and Obed-edom (*and his sixty-eight kinsfolk; while Obed-edom was the son of Jeduthun:* a later gloss) and Hosah were to be gatekeepers." This Obed-edom is Obed-edom the Gittite, and at the same time, the same individual, who is introduced in 1 Chr 26:3-7.[268] כי ברכו אלהים in 1 Chr 26:5b is the key making this connection possible, as mentioned earlier (1 Chr 13:14//2 Sam 6:11 and 1 Chr 26:5b). Obed-edom the Gittite was connected with a Levitical family through Jeduthun (1 Chr 16:38), but this connection has not been developed further. Here in 1 Chr 26:1-19, Obed-edom's family is only syntactically connected to the Levitical families.

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[268] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 452. In summary, the Chronicler presents several Obed-edoms in his ark narrative (1 Chr 13-16): (1) Obed-edom the Gittite, who kept the Ark for three months after the accidental death of Uzzah; (2) Obed-edom, a musician; (3) Obed-edom, a gatekeeper of the Ark, who carried the Ark to move it to Jerusalem; and (4) Obed-edom, son of Jeduthun. Why did the Chronicler create so many Obed-edoms, causing havoc in his narrative? As we have mentioned above, the Chronicler's major problem is to explain why David transferred the Ark to Obed-edom the Gittite, who seems definitely to be a non-Israelite. What if the Chronicler has several earlier traditions to explain it, as S. Japhet comments? (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 281-282). What if one tradition says that Obed-edom was a musician; another tradition says that he was a gatekeeper; and other tradition says he was son of Jeduthun? All these traditions are on the same line in regards to make Obed-edom a worthy man of keeping and carrying the Ark in order to rationalize David's action to move the Ark to Obed-edom's house. If the Chronicler chose to use all these earlier traditions, can this be a precursor of "overkill" phenomenon, which is found commonly in the later Rabbinic exegeses? J. Kugel says:

> The "overkill" phenomenon "usually comes about when the author of a particular text is aware of two earlier versions of a story or two different explanations for the same phenomenon; unable or unwilling to decide between them, the author seeks to incorporate both into a single telling. In so doing, however, the author inevitably ends up "overkilling" something in the story, giving two reasons why a particular thing happened or two different ways in which it took place. (J. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 [1993]: 7; and also, *In Potiphar's House* [New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990], 38, 256-257).

It seems that by using this "overkilling" technique, the Chronicler makes Obed-edom a pious YHWH-worshipper. However, it does cause some confusion. The fact that in Chronicles, Obed-edom appears only one more time after 1 Chr 26:1-19 is intriguing (2 Chr 25:24). None of his family members are included in the list of gatekeepers during the post-exilic period (1 Chr 9:19-32). This also explains why the Chronicler takes such pains to include Obed-edom into the Levitical gatekeepers. N. Tan argues that the Chronicler, by confirming the status and identity of Obed-edom as a Levitical gatekeeper, intended to say that the Ark was never mistreated nor desecrated by any foreigner (Tan, "The Chronicler's Obed-edom," 227, 229).

Now we need to resume our exegesis of 1 Chr 26:4-7. In verses 4 and 5, the eight sons of Obed-edom are enumerated with the ordinal numbers likewise in verses 2-3, and 10-11. As we have already argued, this fact makes verses 4-5 fit the rubrics of the first unit, verses 1-12. Verse 4 begins with the *waw* conjunctive, by which it is tied to verse 1 as is verse 2 since they are coordinate clauses. In other words, the family of Obed-edom belongs to the Korahites as much as that of Meshelemiah does, even if the ancestry of Obed-edom is not provided.

Genealogical information about Obed-edom continues to be provided in the next two verses (vv. 6-7). Here, Shemaiah, Obed-edom's first son, branches out to form a separate household, which consists of six sons. Thus, the family Obed-edom forms thirteen father's houses of gatekeepers, including his seven sons plus the six sons of Shemaiah's.

The phrase כי־גבורי חיל המה (v. 6) and the phrase בני־חיל (v. 7) provide additional information beyond simple genealogical trees. The sons of Obed-edom are described as גבורי חיל, and the sons of Shemaiah are called as בני־חיל. The phrase 'mighty warriors' (גבורי חיל) mostly appear in military contexts: 2 Kgs 5:1 (singular); 1 Chr 5:24; 7:2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 40; 8:40; 12:22, 26, 31; 26:31; 2 Chr 13:3; 14:7; 17:13, 14.[269] בני־חיל is also not much different from the former term. It occurs in Deut 3:18; Judg 18:2; 1 Sam 14:52 (singular); 2 Kgs 2:16; 1 Chr 5:18; 8:40; 26:30, 32; 2 Chr 26:17; 28:6, where the military context is obvious. Only in 1 Chr 26:7, 9, is the term connected with gatekeepers. For this reason, J. Wright claims that the Chronicler portrays gatekeepers as a paramilitary

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[269] גבורי חיל appears in 1 Chr 9:13//Neh 11:14, which is a part of the list of priests who returned from the Babylonian exile. Thus in this case גבורי חיל designates 'qualified men' for the work of the service of the Temple rather than mighty warriors. In the case of 1 Chr 26:6, it describes gatekeepers.

security force for the temple.[270]   Some scholars suggest that although 1 Chr 26:1-19

attributes the origin of this security force of the temple to David, this passage probably

reflects the realities of the post-exilic period.[271]   In the following verses (vv. 8-9) the term

חיל also occurs several times.   Nonetheless, whether or not these verses were meant to

reflect the actual situation in the time of the Chronicler needs to be examined further.

We will examine verses 8-9 together with verse 11b since they share a common rubric.

V. 8   כל־אלה מבני עבד אדם המה ^Aובניהם ואחיהם ^Bאיש־חיל בכח לעבדה

            ^Cששים ושנים ^Dלעבד אדם:

V. 9   ^{D'}ולמשלמיהו ^{A'}בנים ואחים ^{B'}בני־חיל ^{C'}שמונה עשר:

V. 11b   ^{A"}כל־בנים ואחים ^{D"}לחסה ^{C"}שלשה עשר:

We have marked several phrases with capital letters to show the rubrics, under which

the three verses are composed. The four phrases of verse 8 (A, B, C and D) have their

coordinates in verse 9 and verse 11b (except for phrase B). In other words, these three

verses have almost the same rubric. For this reason, we understand verse 8, 9 and 11b as

coordinate clauses, all of which provide the number of family members in each family:

62 of Obed-edom, 18 of Meshelemiah, and 13 of Hosah. These three verses seem to have

been arranged in descending order for the number of families, and according to this order,

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[270] John Wesley Wright, "Guarding the Gates: 1 Chronicles 26:1-19 and the Roles of Gatekeepers in Chronicles," *JSOT* 48 (1990): 69.

[271] Kleine, *1 Chronicles*, 491 and Gary N. Knoppers, " 'The City Yhwh Has Chosen': The Chronicler's Promotion of Jerusalem in Light of Recent Archaeology," in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period* (ed. Andrew G. Vaughn and Ann E. Killebrew; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 310.

the formulation of the verse becomes more concise. This observation boosts the contention that verses 4-8 are original to the text.[272]

Vv. 10-11a   ולחסה מן־בני־מררי בנים שמרי הראש כי לא־היה בכור
וישימהו אביהו לראש: חלקיהו השני טבליהו השלשי זכריהו הרבעי

Verses 10-11a follow the same rubric of vv. 2-3 and vv. 4-5, in which the beginning phrase is a proper noun prefixed by the preposition *lāmed*, and the sons of the person named are enumerated with an ordinal number. While Meshelemiah and Obed-edom are affiliated with the Korahites, Hosah is affiliated with the Merarites. Hosah is first introduced in 1 Chr 16:38 as a gatekeeper before the Ark in Jerusalem, but his ancestry is not known outside 1 Chr 26:10.   At any rate, verse 1 and verse 10 are perfectly harmonious with verse 19.

According to these two verses, Hosah has four sons. Thus, the total number of the chief men (ראשי הגברים: v. 12) of the gatekeepers is twenty-four: seven of Meshelemiah, thirteen of Obed-edom and four of Hosah. The twenty-four divisions of gatekeepers exactly parallel those of priests and musicians. This is summarized in verse 12.

V. 12   לאלה מחלקות השערים לראשי הגברים משמרות לעמת אחיהם
לשרת בבית יהוה:

Verse 12 defines the first unit together with verse 1, by beginning with almost the same phrase. It also summarizes the first unit: the Temple gatekeepers are divided

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[272] Throughout our exegesis, the originality of verses 4-8 is substantially confirmed. Then, there is no reason to doubt the originality of verses 14-18, since the secondariness of the passage has been raised consequent to the question of the originality of vv. 4-8. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 451.

according to their chief men[273] to serve in the house of the Lord. How the gatekeepers

serve in the Temple will be introduced in the following verses. In this sense, verse 12

functions as a transitional point from the first unit to the second unit (vv. 13-19).

(2) The Second Unit (vv. 13-19)

In the second unit (1 Chr 26:13-19), the various guard posts are assigned to the three

main families of gatekeepers. Verse 13 is an introduction to the second unit. Verses 14-

16 relate how the three main families of gatekeepers are assigned to their respective

guard posts. Then, the number of guards in each post is provided in verses 17-18. Verse

19 concludes the whole section.

Scholars have contended that the Chronicler's detailed descriptions of guard posts

reflect his own time rather than the monarchic period.[274] This contention needs to be

verified.

V. 13   ויפילו גורלות כקטן כנדול לבית אבותם לשער ושער:

Verse 13 explains that each clan of gatekeepers casts a lot for each guard post on an

equal footing. Both the phrases ויפילו גורלות and כקטן כנדול convey the Chronicler's

egalitarian idea. According to the phrase ויפילו גורלות, the allocation of guard posts to

each ancestral house of gatekeepers is done by casting lots as in the cases of the allotment

of the priestly duties to the twenty-four divisions (1 Chr 24:7-18), of the organization of

the remaining Levites (24:31), and of the formation of shift rotation among musicians

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[273] The phrase of 'chief men' (לראשי הנברים) appears only one more time in the entire Hebrew Bible: 1
Chr 24:4. Furthermore, even the term נבר occurs only one more time in Chronicles: 1 Chr 23:3. This fact
supports the literary unity of 1 Chronicles 23-26 (G. Steins, *Die Chronik als kanonische
Abschlußssphänomen*, 304).

[274] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 458-459.

(25:8). The phrase ויפילו גורלות appears twice more in verse 14. As we discussed in section 2.1.2.1, the phrases ויפילו גורלות and כקטן כגדול belong to the common phraseology found in 1 Chronicles 23-26.

The practice of casting lots to decide something is well attested in the Hebrew Bible.[275] When the land was allotted to the tribes in the time of Joshua, lots were cast by each tribe (Josh 18:6, 8, 10).[276] According to Neh 10:24, to assign the duties of bringing the wood offerings for the Temple, lots were cast by each ancestral house among the priests, the Levites, and the people. Such a practice has been employed either as a means of divination, or as a means of ensuring an equal chance to all the parties concerned. The latter case seems to have been more prevalent in the post-exilic period than in the monarchic period. First, it is mostly reported in the post-exilic texts (1 Chr 24:31; 25:8; 26:13, 14; Neh 10:34; 11:1), except in Joshua. Second, casting lots could have been an appropriate technique for the allocation of something in the time when there is a lack of authority.[277] In the Chronicler's time, it is not likely that any party enjoyed an absolute authority over the rest of the parties in matters pertaining to the Temple, according to the Chronicler's descriptions of the Temple administration. *M. Tamid* 5:1-5:6 and 6:1-6:3 evince the practice of casting lots in order to divide roles among various priestly courses.[278] Philo also attests to the practice of casting lots to assign guard posts to the

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[275] Anne Marie Kitz, "The Hebrew Terminology of Lot Casting," 207-214; and Johannes Lindblom, "Lot-casting in the Old Testament," *VT* 12 (1962): 164-178.

[276] A. M. Kitz, "Undivided Inheritance and Lot Casting in the Book of Joshua," *JBL* 119 (2000): 601-618.

[277] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 428.

[278] Frances Schmidt, "Gôrâl versus Payîs: Lots at Qumran and in the Rabbinic Tradition," in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović; Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 70; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 175-185, esp. 181-183.

respective gatekeepers in his treatise '*On the Special Law*' 1:156. [279] This textual

evidence points out that the Chronicler's primary concern is his contemporary situation,

even though he ascribes the organization of the temple personnel to David to establish its

antiquity and continuity.

V. 14   ויפל הגורל מזרחה לשלמיהו וזכריהו בנו יועץ בשׂכל

הפילו גורלות ויצא גורלו צפונה:

Verses 14-16 introduce the guard posts assigned to the three main families of

gatekeepers. It is decided by casting lots.   The lots are cast in order by the family of

Meshelemiah, the family of Obed-edom, and the family of Hosah. Likewise in the first

unit (vv. 1-12), the family of Meshelemiah is first introduced. Since "Shelemiah"

appears instead of the expected Meshelemiah in accordance with verses 1, 2, and 9, this

verse has been often considered to come from a different (or later) hand.[280] However, S.

Japhet argues that Shelemiah could be an alternate form of Meshelemiah, since, in the

post-exilic texts, quite a few individuals are designated by at least two different forms of

their names, such as Zechariah/Zaccur; Shemaiah/Shammua; Jedaiah/Jaddua; and

Johoiachin/Jeconiah/Coniah.[281] In other words, the different orthography of Meshelemiah

does not necessarily mean that it came from a different hand. S. Japhet's argument seems

to be more reasonable than one for a different literary layer.

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[279] Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (3rd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 566; and Barbara Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 5.

[280] There is no doubt that Shelemiah is the same individual as Meshelemiah, since the first son of Meshelemiah is Zechariah (1 Chr 26:2), and Shelemiah's son is also Zechariah. In verse 14, only Zechariah is introduced as a son of Shelemiah. It implies that Zechariah is probably the first son of Shelemiah. This genealogical relation hints that the two figures are one and the same. What matters here is the question of whether different orthography of a certain name necessarily reflects a different hand. We think not.

[281] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 452-453; and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 864.

The lot of Meshelemiah fell to the east. The prestige of the east gate is well known.[282]
The east gate is also called as the King's gate (1 Chr 9:18). Even in the wilderness camp,
the east side of the Tent of Meeting was assigned to the most prestigious leaders, Moses
and Aaron and his sons (Num 3:38). According to Ezek 44:2-3, Yahweh entered the
Temple by the east gate, and the prince would come and go to the Temple through this
gate (Ezek 46:12). Thus, we can say that the most prestigious place is assigned to
Meshelemiah. This seems to be intended in order to give an etiological explanation of
why the family of Meshelemiah took the most prestigious place in the Chronicler's own
time (1 Chr 9:17-32).

W. Rudolph suggests reading the beginning of verse 14b (וזכריהו) as ולזכריהו by
referring to the LXX and the Vulgate.[283] If we follow this suggestion, the rest of verse
14b can be translated as follows: 'and for his son Zechariah, a prudent counselor, they
cast lots, and his lot came out to the north.'[284] However, the rest of LXX 1 Chr 26:14b
has a very different reading: καὶ Ζαχαρια υἱοὶ Σωάζ [Bc₂: cf. Ιωας: A] τῷ Μελχια
ἔβαλον κλήρους καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ κλῆρος βορρᾶ (and Zacharias: the sons of Soaz/Joas cast
lots for Melchias, and the lot came out northward.) The Lucianic recension (LXXbe2)[285]
definitely reflects the MT since it corrects this reading according to the MT: it has υιω
αυτου ιωαδ (-αβ b) βουλευτης εν συνεσει instead of υἱοὶ Ιωας τῷ Μελχια. Which
reading would be closer to the original? To answer this question, we will investigate

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[282] McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 491.

[283] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 170.

[284] Translation is mine.

[285] The Lucianic recension is found in some minuscule manuscripts, which are denoted b,o,c₂, e₂ in the
"Cambridge-Septuagint." See, A. E. Brooke, et al. eds., *The Old Testament in Greek*, v. According to E.
Tov, the Lucianic tradition reflects important Hebrew readings, while it keeps the original Greek translation
(E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* [2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001], 148).

various ancient texts of this verse. The following table contains various renderings of

‎.וזכריהו בנו יועץ בשׂכל

Table 8. Various Renderings of ‎וזכריהו בנו יועץ בשׂכל

MT	וזכריהו	בנו	יועץ	בשׂכל
LXX[B]	καὶ Ζαχαριά (ולזכריהו)	υἱοι (בני)	Σωάζ	τῷ Μελχειὰ (למלכיה)
LXX[A]	καὶ Ζαχαριά (ולזכריהו)	υἱοι (בני)	Ιωιας	τῷ Μελχια
LXX[be2](Lucianic)	καὶ Ζαχαριά (ולזכריהו)	υιω (בנו)	Ιωαδ(-αβ) βουλευτης (…. יועץ)	εν συνεσει (בשׂכל)
Vulgate	porro Zacchariae (ולזכריהו)	filio eius (בנו)	viro prudentissimo ((ל)יועץ)	et erudito (בשׂכל)
Targum Chronicles[286]	וזכריה	בריה	מליך	בסוכלתנו
Peshitta	ܘܙܟܪܝܐ	ܒܪܗ	ܐܠܟܐ	ܒܟܘܠܐ

The Vulgate, the Targum and the Peshitta follow the MT, unlike the LXX.
Expectedly, the Lucianic recension reflects the MT. Therefore the differences between
the MT and the LXX may be attributed to the translator(s) who misread the text. First,
the LXX[AB] υἱοι must have been caused by the translator's confusion between ו and י.[287]
Such confusion, due to graphic similarity between the two letters, is often witnessed in
the LXX. The confusion between בנו and בני appears more than ten times in LXX
Chronicles.[288]

On the other hand, יועץ (*Qal* participle of verb יעץ) is rendered by the LXX[A] as Ιωιας,
and by the LXX[B] as Σωάζ. Both renderings imply that the translator understood the word

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[286] R. Le Deaut and J. Robert, *Targum des Chroniques* (Rome*:* Pontifical Biblical, 1971).

[287] Leslie C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text: Part II. Textual Criticism* (VTSup 27; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 116-121.

[288] Examples of misreading בנו to בני: 1 Chr 3:21; 7:25 (two times); 26:14; and the reverse cases: 1 Chr 3:21 (four times); 4:16; 5:1; 7:12; 11:46.

as a proper noun and transliterated it. This is unlikely since in the cases of David's two counselors, Ahithophel (2 Sam 15:12 and 1 Chr 27:33) and Jonathan (1 Chr 27:32), the same Hebrew word, יועץ, is employed to designate them, but it is accurately translated into Greek σύμβουλος in the LXX. For this reason, the unusual reading of LXX 1 Chr 26:14b needs to be explained. L. Allen argues that this rather unusual reading was influenced by Ιωζαβαδ in verse 4, as the following comparison shows.[289]

LXX 1 Chr 26:4   Σαμαιας ὁ πρωτότοκος Ιωζαβαδ
LXX 1 Chr 26:14   τῷ Σαλαμια καὶ Ζαχαρια υἱοὶ Ιωιας τῷ Μελχια

This could have been caused by a confusion between Shemaiah (1 Chr 26:4) and Shelemiah (1 Chr 26:14) as well as by the unexpected appearance of Shelemiah instead of the expected Meshelemiah in verse 14.

Then, how should we understand LXX[AB]'s τῷ Μελχεια or τῷ Μελχια? Some scholars attempted to explain this on the basis of the Aramaic rendering מליך for יועץ. Edward L. Curtis suggests that there might have been an Aramaic gloss מליך after יועץ in the *Vorlage* of LXX. Thus, the translator seems to have transliterated it not knowing its meaning, and then this gloss eventually displaced בשׂכל.[290] Without further evidence, this suggestion remains speculative.

At any rate, the renderings of LXX seem to reflect a corrupted text. Neither Soaz/Joas nor Malchiah is introduced in the genealogical data of the family of Meshelemiah (1 Chr 26:2-3). Furthermore, two more names in verse 14 do not seem to fit in the structural

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[289] L. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text: Part I. The Translator's Craft* (VTSup 25; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974) 158-159.

[290] Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 286; and Allen, *The Greek Chronicles Part II*, 143.

pattern in which verses 14-16 are arranged. As the following table shows, the structural

pattern of verse 14-16 leaves no room for two additional names in verse 14.

Table 9. The Structural Pattern of 1 Chr 26:14-16

Verse	The head of clan	A name of sub-branch	A guarding post
v. 14	(Me)Shelemiah		To the east
		Zechariah	To the north
v. 15	Obed-edom		To the south
		His sons	To the storehouse
v. 16	Hosah		To the west

Therefore we follow the MT reading of verse 14b. Our reading of verse 14 is: "The

lot for Shelemiah fell to the east, and for his son Zechariah, a prudent counselor, they cast

lots and his lot came out to the north." The family of Meshelemiah is now assigned to

the east gate and to the north gate.[291]

V. 15   לעבד אדם נגבה ולבניו בית האספים:

This verse is connected to the phrase הפילו גורלות in verse 14 by the prefixed

preposition *lāmed* before Obed-edom. According to the MT, we translate this verse as

follows: "(They cast lots and the lot) for Obed-edom (fell) to the south and for his sons to

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[291] Zechariah, son of Meshelemiah, appears only in Chronicles: 1 Chr 9:21; 26:2, 14. A certain Zechariah
appears with Meshullam in 2 Chr 34:12 which depicts the process of restoring the Temple during the reign
of Josiah. According to 2 Chr 34:12, Zechariah and Meshullam are both the Kohathites. Along with Jahath
and Obadiah, the Merarites, they supervised the process of the restoration of the Temple. In 2 Chr 34:12,
the relationship between Zechariah and Meshallum is not clarified. In Ezra 8:16, Zechariah also appears
with Meshullam. They were among the nine leaders who were sent by Ezra to Iddo to bring some Levites
to the Land. Here the relationship between Zechariah and Meshullam is not known to us, either. They
appear together at the scene in which Ezra read the Torah (Neh 8:4). Both of them stood at the left side of
podium where Ezra read the Torah. One more time Zechariah and Meshullam appear together in Neh
12:16. They are among the heads of the priestly clans: Zechariah is the head of the Iddo clan, but
Meshullam, the head of the Ginnethon clan. In this manner, the pair Zechariah and Meshullam appear
together several times in the post-exilic texts, but their relationship is often not clarified. Furthermore,
neither of them are designated as gatekeepers. Thus, we can say that there is no strong ground to identify
Zechariah and (Me)shelemiah with post-exilic figures, Zechariah and Meshullam.

the store-house." However, LXX 1 Chr 26:15 is deviant from the MT. The majority of LXX manuscripts (LXX[M])[292] have τῷ Αβδεδομ νότον κατέναντι οἴκου εσεφιν, which can be translated as "to Abed-edom the south, opposite the house of Esephim." On the other hand, the Lucianic recension (LXX[be2]) clearly reflects the MT reading.[293] Thus, it is necessary to compare these three readings to decide which reading is closer to the original one. The three different readings are listed in the following table.

Table 10. Three Different Readings of 1 Chr 26:15

MT 1 Chr 26:15	לעבד אדם	נגבה	ולבניו	בית האספים
LXX[M] 1 Chr 26:15	τῷ Αβδεδομ (לעבד אדם)	νότον (נגב)[294]	κατέναντι (לפני)[295]	οἴκου εσεφιν (בית האספים)
LXX[be2] 1 Chr 26:15[296]	τῷ Αβδεδομ (לעבד אדם)	**κατὰ** νότον (נגבה)	**καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ** κατέναντι (ולבניו לפני)	οἴκου εσεφιν (בית האספים)

Allowing for a likely confusion between ב and פ, the MT reading is not much different from the LXX reading of this verse. Thus, according to 1 Chr 26:15, the guarding duties for the south gate and the store-house are assigned to Obed-edom and his sons.

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[292] Here we follow the designation of D. Olson. Dan Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" *JSOT* 30/2 (2005): 223-242.

[293] The Lucianic recension of Chronicles clearly shows a conservative tendency by adding material attested in the MT without taking anything out of LXX, as E. Tov observes above (see, my footnote 285).

[294] For this retroversion, we conferred to E. Hatch and H. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897).

[295] The confusion between ב and פ could have been caused by graphic similarity of the two letters or by a phonetic error (both are labial). Allen, *The Greek Chronicles Part II*, 124; and Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" 227.

[296] In order to emphasize Lucian's additions, they are marked bold.

The presence of the south gate of the Temple in the pre-exilic period has been questioned since the Solomonic Temple is believed to have been connected with the royal house on the south and there was no need to station any guards at the south gate.[297] Edward L. Curtis claims that the reference to the south gate reflects the Chronicler's anachronistic projection of a later situation onto the monarchic period.[298] R. Klein, however, raises an objection to questioning the existence of the south gate, on the basis on 2 Kgs 11:11, which relates that Jehoiada the priest commanded guards to stand from the south side of the Temple to the north side of the Temple during the coup against Athaliah.[299] Textual evidence is not strong enough to determine whether the south gate existed or not in the monarchic period. At any rate, the Chronicler consistently asserts that gatekeepers were assigned to the four directions around the Temple (1 Chr 9:24 and 26:14-16).

On the other hand, according to D. Kimḥi, the store-house (בית האספים) was located outside of the Temple court to the south of it.[300] But he does not mention the basis for such a claim. The word אסף or אספים originates from Akkadian *asuppu* (pl. *asuppāti*), which means 'a type of building erected of less durable materials than a house, used in

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[297] Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 285; and Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 170-171. This argument is based on Ezek 43:8, in which Ezekiel claimed that the temple was adjoined to the palace by the same wall, and such proximity meant that the Temple was easily defiled by the abominations that the royal families committed. However, this text does not demonstrate the absence of a south gate in the First Temple. Ezek 43:8 seems to imply the opposite since it mentions thresholds ספים and doorposts מזוזת between the two buildings. Furthermore, Ezekiel's blueprint for a new Temple includes the south gate as well as several other gates for the Temple: the east gate (Ezek 44;1-3; 46:1, 12); the north gate (Ezek 44:4; 46:9 and 47:2); the gates of the inner court (Ezek 44:17); and the south gate (Ezek 46:9). We will deal with this issue again when we examine the gate complexes of the temple in Section 3.1.2.

[298] Williamson also considers the reference to the south gate as a proof of the post-exilic origin of this paragraph (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 170-171).

[299] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 492.

[300] Berger, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles*, 170.

outbuildings and on top of the buildings.'[301] It occurs only three times in the Hebrew Bible: 1 Chr 26:15, 17 and Neh 12:25. The Greek translator(s) of the LXX only transliterated this word, which suggests that its meaning must have not been known to him (them).[302]

From verse 15, we cannot be sure of whether each Temple gate had such a store-house or outbuilding, or only a specific gate had such an additional building. At any rate, the store-house that the sons of Obed-edom were assigned to guard would probably be at the south since the other gates were assigned to other families.

V. 16   לשפים ולחסה למערב עם שער שלכת במסלה העולה
מ שמר לעמת משמר:

Verse 16 is also connected with the phrase גורלות הפילו of verse 14. In this verse, text-critical and exegetical problems hinder us from comprehending who cast lots and where the guarding post was. First, it appears that lots were cast for two people, Shuppim and Hosah. However, לשֻׁפִּים is text-critically problematic. The LXX texts show various readings for the MT's לשֻׁפִּים. On the other hand, the Lucianic recension reflects both readings of the LXX and the MT: εἰς δεύτερον καὶ τοῖς προθύροις (LXX[be2] 1 Chr 26:16). These different readings and their respective retroversions into Hebrew are listed in the following table.

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[301] *HALOT*, 75; *CAD* A II, 349; and also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 459-460. The definition of the Akkadian word *asuppu* does not imply any usage of such building structure. Although we admit that אסף is a cognate of *asuppu*, we translate אסף as a storehouse to designate its probable usage.

[302] Allen, *The Greek Chronicles Part I*, 62.

<div align="center">Table 11. Various Renderings of לְשֻׁפִּים</div>

MT		לְשֻׁפִּים
LXX[B]	εἰς δεύτερον	(retroversion: לְשֵׁתִים or לְשֵׁנִים)[303]
LXX[Aacefgny]	τῷ σεφιειμ	(retroversion: לְשֻׁפִּים)
LXX[L]	εἰς δεύτερον τοῖς προθύροις	(retroversion: לְשֵׁנִים לַסִפִּים)
Peshitta	ܠܣܘܦܝܡ	(retroversion: לְשׁוּפִּים)
Vulgate	Sephim	(retroversion: לְשֻׁפִּים)
Targum	לְשֻׁפִּים	לְשֻׁפִּים

The LXX[B]'s rendering, εἰς δεύτερον, must be a case of misreading לְשֻׁפִּים, due to a graphical confusion between פ and נ. Thus all the LXX renderings seem to point to the same word, לְשֻׁפִּים, in their *Vorlage*, but at the same time, they reflect the translators' or copyists' wondering about the unexpected presence of לְשֻׁפִּים.[304] With regard to these different readings, W. Rudolph suggests deleting the phrase since it resulted from a scribal error (dittography of the preceding word in the end of verse 15).[305] Commentators generally follow this suggestion and delete it because Shuppim is not expected here and never appears together with Hosah elsewhere.[306] This general opinion seems to be reasonable, but if it is the case, the textual corruption by dittography should have happened at the very early stage of the text transmission since the *Vorlage* of all the

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[303] A scribal error due to the confusion between נ and פ is witnessed in 1 Chr 3:7 and 14:6, but there is no case for the confusion between ת and פ. Thus, the retroversion of εἰς δεύτερον in LXX[B] 1 Chr 26:16 should be לְשֵׁנִים. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles Part II*, 122-123.

[304] The Lucianic recension seems to reflect MT's rendering, but it reads לַסִפִּים for MT's לְשֻׁפִּים. This fact implies that Lucian must have been puzzled at the awkwardness of MT's לְשֻׁפִּים, and have changed it slightly in order to make sense of it though the effort did not bring much improvement in its meaning.

[305] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 172.

[306] Curtis and Madsen, *Books of Chronicles*, 285-286; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 172; Williamson, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 171; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary*, 460; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 864; and Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" 227.

textual variants, which are listed in the table, appears to have לשׁפים. Once לשׁפים is

deleted, verse 16 states that the lot for Hosah fell to the west (למערב).

Second, we encounter another exegetical problem: how to understand the relationship

between למערב and שׁער שׁלכת. Are Hosah's guarding posts two different gates? Or, is

the latter gate mentioned to specify the location of the former gate? It depends on how to

interpret the preposition עם, which comes before שׁער שׁלכת. Dirksen translates it as

'with,' so that Hosah's guarding posts are two: the west (gate) and the Shallecheth

gate.[307] W. Rudolph, Edward L. Curtis, S. Japhet and R. Braun render it as 'at.'[308]

According to this translation, Hosah is responsible for guarding the west at the gate of

Shellecheth. This seems more reasonable for the following reasons. First, when the

preposition עם is used of a locality, it generally means 'close to,' or 'beside.'[309] Second,

if the Shallecheth gate is another guarding post for which Hosah is responsible, שׁער

שׁלכת should be prefixed with the preposition *lāmed*, like למערב. But שׁער שׁלכת is not

prefixed with *lāmed*, and connected with the preposition עם. Thus, we may say that

Hosah's guarding post is on the west side by the Shellecheth gate, which is not known to

us.

Third, it is not clear that למערב designates the west gate. It could simply mean

somewhere on the west side of the Shellecheth gate. Some scholars doubt the existence

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[307] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 306.

[308] W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 172; Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 285; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 860; and Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 248.

[309] *BDB* 768.

of a west gate to the Temple.[310] In the present context, there is no help to settle this question, but one thing is clear that the Chronicler presents gatekeepers guarding the Temple at the four directions.[311] Hosah is the one, who is responsible for the west side of the Temple. Then, this western post is near to the Shellecheth gate.

The Shellecheth gate appears only one time in the Hebrew Bible, so that it does not provide us with a clue to guess the exact location of Hosah's guarding post. Moreover, the LXX renders it differently. The following table shows the various renderings of phrases שער שלכת and במסלה העולה of verse 16.

Table 12. Various Renderings of of 1 Chr 26:16

MT	שער שלכת	במסלה העולה
LXX[M]	(μετὰ) τὴν πύλην παστοφορίου	τῆς ἀναβάσεως
LXX[bge2]	(κατά) τής πύλης παστοφορίου	ἐν τῇ τρίβω τῆς ἀναβάσεως
Targum	תרעא דמתרמיא	בכיבשא דסלקא
Peshitta	ܠܘܬ ܬܪܥܐ	ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܣܠܩܐ
Vulgate	*(iuxta) portam quae ducit*	*ad viam ascensionis*

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[310] Jacob Liver, *Chapters in the History of the Priests and Levites: Studies in the Lists of Chronicles and Ezra and Nehemiah* (Jerusalem: The Magness Press, 1968) 115; and Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 460. Johann Maier gives an outline of the architectural structure of the Temple which is described in the Temple Scroll, comparing it with the Temple structure in Ezekiel 40-48. According to him, the inner court of the Temple in the Temple Scroll (= the court of priests in Ezekiel) has four gate buildings in symmetrical axial positions like Ezekiel, but Ezekiel's court has no gate at the western side. J. Maier explains these differences as two contradicting traditions about temple architecture. J. Maier, "The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in the Light of the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. George J. Brooke; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 34. The existence of the western gate of the Temple will be again dealt with in Chapter Three, where we examine the temple gates and chambers.

[311] As for the Herodian Temple, however, it is clear that there were at least one or more gates on its west side. *m. Mid.* 1:3 relates that there were five gates in the wall of the Temple mount. Among them, the west gate, that is, Qiponos gate served for entry and exit (J. Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988], 873). Josephus also states that there were four gates leading into the Temple from the west (*Ant.* 15 §410). According to Lee I. Levine, archaeological finds confirm Josephus' description (Lee I. Levine, *Jerusalem: Portrait of the City in the Second Temple Period (538 B.C.E.-70 C.E.)* [Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2002], 229-230).

Concerning שׁער שׁלכת, only the Targum corresponds with the MT's witness. תרעא דמתרמיא is a literal Aramaic translation of שׁער שׁלכת, which means 'the gate of casting forth.'[312] On the contrary, the majority of LXX texts reflect שׁער לשׁכת, 'the gate of chamber,' and the Peshitta also witnesses to a similar rendering: לתרעא דמתקן, which means 'to the gate of preparation' or 'the gate of setting aside the priestly gifts.' The LXX's rendering לשׁכת and the Peshitta imply the possibility that שׁלכת of the MT could be a case of metathesis of the first two consonants.[313] There are other reasons to think that the MT's rendering probably reflects a scribal error. First, the Lucianic recension (LXX^be2) does not reflect the MT's reading at all. Such a situation is quite rare in the Lucianic recension. Second, as we have mentioned, שׁער שׁלכת is a *hapax legomenon*, but שׁער לשׁכת is found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (Ezek 46:19, though it is rendered in a slightly different way: השׁער אל־הלשׁכות הקדשׁ). Thus, we favor the LXX's rendering לשׁכת.[314] Therefore we conclude that Hosah's post was 'in the west side by the chamber gate.'

The location of the chamber gate is specified by the phrase במסלה העולה. Both ancient and modern translations of this phrase do not help us to figure out where the chamber gate is located. The Lucianic recension, Targum, Peshitta (בשׁבילא דסלק), and the Vulgate render it in the same manner: 'on the ascending road or highway.'[315] Since מסלה in the Hebrew Bible is often understood as 'highway,' all modern translations adopt

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[312] *BDB* 1021.

[313] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 460; and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 864.

[314] Curtis, Klein and Knoppers also follow LXX's reading. Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 285-286; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 485; and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 860.

[315] Interestingly, the majority of LXX texts do not render the word, and simply dismiss it.

this interpretation more or less.[316] Thus, the chamber gate is said to be located somewhere on the ascending road. However, the context requires מסלה העולה to be somewhere in or near to the Temple precinct.[317] In order to understand what the Chronicler intended by מסלה העולה, a comprehensive examination of semantic usages of מסלה and its cognates in the Semitic language group is required.

N. L. Tidwell offers a helpful semantic description of מסלה.[318] He concludes that מסלה refers to the approach road, which ascends from the base of the mound or hill where cities usually locate, to the main gate of the city on the mound. Usually this road is the paved street leading to the temple or palace within the city walls.[319] Nevertheless, the three instances of מסלה in Chronicles (1 Chr 26:16, 18 and 2 Chr 9:11) do not fit into this category. In 2 Chr 9:11, מסלות designate a kind of 'passage way' leading up to the Temple and to the palace, which Solomon made of algum wood. A passage way made of the expensive wood cannot be a paved street running from the bottom to the top of a temple mound. Rather, it should be part of the architectural complex connected with the Temple.[320] For this reason, David A. Dorsey's study on *mušlālu*, an Akkadian cognate of מסלה, seems to be more helpful.[321] Akkadian *mušlālu* appears in a number of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, mostly combined with the temple or the palace, such as

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[316] *BDB* 700; and *HALOT*, 606.

[317] David A. Dorsey, "Another Peculiar Term in the Book of Chronicles: מְסִלָּה, 'Highway'?" *JQR* 75 (1985): 388.

[318] N. L. Tidwell, "No Highway! The Outline of a Semantic Description of *Mesillâ*," *VT* 45 (1995): 251-269.

[319] Tidwell, "No Highway! The Outline of a Semantic Description of *Mesillâ*," 269.

[320] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 864.

[321] Dorsey, "Another Peculiar Term in the Book of Chronicles," 385-391.

mušlālum ekalli ša qereb Aššur, *mušlālum ša ekalli*, or *bīt mušlālu ša qereb ekalli*.[322] In these cases, *mušlālu* designates a gate or a gatehouse for a temple or palace. Based on the Akkadian *mušlālu*, Dorsey suggests that מסלה could be associated with "an entranceway or gateway into a temple complex," where gatekeepers would probably be stationed.[323] As Dorsey suggests, if מסלה had such a technical meaning in the exilic/post-exilic period, the location of Hosah's guarding post becomes much clearer. It is 'in the west side at the gate of a chamber, which is in the ascending gateway to the Temple.'

Then, with the final phrase of verse 16 (משמר לעמת משמר), assigning the guarding posts to the three gatekeeper families is completed. Verses 17-18 stipulate the number of gatekeepers in each guarding post.

V. 17   למזרח הלוים ששה לצפונה ליום ארבעה לנגבה ליום ארבעה
                     ולאספים שנים שנים:

Verse 17 states how many are stationed at the east, north, south and at the storehouses: six gatekeepers for the east, four gatekeepers for the north, and another four gatekeepers for the south. However, it is not clear how many are stationed at the storehouses: two or four? It depends on how one interprets the phrase שנים שנים. If two, then the second שנים must have been added by a scribal error (dittography). If four, why is the unusual expression שנים שנים used instead of ארבעה? Since the phrase שנים שנים has a text-critical problem, it needs to be dealt with before we reach a conclusion. The following table shows the various readings of this phrase.

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[322] *CAD* M II, 277.

[323] Dorsey, "Another Peculiar Term in the Book of Chronicles," 388. John M. Monson also suggests that מסלה denotes 'a ramp into the gateway of the temple complex' in Chronicles (J. M. Monson, *The Temple of Jerusalem: A Case Study in the Integration of Text and Artifact* [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998], 75).

Table 13. Various Readings of שׁנים שׁנים of 1 Chr 26:17

MT	שׁנים שׁנים
LXX[B]	δύο
LXX[Aabcehnye2]	δύο δύο
Targum	תרין תרין
Peshitta	ܬܪܝܢ
Vulgate	*bini et bini*

The MT's reading is followed by the LXX[A] and the Lucianic recension as well as the Targum and the Vulgate, while the Peshitta agrees with the LXX[B]. According to W. Rudolph, a few Hebrew manuscripts also do not have the second שׁנים.[324] If the reading of LXX[B] reflects the original, the MT's reading can be explained as a simple dittography.[325] In that case, the number of gatekeepers at the storehouses would be two.[326] However, it is also possible that the MT's reading is closer to the original. In that case, what does the unusual expression mean? The phrase שׁנים שׁנים appears three times in the Hebrew Bible: twice in Genesis (Gen 7:9, 15) and here in Chronicles. In Genesis 7:9 and 7:15, שׁנים שׁנים means 'two of each.'[327] D. Kimḥi interprets שׁנים שׁנים of MT 1 Chr 27:17 in the same way.[328] First, he assumes that there were two storehouses. Then the text means that each of the storehouses had two Levites. D. Kimḥi's interpretation

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[324] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 172.

[325] G. N. Knoppers reads שׁנים שׁנים following the LXX[B] since he believes that the MT's reading is a result of either a dittography or a displacement of שׁנים from the end of verse 18, where the MT does not have שׁנים (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 865).

[326] S. Japhet and Gary N. Knoppers follow this reading (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 460; and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 869).

[327] *HALOT*, 1605-1606. In Hebrew syntax, the repetition of the cardinal numbers expresses distributives. See also Gesenius §134q.

[328] Berger, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles*, 170.

explains why שנים שנים is used here instead of ארבעה. Following this interpretation, a

total of four gatekeepers are stationed at the storehouses, one pair of them for each

storehouse. This makes the daily total of gatekeepers at the east, north, south and the

storehouses eighteen. If six more gatekeepers from verse 18 are added to this number,

there are a total of twenty-four gatekeepers on duty. The text seems to be geared to get

this number.[329] For this reason, we follow the MT's rendering.[330]

On the other hand, the phrase ליום, which appears twice in this verse, suggests that the

number of the gatekeepers is closely related to their duty on a daily basis. The LXX[M]

shows this more clearly by rendering the phrase הלוים as another ליום. The various

readings of הלוים are as follows:

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[329] S. Japhet counts the daily total of gatekeepers as twenty-two, but D. Kimḥi, Gary N. Knoppers, R. Klein, and Peter B. Dirksen count them as twenty-four although their interpretations of שנים שנים are not without dissent. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 460; Berger, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles*, 170-171; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 869; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 494; and Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 309.

[330] D. Olsen's text-critical studies of LXX 1 Chr 26:17-18a are worth mentioning here since they are related to our conclusion in a certain way. Generally the first phrase of LXX 1 Chr 26:18a (εἰς διαδεχομένους) is believed to be a Greek translation of the first phrase לפרבר of MT 1 Chr 18a. However, D. Olsen suggests that it is not a translation of לפרבר, but rather it would be a translation of משנים of the last phrase שני משנים, which is a result of his different division of MT's שנים שנים in 1 Chr 26:17. Olsen draws our attention to 2 Chr 31:12, where διαδεχομένους translates משנה (2 Chr 28:7; Esth 10:3 are also similar cases). According to 2 Chr 31:12, Conaniah the Levite is in charge of the store-chambers (לשכות) and Shimei his brother is second in rank. Based on this verse, Olsen concludes that LXX 1 Chr 26:17 would originally have ended with εἰς τὸ εσεφιν δύο εἰς διαδεχομένους as a translation of לאספים שני משנים, which he translates "in the gatehouses (there were) two relief guards." However, the exact retroversion of τὸ εσεφιν δύο εἰς διαδεχομένους would be לאספים שני למשנים. In Hebrew syntax, an adjectival form of cardinal number is directly attached to the word qualified without any prefixed preposition (Gesenius § 97a and § 134). For this reason, שני למשנים cannot be the original reading. Olsen's speculation goes further in a different direction from ours, but it supports our conclusion that the original *Vorlage* of MT ends with שנים שנים, not with שנים (Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" 229-230). On the other hand, since LXX 1 Chr 26:18 is much longer than MT 1 Chr 26:18, it is doubtful whether or not they shared the same *Vorlage*. We will return to this issue again when we exegete verse 18.

Table 14. Various Readings of הלוים of 1 Chr 26:17

MT	הלוים	
LXX^M	τὴν ἡμέραν	(retroversion: ליום)
LXX^{be2}	οἱ Λευίται ἐξ τὴν ἡμέραν	(retroversion: הלוים ששה ליום)
Targum	ליואי	
Peshitta	ܠ̈ܘܝܐ	
Vulgate	*Levitae*	

As this list shows, the Targum, the Peshitta and the Vulgate as well as the Lucianic recension reflect the MT. However, all these readings could reflect a later *Vorlage* than that of LXX variants. The change from ליום to הלוים can happen easily by dittography of ה, the last consonant of the preceding word and by metathesis of *yod* and *waw*. The reverse case is possible, too. It seems more reasonable to favor the LXX's reading since the context does not require mentioning the Levites here and the LXX's reading makes more sense of this verse.[331]   Therefore, our translation of verse 17 runs: "At the east (there were) six daily,[332] at the north four daily; at the south four daily; at the storehouse two of each."

V. 18   לפרבר למערב ארבעה למסלה שנים לפרבר:

Verse 18 is closely tied to verse 16. According to verse 16, Hosah's post is 'in the west side' (למערב) at the gate of a chamber, which is 'in the ascending gateway to the Temple' (למסלה). Verse 18 indicates how many gatekeepers are stationed at Hosah's guarding post. However, verse 18 is somewhat enigmatic since what פרבר designates is

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[331] G. N. Knoppers, and D. Olson also favor the LXX reading. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 865; and Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" 232.

[332] What we mean by "daily" here is "each day" (i.e. 24-hour period), not "daytime shift."

unclear, as is a second פרבר which could belong to the original or be a scribal error by

dittography. We will first consider the ancient translations and then introduce some

lexical considerations. The following table contains ancient translations of verse 18.

<p style="text-align:center">Table 15. Various Renderings of 1 Chr 26:18</p>

MT	לפרבר	למערב ארבעה	למסלה שׁנים	לפרבר
(LXX[be2])[333]	εἰς διαδεχομένους	καὶ πρὸς δυσμαῖς τέσσαρες	καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίβον δύο	διαδεχομένους
Peshitta	ܠܒܘܕ	ܠܡܥܪܒܐ ܐܪܒܥܐ	ܠܥܠܬܐ ܬܪܝܢ	ܠܒܘܕ
Tragum	כלפי ברא	למערבא ארבעןא	לכיבשא תרין	כלפי ברא
Vulgate	*in cellulis (quoque ianitorum)*	*ad occidentem quattuor*	*in via binique*	*per cellulas*

All these ancient texts give the same witnesses to שׁנים למסלה and ארבעה למערב as we

have seen in verse 16, but they reveal a great divergence concerning לפרבר, with which

the verse begins and ends. While the Peshitta transliterates the MT, the Lucianic

recension renders it as 'for relief guards.' The Targum seems to explain the meaning of

לפרבר as 'toward outside,' whereas the Vulgate renders it as 'a small store-room.'

Modern commentators also proffered various interpretations of it: W. Rudolph, S. Japhet,

and R. Braun: 'for the Parbar'[334]; R. Klein and Gary N. Knoppers: 'at the colonnade'[335];

and Peter B. Dirksen: 'for the square.'[336] Thus, it is necessary to do some lexical

research on this word to know its potential meaning.

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[333] Except Lucianic recension, LXX 1 Chr 26:18 is not listed in this table, since it witnesses to a very different rendering. This text will be dealt with later.

[334] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher,* 172; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 449, 460; and Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 248.

[335] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 485; and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 861.

[336] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 307.

פרור/פרבר appears only three times in the Hebrew Bible: 1 Chr 26:18 (twice) and 2 Kgs 23:11 (in its plural form: פרורים). In 2 Kgs 23:11, it is told that פרורים, where the horses and chariots dedicated to the sun were kept, were located at the entrance of the Temple near by a chamber (לשכה). This passage suggests that פרורים could be a space connected with the entrance of the Temple and in the proximity to a chamber of some sort. It indicates that פרורים would not be inside of the building of the Temple.

The translator of LXX 2 Kgs 23:11 transliterates this word as φαρουριμ, which indicates that its meaning was not known to the translator. Compare it with LXX 1 Chr 26:18 in which פרבר is translated into διαδεχομένους, which cannot be a proper translation of פרבר. As D. Olsen argues, διαδεχομένους would be a translation of משנים.

J. Maier examined all the instances of פרבר in the Temple Scroll,[337] and suggests that the meaning of this word could be 'a colonnaded porch,' and a proper Greek translation of it would be περίστυλον or στοά.[338] Donna Runnalls expands Maier's studies and claims that פרבר originated from a biconsonantal verb *pr* in Hebrew,[339] not from a Persian loan-word, *fra-bar* ('forecourt or vestibule') as has been argued before.[340] Runnalls argues, based on her reading of the Temple Scroll, that פרבר could originally have meant something like 'the place of separation,' where the purgation offerings of the

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[337] פרבר appears in 11QT 5:13; 35:9-10; 37:6, 9; 42:8-9. According to 11QT 35:10, פרבר is a place in the west of the sanctuary and is to be built with many columns. Therefore, it can be translated as 'a colonnade or a stoa.' Michael Wise et al., trans., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York: Harper, 1996), 472-475.

[338] Maier, "The Architectural History of the Temple," 26. Florentino G. Martínez also translates פרבר either 'a portico' or 'a porch' (Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* [trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; 2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 155, 163, 166).

[339] Concerning verb פרר II, refer to *BDB* 830.

[340] Donna Runnalls, "The Parwār: A Place of Ritual Separation?" *VT* 41 (1991): 324-331; and *HALOT*, 962.

priests could be kept separate from those of the laymen (11QT 35:10-15).[341] The author of the Temple Scroll claims that this place should be built with many columns on the west side of the Temple (11QT 35:10). For this reason, Runnalls concludes that פרבר, which was originally a technical term for a place of ritual separation, could have been used to designate 'a columned stoa.'

Regardless of its etymological origin, פרבר in the Temple Scroll designates a colonnade in the west of the Temple. The question is whether it is appropriate to apply a later technical meaning to an earlier text. If one cannot find a common denominator between the usages of the word in the texts which originated from different times, it is not reasonable to apply a later concept of the word to interpret the earlier. The following interpretations of פרבר have something in common:

2 Kgs 23:11	פרורים designates a place at the entrance of the Temple near by a chamber. It is likely to have been a roofed area since the horses and chariots dedicated to the sun were kept there.
The Temple Scroll	פרבר means a colonnade or stoa in the west of the Temple.
Targum 1 Chr 26:18	פרבר is translated as "towards outside."
MT 1 Chr 26:18	פרבר is somehow connected to the west of the Temple and to the ascending gateway to the Temple (מסלה).

All these examples treat פרבר as located in the boundary line between the outer wall and the inner court of the Temple. The Temple Scroll and MT 1 Chr 26:18 agree that פרבר is found in the west side of the Temple. Both of 2 Kgs 23:11 and MT 1 Chr 26:18 imply that פרבר is connected to the entrance of the Temple. Furthermore, 2 Kgs 23:11

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[341] One can find a similar explanation of the place in Ezek 46:19-20. Runnalls, "The Parwār: A Place of Ritual Separation?" 328.

and the Temple Scroll suggest that פרבר must have been a roofed area. Based on this evidence, we may conjecture that פרבר would be something like 'an open, but roofed space,' which is connected to the ascending gateway to the Temple in the west. However, we cannot be sure about whether this open space was a colonnade as in the Temple Scroll or not.

Now we can apply this understanding of פרבר to interpret verse 18:

לפרבר למערב ארבעה למסלה שנים לפרבר

First, we will interpret this verse without the phrase לפרבר. Then, the rest of the verse means: 'At the west four, at the ascending gateway two.' Thus, verse 18, together with phrases לפרבר, can be interpreted as follows:

An open space (פרבר) -- an ascending gateway to the Temple -- an open space (פרבר)

(Two keepers)   (Two keepers)   (Two keepers)

The locations of phrase לפרבר are grammatically awkward, so that W. Rudolph recommends deleting the first לפרבר, understanding it as a dittography of the second לפרבר.[342] For us, the two phrases seem to be designed as such to convey a graphic image by means of their positions.[343] At the west, four gatekeepers are stationed, but each pair

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[342] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 172. The following scholars adopt this suggestion: Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 460; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 865; and Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 313. On the other hand, several commentators (R. Braun, H. G. M. Williamson, R. Klein, S. L. McKenzie) have not commented on this text-critical problem at all in their commentaries, but have only paid a little attention to the meaning of the word פרבר.

[343] A strategic positioning of the words can convey a vivid graphic image. Prov 8:22-31, which is a famous poem of Lady Wisdom, is a good example. In this poem, Lady Wisdom explains how she was created by God even before anything else and how she was present at the creation of the ordered world. In order to describe this, the poet begins this poem with YHWH (in the beginning of verse 22) and ends it with humankind (at the end of verse 31). In the middle of the poem (verse 27), the word I (אני), which designates Lady Wisdom, appears. Such locations of the thematic words give a vivid graphic image that

is at the opposite sides of the open space, which is divided into two by the ascending

gateway to the Temple. This ascending gateway will be guarded by two other

gatekeepers. Therefore, a total of six gatekeepers are stationed at the west. This

conclusion leads us to count the total number of gatekeepers required at any one time as

twenty-four.

The text of LXX 1 Chr 26:18 has a very different rendering. The majority of LXX

manuscripts have a much longer reading of 1 Chr 26:18 than the MT.[344] However, the

following discussion will show that LXX[M] 1 Chr 26:18 is probably a repetition of the

preceding verses 16-17 due to a scribal error, although a possibility that it reflects a

different *Vorlage* from that of the MT cannot be entirely excluded.

(1) LXX 1 Chr 26:18a

Verse 18a	εἰς διαδεχομένους καὶ τῷ Ἰοσσὰ πρὸς δυσμαῖς μετὰ τὴν πύλην τοῦ παστοφορίου τρεῖς.
Verse 16a	εἰς δεύτερον τῷ ιοσσα πρὸς δυσμαῖς μετὰ τὴν πύλην παστοφορίου τῆς ἀναβάσεως
Cf. LXX[L] 1 Chr 26:16a	εἰς δεύτερον καὶ τοῖς προθύροις τῷ ιοσσα πρὸς δυσμαῖς μετὰ τὴν πύλην παστοφορίου ἐν τῷ τριβῷ τῆς ἀναβάσεως

Wisdom has a place somewhere between YHWH and humankind and plays a role of mediator between the two. Furthermore, verses 27-30 speak of Lady Wisdom as having been present at the process of God's creation. While the poet describes the process of creation, he begins it with שמים and ends it with ארץ. Such a compositional skill gives a vivid image beyond the semantic value of the words. Jean-Noël Aletti, "Proverbs 8:22-31: étude de structure," *Biblica* 57 (1976): 25-37; and Gale A. Yee, "An Analysis of Prov 8:22-31 According to Style and Structure," *ZAW* 94 (1982): 58-66.

[344] MT 1 Chr 26:18 לפרבר למערב ארבעה למסלה שנים לפרבר:

    LXX 1 Chr 26:18 εἰς διαδεχομένους καὶ τῷ Ἰοσσὰ πρὸς δυσμαῖς μετὰ τὴν πύλην τοῦ παστοφορίου τρεῖς. φυλακὴ κατέναντι φυλακῆς τῆς ἀναβάσεως πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τῆς ἡμέρας ἓξ, καὶ τῷ βορρᾷ τέσσαρες, καὶ τῷ νότῳ τέσσαρες, καὶ ἐσεφεὶμ δύο εἰς διαδεχομένους καὶ πρὸς δυσμαῖς τέσσαρες, καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίβον δύο διαδεχομένους.

This table shows that LXX 1 Chr 26:18a is more or less a repetition of LXX 1 Chr 26:16a with the exception of the beginning and the end phrases. This repetition can be explained as a scribal error by *homoioteleuton*. MT 1 Chr 26:16a begins with לשֻׁפִּים, but, as we have argued before, the translator of the LXX read it as לשְׁנִים. On the other hand, MT 1 Chr 26:17 ends with שְׁנִים שׁ. As D. Olson argues, if the translator of the LXX divided this phrase in a different way, such as שְׁנִי מִשְׁנִים, and considered the last word of 1 Chr 26:17 as the beginning of verse 18, the translator's eyes could have easily jumped back to verse 16 since both words (לשְׁנִים in verse 16 and מִשְׁנִים in verse 18) share the same ending.[345] This process can be illustrated schematically as follows:

The beginning of v. 16	εἰς δεύτερον (לשְׁנִים)	
The end of v. 17	② δύο (שְׁנִי)	①
The beginning of v. 18	εἰς διαδεχομένους (מִשְׁנִים)	
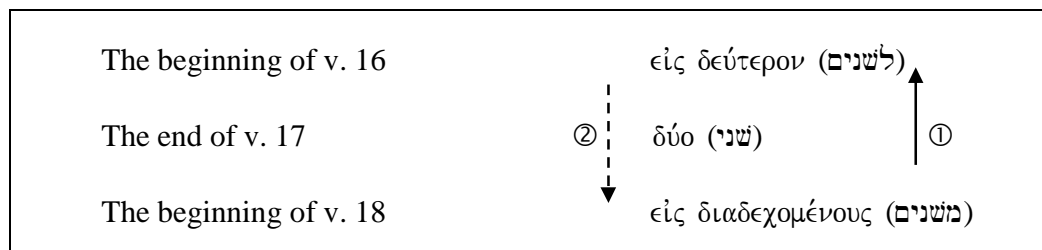
Thus, LXX 1 Chr 26:18a seems to begin with למִשְׁנִים, unlike MT 1 Chr 26:18a, which begins with לפרבר. Then, it goes back to LXX 1 Chr 26:16a due to a scribal error by *homoioteleuton*. On the other hand, the ending of LXX 1 Chr 26:18a (an unexpected word τρεῖς)[346] is not exactly same with the ending of LXX 1 Chr 26:16a (τῆς ἀναβάσεως). The expected τῆς ἀναβάσεως is transferred to the end of verse 18bα. Therefore it is possible that the LXX had a different *Vorlage* from that of the MT.

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[345] Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" 229-230.

[346] This unexpected word τρεῖς is omitted in the LXX[c2]. See, Brooke et al. eds., *The Old Testament in Greek*, 464.

(2) LXX 1 Chr 26:18bα

| Verse 18bα | φυλακὴ κατέναντι φυλακῆς τῆς ἀναβάσεως |
| Verse 16b | φυλακὴ κατέναντι φυλακῆς |

LXX 1Chr 26:18bα repeats verse 16b, only with an exception of τῆς ἀναβάσεως, which is originally the ending word of verse 16a.

(3) LXX 1 Chr 26:18bβ

| Verse 18bβ | πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τῆς ἡμέρας ἓξ, καὶ τῷ βορρᾷ τέσσαρες, καὶ τῷ νότῳ τέσσαρες, |
| Verse 17a | πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἓξ **τὴν ἡμέραν** βορρᾶ **τῆς ἡμέρας** τέσσαρες νότον **τῆς ἡμέρας** τέσσαρες |

LXX 1 Chr 26:18bβ repeats verse 17a, but omits the three phrases in bold from the latter. For this reason, D. Olson argues that LXX 1 Chr 26:18b describes the night shift, whereas LXX 1 Chr 26:17-18a describes the day shift.[347] In order to support his idea, Olson suggests that one should read τῆς ἀναβάσεως (the end phrase of v. 18bα) together with πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τῆς ἡμέρας (the beginning phrase of v. 18bβ), and interpret it as "at the rising of the day in the east."[348] However, that reading cannot support his argument that verse 18a is intended to describe the night shift. In the Hebrew Bible, 'the rising of the sun' always means the beginning of the day, not the end of the day, that is, night.[349] Rather, it could be explained as the translator's desire to change the phrasing. He used the phrase τῆς ἡμέρας at the beginning of the verse 18bβ, and did not wish to repeat the

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[347] Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" 232.

[348] Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" 232.

[349] 2 Sam 23:4; Ps 50:1; 113:3; Isa 13:10; 41:25; 45:6; Mal 1:11; Rev 7:2; Sir 26:16; 3 Macc 4:15.

same phrase afterward since the first phrase could modify the other two cases. Thus, we argue that LXX 1 Chr 26:18bβ is a repetition of verse 17a.

(4) LXX 1 Chr 26:18bγ

Verse18bγ	καὶ ἐσεφεὶμ δύο (εἰς διαδεχομένους)
Verse 17b	καὶ εἰς τὸ εσεφιν δύο
Verse 17b in LXX^L	καὶ εἰς τὸ εσεφιν δύο **δύο**

LXX 1 Chr 26:18bγ is a repetition of verse 17b, but the translator might have read שנים שנים of MT 1 Chr 26:17b as שׁני משנים. Since the term משנה is translated into διαδεχομένος in LXX 2 Chr 31:12, διαδεχομένους reflects the plural form of משנה, that is משנים. If it was the case, the translator seemed to understand that v. 17b ends with שׁני, and v. 18 begins with and משנים. Otherwise, the translator understood the second שנים as a scribal error by a dittography, and omitted it. Then, he translated the subsequent word, לפרבר, without knowing its exact meaning.

(5) LXX 1 Chr 26:18c

| Verse 18c | (εἰς διαδεχομένους) καὶ πρὸς δυσμαῖς τέσσαρες, καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίβον δύο διαδεχομένους |
| Verse 18 in LXX^L | εἰς διαδεχομένους καὶ πρὸς δυσμαῖς τέσσαρες καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίβον δύο διαδεχομένους |

LXX 1 Chr 26:18c is exactly parallel to LXX^L 1 Chr 26:18. D. Olson argues that a much shorter version of LXX^L 1 Chr 26:18 reflects a scribal error by *homoioteleuton*, from the first καὶ to the second διαδεχομένους.[350] Considering the Lucianic recension's conservative tendency, which had Lucian add what the LXX lacked from the MT without

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[350] D. Olson, "What Got the Gatekeepers into Trouble?" 228.

omitting anything from the LXX, the shorter version of Lucianic rescension is not likely a product of a scribal error. It would rather result from Lucian's recognition of a long dittography in LXX 1 Chr 26:18a-18bγ. Or, Lucian's manuscript of the LXX might have lacked the corruption found in other extant manuscripts of the LXX. LXX 1 Chr 26:18c and LXX^L 1 Chr 26:18 begin and end with the same word, retroversion of which would be the same Hebrew word. All these observations considered, MT 1 Chr 26:18 must be closer to the original reading than LXX 1 Chr 26:18.

V. 19   אלה מחלקות השערים לבני הקרחי ולבני מררי:

This verse concludes the whole section by applying a resumptive repetition of the phrase (אלה מחלקות השערים), which is also the beginning phrase of 1 Chr 26:12, and by summing up the first unit (vv. 1-12). Through this summarizing sentence, the second unit (vv. 13-19) comes tightly tied to the first unit.

2.1.2.3. Synthesis

In this section, we will summarize our exegesis on 1 Chr 26:1-19, and compare it with 1 Chr 9:17-32. Through this comparison, we will analyze what the Chronicler claims about the gatekeepers in his day, and ask what socio-economic implications his descriptions would have, especially in relation to the Temple economy.

Our analysis of 1 Chr 26:1-19 can be summarized as follows: Following the Chronicler's chronological frame, David installed three Levitical families as the Temple gatekeepers, which had twenty-four divisions headed by twenty-four leaders (ראשי הגברים, 1 Chr 26:12). These gatekeepers were stationed at the four sides of the Temple to guard it. The number of gatekeepers at each guard post is also specified in this passage:

six at the east gate, four at the north, four at the south, four at the storehouse, four at the west, and two at the entrance way on the west. Thus, the total number of gatekeepers for daily guard duties is at least twenty four.

1 Chr 26:1-19 belongs to David's Installation Block, according to which David's successors' cultic reforms were performed. Thus, the Chronicler's detailed description of David's installation of gatekeepers could have been intended to direct the cultic restoration of his own time: (1) The gatekeepers are affiliated with the Levites; (2) Twenty-four gatekeepers should be stationed at the four sides of the Temple; and (3) Each guarding post needs to be assigned to a specific family of gatekeepers.

The Chronicler's claims about the gatekeepers in 1 Chr 26:1-19 seem to be consistent with the ones in 1 Chr 9:17-32 in regard to the gatekeepers' affiliation with the Levites and their guarding duties for the four sides around the Temple. However, 1 Chr 9:17-32 emphasizes the Chronicler's elaborate effort to establish the continuity of the office of gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel, whereas such effort does not appear in 1 Chr 26:1-19. 1 Chr 9:17-32 also presents a somewhat different organization of the gatekeepers (local gatekeepers and the chief gatekeepers). Moreover, it does not mention anything related to the twenty-four divisions of gatekeepers. The duties of gatekeepers are also much more expanded. In other words, the Chronicler's descriptions of gatekeepers in the two different passages are not exactly harmonious.

Commentators have argued that the discrepancy between the two texts indicates different literary layers in Chroniclers written in different time periods. However, our literary analyses of these two texts shows that their inconsistencies, rather, reflect the differences of the Chronicler's aims for each text. As we have argued above, 1 Chr 26:1-

19 seems to be intended to set an ideal for the office of gatekeepers by which contemporary practices should be shaped and to support the continuity and legitimacy of the office of gatekeepers which the Chronicler endeavors to establish in 1 Chr 9:17-32. In 1 Chr 9:17-32, the Chronicler also proffers a concrete example of how his ideal for the office of gatekeepers should be realized in his contemporary situation. For this reason, the Chronicler connects the post-exilic practices of gatekeepers to the ones installed by David by tying both to David's Installation Block.

Meanwhile, the Chronicler's claims for the gatekeepers in 1 Chr 9:17-32 imply that the gatekeepers were deeply engaged in the Temple economy, especially by controlling access to the Temple and by supervising inventory control of the storehouses in the Temple. To get a better understanding of socio-economic implications of the Chronicler's claims, we will explore economic activities in relation to the temple gates and storehouses in Chapter Three.

2.2. The Chronicler's Description of the Temple Treasurers

According to Chronicles, the Levites were also involved in the Temple economy as treasurers. Levitical temple treasurers are introduced in 1 Chr 9:26-29 and 1 Chr 26:20-28, both from David's Installation Block.[351] In 1 Chr 9:26-29, four chief gatekeepers are in charge of the temple treasuries (האצרות בית האלהים). However, in 1 Chr 26:20-28 the Chronicler describes two types of temple treasuries (the treasuries of the house of God [האצרות בית האלהים] and the treasuries of the dedicated gifts [האצרות קדשים]) and states that Shebuel the Amramite is in charge of both categories of treasuries. Under his authority, the sons of Ladan (the Gershonites) are responsible for the treasuries of the house of God, whereas Shelomith and his brothers (the Amramites) are responsible for the treasuries of the dedicated gifts. This brief summary of the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple treasurers in the two passages clearly shows their differences. We will analyze what each text says about the temple treasurers and examine the differences between the two asking how the differences affect our understanding the temple economy in the post-exilic period.

2.2.1. 1 Chronicles 9:26-29

We have already dealt with 1 Chr 9:26-29 in section 2.1.1 in detail, so we will summarize what the Chronicler claims about the Temple treasurers in this passage. 1 Chr 9:26-29 states that the four chief gatekeepers are in charge of the chambers (לשכות) and the treasuries (אצרות) of the Temple (esp. v. 26). Some of them are responsible for the utensils of service (v. 28), while others are responsible for the furniture and all the holy

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[351] Beside these passages, 2 Chr 31:11-16 which describes Hezekiah's innovative measure for the upkeep of the temple administration will be treated in this section.

utensils (v. 29). The four chief gatekeepers are also in charge of the fine flour, wine, oil, incense, and spices, which are necessary for daily sacrificial services (v. 29). The tasks of the chief gatekeepers seem to involve inventory control, since verse 28 explains that one of their tasks was to count the utensils for service whenever they were taken out and brought back. 1 Chr 9:26-29, however, does not indicate how these chief gatekeepers performed their task.

As we have argued, 1 Chr 9:26-29 reflects the post-exilic period. The chambers and treasuries in the Temple were important places with regard to the Temple economy of the post-exilic period, since the Temple revenue was stored there and the major expenditure of the Temple was also derived from there. Therefore one should ask why the Chronicler claims that the four chief gatekeepers were in charge of these places. Their position must be related to the functions of the Temple in the post-exilic period as we shall see in the next two chapters. Before moving forward to tackle this question, we will examine another passage of 1 Chr 26:20-28, which describes the temple treasures instituted by David.

2.2.2. 1 Chronicles 26:20-28

1 Chr 26:20-28 belongs to David's Installation Block (1 Chronicles 23-26), where the Levites are classified into the four sub-groups (esp. 1 Chr 23:4-5). One of them is a group of officers and judges (1 Chr 23:4), whose duties are defined in 1 Chr 26:20-32. 1 Chr 26:20-32 can be divided into two units according to the roles of the Levites. The first unit, 1 Chr 26:20-28, presents a list of treasurers and their responsibilities, whereas the

second unit, 1 Chr 26:29-32, concerns the officers and judges and their duties.[352] The latter introduces the Levites for the 'outside work' on the west side and the east side of the Jordan River. Since our focus is on the temple economy, the second unit (1 Chr 26:29-32) will be excluded from our analysis.

1 Chr 26:10-28 is not structured systematically unlike the previous passages in the section of 1 Chronicles 23-26. There is no mention of the twenty-four divisions of the Levitical treasurers or about their work shifts. Moreover, this passage is not homogeneous in its structure and literary style. Scholars have proffered various explanations of its heterogeneity in terms of its sources or the authorship. For instance, S. Japhet argues that the Chronicler combined two different sources here with verse 23.[353] Peter B. Dirksen divides this passage into two sub-units: the Chronicler's source text (vv. 21b, 22-24) and his own composition (vv. 20, 21a, and 25-28).[354] However, Williamson considers 1 Chr 26:20-28 to be a single literary unit derived from a source.[355] We will approach this text synchronically. What does the Chronicler claim about the Temple

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[352] Although we divide 1 Chr 26:20-32 into two according to the roles of the Levites, it can be divided into two units according to its literary structure. Verses 20-22 are differentiated from verses 23-32 because of their literary structure. Especially, verses 23-32 are neatly arranged by their genealogical sub-branches. Verse 23 introduces the four sub-units of the Kohathites. Verses 23, 29, 30 and 31 begin with a gentilic pronoun prefixed with *lāmed*, respectively, in order to present each of the four sub-units of the Kohathites. However, the Uzzielites are not mentioned in the following verses, although it is introduced in verse 23. Verses 20-22 do not share this structure. For this reason, some scholars suggest that the Chronicler here integrated data taken from two different sources. See, Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 454.

[353] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 454.

[354] Peter B. Dirksen, "The Composition of 1 Chronicles 26:20-32," *JNSL* 24 (1988): 144-155. When Dirksen mentions here the Chronicler's source, it should be differentiated from our term, 'the Chronicler's source,' which means the books of Samuel and Kings. Dirksen's term designates an unknown source which the Chronicler might have used to compose this passage. In other words, Dirksen explains the heterogeneity of the text in terms of a putative source and its redaction. For Dirksen, this redactor is the Chronicler.

[355] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 171.

treasurers and how are their duties related to the temple economy? How is the heterogeneity of the text resolved in the context?

2.2.2.1. Literary Analysis of 1 Chr 26:20-28

V. 20   והלוים אחיה על־אוצרות בית האלהים ולאצרות הקדשים:

The Chronicler claims that, during the reign of David, the Levites were assigned to be in charge of the treasuries of the house of God (על־אוצרות בית האלהים) and the treasuries of the dedicated gifts (לאצרות הקדשים). These two types of treasuries are treated in vv. 21-22 and vv. 24-28, respectively. Verse 20 serves as a superscription for the whole passage.[356]

The Chronicler's description deviates from those of other biblical authors.[357] First, the Levitical affiliation of the treasurers is not a matter of fact elsewhere. While the Chronicler claims that the Levites are assigned as temple treasurers, the other authors present various professionals as temple treasurers, such as priests and scribes as well as the Levites (e.g., Neh 13:13).

Second, the Chronicler's differentiation between the two treasuries in this verse is peculiar. Two types of treasuries are mentioned several times in Chronicles: 2 Chr 12:9 (//1 Kgs 14:26); 2 Chr 16:2 (//1 Kgs 15:18) and 2 Chr 36:18 (//2 Kgs 24:13). All these verses distinguish the temple treasuries (אצרות בית־יהוה) from the royal treasuries (אצרות בית המלך). 2 Chr 12:9 relates how Shishak raided Jerusalem and looted the sacred and royal treasuries during the reign of Rehoboam. 2 Chr 36:18 reports that the Babylonians

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[356] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 314.

[357] The comparison between the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple treasurers and those of other biblical authors will be presented again in section 2.2.4. In the present section, we want to give more attention to the Chronicler's descriptions than in section 2.2.4.

took all the treasures from the temple treasuries and the royal treasuries. These two

verses indicate that two distinct types of treasuries had existed throughout the monarchy

once the Temple was built.[358]

Meanwhile, 1 Chr 26:20 classifies the two types of treasuries in a different way: the

treasuries of the Temple and the treasuries of the dedicated gifts (אצרות הקדשים). The

royal treasuries are not mentioned. This classification only appears here (1 Chr 26:20

and 26) and in 1 Chr 28:12.[359] The peculiarity of the Chronicler's classification will be

dealt with when we exegete 1 Chr 26:23-28, concerning the treasuries of the dedicated

things.

The second word of verse 20, אחיה is grammatically problematic since the antecedent

plural noun (the Levites) requires a plural noun (at least two people). Scholars have

suggested that it should be read as אחיהם, 'their brethren' based on LXX 1 Chr 26:20.[360]

This reading seems to be reasonable since a proper noun Ahijah, does not fit syntactically

in verse 20 or in the subsequent context.

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[358] The other references to the temple treasuries and the royal treasuries are 1 Kgs 15:18//2 Chr 16:2 (during the reign of King Asa); 2 Kgs 12:19 (during the reign of King Jehoash); 2 Kgs 14:14//2 Chr 25:24 (during the reign of King Amaziah);2 Kgs 16:8 (during the reign of King Ahaz); 2 Kgs 18:15 (during the reign of King Hezekiah); and 2 Kgs 24:13 (during the reign of Jehoachin). These references to the two treasuries indicate that the Chronicler does not merely follows his sources in reporting a series of despoliations of the Temple and royal treasuries by domestic or foreign kings. As for the Chronicler's treatment of his *Vorlage* in this matter, see, Gary N. Knoppers, "Treasures Won and Lost: Royal (Mis)Appropriations in Kings and Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author*, 181-208.

[359] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 317.

[360] The following scholars have read אחיה as אחיהם: W. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher*, 174); H. G. M. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 172); R. Klein (*1 Chronicles*, 494); R. Braun (*1 Chronicles*, 249); Steven L. McKenzie (*1-2 Chronicles*, 202); W. Johnstone (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 263); and Gary N. Knoppers (*1 Chronicles 10-29*, 874).

If we emend אחיה as אחיהם ('their brethren'), the antecedent of 'their' should be the Korahites and the Merarites, who are introduced in the previous passage (verses 1-19).[361] Who, then, will be 'the Levites their brethren' (הלוים אחיהם)? Which Levites does the Chronicler designate as the brethren of the Korahites and the Merarites? The answer to this question depends on how one understands literary relations between verses 21-22 and verses 24-28. Scholars, who hold that verses 24-28 as secondary, argue that 'their brethren' should be the Gershonite Levites since their duties are introduced in the following verses 21-22.[362] For instance, R. Braun suggests that the Gershonites originally supervised both types of the treasuries, and the Amramites in verses 24-28 were added secondarily. However, he neither gives any reason why the Amramites were added, nor explains how this later addition works in the overall context.

When this passage is read sequentially, the phrase 'their brethren' designates the Gershonites (vv. 21-22) and the Amramites (vv. 24-28), both assigned by David to the treasuries. A synchronic reading gives a better sense of this passage as we will show below.

V. 21   בני לעדן בני הגרשני ללעדן ראשי האבות ללעדן הגרשני יחיאלי:
V. 22   בני יחיאלי זתם ויואל אחיו על־אצרות בית יהוה:

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[361] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 494.

[362] Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 253; and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 202. R. Braun argues that since the Kohathites and Merarites, two of the major three sub-clans of the Levites, and their cultic duties have been already introduced in the previous section, it is the time when the Gershonites, the third sub-clan of the Levites, and their duties are to be introduced. For this reason, R. Braun claims that the phrase, 'the Levites their brethren' naturally designates the Gershonites. The chapters, 1 Chr 24-26, however, are not structured by genealogical clans of the Levites, but by the roles of the Levites, such as the priests, musicians, gatekeepers, and temple treasurers. While the previous section, 1 Chr 26:1-19, introduces the Korahites and Merarities as the Levitical gatekeepers, the following section, 1 Chr 26:20-28, introduces the Gershonites and Amramites as the temple treasurers. The Korahites and Amramites are all belonging to the Kohathites. This fact implies that 1 Chr 26:1-28 is not organized genealogically, but rather by each profession. In this sense, we read 1 Chr 26:20-28 as a literary unit, which introduces the temple treasurers.

1 Chr 26:21-22 introduce the clans of Ladan, the Gershonites, who are in charge of 'the treasuries of the Temple' (על־אצרות בית יהוה). Commentators have raised three main exegetical problems in 1 Chr 26:21-22. Verse 21 is considered a corrupted text for three reasons.[363] First, בני לעדן (the sons of Ladan), בני הגרשני ללעדן (the sons of the Gershonites belonging to Ladan) and ראשי האבות ללעדן הגרשני (the chiefs of the fathers' houses belonging to Ladan the Gershonite) are varied formulations of the same meaning. It looks redundant. Second, the plural noun (ראשי) in the phrase האבות ללעדן הגרשני ראשי is strangely referred to a single man, Jehieli, as S. Japhet points out.[364] Third, verse 22 creates a contradiction against 1 Chr 23:8. Verse 22 seems to introduce the sons of Jehieli. Thus Zetham and Joel should be his two sons, but in 1 Chr 23:8, Jehiel is a brother of Zetham and Joel, not their father. For these reasons, various textual emendations have been suggested to solve these exegetical problems. We propose a better way to interpret them.

First, the apparent redundancy displayed in verse 21 has produced various approaches. Several scholars have suggested textual emendations. For instance, W. Rudolph suggests a drastic emending of verse 21 as follows: מבני לעדן הגרשני יחיאלי.[365] He cuts off 'בני הגרשני ללעדן ראשי האבות ללעדן' after the first two words of verse 21 considering them as redundancy and emends the first word from בני to מבני in order to make sense of the following referent, Jehieli, a single man. Similarly, S. Japhet argues בני הגרשני ללעדן

[363] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 174; Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 287; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 461; and Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 874-875.

[364] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 461.

[365] W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 174. According to this suggestion, the *mem* was lost from מבני לעדן by haplography since verse 20 ends with *mem*.

as a later addition 'as a superfluous dittography' of the previous phrase בני לעדן.[366] However, E. L. Curtis considers that the phrase בני הגרשני ללעדן is in apposition with the previous one בני לעדן.[367] Peter B. Dirksen suggests a miner emendation: deleting only the beginning word of verse 21, בני.[368] On the other hand, R. Klein, Steven L. McKenzie, and Gary N. Knoppers, instead of resorting to textual emendation, have treated these verses as a reflection of a social change between the families[369] or a reflection of a difference in the genealogist's perspective,[370] or as an expansion of genealogical specification.[371]

No textual witnesses support the textual emendations that the above-quoted commentators have suggested. The following table contains several ancient readings of 1 Chr 26:21-22. The phrases in bold or underlined are additions as compared with the MT. Although there are several minor exceptions, this table shows that ancient translations faithfully follow the MT. In other words, the ancient translators seem not to have considered the first three phrases of verse 21 as redundancy unlike modern readers.

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[366] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 461.

[367] Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 286.

[368] Drksen, *1 Chronicles*, 317-318.

[369] McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 202.

[370] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 494.

[371] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 875.

Table 16. Various Readings of 1 Chr 26:21-22

MT	בני לעדן בני הגרשני ללעדן ראשי האבות ללעדן הגרשני יחיאלי בני יחיאלי זתם ויואל אחיו על־אצרות בית יהוה:
LXX^B	υἱοὶ Χαδαν(λαδαν:b; λεδαν:Afgh; δααδαν:e₂) οὗτοι,Γηρσωνεί τῷ Λαδαν **καὶ 'Ιαιεὴλ τοῦ 'Ιού υἱοὶ'Ιειὴλ** ἄρχοντες πατριῶν τῷ Λαδαν τῷ Γηρσωνει'Ιειήλ. υἱοὶ'Ιειὴλ Ζεθομ καὶ'Ιωὴλ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν οἴκου κυρίου.
LXX^ANbfhze2	υἱοὶ λεδαν οὗτοι,Γηρσωνεί τῷ Λαδαν ἄρχοντες πατριῶν τῷ Λαδαν τῷ Γηρσωνει'Ιειήλ. **καὶ** υἱοὶ'Ιειὴλ Ζεθομ καὶ'Ιωὴλ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν οἴκου κυρίου.
Targum	בני לעדן בני גרשון ללעדן רישי אבהתא ללעדן <u>מבית</u> גרשון יחיאל: בני יחיאל זתם ויואל אחוי על אוריירי בית מקדשא דייי:
Peshitta	ܟܢܘܗ, ܕܠܚܝ ܡ ܟܢܪ ܟܚܥܐ. ܠܠܚܝ ܬܼܢܪ ܐܟܘܬܐ. ܠܠܚܝ ܟܚܥܢܐ ܘܝܠ. ܟܢܘܗ, ܕܝܚܠ. ܝܬܡ ܡܐܠ ܐܝܘܡ, ܚܠ ܐܡܝ ܐܝ ܘܚܠ ܚܬܚ ܡܬܝܐ.
Vulgate	*filii Ledan filii Gersonni de Ledan principes familiarum Ledan et Gersonni Ieiheli* *filii Ieiheli Zathan et Iohel frater eius super thesauros domus Domini*

Moreover, the redundancy found in verse 21 seems to have a purpose. The second

and third phrases (ראשי האבות ללעדן הגרשני and בני הגרשני ללעדן) are in apposition with

the first phrase (בני לעדן) and appear to have been added to emphasize Ladan's

genealogical connection to Gershon. Verse 21 begins with בני לעדן, by which 'the sons

of Ladan' is introduced. This opening implies that the Chronicler's emphasis is on the

sons of Ladan. The second phrase specifies them as Gershonites: 'the sons of the

Gershonites belonging to Ladan.' This specification underlines the genealogical

connection between Ladan and Gershon.

However, the genealogical connection between Ladan and Gershon is not obvious in

the Hebrew Bible outside of Chronicles. Ladan appears only in Chronicles: 1 Chr 7:26;

23:7, 8, 9; 26:21. While a Ladan in 1 Chr 7:26 is an Ephraimite, another Ladan in the

other verses is the son of Gershon. According to 1 Chr 23:7, Ladan is the son of Gershon, along with Shimei. Nevertheless, elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, the sons of Gershon are Libni and Shimei (Exod 6:17; Num 3:18, 21; 1 Chr 6:2). In other words, in 1 Chronicles 23-26, Ladan replaces Libni.[372] In general, such replacements stress the genealogical connection between a renowned ancestor and the replaced person, in this case Gershon and Ladan. The Chronicler stresses this genealogical connection once again by specifying Ladan as a Gershonite with the third phrase: 'the chiefs of the fathers' houses belonging to Ladan the Gershonite' (ראשי האבות ללעדן הגרשני). This third phrase connects 1 Chr 26:21 to 1 Chr 23:9 which concludes the list of sons of Ladan with the same phrase (אלה ראשי האבות ללעדן). Thus, the second and third phrases in verse 21 were added to emphasize Ladan's genealogical connection to Gershon. Therefore, we suggest that the first three phrases of verse 21 should not be considered as redundancy, but rather as the Chronicler's intentional emphasis.

The second exegetical problem of verse 21 (the plural noun ראשי is followed by a single referent) and the third one of verse 22 (an apparent contradiction to 1 Chr 23:8) will be dealt together here. As we have mentioned above, W. Rudolph solves the second problem by emending the text (from בני to מבני) and resolves the third one by simply reading אחיו of verse 22 as a gloss based on 1 Chr 23:8.[373] S. Japhet suggests reading the beginning of verse 22 as Jehilei (יחיאלי), instead of the sons of Jehieli (יחיאלי בני) in

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[372] R. Klein suggests that Ladan may have once been a descendant of Libni, but later replaced him in the genealogy (Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 494). G. N. Knoppers also argues this as an example of the Chronicler's telescopic genealogy, whose purpose is to tie someone in the monarchic period to their ancestors in the wilderness period (Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 877-878).

[373] G. N. Knoppers also follows this suggestion (Knoppers, *1Chronicles 10-29*, 875).

order not to cause any contradiction to 1 Chr 23:8.[374] For the same reason, E. L. Curtis

simply deletes בני יחיאלי from verse 22 since he considers it as a gloss.[375] However, no

textual witnesses support such emendations as Table 16 shows.

The second exegetical problem and the third one can be resolved at the same time

when we read verses 21 and 22 consecutively without a break. Since all three phrases in

verse 21 are in apposition with one another, as we have argued above, Jehieli cannot be

the sole referent of these three phrases. All of them are referring to plural persons ('sons'

of the first and second phrases, and 'chiefs' of the third phrase). If verses 21 and 22 are

read sequentially, the sons of Ladan are Jehieli,[376] sons of Jehieli, Zetham and his brother

Joel.[377] Thus the contradiction between 1 Chr 26:22 (Jehieli is the father of Zotham and

Joel) and 1 Chr 23:8 (Jehieli is the brother of Zotham and Joel) is resolved by reading

verses 21 and 22 together. Therefore, verses 21-22 run as follows: 'the sons of Ladan,

the sons of Gershon belonging to Ladan, the chiefs of the fathers' houses of Ladan the

Gershonite, Jehieli, sons of Jehieli, Zetham and his brother Joel, were over the treasuries

of the House of the LORD.'

This exegesis successfully resolves the problems on 1 Chr 26:21-22 that

commentators have raised. Thus 1 Chr 26:21-22 introduced the Levites who were in

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[374] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 461.

[375] Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 286.

[376] Here Jehieli has a gentilic form. Since it is very rare that the proper noun has a gentilic form, the LXX and the Targum read it as Jehiel. Edward L. Curtis argues that Jehieli is an incorrect reading of Jehiel. In fact, Jehieli appears as Jehiel in 1 Chr 23:8 and 29:8. Since they share the same genealogical lineage, it is clear that the two names designate the same person. According to 1 Chr 29:8, Jehiel the Gershonite was in charge of the treasuries of the house of the Lord during the reign of David. Curits and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 286; and also Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 317.

[377] Williamson already suggested that verses 21-22 should be taken together, but he did not give the reason for his argument (Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 172).

charge of the treasuries of the Temple: they are the sons of Ladan, the Gershonites, specifically Jehieli, sons of Jehieli, Zetham and his brother Joel.

To summarize, verse 20 functioned as an introduction of the Chronicler's presentation of the Levites who were in charge of the treasuries of the Temple and the treasuries of the dedicated things. In turn, verses 21-22 introduced the Levites who were in charge of the treasuries of the Temple: they are the sons of Ladan, the Gershonites. These verses do not provide any further details about the treasuries of the Temple since the Chronicler's purpose here is to introduce the Temple treasurers, rather than to describe their office itself.[378]

V. 23   לעמרמי ליצהרי לחברוני לעזיאלי:

Verse 23 introduces the four sub-clans of the Kohathites: the Amramites; the Izharites; the Hebronites; and the Uzzielites.[379] In the subsequent verses (vv. 24-32), each of these clans is presented in the same order, excluding the Uzzielites: the Amramites (vv. 24-28); the Izharites (v.29); the Hebronites (vv.30-32). For this reason, verse 23 is considered an introduction to the following passage, which is based on information from an independent source.[380] However, there is a logical connection between verses 21-22 and verses 23-32. While verses 21-22 are about the descendants of Gershon, the first son of Levi, verses 23-32 are related to the descendants of Kohath, the second son of Levi. The

[378] Scholars have suggested that the temple treasuries would have contained utensils and supplies needed for daily sacrifices (Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 494; and Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 172). A further speculation about the function and administration of the temple treasuries will be given in the next chapter, where we deal with the major *loci* of the temple economy.

[379] The Chronicler's list of the four sub-clans of the Kohathites correspond to that which appears in Exod 6:18; Num 3:27; 1 Chr 5:28; 6:3. In the Pentateuchal material, the Kohathites' duty for the Tabernacle is more prestigious than any other Levitical duties. It is the Kohathites who can carry the ark, the table, the lampstand, the altars, the vessels of the sanctuary (Num 3:31). However, the Chronicler's description of the Kohathites' duty for the Temple does not exactly correspond to this Priestly tradition.

[380] McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 202.

descendants of Merari, the third son of Levi, have already been mentioned in the preceding passage, 1 Chr 26:1-19. This connection between verses 21-22 (בני הגרשני) and verses 23-32 (בני קהת) would have been clearer, if verse 23 began with בני קהת.

There is a reason why verse 23 begins with the Amramites instead of בני קהת. As verse 21 begins with the sons of Ladan instead of the sons of Gershon (in order to stress on the former), the Chronicler probably wanted to draw attention to the Amramites rather than to the Kohathites. The following five verses are describing the duties of the Amramites for the treasuries of the dedicated gifts.

V. 24   ושבאל בן־גרשום בן־משה נגיד[381] על־האצרות:

Verse 24 presents Shebuel, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses. According to the Chronicler, Shebuel was the chief officer over the treasuries. Shebuel is mentioned in 1 Chr 23:16 as the chief among the sons of Gershom, the son of Moses. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, Shebuel is not genealogically connected with Moses. While the two sons of Moses are introduced in Exod 2:22; 18:3-4; and 1 Chr 23:15, the grandsons' of Moses are not named. On the other hand, Shubael, a different spelling of Shebuel, appears three times in Chronicles: 1 Chr 25:4, 20 and 24:20. 1 Chr 25:4, 20 introduce a Shubael, the Hemanite. Thus, this Shubael is a different individual from Shebuel in 1 Chr 26:24.[382] Another Shubael appears in 1 Chr 24:20. 1 Chr 24:20-31 enumerates the names of the

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[381] The texts of LXX[AN] 1 Chr 26:24 correspond to the MT, but the manuscripts of LXX[Bc2] do not have a corresponding word of נגיד. This loss can be explained by a scribal error (haplography). If the Greek word for נגיד in the original script that the copiest had was ἐπιστάτης, his eyes could have been easily skipped to the next word (ἐπὶ of ἐπὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν) since the next word begins with the same letters (*homoioarkton*). This is supported by the fact that LXX[AN] 1 Chr 26:24 has another Greek word, ἡγούμενος for נגיד, instead of ἐπιστάτης. Thus, these minor textual variations do not affect our reading of the MT 1 Chr 26:24. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-26*, 875.

[382] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 878; and Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 318.

rest of the sons of Levi, who are not included in the divisions of the sons of Aaron (1 Chr 24:1-19). Shubael is the first name in this list. He is introduced as the Amramite. This fact implies that Shubael was an influential Levite during the reign of David according to the Chronicler. We conjecture that this Shubael in 1 Chr 24:20 is the same individual with Shebuel in 1 Chr 23:16 and 26:24. Thus, the Chronicler mentions Shebuel here as a representative figure of the Amramites. The genealogy of Shebuel here in 1 Chr 26:24 is a representative case of telescoped lineage, which in abbreviated form connects the person concerned to the important ancestor(s): Shebuel (a contemporary of David) -------Gershom - Moses.

Shebuel seems to be the chief officer over the treasuries. This interpretation depends on how one understands the relationship between verse 24 and verse 22 (the treasurers of the Temple) or verse 26 (the treasurers of the dedicated gifts). W. Rudolph argues that Shebuel was in charge of both treasuries.[383] If Shebuel is the chief officer over both treasuries, an orderly presentation should name him first. According to W. Rudolph, Shebuel's delayed appearance on the scene is caused by his genealogical origin: the Amramite. Peter B. Dirksen disagrees with this interpretation because he thinks that 1 Chr 26:24-32 was taken from an independent source which does not share the same view of the temple treasuries as the David's Installation Block (1 Chronicles 23-26).[384] He argues that differentiation of the Temple treasuries is found only in this David's Installation Block.

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[383] S. Japhet and H. G. M. Williamson also agree with W. Rudolph in this matter: see, Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 177; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 460-461; and Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 172.

[384] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 318-319.

There is certainly a literary seam between verse 22 and verse 24, which indicates redaction as Dirksen argues. However, we argue that it is reasonable to consider Shebuel as the chief officer over both treasuries, although Dirksen argues that Shebuel's responsibility cannot be decided. First, as we have argued above, Shebuel was a contemporary of David (1 Chr 23:16; 24:20; 26:24) and a leading figure among the Amramites. Given that the present context is related to David's installation of the temple treasuries, Shebuel fits this context. Second, the literary structure of 1 Chr 26:20-28 also supports Shebuel's leadership over the two treasuries. Verse 20 introduces both treasuries. Verses 22 and 26 present the Levitical clans who are in charge of the treasuries of the Temple and the treasuries of the dedicated gifts, respectively. Verse 24 is strategically located in between verse 22 and verse 26. When verse 24 introduces Shebuel as the chief officer of the treasuries, his responsibility is understood as connected to verse 22 and verse 26 at the same time. Moreover, Shebuel's title נגיד also supports our interpretation.[385] This title is given only to Shebuel in 1 Chr 26:20-28. This indicates his leading role in the administration of the treasuries. Therefore, we conclude that the Chronicler introduces Shebuel the Amramite, as a contemporary of David and a chief officer over both treasuries in the Temple.

V. 25   ואחיו לאליעזר רחביהו בנו וישעיהו בנו וירם בנו וזכרי בנו ושלמות[386] בנו:

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[385] In Chronicles, נגיד designates a king (1 Chr 11:2; 17:7; 28:4; 29:22; 2 Chr 6:5; 11:22 [a crown prince]), a chief priest (1 Chr 9:11; 2 Chr 19:11; 31:13; 35:8), a tribal leader (1 Chr 5:2; 12:27; 27:4; 27:16), a military leader (1 Chr 13:1; 2 Chr 11:11; 32:21), or a chief officer (1 Chr 26:24; 2 Chr 31:12) and the like. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 495.

[386] Shelomoth is a written form (*Ketib*) of the name, which is witnessed to LXX[BAal]. However, many other Hebrew manuscripts and LXX[L] have a *Qere* form of the name, Shelomith. The same name appears in MT 1 Chr 26:26 as Shelomoth, and in MT 1 Chr 26:28 as Shelomith. The relations between the *Ketib* and *Qere* forms are not simply pinned down, as E. Tov argues. Since in the same manuscript, two possible variants of the same name appear together, we may conclude that Shelomoth is an optional variant of Shelomith or

Verse 25 introduces the bretheren of Shebuel. These are genealogically connected to Eliezer, the second son of Moses (Exod 18:4; 1 Chr 23:15), whereas Shebuel is connected to Gershom, the first son of Moses. However, verse 25 actually presents only one individual, Shelomoth. The rest of the verse is the genealogy of Shelomoth. The interpretation of this genealogy depends on how to understand בנו, which appears five times in MT 1 Chr 26:25. According to 1 Chr 23:17, Eliezer has only one son, Rehabiah, but Rehabiah has many sons. LXX 1 Chr 26:25 reflects 1 Chr 23:17.[387] The LXX omits the last four occurrences of בנו, so that the last four individuals are understood as the sons of Rehabiah. However, the Lucianic recension (LXX[be2]) follows the MT. The Targum, the Peshitta and the Vulgate also follow the MT. Thus, there is no strong reason to change the MT according to the LXX.[388]

If we follow the MT's reading, verse 25 presents the linear genealogy of Shelomoth, in ten generations from Levi to Shelomoth.[389] This long genealogy forms a strong contrast with the telescopic lineage of Shebuel in verse 24.[390] The genealogy of Shelomoth makes him a contemporary of David and Solomon.[391] According to 1 Chr 5:29-34; 6:35-38, Zadok, the priest of David is in the tenth generation after Aaron, and

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vice versa. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 58-63; and also Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 875-876.

[387] Brooke et al, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek*, 465.

[388] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 174.

[389] Levi-Kohath-Amram-Moses-Eliezer-Rehabiah-Jeshaiah-Joram-Zichri-Shelomoth. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 495; and Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 462.

[390] Since the fact that Shebuel is a contemporary of David has been verified in 1Chr 24:20, there would be no need for the Chronicler to list the full linear genealogy of Shebuel in verse 24.

[391] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 495; and also Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 319.

David himself is in the tenth generation after Judah (1 Chr 2:3-5, 9-15).[392] Thus, verse 25

serves to specify the chronological setting of this passage: 'during the reign of David.'

The subsequent verses 26-28 are related to the treasuries of the dedicated gifts. For

this reason, it would be better to deal with them all together.

V. 26	הוא שלמות ואחיו על כל־אצרות הקדשים
	אשׁר הקדישׁ דויד המלך וראשׁי האבות לשׂרי־האלפים והמאות ושׂרי הצבא:
V. 27	מן־המלחמות ומן־השׁלל הקדישׁו לחזק לבית יהוה:
V. 28	וכל ההקדישׁ שׁמואל הראה ושׁאול בן־קישׁ ואבנר בן־נר וייואב בן־צרויה
	כל המקדישׁ על יד־שׁלמית ואחיו:

Verse 26 introduces Shelomoth and his brothers, who are in charge of the treasuries of

the dedicated gifts. It also enumerates the dedicators of gifts. While verse 27 explains

the source and purpose of these dedicated gifts, verse 28 adds some more names to the

list of dedicators of the gifts of verse 26.

Shebuel in verse 24 and Shelomith and his brothers in verse 26 are all the Amramites.

While Shebuel is in charge of both categories of the treasuries in the Temple, Shelomoth

and his brothers are in charge of the treasuries of the dedicated gifts.

Verses 26-28 explain what the treasuries of the dedicated gifts would contain.

According to the Chronicler, these gifts were the booty of war (v. 27),[393] which was

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[392] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 462; and Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 495.

[393] We interpret the phrase מן־המלחמות ומן־השׁלל as a hendiadys, following the interpretations of W. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher*, 174), Gary N. Knoppers (*1 Chronicles 10-29*, 876), and Peter B. Dirksen (*1 Chronicles*, 319). And also see, Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 70. The LXX reads this phrase in an expansionary way: ἃ ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων [LXX^{Bbe2}: πόλεων; LXX^{A}: πολέμων] καὶ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων (things which he took out of cities [wars] and from the spoils). Such a reading reflects that the translator did not consider the phrase מן־המלחמות ומן־השׁלל as a hendiadys, and tried to explain it in order to make a better sense of it. On the other hand, the Peshitta, the Targum and the Vulgate literally correspond to the MT. Thus, there is no need to emend the MT, based on the LXX.

dedicated by David, the chiefs of the clans, the officers of thousands and hundreds, and the other army officers (v. 26), as well as Samuel, Saul, Abner and Joab (v. 28). David's magnanimous support for the Temple is often highlighted in Chronicles.[394] According to 1 Chr 18:10-11, David dedicated to the Temple 'all sorts of articles of gold, silver, and of bronze,' which King Tou of Hamath sent to him. In 1 Chr 22:4 and 29:2-5, the Chronicler underscores David's profuse contributions to the Temple[395] and appeals to David's lay and military leaders to follow his example. As a result, the chiefs of the clans and the military leaders are reported to have dedicated a huge amount of precious metals for the service of the Temple (1 Chr 29:6-7).[396]

There is no explicit report in the Hebrew Bible that Samuel, Saul, Abner and Joab also dedicated any booty of war to the sanctuary,[397] but the Chronicler adds their names in the list of dedicators (v. 28). It seems that by adding the names of the earlier Israelite leaders, who led Israel militarily during the united monarchy, and thus collected war spoils, to the list of dedicators, the Chronicler intends to emphasize that the maintenance of the Temple is a duty of political and military leaders.[398]

Verse 27b explains that the purpose of these dedicated things is to maintain the Temple. Here the Chronicler uses the verb חזק. As many commentators have pointed out,

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[394] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 495.

[395] According to 1 Kgs 7:51 (//2 Chr 5:1), when Solomon built the Temple, he brought 'the things that his father David had dedicated, and stored the silver, the gold, and all the vessels' in the treasuries of the Temple. 2 Kgs 12:19 claims that other kings of Judah, especially, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah had also dedicated their votive offerings to the Temple.

[396] We could find a similar appeal in Josh 6:19, 24. It emphasizes that the precious metals taken as the booty of war should have been brought into the treasury of the Temple even way before the Temple was built.

[397] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 463.

[398] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 495-496; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 880; and also ibid, "Treasures Won and Lost," 194-297.

when the *Piel* form of verb חזק is used in relation to buildings, it usually means 'to repair.'[399] However, it can also be interpreted as 'to support' or 'to maintain' as in the cases of 2 Chr 11:17 and 29:34 ('to strengthen'). Since, in the present context of 1 Chronicles 26, the Temple has not yet been built, 'to maintain the Temple' would be a better interpretation.[400] The renderings of Peshitta and Targum reflect that of MT, but the rendering of LXX is again explanatory as in verse 27a: τοῦ μὴ καθυστερῆσαι τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεου ('so that the building of the house of God should not want [supplies] or be delayed').[401] This reading seems to reflect the translator's concern about the chronological context, in which the Temple was not yet built. The Vulgate also seems not to correspond to the MT literally; it reads the phrase לחזק לבית יהוה as *ad instaurationem et supellectilem templi Domini* (to the building and furniture of the temple of the Lord). We read this verse following the MT, since the renderings of LXX and the Vulgate seem to reflect the translators' concern to harmonize the text with its context.

   To sum up, in 1 Chr 26:20-28, the Chronicler claims that the treasuries of the Temple are divided into two categories: the treasuries of the house of God and the treasuries of

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[399] *HALOT*, 303; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 174; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 880; and Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 319. What follows are the cases where the *Piel* form of חזק means 'to repair': 2 Kgs 12:6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15 (Joash's repair of the Temple; also in 2 Chr 24:5, 12); 22:5-6 (Josiah's repair of the Temple; also in 2 Chr 34:8, 10); 2 Chr 29:3 (Hezekiah's repair of the Temple); and Neh 3:19 (Nehemiah's repair of the Wall). Interestingly, in the long list of those who participated in the repair of the Wall in Neh 3:1-32, the *Hiphil* form of verb חזק is used more than thirty times, but the *Piel* form of חזק is used only one time in Neh 3:19.

[400] W. Rudolph points out that verb חזק has an object, which is prefixed with *lāmed* in verse 27b unlike in the other occurrences, where the verb has a direct object either prefixed with את, or without any preposition. Based on this observation, Rudolph argues that verb חזק in verse 27b should be interpreted as 'to repair.' However, the preposition *lāmed*, with an active transitive verb, is used to mark a direct object as את does. Thus, the presence of *lāmed* cannot be a conclusive factor to decide the meaning of the verb, contra W. Rudolph. Only the context is a deciding factor for a better interpretation. S. Japhet and Gary N. Knoppers translate this phrase, 'to maintain.' See, Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 174; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 462; and Knoppers, 876. For the function of the preposition *lāmed*, refer to Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 184 and 210-211.

[401] The translation is mine.

the dedicated gifts. The former seems to store supplies needed for the regular sacrifices, while the latter keeps all the dedicated gifts donated for the maintenance of the Temple by the political and military leaders from war booty. Shebuel the Amramite is in charge of both treasuries, whereas Jehieli, sons of Jehieli, Zetham and his brother Joel (the Gershonites) are in charge of the treasuries of the Temple, and Shelomith and his brothers are in charge of the treasuries of the dedicated gifts. This installation of the treasuries is a part of David's measures for the Temple administration.

2.2.3. The Consistency of the Chronicler's Descriptions of the Temple Treasurers

We have observed that the Chronicler's treatments of the temple treasurers in 1 Chronicles 9 and 1 Chronicles 26 are quite different in terms of the types of treasuries and of the officeholders. Does this fact imply inconsistency of the Chronicler's treatment of the temple treasurers? A comparison of these two texts within the Chronicler's timeframe helps to answer this question. For this comparison, we will add another text, 2 Chr 31:11-16.[402] Although it does not belong to David's Installation Block, 2 Chr 31:11-16 is directly related to the temple treasuries and has strong indications that it is the Chronicler's work.

In 2 Chr 31:11-16, Hezekiah orders that the store chambers be prepared in the Temple for the surplus of people's contributions for the clergy. He appoints the Temple staff to supervise them. Their purpose is clearly specified in 2 Chr 31:12: to store the gifts

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[402] All of 1 Chronicles 31 reports Hezekiah's innovative measures to establish the economic basis for the maintenance of the Temple. This chapter does not have any parallels in the book of Kings. In this chapter, the Chronicler claims that Hezekiah reconstituted the divisions of the priests and Levites according to their office (v. 2), and reconfirmed the king's duty for the steady proceedings of the regular sacrificial activities (v. 3). Furthermore, Hezekiah made people contribute for the support of the clergy (vv. 4-7) by bringing the tithes of all kinds of agricultural produce to the Temple. In order to store the people's contribution, Hezekiah ordered that the store chambers be built in the Temple (v. 11). The last section of the chapter relates a program for the distribution of people's contribution among the priests and the Levites.

(התרומה), the tithes (המעשׂר), and the sacred things (הקדשׁים), all of which will be distributed to the priests and Levites.[403] The supervision of these store chambers is the responsibility of Conaniah the Levite and his brother. They will be assisted by ten more officials appointed by the king and high priest (v. 13). Furthermore, Kore, the keeper of the east gate, is in charge of the freewill offerings (נדבה), gifts (תרומה), and the most sacred things (קדשׁי הקדשׁים). He is the one who allocates all of them to the priests and Levites according to each group's share (v. 14). Kore is assisted by six more officials in the priestly towns (v. 15).[404]

The Chronicler's claims about the treasurers in the Temple in the three different passages (1 Chr 9:26-29, 1 Chr 26:20-28 and 2 Chr 31:11-16) can be listed according to the Chronicler's chronological framework as follows:

Table 17. The Chronicler's Various Descriptions about Treasurers

Time	David's reign	Hezekiah's reign	The Post-exilic period
Text	1 Chr 26:20-28	2 Chr 31:10-11	1 Chr 9:26-29
Offices	האצרות בית יהוה and האצרות הקדשׁים.	הלשׁכות בבית יהוה, where people's contribution is kept.	The supervision of הלשׁכות and האצרות בית האלהים.
Officials	Shebuel is in charge of both categories of the treasuries; The Gershonites are in charge of האצרות בית יהוה and the Amramites are in charge of האצרות הקדשׁים.	For the process of storage, Conaniah and his brother are in charge and they will be assisted by ten more officials, but for the process of distribution, Kore, the gatekeeper of the east gate, is in charge, and he will also be assisted by six more officials.	The four chief gatekeepers will supervise the הלשׁכות and האצרות בית האלהים.

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[403] The definition and possible connation of the gifts (התרומה), the tithes (המעשׂר), and the sacred things (הקדשׁים) in the different contexts will be given in Chapter Three, where we deal with the temple revenue.

[404] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 966-967; and Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 373-374.

This table shows that הקדשים האצרות are not mentioned in the post-exilic context. But הלשכות, said to have been built during the reign of Hezekiah, are mentioned in the post-exilic context.[405] These changes can be explained by the socio-historical changes in Israel and Judah. האצרות הקדשים, which kept the war booty dedicated by the king or military leaders, had no more relevance in the post-exilic setting. On the contrary, the significance of הלשכות, which kept the people's contribution for the support of the clergy, will have greatly increased in the post-exilic situation. This is demonstrated by the fact that the references to הלשכות attached to the Temple mostly appear in the exilic or post-exilic texts.[406]

Although the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple treasuries show a number of changes, those changes cannot be interpreted as evidence of the Chronicler's arbitrary treatment of his sources if we respect his chronological distinctions. From the monarchic period to the post-exilic period, the Chronicler consistently claims that the Levites were appointed to supervise and maintain these treasuries. In this sense, the Chronicler's claim is not harmonious with the other biblical authors' descriptions of the Temple treasurers.

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[405] According to 1 Chr 28:11-12, David handed over his plan for the future Temple to Solomon, his successor. In this blueprint, the store chambers and treasuries of the Temple are already included. Thus the novelty of Hezekiah's measure to build the store chambers lies not in the chambers themselves, but in their purpose, that is to store the people's contribution.

[406] לשכה occurs 47 times in the Hebrew Bible: 8 times in Jeremiah; 23 times in Ezekiel 40-48; twice in Ezra; 7 times in Nehemiah; 5 times in Chronicles; once in 1 Sam 9:22 and in 2 Kgs 23:11. The references to the store chambers attached to the Temple can be roughly classified by their usages as follows: (1) treasury rooms: 1 Chr 28:12 and Ezr 8:29; (2) storerooms for offerings: Ezek 42:12-13; Neh 13:5; (3) storerooms for tithes of fruit, grain, wine and oil: Neh 10:38-40; Neh 12:44; 13:5; 2 Chr 31:11-12; (4) storerooms for frankincense: Neh 13:5; (5) storerooms for the sacred vessels: Neh 13:5; (6) the holy chambers for the priests for cooking of offerings: Ezek 46:19; (7) A washing room for offerings: Ezek 40:38; (8) a space for the sacrificial meal: Ezek 42:13 and the like. For these statistics, refer to A. Even-Shoshan, ed., *A New Concordance of the Bible: Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible Hebrew and Aramaic Roots, Words, Proper Names, Phrases and Synonyms* (Yerushalayim: Kiryat-Sefer, 2000), 612; D. Kellerman, "לשכה," *TDOT* 3:33-38; and also Louis Jonker, "לשכה," *NIDOT* 1:822-823.

The following section will address the differences between the Chronicler's claim about the Temple treasurers and the other biblical authors' claims.

2.2.4. The Chronicler's Distinctive Claims about the Temple Treasurers

The references to the Temple treasurers are very rare in the Hebrew Bible. Only a few references are found outside of Chronicles, such as Neh 12:44; 13:5 and 12-13.[407] According to Neh 12:44, Nehemiah appointed people over the chambers in the Temple treasuries. Unfortunately, it is not mentioned who they were. Before Nehemiah's reform, a large chamber of the treasury was overseen by Tobiah (Neh 13:5). However, Nehemiah, during his second term, appointed the temple treasurers, which were composed of a priest, a scribe, a Levite and one officer (Neh 13:13).[408] Although each member's identity is not clear, it is evident that they are not all Levites.[409] The officials involved in the temple treasuries, though they are not named as the temple treasurers in the text, are often a mixed group of priests and Levites. For instance, Ezra 8:33-34 introduces the officials who weighed out the gold, the silver and the vessels which Ezra brought from Babylon, and recorded them. They are two priests and two Levites. Neh 10:39 also relates that the priests were with the Levites when the Levites received the tithes from the people. On

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[407] Victor P. Hamilton, "אצר," *NIDOT* 1:487-489.

[408] J. Schaper argues that the scribe in Neh 13:13 is the Zadokite since his name is Zadok, and another assistant Hanan is the Levite because of his genealogy. Thus, 'the treasurers' committee, named by J. Schaper, is composed of two priests and two Levites, if his conjecture is correct. Schaper, "The Temple Treasury committee in the Times of Nehemiah and Ezra," 201-202.

[409] In the book of Ezra-Nehemiah the Levites are distinguished from the priests. Concerning the cultic activities the Levites always accompany the priests to assist them (Neh 12:47). However, the Levites are a member of the assembly which is composed of priests, the Levites and the heads of the families (Ezra 1:5; 2:70; 3:12 *et als*.). The organization of the temple personnel seems to have already been fixed: the priests, the Levites, the singers, the gatekeepers, the temple servants, and the descendants of Solomon's servants (Ezra 2:40-55; Neh 7:43-60; 7:73; 10:28). The singers and gatekeepers are not included into the Levites, unlike in Chronicles. Nevertheless the multiple functions of the Levites are represented in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. The Levites are depicted as teachers (Neh 8:7, 9), treasurers (Neh 13:13), tax collectors (Neh 10:37-39) and officers (Ezra 3:9) as well as cultic personnel.

the contrary, the Chronicler claims that the Temple treasurers were Levites throughout the history of Israel. Moreover, these were under supervision of the four chief gatekeepers according to 1 Chr 9:26-29.

Once again, one should ask why assigning the Temple treasurers among the Levites were significant to the Chronicler, and what this could imply for our understanding of the economic activities in the Temple in the Persian period. We will argue, in Chapter Three, that the Chronicler's incorporation of temple treasurers among the Levites is closely related to his ideal program for the temple administration. However, before proposing this argument, to answer the questions that we have raised above, we will deal with several *loci* in the Temple, where the major economic activities could have happened, based on the Chronicler's data: the temple gates, the store rooms and treasuries. How are these places portrayed in antiquity? Can we hypothesize about possible economic activities that would have been conducted in those places? These will be our main questions, which will be dealt with in the next chapter. Before moving to these topics, we need to do our exegetical work on the final set of texts related to the tax collectors: 2 Chr 24:5-11; 34:9-13.

2.3. The Chronicler's Descriptions of Tax Collectors

The final set of texts concerning the Levitical involvement in the temple economy is 2 Chr 24:5-11 and 34:8-13. Both texts describe repair work on the Temple during the reigns of Joash and Josiah, respectively. Unlike the texts which we have dealt with previously, these two texts do not belong to David's Installation Block. Furthermore, they are not the Chronicler's additions to his sources, but rather the product of his redactional work on 2 Kgs 12:5-11 and 22:3-7. However, these texts are important for our study since they provide an important piece of information concerning the temple tax.[410] Although the tax might have been an important source of the temple revenue, there are not many textual resources in the Hebrew Bible related to this topic. 2 Chr 24:5-11 and 34:8-13 articulate when, how, and why the temple tax was collected, and who was involved in collecting the tax. Moreover, these two texts exhibit the characteristic features of the Chronicler's redaction, illustrating the Chronicler's distinctive tendencies, which are found in David's Installation Block. Thus, the two texts can disclose the Chronicler's distinctive view on the matter of temple tax. We will treat each of the two texts separately, and then consider them together in the end of this section (section 2.3.3).

2.3.1. The Literary Analysis of 2 Chr 24:5-11

2 Chr 24:4-14 is a literary unit which is related to King Joash's restoration of the Temple. Since our concern is not the restoration process itself, but the Levitical involvement in the temple economy, we will focus on verses 5-11, where the Levites are involved in the collection of the money from people. Although 2 Chr 24:5-11 is not

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[410] Here we are using the term 'temple tax' following other scholars who interpret the money collected in 2 Chr 24:5-11 and 2 Chr 34:8-13 as a tax. But we will eventually argue that it was not a tax, but rather an offertory or contribution from people.

material unique to the Chronicler, the passage clearly shows the Chronicler's work as a redactor. The Chronicler maintains the basic concern of his source, 2 Kgs 12:5-11, where King Joash took actions to secure the financing for repairing the Temple. However, the Chronicler deviates from his source in the descriptions of Joash's measures to secure the funds and of the agents who execute the king's measures. The following table will highlight how the Chronicler has changed his source, 2 Kgs 12:5-11. The Chronicler's drastic changes of his source are underlined in the table.

Table 18. A Synopsis of 2 Kgs 12:5-11 and 2 Chr 24:5-11

MT 2 Chr 24:5-11	MT 2 Kgs 12:5-11
v.5 ויקבץ את־הכהנים והלוים ויאמר להם צאו לערי יהודה וקבצו מכל־ישראל כסף לחזק את־בית אלהיכם מדי שנה בשנה ואתם תמהרו לדבר ולא מהרו הלוים:	v.5 ואמר יהואש אל־הכהנים כל כסף הקדשים אשר־יובא בית־יהוה כסף עובר איש כסף נפשות ערכו כל־כסף אשר יעלה על לב־איש להביא בית יהוה:
	v.6 יקחו להם הכהנים איש מאת מכרו והם יחזקו את־בדק הבית לכל אשר־ימצא שם בדק:
	v.7 ויהי בשנת עשרים ושלש שנה למלך יהואש לא־חזקו הכהנים את־בדק הבית:
v.6 ויקרא המלך ליהוידע הראש ויאמר לו מדוע לא־דרשת על־הלוים להביא מיהודה ומירושלם את־משאת משה עבד־יהוה והקהל לישראל לאהל העדות:	v.8 ויקרא המלך יהואש ליהוידע הכהן ולכהנים ויאמר אלהם מדוע אינכם מחזקים את־בדק הבית ועיה אל־תקחו־כסף מאת מכריכם כי־לבדק הבית תתנהו:
	v.9 ויאתו הכהנים לבלתי קחת־כסף מאת העם ולבלתי חזק את־בדק הבית:
v.7 כי עתליהו המרשעת בניה פרצו את־בית האלהים וגם כל־קדשי בית־יהוה עשו לבעלים:	
v.8 ויאמר המלך ויעשו ארון אחד ויתנהו בשער בית־יהוה חוצה:	v.10 ויקח יהוידע הכהן ארון אחד ויקב חר בדלתו ויתן אתו אצל המזבח בימין בבוא־איש בית יהוה ונתנו־שמה הכהנים שמרי הסף את־כל־הכסף המובא בית־יהוה:
v.9 ויתנו־קול ביהודה ובירושלם להביא ליהוה משאת משה עבד־האלהים על־ישראל במדבר:	
v.10 וישמחו כל־השרים וכל־העם ויביאו וישליכו לארון עד־לכלה:	

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MT 2 Chr 24:5-11	MT 2 Kgs 12:5-11
v.11 ויהי בעת יביא את־הארון אל־פקדת המלך ביד הלוים וכראותם כי־רב הכסף ובא סופר המלך ופקיד כהן הראש ויערו את־הארון וישאהו וישיבהו אל־מקמו כה עשו ליום ביום ויאספו־כסף לרב:	v. 11 ויהי כראותם כי־רב הכסף בארון ויעל ספר המלך והכהן הגדול ויצרו וימנו את־הכסף הנמצא בית־יהוה:

First, the Chronicler included the Levites in the process of restoring the Temple though they are not mentioned in 2 Kings 12 (cf. 2 Chr 24:5, 6, and 11).[411] Second, the Chronicler leaves a trace of his editorial tendency to connect the Temple with the sanctuary in the wilderness period (2 Chr 24:6, 9), as we have observed in 1 Chronicles 9. Third, the Chronicler highlights the people's reaction to Joash's new measures to secure funds for the restoration of the Temple as שמח, as he often draws attention to the people's joyful reaction (1 Chr12:40; 15:25; 29:9, 22; 2 Chr 7:10; 15:15; 20:27; 23:13, 21; 24:10; 29:36; 30:21, 23, 25, 26).[412]

Our detailed literary analysis of 2 Chr 24:5-11 will reveal what the Chronicler describes about the temple tax and the Levitical role with regard to it.

V. 5   ויקבץ את־הכהנים והלוים ויאמר להם
צאו לערי יהודה וקבצו מכל־ישראל כסף לחזק את־בית אלהיכם
מדי שנה בשנה ואתם תמהרו לדבר ולא מהרו הלוים:

2 Chr 24:5 is a parallel to 2 Kgs 12:5-7. According to 2 Kgs 12:5-7, King Joash commanded the priests to set aside money which belonged to the following categories in order to repair the Temple: (1) כל כסף הקדשים אשר־יובא בית־יהוה (All the money offered

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[411] For the following summary of the Chronicler's editorial tendencies, we have referred to R. Dillard's commentary (Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 187).

[412] W. Johnstone also comments that 'responding with joy' is the Chronicler's key term for the ideal, united response of the community (W. Johnstone, *2 Chronicles 10-36: Guilt and Atonement* [Vol. 2 of *1 and 2 Chronicles*; 2 vols.; JSOTSup 254; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 141).

as sacred donations); (2) כסף עובר איש כסף נפשות ערכו (the money for which each person is assessed-- the money from the assessment of persons); and (3) כל־כסף אשר יעלה על לב־איש להביא בית יהוה (the money from the voluntary offerings brought into the Temple).[413] But, the priests had not obeyed the king's command till the twenty-third year of his reign.

The Chronicler's picture is somewhat different. First, whereas in the narrative of 2 Kings 12, the king summons only the priests, in that of 2 Chronicles 24, he commanded the Levites as well as the priests. This change is not surprising since the Chronicler has shown the great concern to highlight the roles of the Levites in the temple administration. Still, the question of why the Chronicler included the Levites here needs to be addressed. However, this question will be tackled after we get a clear picture of what role the Chronicler attributes to the Levites in the tax collection.

Second, the Chronicler changed the king's command to finance the restoration of the Temple. Instead of soliciting the people's donations to the Temple (2 Kings 12), the king commands the priests and the Levites to go out and collect money annually from Judah and all Israel to repair the Temple (2 Chronicles 24). Why did the Chronicler change the king's command? How significant was this change?

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[413] The relationship between these three categories is not so obvious. Some commentators translate these as three different categories: John Gray (*I & II Kings* [OTL; London: SCM Press, 1970], 585). But, T. H. Hobbs proposes to translate them as five different categories of money including 2 Kgs 12:6a (*2 Kings* [WBC 13; Waco: Word Books, 1985], 146, 152). On the other hand, many commentators consider that the first כסף is articulated by the following three other כסף: James A. Montgomery (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* [ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1951], 428); Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor (*II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 11; New York: Doubleday, 1988], 135); Volkmar Fritz (*1 & 2 Kings: A Continental Commentary* [trans. Anselm Hagedorn; CCOT; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003], 302); Marvin A. Sweeney (*I & II Kings: A Commentary* [OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007], 347). We also interpret the first כסף encompassing all the subsequent כסף, following the latter proposal that the majority of commentators proffer.

In the narrative of Kings, Joash sought to secure the fund for the repairs of the Temple by setting aside a certain amount of money which originally belonged to the Temple treasuries. The money of the sacred donations (כל כסף הקדשים), which the king commands to set aside, could include a wide category of offerings, such as obligatory offerings, votive offerings, freewill offerings, contributions (תרומה) and the like.[414] For this reason, it needs to be clarified which offerings should be deposited for financing the Temple's renovation. The following phrases seem to be added in order to clarify this point. In other words, the second and third categories specify what the first category includes. The second category is defined as the phrase of כסף עובר איש כסף נפשות ערכו. This phrase is difficult to translate. R. Dillard understands it as the census tax, which is mentioned in Exod 30:12-16; 38:25-26; Num 31:48-50; Neh 10:33; Matt 17:24.[415] If Dillard is right and the Chronicler understood it in the same way, how could the Chronicler introduce it in the next verse as the king's alternative command after the king's first command had not been implemented (2 Chr 24:6)? The king's first command should have meant something other than the census tax.

כסף עובר of 2 Kgs 12:5 can be translated as "the current money" based on כסף עבר of Gen 23:16.[416] Lev 27:2-8 is helpful for understanding the rest of phrase, איש כסף נפשות ערכו. Lev 27:2-8 explains how to offer votive offerings in accordance with an offerer's

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[414] Gray, *I & II Kings*, 585.

[415] Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 189. S. Japhet also comments that this term shows "unmistakable affinity" to Exod 30:13; 38:26, as well as Lev 27:2-8 which is in fact not describing the census tax. If so, is the phrase כסף עובר איש כסף נפשות ערכו referring to the census tax (based on Exod 30:13), or something other than the census tax (based on Lev 27:2-8)? She does not resolve this problem. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 844.

[416] J. A. Montgomery suggests that the MT כסף עובר איש be read as כסף ערך איש, following the LXX[BL], and many scholars follow this reading: Montgomery, *The books of Kings*, 432; see also Gray, *I & II Kings*, 528, However, it is not impossible to read MT כסף עובר איש as it is (Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 147, 152; Burke O. Long, *2 Kings* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991], 156).

2 of כסף עובר איש כסף נפשות ערכו Thus, [417].(בערכך נפשת, Lev 27:2) age and gender. Thus, כסף עובר איש כסף נפשות ערכו of 2 Kgs 12:5 can be translated as 'current money, the money that each one offers at one's valuation.' Based on this reading, we may conclude that the second category means the votive offering, which is offered with respect to each one's age and gender.[418] The third category, כל־כסף אשר יעלה על לב־איש להביא בית יהוה, is likely to be the voluntary offerings.

On the other hand, 2 Kgs 12:17 confirms that guilt offerings and sin offerings were not deposited as the fund for the repair work of the Temple. Thus, these two offerings are excluded from the sacred donations, which were solicited for the Temple's renovation. In 2 Kgs 12:5, therefore, Joash directs the priests to separate the money for the votive offerings and for the voluntary offerings to finance the restoration of the Temple. The problem is that according to the Pentateuchal tradition (Lev 22:2-16; Num 18:8-10, 19), the money of the sacred donations is to be given to the priests. The Chronicler also considers it as belonging to the temple treasuries (1 Chr 26:20, 26-28; 28:12; 2 Chr 31:12, 14). In brief, Joash commands the priests to reallocate a certain amount of money from their own share to restore the Temple.[419] This command is very odd[420] because the building or restoration of the Temple was initiated by the kings and funded from the royal

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[417] Gina Hens-Piazza, *1-2 Kings* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006), 314.

[418] The following commentators have also suggested such a reading: Gray, *I & II Kings*, 585; and Hens-Piazza, *1-2 Kings*, 314.

[419] Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 140; Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 303.

[420] Scholars explain Joash's unusual command in various ways. R. Dillard explains the intentions of Joash as his attempt to reassert royal prerogatives over the cult. Thus the priests' response to this command is also interpreted as their resistance to royal power (R. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 188). On the other hand, Edward L. Curtis suggests that Joash's attempt must have been caused by the impoverished condition of the royal treasuries (Cutis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 434).

treasury in the monarchic period.[421] It is no wonder to hear that the priests did not comply with the king's command (2 Kgs 12:6-7).

The Chronicler seems to have understood clearly what Joash attempted to do and considered it unlawful since the king's command violated the priestly prerogative. Thus, the Chronicler changes the king's command to be more reasonable: in 2 Chr 24:5, Joash directs the priests and Levites to collect money annually from all Israel to finance the restoration of the Temple. This is an attempt to find a new source of funding for the repair works of the Temple. Scholars have conjectured that the Chronicler, through this change, retrojected contemporary practices into the monarchic period.[422] This conjecture is based on their reading 2 Chr 24:5 as connected with Neh 10:33: "We also lay on ourselves the obligation to charge ourselves yearly one-third of a shekel for the service of the house of our God."   However, it is not clear that Joash's command is directly connected with the regulation of Neh 10:33. There is no linguistic connection between them except בשנה. It is not strong enough to defend the connection between Joash's command in 2 Chr 24:5 and the regulation of Neh 10:33. The connection between Joash's command and Neh 10:33 becomes a little stronger in the next verse, but there are still enough differences between the two to argue that they are not the same. For instance, Joash's new measure does not explicitly stipulate the amount of money to be

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[421] In ancient Near East, one of the important royal duties was to make their patron god(s) satisfied and appeased to keep peace in the land, and to set order in the country. Either because of such religious sentiments or political motivation, kings built or rebuilt temples, provided new cult statues, or furnished cultic paraphernalia of all kinds as the royal annals of Mesopotamian kings state. In many instances, kings also regularly sent offerings to the temple, and granted land, and flocks to produce offerings in perpetuity (see, e.g., A. Leo Oppenheim, "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts," *ANET*, 265-317; J. F. Robertson, "The Social and Economic Organization of Ancient Mesopotamia Temples," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* Vol. I [ed. Jack M. Sasson; New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1995], 445; J. N. Postgate, "The Role of the Temple in the Mesopotamian Secular Community," in *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* [ed. Peter J Ucko et al.; Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972], 812).

[422] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 843.

collected, unlike Neh 10:33. If Joash's command was meant to be a new institution of the tax, the amount of money to be collected from each person should have been stipulated. But it is not.

At this point, it is not clear what the Chronicler's version of Joash's command entails. At any rate, the Chronicler reports that the Levites failed to go out to collect money (2 Chr 24:5b). The attribution of the failure to the Levites in 2 Chr 24:5b sounds unlike the Chronicler since he takes pains to praise the Levites whenever the opportunity presents itself. This is a major point in Williamson's argument that 2 Chr 12:5b-6 is a secondary gloss, which belongs to 'the pro-priestly reviser,' who wanted to soften the criticism of the priesthood in 2 Kings 12.[423] However, it is not so evident that 2 Chr 24:5b meant to blame the Levites for the failure to implement the king's command. In 2 Chr 24:6, the king summons Jehoiada, the chief priest and rebukes him for negligence. If 2 Chr 24:5b-6 was added by the pro-priestly reviser, as Williamson argues, why did the reviser not insert the Levites in verse 6 in order to make them responsible for the negligence? Without assuming a later reviser for this section, the Chronicler's comment on the Levites' failure (v. 5b) and Joash's reproach of Jehoiada's slackness (v. 6) can be explained by the Chronicler's systematic presentation of the relationship between the priests and Levites. As we have observed, the Chronicler considers that the ultimate responsibility for the cultic matters rests with the priests. The Levites' failure to go out and collect money could have been related to the priests' interference, which was caused by their disagreement with the king's unprecedented command, or their attempt to take

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[423] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 320. Williamson develops Adam C. Welch's original argument that 2 Chr 24:5-6 was a later addition, by pointing out six reasons why these two verses came from the pro-priestly reviser (Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler*, 78-80). However, R. Dillard disputes William's six points, one by one, and concludes that verses 5b-6 present some difficulties, but they may not be so great as to require positing a later author for the section (Dillard, *2 Chronicles,* 189-190). We found Dillard's argument to be more likely.

the lead in a power struggle between the king and the priests, as they did in the earlier

years of the king's reign.[424] If the priests' interference was the cause, it is, clearly, the

priests who should be blamed for negligence. The following two verses support our

interpretation since the king attempts to convince Jehoiada by citing an ancient tradition

in the Pentateuch to explain the basis for the king's command (v. 6) and by giving the

reason why the money was collected (v. 7). These two verses give an impression that the

priests were not convinced by the king's first command.

V. 6   ויקרא המלך ליהוידע הראש ויאמר לו

מדוע לא־דרשת על־הלוים להביא מיהודה ומירושלם

את־משאת משה עבד־יהוה והקהל לישראל לאהל העדות:

King Joash, after knowing his first command was neglected, summons Jehoiada in 2

Chr 24:6 (cf. 2 Kgs 12:8, in which Jehoiada and the priests were summoned). In 2 Kgs

12:8-9, Joash rebukes Jehoiada and the priests for their slackness, and then he excludes

the priests from either securing the funding or repairing the Temple. 2 Chr 24:6-7 gives

us a very different picture. Here Joash reprimands Jehoiada for not sending out the

Levites to collect money.[425] 2 Chr 24:6 gives us a hint as to why the Levites failed to

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[424] S. Japhet and R. Dillard suggest that 'the Levites' in 2 Chr 24:5b refer to all the members of the tribe of Levi, priests and Levites alike (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 843 and Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 190). This argument is also plausible and can be harmonized with our own interpretation.

[425] Williamson takes notice of an unusual form of the title of Jehoiada in the phrase ליהוידע הראש of verse 6 (הראש instead of כהן הראש, which is regularly used in Chronicles), and argues that this unusual title indicates the hand of a different author (Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 320; cf. also De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 345 and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 316). However, W. Rudolph, S. Japhet, and R. Dillard consider this title as an abbreviation of the Chronicler's ordinary designation כהן הראש, which occurs five times in Chronicles (1 Chr 27:5; 2 Chr 19:11; 24:11; 26:20; 31:10) (Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 274; Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship," 343-344; and Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 186). We found the latter scholars' opinions more likely.

collect money: they were not ordered by Jehoiada to do so. This statement harmonizes perfectly with our interpretation of 2 Chr 24:5b.

In his rebuke, Joash articulates his previous command by referring to the Pentateuchal basis for it (verse 6) and also by giving the reason why the money should be collected (verse 7). In order to know what Joash's command is referring to, it is necessary to read carefully each of the three phrases in verse 6.

First, what the priests and Levites should collect from the people is defined as מַשְׂאַת, which was [imposed by] 'Moses and the congregation of Israel' (משה עבד־יהוה והקהל לישראל) for 'the tent of testimony' (לאהל העדות). By associating Joash's command with Moses and the wilderness period, the Chronicler provides justification for the king's new measure to collect money from the people.[426] The majority of commentators of Chronicles associate the Chronicler's version of Joash's command in verse 6 with Exod 30:12-16. But, curiously, the linguistic connection between the Chronicler's definition of the money to be collected from the people and the regulations of Exod 30:12-16 is not so explicit. According to Exod 30:12-16, every male from twenty years old and upward (v. 14) shall pay 'a ransom for himself' (כפר נפשו, vv. 12 and 15), which is a half-shekel, as 'an offering to Yahweh' (תרומה ליהוה, v. 13). This 'atonement money' (כסף הכפרים, v. 16) will be assigned for the service of the Tent of Meeting (על־עבדת אהל מועד, v. 16). The Chronicler did not use any of the terms which indicates the census tax in Exodus, such as כסף הכפרים, כפר נפשו, or even תרומה ליהוה.

Rather, the Chronicler uses מַשְׂאַת here and in verse 9 to indicate the people's contribution for the repair of the Temple. מַשְׂאַת occurs 15 times in the Old Testament,

[426] See Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 275; Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 435; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 844; and De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 345.

and belongs to the semantic field of gifts or presents.[427] It has been argued that the term designates a certain kind of taxation in the following three cases: 1 Chr 24:6, 9 and Amos 5:11. However, we argue that even in 2 Chr 24:6 and 9, משׂאת hardly refers to any kind of tax. If it did designate a tax, it should be stated how it would be levied on what (a person, a product or an activity). 2 Chr 24:6 does not give any such details.

Furthermore, this term does not have any relation to the concept of expiation. By avoiding the terms denoting the atonement, the Chronicler attempted to dissociate the money to be collected by Joash from the atonement money which is paid out only once in one's life time at the census. Due to this dissociation, משׂאת can be collected annually without violating the Mosaic regulation of Exod 30:12-16. At the same time, by associating משׂאת with Moses as well as the congregation of Israel[428] and by claiming that its purpose is for the service of "the Tent of Testimony" (אהל העדות),[429] the Chronicler provides Joash's command with antiquity and legitimacy. Through the Chronicler's reformulation of Joash's command, the king's exceptional measure to finance the repair work of the Temple with the people's contribution is firmly justified. This justification is

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[427] *HALOT*, 640; and Gerald A. Klingbeil, "משׂאת," *NIDOT* 1:1113-1115.

[428] The inclusion of the congregation of Israel in the phrase משה עבד-יהוה והקהל לישראל is an example of the "democratizing" trend in Chronicles, where the people are often considered as an active force in history, thereby limiting the monarch's exclusive authority. In 2 Chr 24:6, the tax is said to be decreed by Moses and the congregation of Israel (S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of the Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* [New York: Peter Lang, 1997], 417).

[429] The phrase אהל העדות is also pointed out by H.G.M. Williamson as one of the reasons for his argument that this verse came from the pro-priestly reviser, not from the Chronicler. Williamson stresses that this phrase occurs only here in Chronicles (Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 320). The phrase appears in Num 9:15; 17:22, 23; 18:2 and 2 Chr 26:6. Since the Chronicler tends to take a certain term from a relatively wide linguistic pool or to create a new term based on his source, a rare expression does not necessarily indicate a different redactor . R. Dillard also disputes Williamson's opinion by arguing that the use of עדות in the phrase לאהל העדות could have been influenced by the use in 2 Chr 23:11 (Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 190).

strengthened by the next verse, where the king gives more explanation as to why the money needs to be collected.

V. 7   כי עתליהו המרשעת בניה פרצו את־בית האלהים
וגם כל־קדשי בית־יהוה עשׂו לבעלים:

Verse 7 begins with כי, which indicates that this clause provides the reason for the previous statement.[430] The reason why the money needs to be collected is that the sons of Athaliah had broken into the Temple and had used up all the dedicated things of the Temple for their gods. As we have observed in the previous sections concerning the temple treasuries, for the Chronicler, the purpose of the dedicated gifts of the Temple is to maintain the Temple (1 Chr 26:27b). Thus, the Chronicler explains that what motivated the king to collect money from people is the empty treasuries of dedicated gifts in the Temple. It is not surprising that the king takes initiatives to fill the treasuries of the dedicated things since, for the Chronicler, the treasuries of the dedicated gifts are to be filled by the contributions of the kings, the chiefs of the clans, and the army officers from the booty of war (1 Chr 26:26-28).

The interpretation of the phrase בניה has been in debate among scholars since Athaliah had no sons when she became queen. Her husband, King Jehoram killed all his brothers when he became king (2 Chr 21:4), and the troops who came with the Arabs killed all the brothers of Ahaziah. He was the only son left to Athaliah (2 Chr 22:1). Some suggest interpreting בניה as 'her adherents,' rather than her biological sons, without changing its vocalization.[431] W. Rudolph proposes changing its pointing slightly to בֹּנֶיהָ (her

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[430] Gesenius §158b.

[431] Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 435; and Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 321.

builders).[432] Reading it as 'her priests' (כהניה) has also been suggested, but it seems to us that all these suggestions read too much into the text. בן has a wide range of semantic value in the Hebrew Bible, and it often designates 'member or fellow of a group.'[433] Thus, בניה can be simply interpreted as 'the follower or adherents' of Athaliah, without causing any contradiction to 2 Chr 21:4 and 22:1.

V. 8   ויאמר המלך ויעשׂו ארון אחד ויתנהו בשער בית־יהוה חוצה:

In this verse, Joash commands a chest to be made and put outside the gate of the Temple as an alternative method of collecting the fund for repairing the Temple. Here the Chronicler changes two things from his source, 2 Kgs 12:10. The two texts suggest the same solution for collecting money, that is, to put a chest in the temple precinct, but the Chronicler comes up with a different idea concerning who took the lead in this matter, and where to put a chest. In 2 Kgs 12:10, it is 'Jehoiada' who made a chest and placed it 'beside the altar on the right side.' In 2 Chr 24:8, however, it is 'the king' who made a chest put 'oustide the gate of the Temple.' What could the Chronicler's two changes imply?

First, the king's initiative to make a chest perfectly conforms to the Chronicler's idea about the king's role. For the Chronicler, the construction or restoration of the Temple is principally a royal duty. The royal responsibility for the upkeep of the Temple was well-known in the ancient Near Eastern context. Thus, the decision to make a chest to raise the fund for the restoration of the Temple should have come from the king for the Chronicler.

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[432] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 274. S. L. McKenzie also follows this proposal (McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 315).

[433] *HALOT*, 137-138.

By this change, the Chronicler would have made the text more reasonable than the one in the book of Kings.

Second, the change of the location of the chest seems to have been caused by the impossibility for the laity to access the chest.[434] In 2 Kgs 12:10, the chest was set beside the altar on the right side. Since the laity could not get in to the inner courts of the Temple, the priests who guarded the threshold took the money from the laity in order to put it in the chest beside the altar. By the change of location, the laity could put their money directly into the chest. In fact, the Chronicler's change brings the situation into greater conformity to the king's command to restrict any priestly involvement in the collection of the money in 2 Kgs 12:8-9.[435]

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[434] Johnstone, *2 Chronicles 10-36*, 140.

[435] Many scholars have suggested that the Chronicler's modification of the location of the chest reflect the practice of his own day when the access to the inner court was restricted to the clergy. Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 435; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 321; and Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 191. However, it is not so obvious whether this practice originated from the Second Temple period. Williamson suggests that 2 Chr 6:13 and 23:13 reflect the same practice, and R. Dillard also proffers Amos 2:8 and 2 Chronicles 23 to support his argument. Indeed, the passage of 2 Chr 23:5-6 seems to support their arguments, but this text does not specify in which court the people were standing. The division of the courts of the Temple into two was an already well-known architectural feature in the book of Kings ("the two courts": 2 Kgs 21:5; 23:12; the reference to the inner court: 1 Kgs 6:36; 7:12; the reference to the outer courts for king: 2 Kgs 16:18). The book of Chronicles is not too much different than the book of Kings in this matter. The terms to designate the different courts of the Temple in Chronicles are not as consistent as in Ezekiel. The distinction between the court of the priests and the great court appears only one time in 2 Chr 4:9, but in Ezekiel 40-48, the inner court of the Temple is clearly distinguished from the outer court of the Temple (for the inner court [חצר בית־יהוה הפנימית]: Ezek 8:16; 10:3; 40:19, 23, 27, 28, 32, 44; 41:15; 42:3; 43:5; 44:17, 21, 27; 45:19; 46:1; and for the outer court [חצר החיצונה]: Ezek 40:17, 20, 34, 37; 42:1, 3, 14; 44:19; 46:20). Moreover, in many references where the laity is mentioned to stand in the courts of the temple, it is not clarified whether they stood either in the inner court or in the outer court. For example, in the following texts, it is described that the people stood 'in the courts of the Temple,' but without any clarification of which court it is: Jer 19:14; 26:2; 2 Chr 23:5; 24:21; 29:16; Neh 8:16; 13:7. If the practice of not allowing the laity to access the inner court was newly introduced in the Second Temple period, the Chronicler should have emphasized it, but he did not. It means that this practice had already been known to people before the Chronicler's own time, so that he did not feel the need to clarify it. It is more likely that the modification of the location of the chest reflects the Chronicler's effort to harmonize the king's command in 2 Kgs 12:8-9 and its implementation in 2 Kgs 12:10.

Since the chest is put outside the temple gate, it needs to be secured by the gatekeepers.[436] They are the ones who are bringing the full chest in daily in verse 11. In this way, the Levites can still be involved in collecting the fund.

Joash's new measure, putting a chest at the entrance gate of the Temple, has often been compared with the practice in Babylonian temples.[437] The Ebabbar temple archives[438] reveal that the 'royal basket' or 'cash box' (*quppu*) was set at the entrance of the Ebabbar temple as well as the small sanctuaries in Sippar in order to collect the king's portion of temple income.[439] In fact, this practice was introduced by Nabonidus (556-539 BCE),[440] and had been continued by the Achaemenid kings. For the supervision of this royal cash box, a special royal official (*ša muḫḫi quppi* or *rab quppi*) was dispatched by the king.[441] The function of the royal cash boxes in the Neo-Babylonian temples is not

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[436] W. Johnstone proposes this gate to be the east gate, where other major transactions take place. For the basis of his suggestion, he points out 2 Chr 23:5, but this verse hardly supports his suggestion (Johnstone, *2 Chronicles 10-36*, 141).

[437] Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 191.

[438] The Ebabbar temple, or the "White temple," had been a major economic institution in Sippar. Preserved from this Ebabbar temple are 25,000-30,000 tablets and fragments from its storage rooms. These texts are mostly kept in the British Museum's Sippar Collections. The tablets date from the middle of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II to the second year of Xerxes (626-484 B.C.E.). Basically, these texts reflect ordinary practices of the temple administration, that is, the movements of goods at the temple storehouse and the allotment of resources, labor and obligations (A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and its Prospography* [Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaelogisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997], 4; also Michael Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents: Typology, Contents and Archives* [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005], 118).

[439] See, the two texts from Sippar: BM 64751 and BM 63917 (T. C. Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 55-57 [London : The Trustees, 1982]). See also Christopher Tuplin, "The Administration of the Achaemenid Empire," in *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires: The Ninth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* (ed. Ian Carradice; Oxford: B.A.R., 1987), 151.

[440] According to BM 64751, the royal cash box had been installed during the reign of Nabonidus.

[441] In the case of the Eanna temple in Uruk, the king's treasurer (*ša muḫḫi quppi* [*ša šarri*] *ina Eanna*) appears from the beginning of Nabonidus' reign. However, in the case of the Ebabbar temple, the person in charge of this cash box (the treasurer of Ebabbar) is first attested from the fourth regnal year of Cyrus (*Cyr* 164; Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 99 and 110). For the text of *Cyr* 164,

identical with that of the chest that Joash installed. The former is for the benefit of the king, but the latter is for the upkeep of the Temple. Nevertheless, the presence of the cash box or chest at the entrance of the Temple would have been known throughout the ancient Near East. According to Bongenaar, the incoming silver collected in the cash boxes of the temple or of the king was transferred to the smiths for refining and casting. According to BM 74430, the incoming silver of the gate (*irbi ša bābi*) and that of the temples of *Annunītu* and *Gula* were handed over by the guardian of the cash box of the temple of *Gula*, to be smelted and cast.[442] Undoubtedly, such foundries would have existed in the Jerusalem Temple as 2 Kgs 12:11 implies.[443]

V. 9   ויתנו־קול ביהודה ובירושלם להביא ליהוה משׂאת משה עבד־האלהים
על־ישראל במדבר:

After convincing the clergy to collect money from the people, King Joash issues a proclamation in Judah and Jerusalem to bring the same kind of contributions (משׂאת) *which had been imposed* on Israel in the wilderness by Moses.[444] The phrase ויתנו־קול can be understood as 'a public proclamation' of the king's decision.[445] In this proclamation, the contribution or gift, which will be collected, is defined as 'the contribution imposed on Israel in the wilderness by Moses' (משׂאת משה). This money is

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refer to J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538-529 v.Chr.)* (Babylonishe Hefte 7; Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1890).

[442] Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 108; and Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 190-191.

[443] 2 Kgs 12:11 is one of the biblical texts (along with Zech 11:13) which indicate the existence of the foundry in the Jerusalem Temple. This verse will be dealt with later.

[444] The italicized words are not present in MT 2 Chr 24:9, but inserted to make a better sense of it.

[445] In general, phrase נתן קול denotes 'to raise one's voice,' and appears twenty times in the Hebrew Bible, mostly in poetic texts, such as Ps 77:18; 104:12; Lam 2:7; Prov 2:3; Jer 22:20; 25:30; Joel 2:11 and the like. But, in the following instances, it could mean a public proclamation: Prov 1:20; 8:1; and 2 Chr 24:9.

related neither to the census, nor to expiation. By the Chronicler's new exegesis of Exod 30:12-16, Joash's measure to collect people's contribution especially for the repair work is justified by its connection to Moses (משאת משה) and to the wilderness period (במדבר), and at the same time, this contribution (משאת משה) is differentiated from the census tax by detaching the concept of atonement from it. This verse does not have any parallel in 2 Kgs 12:5-11. It is most likely a product of the Chronicler's exegetical effort to provide a convincing precedent legitimating the king's new measure. In the next verse, the king's proclamation will be welcomed by the people with enthusiasm, a characteristic expression of the Chronicler's.

V. 10   וישמחו כל־השרים וכל־העם ויביאו וישליכו לארון עד־לכלה:

Verse 10 is added by the Chronicler to his source. In this verse the Chronicler emphasizes the people's enthusiastic reaction to the king's new measure. All the leaders and people welcomed it with joy (וישמחו), and they threw the money into the chest until it was full. Once again, the Chronicler underlines the fact that the money that the people put into the chest was their voluntary contribution, rather than their compulsory payment of taxes.

The translator of the Septuagint rendered the phrase ישמחו as ἔδωκαν, which reflects ישימו instead of ישמחו. W. Rudolph explains this change as a result of the translator's puzzlement about the people's joy over the new imposition of the tax.[446] Nevertheless, the Lucianic recension (LXX^be2) read it as εὐφράνθησαν, which reflects ישמחו.[447] The Peshitta, the Targum, and the Vulgate also agree with the MT's rendering. Thus, we can

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[446] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 274; and Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 186.

[447] Brooke et al. eds., *The Old Testament in Greek*, 523.

regard ἔδωκαν of the LXX as a case of scribal changes. The enthusiastic response of the

leaders and people echoes 1 Chr 29:6-9, where people offered willingly with their whole

heart to build the Temple.[448] Such a response is the Chronicler's characteristic portrayal

of the united community of Israel.

V. 11   ויהי בעת יביא את־הארון אל־פקדת המלך ביד הלוים

וכראותם כי־רב הכסף ובא סופר המלך ופקיד כהן הראש ויערו את־הארון

וישאהו וישיבהו אל־מקמו כה עשו ליום ביום ויאספו־כסף לרב:

2 Chr 24:11 exhibits a certain degree of similarity to 2 Kgs 12:11, but some

dissimilarities between the two are worth noting. The following table will help us to see

the differences between them.

Table 19. A Comparison between 2 Chr 24:11 and 2 Kgs 12:11

	2 Chr 24:11	2 Kgs 12:11
(1) Who brought the chest in?	The Levites brought the chest.	No mention of it.
(2) Who are responsible for the emptying the chest?	The king's secretary and the officer of the chief priest	The king's secretary and the high priest
(3) What did they do with the chest?	They emptied it out and brought it back to its place	They recast the silver and counted.
(4) How often did they do it?	Daily	No mention of it.

As this table shows, the Chronicler provides fuller descriptions concerning how to

handle the chest. In the Chronicler's picture, the priestly involvement is very limited.

This conforms to the king's command, which cuts off the priests from the collection of

money and from the repair work of the Temple (2 Kgs 12:8-9).

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[448] De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 345.

Nevertheless, according to the Chronicler, the Levites take part in handling the chest. This deserves attention. First, the phrase פקדת המלך of verse 11 is traditionally translated as 'the royal officers.'[449] However, since פקדת is an abstract noun, it cannot be interpreted as a concrete plural noun 'officers.'[450] It would be more accurate to translate אל־פקדת המלך as 'according to the king's appointment.' Thus the Levites, who must have guarded the chest at the entrance gate of the Temple, brought the chest in 'according to the king's appointment.'[451]

Then, the chest was emptied by the king's secretary and the delegate of the chief priest. In the narrative of Kings, it was done by the king's secretary and the high priest Jehoiada. The Chronicler's change from the high priest to his deputy can be explained as an attempt to distance the high priest from the process of the actual appropriation of the money according to the king's command (presented in 2 Kgs 12:7).[452]

On the other hand, the Chronicler's description of what the king's secretary and the delegate of the chief priest do with the chest is much simpler than that in Kings. In 2 Chr 24:11, we are told that they emptied out the chest and brought it back to its position. But,

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[449] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 322; and Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 185. Several modern English versions, such as RSV, NRS, and JPS reflect such a traditional translation, but NJB renders it as 'for royal inspection,' as Edward L. Curtis and W. Johnstone translate. Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 435; and Johnstone, *2 Chronicles 10-36: Guilt and Atonement*, 141.

[450] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 845. See the following cases, where פקדת, as an abstract noun, designates 'service,' or 'office': Num 4:16; 1 Chr 26:30; esp. 2 Chr 23:18.

[451] S. Japhet suggests that the Levites here probably denote the clergy in general, but it seems not so. Her suggestion cannot explain why the Chronicler modified his source material (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 845).

[452] Edward L. Curtis comments that the Chronicler's invention of the delegate of the chief priest is probably intended to place the high priest on the same level with the king. In other words, as the king sends his secretary, the high priest also sends a delegate. I. Kalimi also comments on this verse in a similar way. He states that the Chronicler creates the hierarchical balance here by making a reference to the delegate of the chief priest. However, Curtis's argument is not reconcilable with the Chronicler's overall tendency in this passage, where the role and responsibility of the king are greatly augmented, as S. Japhet points out (Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 435-436; Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 172, 183; and Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 845).

2 Kgs 12:11 gives a detail: ויצרו וימנו את־הכסף.   It is worth examining the two verbs

which describe what the king's secretary and the high priest did with the money from the

chest: צור and מנה. The verb צור has a wide range of meaning: 'tie up or encircle,'

'attack or fight' and 'form or cast.'[453] If we understand צור in 2 Kgs 12:11 as 'to form or

to cast,' what the king's secretary and the high priest did with the money was to recast

silver before they counted (מנה) the money from the chest.[454] During the reign of Joash,

donations that the people brought to the Temple could not be in the form of coins. They

were probably brought in the various forms and grades of silver or gold. Thus, the verb

צור in 2 Kgs 12:11 implies that there must have been foundries in the Jerusalem Temple

as in Mesopotamian temples.[455] On the contrary, the Chronicler does not mention the

casting, and simply says that the box was emptied daily. Could it be a case that the

Chronicler projected his contemporary situation, in which local coins circulated, into the

past? That is to say, the Chronicler, writing in a later period, might have thought people

donated their contributions in the form of coins,[456] and this could explain why he does not

mention the casting –because one would have no need for it with coinage.[457]

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[453] *HALOT* 1015-1016.

[454] Modern English versions, such as KJV, RSV, NRSV, NAS, and JPS render it as 'tied it up in the bags,' which reflect the rendering of the LXX. The Vulgate renders it as *effundebant* (poured it out), and the Peshita as ܡܣܩܝܢ (brought up). In all these translations, it seems that the process of the refinement of the precious metals, which were offered by the people to the Temple, was not taken into account.

[455] Otto Eissfeldt, "Eine Einschmelzstelle am Tempel zu Jerusalem," *FuF* 13 (1937): 163-164; and Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 190-191.

[456] Nevertheless, the Chronicler seems not to be unaware of the process of casting or refinement of metal in the foundries of the Temple as 2 Chr 34:17 demonstrates. This verse will be dealt with in section 2.3.2.

[457] According to Yigal Ronen, in the late Persian period, during the fourth century BCE, there was extensive local minting of coins in the coastal cities of Gaza, Ashdod, Ascalon and Dor as well as at Samaria and Jerusalem (Yehud) in the hill country of the Land of Israel (Yigal Ronen, "Twenty Unrecorded Samarian Coins," *Israel Numismatic Research* 2 [2007] 29-33). If our conjecture is right, 2 Chr 24:11 can also be considered as an indicator of the Chronicler's time, although it cannot be specified as

To summarize 2 Chr 24:5-11, the Chronicler rewrites 2 Kgs 12:5-11 with several reformulations of language and emphasis. What is new in Chronicles is Joash's measure to collect money from throughout the country as well as the Levites' involvement in securing the fund for the repair of the Temple. However, the failure of the king's first measure led him to implement an alternative way to collect money, that is, to set a chest at the entrance of the Temple. The Chronicler provides the Pentateuchal basis for Joash's new measure to collect the funds and at the same time attempts to make the text more logically consistent. Thus, in the process of collecting money, the priestly role is limited, whereas the Levites continue to take part in guarding and handling the chest. However, it does not necessarily mean that the role of the Levites was superior to that of the priests in this matter.

Several scholars have commented that the Chronicler's modifications of his source material (2 Kgs 12:5-11) reflect the actual situation in the Chronicler's own time, especially with regard to a yearly collection of tax (one-third of a shekel), and to the prohibition of the laity from access to the inner court of the Temple.[458] However, our literary analysis of 2 Chr 24:5-11 reveals that such a hypothesis is not very compelling. In 2 Chr 24:5-11, Joash's attempt to send the Levites to collect money from the whole country had failed. Thus Joash had the chest set at the entrance of the Temple to collect משאת משה. As we have argued, there is no basis for identifying it with the annual temple tax. Rather, it is the people's voluntary contribution, which was collected especially for

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the fourth century BCE or the early third century BCE, when the systematic use of coinage became commonplace.

[458] For example, S. Japhet's comment on 2 Chr 24:5 (*I & II Chronicles*, 842); W. Rudolph's comment on 2 Chr 24:6 (*Chronikbücher*, 274); Edward L. Curitis' comment on 2 Chr 24:8 (*The Books of Chronicles*, 435); H. G. M. Williamson's comment on 2 Chr 24:8 (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 321); and R. Dillard's comment on 2 Chr 24:8 (*2 Chronicles*, 191).

the repair work on the Temple. 2 Chr 24:14 implies that this collection was not meant to be a permanent measure. Once the Temple was repaired, the rest of money from the chest was spent to make the sacred vessels.[459]

Moreover, the actual situation concerning the temple tax in the Chronicler's time is unknown. Neh 10:33 is the only evidence in the Hebrew Bible for the collection of revenue in kind for the temple during the Persian period. In Neh 10:33 the people make a firm agreement (אמנה) upon the stipulation to give one-third of a shekel yearly for the service in the Temple.[460] However, it is not clear how extensively this stipulation was observed in the Chronicler's time. The existence of such a yearly collection should be confirmed before arguing that the Chronicler retrojected contemporary practices in 2 Chr 24:5-11. The possibility of collecting such a poll tax for the Temple in the Persian period will be examined later in Chapter Three (section 3.2.4).

The Chronicler does not demonstrate any knowledge about Nehemiah's stipulation in his version of Joash's measure to collect money from people. Evidently the Chronicler did not identify Joash's measure with Nehemiah's poll tax for the Temple, if he even knew about the latter. 2 Chr 34:8-13, also shows no awareness of Nehemiah's poll tax.

2.3.2. The Literary Analysis of 2 Chr 34:8-13

2 Chr 34:9-13 describes the process of the repair work during the reign of Josiah as a part of his cultic reforms. The Chronicler's story of this process is heavily dependent on that of 2 Kgs 22:3-7, but he provides a very different picture of the process by

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[459] McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 316.

[460] It needs to be emphasized that the poll tax in Neh 10:33 is not for maintenance (חזק) of the temple, but rather for the regular services (לעבדה). On the contrary, משאת משה of 2 Chr 24:9 is collected to repair the Temple (לחזק את־בית יהוה, 2 Chr 24:12).

restructuring his source material. The following table shows the differences between the

two texts. The major differences are underlined.

Table 20. A Synopsis of 2 Chr 34:8-13 and 2 Kgs 22:3-7

MT 2 Chr 34:8-13	MT 2 Kgs 22:3-7
v.8 ובשנת שמונה עשרה למלכו לטהר הארץ והבית שלח את־שפן בן־אצליהו ואת־מעשיהו שר־העיר ואת יואח בן־יואחז המזכיר לחזק את־בית יהוה אלהיו:	v.3 ויהי בשמנה עשרה שנה למלך יאשיהו שלח המלך את־שפן בן־אצליהו בן־משלם הספר בית יהוה לאמר:
v.9 ויבאו אל־חלקיהו הכהן הגדול ויתנו את־הכסף המובא בית־אלהים אשר אספו־הלוים שמרי הסף מיד מנשה ואפרים ומכל שארית ישראל ומכל־יהודה ובנימן וישבי ירושלם:	v.4 עלה אל־חלקיהו הכהן הגדול ויתם את־הכסף המובא בית יהוה אשר אספו שמרי הסף מאת העם:
v.10 ויתנו על־יד עשה המלאכה המפקדים בבית יהוה ויתנו אתו עושי המלאכה אשר עשים בבית יהוה לבדוק ולחזק הבית:	v.5 ויתנה על־יד עשי המלאכה המפקדים בבית יהוה ויתנו אתו לעשי המלאכה אשר בבית יהוה לחזק בדק הבית:
v.11 ויתנו לחרשים ולבנים לקנות אבני מחצב ועצים למחברות ולקרות את־הבתים אשר השחיתו מלכי יהודה:	v.6 לחרשים ולבנים ולגדרים ולקנות עצים ואבני מחצב לחזק את־הבית:
v. 12 והאנשים עשים באמונה במלאכה ועליהם מפקדים יחת ועבדיהו הלוים מן־בני מררי וזכריה ומשלם מן־בני הקהתים לנצח והלוים כל־מבין בכלי־שיר:	v.7 אך לא־יחשב אתם הכסף הנתן על־ידם כי באמונה הם עשים:
v.13 ועל הסבלים ומנצחים לכל עשה מלאכה לעבודה ועבודה ומהלוים סופרים ושטרים ושוערים:	

The Chronicler's major alterations of 2 Kgs 22:3-7 are related to the role of the king

and the Levitical involvement in the repair work on the Temple.

V. 8   ובשנת שמונה עשרה למלכו לטהר הארץ והבית שלח   את־שפן

בן־אצליהו ואת־מעשיהו שר־העיר ואת יואח בן־יואחז המזכיר

לחזק את־בית יהוה אלהיו:

2 Chr 34:8 says that after purging the land and the house, Josiah took measures to repair the Temple in the eighteenth year of his reign. In other words, Josiah's cultic reforms had already been executed before the book of the Torah was found in the Temple, according to the Chronicler's restructured chronology. Nevertheless, the repair work on the Temple was begun in the same year that 2 Kgs 22:3 indicates. The king took initiative to repair the Temple by sending his delegation. The Chronicler's description of this scene is different from the one of 2 Kgs 22:3 on two points: first, the king sent only Shaphan to the high priest in 2 Kgs 22:3, but in 2 Chr 34:8, he sends two more persons in addition to Shaphan; second, the king entrusts Hilkiah with full powers to repair the Temple in 2 Kgs 22:4-7, but in 2 Chr 34:8-13, the king commissions his delegation (three persons: Shaphan the secretary [הסופר, 2 Chr 34:15], Maaseiah the governor of the city [שׂר־העיר] and Joah the recorder [המזכיר])[461] to administer the whole project. By means of this delegation, the king is more actively involved in the repair work than he is in the narrative of Kings. As the titles of the three figures indicate.[462] They represent not

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[461] W. Rudolph argues that these three names had originally been included in the Chronicler's *Vorlage* (2 Kgs 22:3), but the latter two names were lost later due to their similarity of the final letter (ר). His argument is not based on any specific evidence, but simply is asserted because that there is no tendency behind these names (Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 321). W. Rudolph's argument is followed by Williamson and McKenzie who argue the originality of these names in the Chronicler's *Vorlage* based on the commonality of the names and titles in the pre-exilic period (Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 400; and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 361). Although McKenzie provides the references to these names and titles (2 Kgs 18:18, 26, 37; 22:12, 14; 23:8), none of them gives an exact parallel to the three men and their titles in 2 Chr 34:8. Thus, it is not conclusive that 2 Kgs 22:3 is a corrupted text, which lost the other two names from the original list.

[462] *HALOT*, 565. The titles of הסופר and שׂר־העיר are obviously related to the civil authority. See Nili Sacher Fox, *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah* (Monographs of Hebrew Union College 23; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000), 98, 102-103, 150-151. The third title המזכיר appears only 9 times in the Hebrew Bible, and only three people are entitled המזכיר: Jehoshaphat, son of Ahilud (2 Sam 8:16; 20:24; 1 Kgs 4:3//1 Chr 18:15); Joah, son of Asaph (2 Kgs 18:18, 37//Isa 36:3, 22); and Joah son of Joahaz (2 Chr 34:8). In these biblical references, המזכיר seems to play a role of king's spokesperson. The dearth of relevant information hinders us from defining specific activities of this office, but as the above evidence indicates, המזכיר was a high ranking government official during the monarchy. See, Fox, *In the Service of the King*, 110-121.

religious, but civil authority.[463] These high officials representing the king will initiate the repair of the Temple. The first step is to finance the repair work. For this purpose, they will go to Hilkiah, the high priest.

V. 9   ויבאו אל־חלקיהו הכהן הגדול ויתנו את־הכסף המובא בית־אלהים
אשר אספו־הלוים שמרי הסף מיד מנשה ואפרים ומכל שארית ישראל
ומכל־יהודה ובנימן וישבי ירושלם:

In the narrative of Kings (2 Kgs 22:4), the king directs Shaphan to let Hilkiah retrieve (תמם) the money kept in the temple treasury that has been collected from the people by the keepers of the threshold.   In the Chronicler's version, the king's delegation came to Hilkiah and they (Hilkiah and the three high officials together) "poured out" the money kept in the Temple.

Several scholars have argued to read the phrase ויתנו as ויתכו based on 2 Chr 34:17.[464] Following them, we also read the second verb of this verse as ויתכו for two reasons. First, when it is read as ויתנו, the recipient of the money is not mentioned in this verse. On the contrary, three ויתנו phrases of verses 9-10 explicitly have their recipients. However, if we read it as ויתכו, this expression does not cause such a problem. Second, 2 Chr 34:17 also supports that emendation. 2 Chr 34:17 introduces Shaphan's report to the king about what the delegation has accomplished. This report summarizes 2 Chr 34:9-10.

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[463] W. Johnstone argues here that Shaphan and Joah may well be Levites. Their genealogical information, such as 'Shaphan son of Azaliah son of Meshullam' (2 Kgs 22:3) and 'Joah son of Asaph' (2 Kgs 18:18), implies that they could be Levites (Johnstone, *1 Chronicles 1 – 2 Chronicles 9,* 213; and ibid, *2 Chronicles 10-36*, 236). However, what is more worth noting is that the Chronicler does not put any emphasis on the fact that they are Levites. It means that their Levitical status, whether it is true or not, is not considered useful to build his own rhetoric here.

[464] Eissfeldt, "Eine Einschmelzstelle am Tempel," 163-164; Charles C. Torrey, "The Evolution of a Financier in the Ancient Near East," *JNES* 2 (1943): 301; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 320; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 400; and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 361.

According to 2 Chr 34:17, they 'poured out the money' (ויתיכו את־הכסף). Here a *Hiphil* form of the verb נתך is used, which means 'to pour out' (in Job 10:10) 'to melt down' or 'throw away money' (in 2 Kgs 22:9 and 2 Chr 34:17) or 'to melt' (in Ezek 22:20).[465] 2 Chr 24:11 also supports this reading. In 2 Chr 24:11, the chest was 'emptied out' by the king's secretary and the delegate of the chief priest. Although a different verb (a *Piel* form of verb ערה) is used in 2 Chr 24:11, the basic idea is identical, that is, pouring out the money for casting from the chest or the treasury was done by or in the presence of the royal official(s) and the religious representative. Thus, it seems to be reasonable to conclude that verse 9 explains the process of casting silver which is taken from the treasury to pay the laborers and to purchase supplies. ויתנו of verse 9 is likely to have been changed by the influence of the following phrase ויתנו, which appears thrice in verses 10-11 to refer to the actual delivery of money to those responsible for the repair work.

We are told that this money was collected by the keepers of the threshold in both Kings and Chronicles, but the Chronicler specifies that the keepers of the threshold are Levites (הלוים שמרי הסף) in accordance with his general tendency (e.g., 1 Chr 9:19-22; 2 Chr 23:4).[466]

The Chronicler expands his source by providing detailed information about the people who donated money to the Temple. They fall into two groups: (1) The northern tribes: Manassites, Ephraimites and the remnant of Israel;[467] (2) The southern tribes: Judahites,

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[465] *HALOT*, 732-733.

[466] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1027.

[467] The 'remnant of Israel' (שארית ישראל), as S. Japhet points out, appears in biblical prose only in Chronicles (1 Chr 12:39; 3 Chr 34:9) (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1027). In these two occurrences, the term

Benjaminites and the inhabitants of Jerusalem.[468] This expansion can be explained by the

Chronicler's general tendency to treat Israel as a comprehensive term which includes

both north and south.[469]

However, the Chronicler's expanded information about donors does not necessarily

imply that the Levites circulated in all Israel to collect tax. S. Japhet comments that the

Levites' itinerant collection of tax from all Israel functioned as 'an established institution'

at the time of Josiah, unlike during the reign of Joash when the Levites failed to perform

their task and another procedure was provided for the collection of the money (2 Chr

24:5-8).[470] However, verse 9 does not mention the Levites' itinerant activities to collect

tax. The Levites are here identified as the keepers of the threshold, not as the itinerant

tax collectors.[471]

On the other hand, the Chronicler does not endeavor to justify the practice of

collecting money from the people at this time. He describes it as if it is a *fait accompli*.

The text itself states unambiguously that the people's contribution for the upkeep for the

Temple was collected during the reign of Josiah.

שארית ישראל seems to refer to 'all the rest of people,' without having a specific theological nuance as in the occurrences of prophetic texts (Isa 46:3; Jer 6:9; 31:7; Ezek 9:8; 11:13; Mic 2:12; Zeph 3:13).

[468] De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 407. In the final phrase of verse 9 (וישבי ירושלם), we read ישבי according to the *Ketib* (cf. *Qere*: ישבו).

[469] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 400. S. Japhet comments on the Chronicler's broad definition of the people of Israel in this way: "The idea of 'all Israel,' that is, the people of Israel in its greatest and most inclusive sense, is indeed fundamental to the book of Chronicles. It appears not only in connection with David's reign or from the time of David on, but throughout the book" (Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of the Chronicles*, 269).

[470] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1026.

[471] W. Johnstone also comments that the Levites in 2 Chr 34:9 are not itinerant tax-gatherers (Johnstone, *2 Chronicles 10-36*, 237).

The next two verses explain how the money was used, so that the two verses are treated together.

V. 10   ויתנו על־יד עשׂה המלאכה המפקדים בבית יהוה
ויתנו אתו עושׂי המלאכה אשר עשׂים בבית יהוה לבדוק ולחזק הבית:
V. 11   ויתנו לחרשים ולבנים לקנות אבני מחצב ועצים למחברות ולקרות
את־הבתים אשר השחיתו מלכי יהודה:

2 Chr 34:10-11 is an almost literal repetition of 2 Kgs 22:5-6. However, there are subtle differences between them. First, the Chronicler's version has three ויתנו phrases, whereas the version in Kings has two ויתנו phrases. The Chronicler's version makes clearer than that of Kings that the money is given out to the three different groups of people: (1) the overseers of the repair work; (2) workers; (3) to the artisans and the builders to buy stone and wood.[472] In short, the money is used for payment of the laborers and for the purchase of supplies. Second, there are differences in reporting the various craftsmen and building materials which need to be purchased in Chronicles and Kings. However, these differences are not so significant that they warrant discussion here.

The next two verses introduce new information which is not found in 2 Kgs 22:7. Since both verses are dealing with the Levitical involvement in repairing of the Temple, they will be treated together.

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[472] W. Rudolph argues that the Kings' version treats the second group as identical with the third group (Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 322). However, the purpose of the money given to the third group (to purchase building material) is not identical with that of the money given to the second group (to pay the wages). In this sense, we group them into three.

V. 12	והאנשים עֹשׂים באמונה במלאכה ועליהם מפקדים
	יחת ועבדיהו הלוים מן־בני מררי וזכריה ומשלם מן־בני הקהתים לנצח
	והלוים כל־מבין בכלי־שיר׃
V. 13	ועל הסבלים ומנצחים לכל עֹשֵׂה מלאכה לעבודה ועבודה
	ומהלוים סופרים ושטרים ושוערים׃

In the beginning of 2 Chr 34:13, the Chronicler praises the workers' diligence. Although this is a much simpler statement than the king's speech in 2 Kgs 22:7, which shows the king's trust in the workers' honesty by exempting them from accountability, the Chronicler still follows his source.

Apart from this beginning phrase of 2 Chr 34:12, the remaining part of 2 Chr 34:12-13 is not found in 2 Kgs 22:7. In these two verses, the Chronicler describes the supervisors who administered the repair work. According to the Chronicler, the supervisors are all Levites. Two of the Merarites, Jahath and Obadiah, and two of the Kohathites, Zechariah and Meshullam, are appointed to oversee the repair work (לנצח ... מפקדים v. 12). Then, the Levitical musicians were over the porters, supervising all the workers (vv. 12-13). At the end of 2 Chr 34:13, the Chronicler adds another list of the Levitical professions: scribes, officials and gatekeepers. The text itself does not clarify whether or how these individuals were involved in the repair of the Temple, but it is not too difficult to picture the presence of scribes, officials and gatekeepers at the construction site of the Temple. What is interesting is the fact that the Chronicler defines this group of people, who are all involved in the Temple administration under the priestly leadership, as Levites. Considering the Chronicler's general tendency, the presence of the Levitical scribes, officials and gatekeepers would be essential in the repair work of the Temple since a certain area of the Temple precinct had limited lay access.

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Commentators have often pointed out the absence of the Gershonites in these two verses, the absurdity of the Levitical musicians' role at a construction site, and the redundancy of 2 Chr 34:13b. Various opinions concerning the absence of the Gershonites in 2 Chr 34:12 have been proffered. W. Rudolph points to 2 Chr 29:12, where the Gershonites are mentioned in the list of Levites who participated in the purification of the Temple during the reign of Hezekiah, and argues that the absence of the Gershonites in 2 Chr 34:12 must have been due to the textual corruption.[473] W. Johnstone argues that the Gershonites are not in fact omitted in this list since Asaph's family, who is one of three important groups of the Levitcal musicians, is the branch of the Gershonites (1 Chr 6:39-42).[474] These explanations seem to miss the point that the Chronicler tries to make here. 2 Chr 34:12 was not intended to give a complete list of the Levites. As we observed in 1 Chr 26:19, the Chronicler mentions only two divisions of Levites: the Korahites and Merarites, when he summarizes the families of gatekeepers at the time of David. Thus, it is not so strange that the Chronicler enumerates only four Levites, who belong to the Kohathites and the Merarites, in the upper echelon of the temple administration.[475]

The presence of the Levitical musicians at the construction site as the supervisors of the manual work (v. 12b) appears puzzling. S. Japhet comments: "they are more

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[473] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 322-323. S. Japhet seems not to deny the possibility of the textual corruption, but she simply leaves this problem unanswered (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1028-1029).

[474] Johnstone, *2 Chronicles 10-36*, 238.

[475] The number of the Levites in the upper echelon of the temple administration is worth noting. Here four Levites are appointed to oversee the repair work in the Temple (2 Chr 34:12). In 1 Chr 9:26-27, the four chief gatekeepers supervised the chambers and the treasuries in the Temple as well as the guarding duties at the four gates. Interestingly, Nehemiah's temple treasurers' committee is also composed of four clergymen (Neh 13:13). Does this fact imply the presence of the four-member collegial body in the upper echelon of the Temple administration either in the monarchic period or in the post-exilic period? We will deal with this question in Chapter Three where we discuss the Temple staff.

probably a gloss, added to complete the series of 'Levites, scribes, officers and gatekeepers' by the only class of Levites missing, the singers."[476] S. L. McKenzie also considers v. 12b as secondary and "out of place in the context of the report about building repair."[477] However, there is important evidence that musicians played a significant role in conducting construction works in antiquity.[478] First, one of Sennacherib's reliefs, entitled "Transport of a bull colossus" clearly shows four supervisors on top of the bull, and two of them are coordinating the traction and the lever with megaphones or trumpets.[479] Second, one of Assurbanipal's records also reveals that music was used to control brick workers at the construction site of the Temple *ridûti*. According to the Rassam Cylinder, Ashurbanipal captured Arab king and his people during battle and forced them to make bricks.[480] While molding bricks, they spent their days "to the accompaniment of music" (line 95).[481]

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[476] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1029.

[477] McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 361. S.J. de Vries also considers v. 12b as secondary (De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 407).

[478] The following evidence was first pointed out in B. D. Eerdmans, *The Hebrew Book of Psalms: Translated from the Masoretic Text: Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1947), 57-58, 63. W. Rudolph quotes this in order to argue the originality of verse 12b in his commentary, (*Chronikbücher*, 323). R. Dillard also follows Rudolph's opinion without providing any textual evidence (Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 280).

[479] For the relief, see Julian Reade, *British Museum Assyrian Sculpture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 53, Picture # 54 (Original Drawings I, 57, showing on WA 124820). For the explanation of the description, see John Malcolm Russell, *Sennacherib's Palace Without Rival at Nineveh* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 108.

[480] X: 89-95. The Rassam Cylinder was found in 1878 in the ruins of Kuyunjik and first published in H. C. Rawlinson's book, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia Vol V: A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1884), Plates 1-10. Its transliteration and translation was done by M. Streck in his book, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang* II: Teil: Texte (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916), 2-91. For its English translation, we referred to Daniel D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia Vol. II: Historical Records of Assyria* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 290-323.

[481] The transliteration of line 95 is: *ina elīli ningûti ubbalū ūmšun*. CAD gives its translation as "they spent their days in rejoicing and singing (*CAD* N:217-218).

These two examples of supervision of heavy duty labor by musicians are only an extremely small part of numerous occasions in antiquity, as well as in any society, where manual labor was facilitated by musical rhythm. Thus, we conclude that the Chronicler's reference to the Levitical musician's supervision of the repair work is not out of place in the present context and verse 12b should not be considered as secondary.

In addition, the usage of the Hebrew verb נִצֵּחַ (*Piel* of נצח) in the Hebrew Bible also supports our interpretation of verses 12-13.[482] The Chronicler expresses the Levitical musicians' supervisory activity over laborers with this verb. The *Piel* form of this verb appears not only in Ezra 3:8, 9; 1 Chr 15:21; 23:4; 2 Chr 2:1, 17; 34:12, 13, but also as a part of the superscriptions for numerous psalms. In the superscriptions of psalms, the *Piel* participle of נצח, that is, מנצח, designates a music director.[483] In several psalms, the music director is asked to use נגינות (stringed instruments) to direct the choir (Ps 4:1; 6:1; 61:1; 67:1). Outside the Psalms, the other occurrences are mostly related to the construction work in the Temple and to the Levites.[484] It is the Levites who supervised (נצח) the construction work in the Temple. In Ezra 3:8-9, it is reported that the Levites were appointed to supervise the whole process of building the Second Temple. Thus, we conclude that in the historical context of Ezra and the Chronicler, the Levitical leadership in the construction or repair work of the Temple was taken for granted. The exercise of such leadership incorporated the Levites' musical performance, as well as scribal or administrative skills. In this sense, verse 13b also cannot be considered as a later

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[482] Eerdmans, , *The Hebrew Book of Psalms*, 57-58.

[483] *HALOT*, 716.

[484] Exceptionally, in 1 Chr 15:21, verb נצח is used to express the Levitical musicians' role in leading the ritual procession.

gloss.[485] Rather, it gives a fuller explanation of how the Levites were involved in the repair work of the Temple during the reign of Josiah.[486]

2.3.3. Synthesis

In this section, we have treated two texts, 2 Chr 24:5-11 and 2 Chr 34:8-13, which describe the restorations of the Temple by Joash and Josiah, respectively. In general, the Chronicler's reports are based on the Deuteronomistic Historian (2 Kgs 12:5-11 and 22:3-7). According to the King's narrative, under King Joash, a chest was set beside the altar to collect money from the people to fund the repair work of the Temple. Later, during the reign of King Josiah, the Temple was repaired again, and the fund for the repair was provided from the money collected from the people by the guardians of the threshold.

By redacting these source texts, the Chronicler provides Joash with a legal basis to collect money from the people for the upkeep of the Temple. The money that Joash collected is defined as 'a contribution of Moses' (משאת משה). By this naming, the Chronicler legitimates the collection of the people's contribution for the upkeep of the Temple, which had originally been financed through the royal sponsorship. The money levied by Joash is connected to Moses and to the wilderness period, and at the same time, it is differentiated from the census tax by eliminating the function of atonement from it. The money was collected in the chest beside the gate of the Temple. The Levites take part in emptying and guarding the chest. The Joash's measure in 2 Chr 24:5-11 appears to have been only a temporary provision for the repair work of the Temple at the time of

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[485] Edward L. Curtis considers v. 13b as a gloss (Curits and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 507).

[486] Josephus also gives a very interesting report concerning the building process of the Second Temple. According to *Antiquities* XV § 390, Herod made a thousand of priests teach quarrying technique and carpentry to the workmen before they began to build the Temple. This is another example of clerical involvement in the construction work of the temples in antiquity. For this reason, 2 Chr 34:13b is neither unusual nor redundant. Curits and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 507.

Joash, rather than a permanent measure to secure the fund for the upkeep of the Temple (2 Chr 24:14).

In 2 Chr 34:8-13, the Chronicler highlights the Levitical role both in collecting the money and in supervising the repair work of the Temple by specifying the guardians of the threshold as the Levites and by adding the list of the Levites who participated in the repair of the Temple either in the supervision of labor or in the administration of the process. The expenses for the repair work of the Temple were covered with the money that the Levites, the keepers of the threshold, had collected from the people of Israel. The collection of the money seems to have happened regularly because the text does not imply that it was done specifically for the immediate repair work of the Temple. In 2 Chr 34:8-9, it seems that Josiah simply ordered to use the money that was already collected for the repair work.

On the other hand, the text does not mention any activities of itinerant tax collectors. It is explicitly stated that the money was collected by the Levitical keepers of the threshold. Thus, we may conclude that according to the Chronicler's two texts, there were two occasions in which the people's contributions for the upkeep of the Temple were collected in the monarchic period, but there were no activities of itinerant tax collection from the people throughout the country. The money was voluntary offerings donated by people who visited the Temple and specially designated to be used for the upkeep of the Temple. For this reason, it cannot be defined as any kind of tax.

During the Persian period, the upkeep of the Temple does not seem to have been financed by the Persian royal sponsorship. It must have been dependent on the people's contribution or donation. Considering this situation, the Chronicler's deliberate

redactions of the two texts of Kings seem to have been intended to provide legal precedents for the collection of the people's contribution for the maintenance of the Temple and to inform who are eligible to handle it. According to the Chronicler, the money will be collected by the Levitical gatekeepers and used by the administrative body of the Temple. The possible structure of the administrative body in the Second Temple during the Persian period will be further developed in the following chapters.

2.4. Summary of Chapter 2

In Chapter two, we have dealt with three different sets of texts, which present the gatekeepers and temple treasurers. All these offices are deeply related to the economic activities in the Temple. The following is a short summary of each section.

The first section, where we have examined 1 Chr 9:17-32 and 1 Chr 26:1-9, concerned the gatekeepers. 1 Chr 9:17-32 is related to the situations of the post-exilic period. Its content is: (1) the gatekeepers are the Levites; (2) the office of gatekeepers is originated from the wilderness period and continued throughout the history of Israel; (3) the gatekeepers are not only involved in guard duty but also in temple administration. Four chief gatekeepers are supervisors of the chambers and treasuries of the Temple.

On the other hand, 1 Chr 26:1-19 claims that the office of gatekeepers in the Temple is instituted by David. That office is held by the twenty-four divisions of the Levitical families of gatekeepers, and their guarding duties are assigned by lot casting. The Chronicler also provides the guarding posts and the number of guards at each post in this passage. The guarding posts are the east, west, south and north gates as well as the store chambers located in both sides of the ascending gateway of the temple. Thus, if we examine the existence and locations of these guarding posts in the Second Temple from other available sources, we will be able to ascertain whether the Chronicler's description was intended to give an actual reconstruction of his own time practices. This will be done in Chapter Three.

The second section, in which we analyzed 1 Chr 9:26-29; 1 Chr 26:20-28; 2 Chr 31:10-11, is about the temple treasurers. According to 1 Chr 9:26-29, four chief gatekeepers are in charge of the temple treasuries. In David's time, he instituted two

types of temple treasuries: the treasuries of the Temple and the treasuries of the dedicated gifts (1 Chr 26:20-28). The temple treasurers were all Levites. Hezekiah prepares the store chambers in the Temple to store the people's contribution for the clergy, such as tithes, gifts, and voluntary offerings (2 Chr 31:10-11). All these three sets of texts confirm that the temple treasurers were Levites.

The third section, where we analyzed 2 Chr 24:5-11 and 34:8-13, concerns Levitical involvement in collecting people's contributions for the upkeep of the Temple. Our exegeses of these texts show that they do not attest to the existence of the itinerant tax collectors during the monarchic period. Joash and Josiah collected money from people to finance the repair work of the Temple, but that money was a kind of voluntary contribution, rather than a compulsory tax. The money was deposited into the chest set at the gate of the Temple. This chest was guarded and handled by the Levites (probably gatekeepers) during the reign of Joash. In the time of Josiah, the money was collected by the Levitical keepers of the threshold. These two sets of texts also confirm that the gatekeepers were involved in the collection of people's contribution.

In synthesizing all these sections, it is clear that the Chronicler's description of the Temple administration shows a certain level of consistency on the following points: (1) the Levites were involved in the Temple administration, particularly as gatekeepers and treasurers; (2) the office that the Levites took in the Temple was closely related to the economic activities in the Temple; and (3) the Levitical involvement in the temple administration was legitimized not only by tracing them to the Pentateuchal traditions, but also to King David.

In next chapter, we will compare the Chronicler's description of the temple administration with other biblical and extra-biblical data which are related to the temple administration of Yehud in the Persian period. Our comparison will be limited to (1) temple gates and treasuries as the major *loci* of economic activities of the Temple; (2) temple revenue; and (3) temple staff.

Chapter 3 Temple Gates, Revenue, and Staff

In Chapter Two, we examined how the Chronicler depicts the function of gatekeepers and temple treasurers and how he deviates from other biblical authors. The Chronicler presents a relatively detailed description of the gatekeepers and the Temple treasurers. The following three aspects allow for comparison of the Chronicler's account with other archaeological, biblical and non-biblical sources which contain information of temple personnel and its activities.   First, the Chronicler represents the temple gates and treasuries as the main *loci* of economic activities in the Temple. We will compare that literary picture with reconstructions from archaeological, biblical and non-biblical sources. Second, the Chronicler's distinctive descriptions of temple revenue will be compared with the economic picture derived from other texts and archaeological findings. Third, the Chronicler's depiction of temple staff specifically responsible for its administration will be analyzed in comparison with other textual sources which are related to the temple administration staff during the Post-exilic period. Our approach will not provide a detailed reconstruction of the temple gates, revenue and administration staff in Persian era Yehud. Rather, we will only present such evidence as a vantage point for understanding the Chronicler's writings. From this vantage point, it will be shown that the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration do not provide an actual reconstruction of cultic practices especially related to the temple administration in the province of Yehud during the Persian period.

**3.1. *Loci* of Economic Activities in the Temple: Gates, Store-chambers and
    Treasuries**

In this section we will first examine how the gate complexes would have been related to economic activities in the Temple by surveying several gate complexes in ancient Near

Eastern cities and temples generally. Then, we will compare the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple gates, store-chambers and treasuries with other available information about the gate complexes of the Jerusalem Temple.

This comparison will show that the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple gates more or less resemble the situations of the late monarchy, but it is almost impossible to determine whether the Chronicler's descriptions reflect his own time since relevant information is lacking. On the other hand, the Chronicler's description of the store-chambers and treasuries reveals a growing interest in those institutions, which is also found in Nehemiah and later authors. However, the lack of information about the store-chambers and treasuries of the Persian period still makes it difficult to conclude that the Chronicler's descriptions reflect situations of that period.

3.1.1. The Significance of the Temple Gates in Economic Activities

The general structures and functions of city gates of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in ancient Near East have been well known for over a century thanks to archaeological excavations. Archaeological studies also show that temple gates, especially in their forms, do not deviate a great deal from those of the city. Therefore we will begin our exploration with a description of city gates in antiquity. In general, a fortified city had one or several city gates.[487] Since the city gate was the weakest point in a city's defense,

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[487] Concerning excavations of several places in Israel which have remains of ancient city gates in various time periods, see the following articles: Aharon Kempinski, "Middle and Late Bronze Age Fortifications," in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods* (ed. A. Kempinski and Ronny Reich; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 127-142; and Zeev Herzog, "Settlement and Fortification Planning in the Iron Age," in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel*, 231-274. According to Z. Herzog, more than twenty Iron Age II city-gates have been discovered in Israel, and the studies of these gates provide information about the functions of the gates and the various types of them.

strengthening its security was critical.[488] For this purpose, a city gate was built with a

pair of large gatehouses that had two or three pairs of piers that formed two or four

chambers within the gate complex.[489] These chambers were designed to make room for

the gates' opened doors in order not to hinder the flow of traffic through the gate itself.

Furthermore, they provided a place for guards or other officials to stand since the city

gates of ancient cities were normally guarded by the military.[490] In the Iron Age, the

gate chambers and more likely the adjacent plaza were also used for social events, such

as public meetings, religious functions or storage of goods. To strengthen their security,

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[488] Gerald L. Mattingly, "Gateways and Doors," in *Dictionary of the Ancient Near East* (ed. Piotr Bienkowski and Alan Ralph Millard; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 125 and also B. Gregori, "Three-Entrance' City-Gates of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria and Palestine," *Levant* 18 (1986): 83-102; and Z. Herzog, "Settlement and Fortification Planning in the Iron Age," 271-274.

[489] Four-chamber gates have been found at Ur and Ashur in Mesopotamia, at Hattusha in Anatolia, and at numerous sites along the Levant from northern Syria to the Gulf of Aqaba. The remains of the four-chamber Middle Bronze Age gates have also been found at Dan, Hazor, Megiddo, Shechem, Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Tell el-Far'ah (south of Gaza), and the like. And the four-chamber Iron Age gates are found at Dan, Megiddo, Ashdod, Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh), Timnah, Beersheba, and Khirbet en-Nahas. The gate at Bethsaida is one of the latest and largest examples of the four-chamber city gate which was used at approximately thirty sites over a span of some 1,500 years. For the archaeological reports of excavations of these cities, see Y. Aharoni, "Megiddo: The Neolithic Period to the End of the Bronze Age," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (ed. Ephraim Stern; 5 vols.; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 3:1003-1012; Y.Shiloh, "Megiddo: The Iron Age," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* , 3:1012-1023; A. Ben-Tor, "Hazor," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (ed. Eric M. Meyers; 5 vols.; New York: Oxford University, 1997), 3:1-5; Y. Yadin, "Hazor," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 2:594-603; P. Bienkowski, "Beer Sheba," in *Dictionary of the Ancient Near East*, 48-49; Z. Herzog et al., "The Stratigraphy at Beer-sheba and the Location of the Sanctuary," *BASOR* 225 (1977): 49-58; Z. Herzog, "Beer Sheba," in T*he New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 1:167-173 and in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, 1:287-291; A. Biran, *Biblical Dan*. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994); D. Ilan, "Dan," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, 2:107-112*;* S. Bunimovitz and Z. Lederman, "Beth-Shemesh," in *The New Encyclopedia of ArchaeologicalExcavations in the Holy Land*, 1:249-53; W. G. Dever, "Beth Shemesh," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, 1:311-312; E. F. Campbell, "Shechem: Tell Balâtah," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4:1345-54; J. D. Seger, "Shechem," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, 5:19-23; W. G. Dever, "Ashdod," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, 1:219-20; M. Dothan, "Ashdod," in Th*e New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 1:93-102; Joseph Callaway, "Excavating Ai (et-Tell): 1964-1972," *Biblical Archaeologist* (1976):18-30. And also, see G. R. H. Wright, "The Monumental City Gate in Palestine and its Foundations," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 74/2 (1984): 267-289.

[490] David Ussishkin, "The Borders and De Facto Size of Jerusalem in the Persian Period," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, 160.

many gate complexes had towers that projected from the line of walls on the roofs of the gates. Sometimes, the security of the gates was even more consolidated by building double gates: an outer gate and inner gate, as found at Tell en-Nasbeh, usually identified with the biblical city of Mizpah.[491]

In ancient Near East, city gates also functioned as 'the legal boundary between the outside world and the world of the city.' They were 'the dividing line for inclusion and exclusion of the communities.'[492] Thus, it is not surprising that special significance attached to the gates and that those who had control over them exercised other forms of power and influence in the community.[493] In biblical texts, gate complexes functioned as places for various civic activities, for instance, a market place (2 Kgs 7:1, 18), a seat of juridical procedures and legal transactions (Gen 23:10; Ruth 4; Job 29:7; Prov 31:23),[494] a place for public assemblies and proclamations (Gen 34:20; Jer 17:19; Ezra 10:9; Neh 8:3; 2 Chr 32:6; Prov 31:31), and the like.[495] The city square where the civic activities

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[491] Concerning archaeological studies about the double gates at Tell en-Nasbeh, see Jeffrey R. Zorn, "An Inner and Outer Gate Complex at Tell en-Nasbeh," *BASOR* 307 (1997): 53-66; J.A. Emerton, " "The High Places of the Gates" in 2 Kings XXIII 8," *VT* 44 (1994): 455-467; and Amihai Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible 10,000-586 BCE* (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 467-469.

[492] Victor H. Matthews, "Entrance Ways and Threshing Floors: Legally Significant Sites in the Ancient Near East," *Fides et historia* 19/3 (1987): 26. G. Evans also argues that the citizens in antiquity were defined by their connection with the gate, such as 'all those that went in by the gate of his city' in Gen 23:10 (Geoffrey Evans, " 'Gates' and 'Streets': Urban Institutions in Old Testament Times," *The Journal of Religious History* 2 [1962]: 2).

[493] Tina Haettner Blomquist, *Gates and Gods: Cults in the City Gates of Iron Age Palestine An Investigation of the Archaeological and Biblical Sources* (ConBOT 46; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1999), 16.

[494] M. Leuchter argues that the village gates are the traditional locus of regional jurisprudence, where local Levites played a major role after they were banned from cultic services as priests in local shrines in accordance with the Josianic reform (Leuchter, " 'The Levite in Your Gates': The Deuteronomic Redefinition of Levitical Authority," *JBL* 126 [2007]: 417-436). Leuchter's argument opens up a new way to look at Josiah's reforms, but it is still very speculative.

[495] V. H. Matthews, "Entrance Ways and Threshing Floors," 26 and G. Evans, " 'Gates' and 'Streets': Urban Institutions," 7. The city gate complexes seem to have also been available for religious practices.

were carried out was usually situated outside the gate, so that the city square was often depicted as 'the entrance of the gate (פתח שער),' or 'the gateway of the city gate (פתח שער העיר).'[496]

The biblical texts indicate that there were several city gates in Jerusalem, but information about the actual layout of the city itself is known only sparsely except for Nehemiah's descriptions of the city wall and gates (Neh 2:11-16; 3:1-32; 12:31-42).[497] According to Nehemiah's descriptions, there were the Ephraim Gate,[498] the Jeshanah

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A standing stone (*maṣṣebah*) and a large stone were found in the space inside the city gate at Tirzah of the Iron Age II. At Dan, there was found four stone column bases which may have supported a canopy, under which could have been a place for cult practices although such interpretation still remains speculative without further evidence. For a detailed study on cultic practices carried out at the city gates, see T. H. Blomquist, *Gates and Gods: Cults in the City Gates of Iron Age Palestine*. For the sacred space at Tell Dan, see, A. Biran, *Biblical Dan*; and "The High Places of Biblical Dan," in *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan* (ed. A. Mazar; JSOTSup 331; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 148-155; and John C. H. Laughlin, " 'To the God who is in Dan': the Archaeology and History of Biblical Dan," *Review & Expositor* 106 (2009): 323-359. Concerning a *maṣṣebah* at Tirzah, see Roland de Vaux, "The excavations at Tell el-Far'ah and the site of ancient *Tirzah,*" *PEQ* 88 (1956): 125-140; Melvyn D. Fowler, "Cultic continuity at Tirzah: A Re-examination of the Archaeological Evidence," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 113 (1981): 27-31; and Magnus Ottosson, *Temples and Cult Places in Palestine* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Boreas 12; Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1980), 98-99.

[496] The phrase of 'the entrance of the gate' or 'the gateway of the city gate' appears at Num 4:26; Josh 8:29; 20:4; Judg 9:35, 40, 44; 18:16, 17; 2 Sam 10:8; 11:23; 1 Kgs 22:10; 2 Kgs 7:3; 10:8; 23:8; 1 Chr 9:21; 2 Chr 18:9; Jer 1:15; 19:2; 36:10; Ezek 8:3, 14; 10:19; 40:11, 13; and 46:3.

[497] Lee I. Levine, *Jerusalem: Portrait of the City in the Second Temple Period (538 BCE – 70 CE)* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2002), 33. Even the actual boundary of Jerusalem in the monarchic period is still a matter of debate among scholars. The minimalists argue that until the late second century BCE the city was limited to the Temple Mount and the City of David (Avraham Negev and Shimon Gibson, eds., *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land* [New York: Continuum, 2001], 264). However, Y. Shiloh notes:

> Examination of the distribution of necropolises in Jerusalem, in the ninth to sixth centuries BCE, provides further proof of the extent of the built-up and fortified area of Jerusalem from Hezekiah's reign to the destruction of the First Temple. Presumably-as proposed by Avigad, Barkay, and H. Geva-the wall of the Late Iron Age city encircled the western hill along the line of the "First Wall," whose continuation was located by F. J. Bliss at the south and southeast of Mount Zion. This wall linked up with the southern end of the City of David, thereby blocking the issue of the Central Valley (Y. Shiloh, "Jerusalem," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 2:707-708).

[498] The Ephraim Gate is also mentioned in 2 Kgs 14:13//2 Chr 25:23 outside of Nehemiah (8:16; 12:38, 39).

Gate,[499] the Fish Gate,[500] the tower of Hananel,[501] the tower of the Hundred, and the Sheep Gate (Neh 12:39) in the north, which was the most vulnerable part of the city. In the west, there were the Valley Gate and the tower of Ovens (Neh 2:13, 15).[502] On the southern tip of Jerusalem were the Dung Gate (Neh 2:13; 3:13, 14; 12:31) and the Fountain Gate (Neh 2:14; 3:15; 12:37). On the eastern side of the city were the Water Gate (Neh 3:26; 12:37) and the Horse Gate (Jer 31:40; Neh 3:28), and the Gate of the Prison Compound (Neh 12:39), which faced northward.[503]

The following gates are mentioned in other biblical texts, yet not presented in the list of the restored gates during the time of Nehemiah: the Benjamin Gate (Jer 37:13; 38:7; Zech 14:10), the Gate between the double walls (2 Kgs 25:4//Jer 52:7; Jer 39:4), the Potsherd Gate (Jer 19:2), the Corner Gate (2 Kgs 14:13//2 Chr 25:23; Jer 31:38; 2 Chr 26:9; Zech 14:10) and the First Gate (Zech 14:10). All these references to the city gates

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[499] The Jeshanah (שער הישנה) Gate appears at Neh 3:6 and 12:39. Williamson points out a grammatical error in the name of the gate since a masculine noun שער is described by a feminine form of the adjective הישנה. For this reason, Williamson suggests reading it as שער העיר הישנה (the gate of the old city). See, Williamson, "Nehemiah's Wall Revisited," in *Studies in Persian Period History*, 68.

[500] The Fish Gate appears in Zeph 1:10; 2 Chr 33:14 as well as in Neh 3:3 and 12:39.

[501] It is also mentioned in Zech 14:10.

[502] According to 2 Chr 26:9, King Uzziah built towers on the Corner Gate and the Valley Gate. The Corner Gate is mentioned in 2 Kgs 14:13//2 Chr 25:23; Jer 31:38 and Zech 14:10, but it is not in Nehemiah. Based on archaeological findings, Yigal Shiloh suggests that the Valley Gate was part of the fortifications on the western side of the City of David in the tenth to eighth centuries BCE, before the city spread westward to the western hill (Y. Shiloh, "Jerusalem," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 2:704).

[503] Nehemiah's descriptions of the city wall and gates (Neh 2:13-15; 3:1-32; 12:31-39) has been treated in various ways by scholars in their reconstruction of Jerusalem during the Persian period. I. Finkelstein's recent article about Nehemiah's wall provides a summary of various scholarly views on it (I. Finkelstein, "Jerusalem in the Persian (and Early Hellenistic) Period and the Wall of Nehemiah," *JSOT* 32 [2008]: 501-504). In this article, Finkelstein argues that there is no archaeological evidence for the city wall of Nehemiah and thereby suggests that it is highly possible that Nehemiah's descriptions of the city wall was inspired by the late Hellenistic, Hasmonean city-wall (Finkelstein, "Jerusalem in the Persian [and Early Hellenistic] Period," 509, 513). A similar view is also found in John R. Bartlett's work ("Editorial: Nehemiah's Wall," *PEQ* 140 [2008]: 77-79).

at least provide some knowledge of the layout of the city of Jerusalem in ancient times, but it is almost impossible to identify them archaeologically.

In antiquity, temples were safeguarded by extraordinary measures since they symbolized a sacred precinct which had to be kept from profanation.[504] The temple enclosure was protected not only by the city walls but also by its own additional walls, and its gates were guarded by gatekeepers.[505] The temple gates seem to have been built according to the basic pattern of the fortified, early Iron Age II monumental gates excavated at Gezer, Hazor, and Megiddo, with an initial threshold of the gate, three recessed chambers on both side, and the inner vestibule of the gate, as Ezek 40:6-7 describes.[506]

The duties of the temple guards were to safeguard the temple from profanation by controlling entry and to protect the temple property which was kept in the Temple gate storehouses and treasuries.[507] In other words, the temple gates were a kind of check point where people and their offerings were screened and the income collected before it was transferred to the store-chambers and treasuries. In this sense, having control over the Temple gates could imply having significant influence over the temple economy.

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[504] John W. Wright, "A Tale of Three Cities: Urban Gates, Squares and Power in Iron Age II, Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Judah," in *Studies in Politics, Class and Material Culture* (Vol. 3 of *Second Temple Studies*; ed. Philip R. Davies and John M. Halligan; JSOTSup 340; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 44-45.

[505] Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms*, (trans. Timothy J. Hallett; New York: The Seabury Books, 1978), 123.

[506] Concerning early Bronze Age temples and their gate-ways, see Kempinski, "Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Temples," 53-59; and for the temples of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and the Iron Age, see, Amihai Mazar, "Temples and the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and the Iron Age," in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel*, 161-187. For an analysis of Ezek 40:6-7, see Walter Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25-48* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 352-353, 359-360.

[507] John W. Wright, "Guarding the Gates: 1 Chronicles 26:1-19 and the Roles of Gatekeepers in Chronicles," *JSOT* 48 (1990): 69-81. In this article, J. W. Wright argues that the gatekeepers described in 2 Chr 23:1-21 were "a paramilitary security force."

Thus, the Chronicler's special attention to the levitical supervision of the Temple gates may pertain to their economic function. If it reflects his own time, it implies that the Levites played a significant role in the temple administration. Or, if it does not, one needs to ask why the Chronicler took pains to underline the connection of the Levites to the Temple as he does.

3.1.2. Locations of the Temple Gates

As we have noted in the previous chapter, the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple gates are found in 1 Chr 9:24 and 1 Chr 26:14-18. 1 Chr 9:24, which refers to situations of the Persian period, states that there were gate posts on each of the four sides of the Temple. Likewise, 1 Chr 26:14-18, which describes situation in the period of David's reign, states that the gates at the four sides of the Temple were guarded by specific families of gatekeepers. Thus, these two passages disclose the Chronicler's idea of the gate complexes of the Temple. In this section, we will pose the question of whether the Chronicler's portrait presents an actual reconstruction of the temple gates in his own time. To answer this question, we will compare the Chronicler's description with data that other sources provide. This comparison will show that the Chronicler's portrait of the gate complexes is consistent with realities of the late monarchic period.

For this comparative approach, we must rely on the details found in the biblical descriptions of the temple gates since no excavation in Jerusalem has yet produced findings related to the temple gates of either the First Temple or the Second Temple of the Post-exilic period.[508] Numerous references to the gates of the Temple appear in the

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[508] Y. Shiloh, "Jerusalem," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 2:704; and Volkmar Fritz, "Temple Architecture: What can Archaeology Tell us About Solomon's Temple?" *BAR* 13 (1987): 38-49; and Eilat Mazar, "The Solomonic Wall in Jerusalem," in *"I Will Speak*

Bible. The temple gates are usually not given specific names (in Jer 7:2; 1 Chr 16:42; and 2 Chr 31:2). But on several occasions their proper names are given. These references to the named gate will be divided into two different groups and examined in a separate section to compare them with the Chronicler's descriptions of the gate complexes: (1) guarding posts in 2 Kgs 11: 4-20//2 Chr 23:1-21; and (2) the other references to a named gate (2 Kgs 15:35//2 Chr 27:3; Jer 26:10; 36:10).

3.1.2.1. Guarding Posts in 2 Kgs 11: 4-20//2 Chr 23:1-21

Valuable biblical data on the guarding posts in the Temple is found in the narrative of Jehoiada's coup d'état against Athaliah (2 Kgs 11: 4-20//2 Chr 23:1-21).[509] The Chronicler's version of the narrative (2 Chr 23:1-21) provides a very different picture than the Kings' version (2 Kgs 11:4-20) in terms of the constituents of the guards, the gate names, and the Chronicler's primary concern for guarding the Temple. In this sense, the narrative of Jehoiada's coup not only provides useful information about the temple gates, but also sheds additional light on the Chronicler's view on the gate complexes of the Temple in addition to 1 Chr 9:25 and 1 Chr 26:14-18.

Since the two versions vary especially in the names of gates, we will treat the Kings' version separately from the Chronicler's.

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the *Riddle of Ancient Things": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. Aren M. Maeir and Pierre de Miroschedji; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 775-786.

[509] T. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomos bis Herodes: Eine archäologisch-historische Studie unter Berücksichtigung des westsemitischen Tempelbaus 1. Band: Der Tempel Salomos* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), 149-151.

In Kings, Jehoiada commanded the chiefs of the hundreds of the Carites[510] and of the

guards (הרצים)[511] to watch the royal palace during this coup (2 Kgs 11:4-5). These royal

guards on duty were subdivided and positioned at three locations: 'the royal palace'

(בית המלך), 'the Sur Gate' (שער סור), and 'the gate behind the guards' (שער אחר הרצים)

(2 Kgs 11:5-6). All those off duty took up positions within the Temple to guard the king

(2 Kgs 11:7). Thus, the three guard posts in 2 Kgs 11:5-6 must be intended to lock off

Athaliah and her supporters within the palace and to block their movement from the

palace to the Temple for the coronation of Joash. The two gates, 'the Sur Gate' and 'the

gate behind the guards,' need a further examination to suggest possible locations.

First, concerning 'the gate behind the guards,' several commentators conjecture that it

must have been located in the southern wall separating the Temple and palace

compounds[512] since 2 Kgs 11:19 states that Johoiada and his supporters 'went down' (ירד)

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[510] According to 2 Sam 15:18 and 20:23, the Carites, together with the Pelethites, were David's private army. Although their origin remains enigmatic, the Carites were apparently royal guards in the kingdom of Judah (Mordecai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 11; New York: Doubleday, 1988], 126).

[511] The occurrences of הרצים in the Old Testament are as follows: (1) as royal guards: 1 Sam 22:17;1 Kgs 14:27- 28//2 Chr 12:10-11; 2 Kgs 11:4, 6, 11, 19; (2) as private body-guards: 2 Sam 15:1(Absalom's); 1 Kgs 1:5 (Adonijah's); 2 Kgs 10:25 (Jehu's);and (3) as royal messengers: 2 Chr 30:6, 10; Esth 3:13, 15; 8:10, 14. Considering the usage of the term הרצים, it should be understood as the royal guards in 2 Kgs 11.

[512] Solomon's Temple was a royal sanctuary, so that it was adjacent to the royal palace. This fact is verified by Ezekiel's oracle. In Ezek 43:8, Ezekiel condemns the fact that the royal palace was built adjacent to the Temple since the divine abode had been contaminated by the kings of Israel. A. Mazar's and M. Ottoson's separate studies about the temple-palace complexes in Palestine also support the close proximity of the Jerusalem Temple to the royal palace. See A. Mazar, "Temples and the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and the Iron Age," 184; and Magnus Ottosson, *Temples and Cult Places in Palestine* [Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1980], 66, 76, and 112-113. Although no biblical texts indicate the location of the palace in relation to the Temple, the topographic features of the Temple Mount indicate that the Solomon's royal palace was connected to the Temple on the south side of the Temple. The northern side of the Temple Mount is relatively flat terrain which makes it difficult to defend, so that it cannot be a proper place for a royal palace. The eastern side of the Temple Mount is also inappropriate to build a royal palace since it is a steep slope down to the Kidron Valley. For the topographic features of the Temple Mount, see A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 417-420. For this reason, scholars have agreed that the Solomon's palace was built to the south of the Temple, see, D. Ussishkin, "King Solomon's Palaces," BA 36 (1973): 78-105; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, 312-317;

from the Temple to the palace through 'the way of the gate of guards' (דֶּרֶךְ־שַׁעַר

הָרָצִים).[513] 1 Kgs 14:27-28 also implies that the king regularly passed this gate to go into

the Temple.[514]

Second, the Sur Gate appears only in 2 Kgs 11:6 and its location is unknown. Some

scholars suggest emending סוּר as סוּס,[515] but there is no textual evidence for such

emendation. Moreover, the Horses' Gate (שַׁעַר הַסּוּסִים) is always named with the plural

form of סוּס, not with the singular form in its four occurrences in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kgs

11:16; Jer 31:40; Neh 3:28; and 2 Chr 23:15). K. Galling considers the Sur Gate as the

second gate in the southern wall of the Temple, which connects the palace to the

Temple.[516] However, there is no scholarly consensus on the location of the Sur Gate.

Considering the purpose of guarding the palace and its gates (2 Kgs 11:5-6), the two

gates (the gate behind the guards and the Sur Gate) must be located where the palace is

connected to the Temple, either in the south-west or south-east corner of the Temple or in

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cf. D. Ussishkin, "Jerusalem as a Royal and Cultic Center in the 10th -8th Centuries BCE," in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Last Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina* (ed. W.G. Dever and S. Gitin; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 529-538. In this article, D. Ussishkin has suggested the possibility that the royal palace stood on the lower ground to the north of the temple.

[513] Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 127; John Gray, *1 & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), 525; Volkmar Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings* (trans. Anselm Hagedorn; Continental Commentaries Old Testament; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 300.

[514] Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 131. For this reason, Busink calls it "Königstor" (Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomos bis Herodes*, 149). However, Busink's naming seems not to be reconciled with other references to 'the King's Gate' (1 Chr 9:18; Ezek 44:3). 2 Kgs 11:5 implies the presence of a southern gate of the Temple, but the King's gate is identified with the eastern gate of the Temple in these two texts.

[515] Galling, "Die Halle des Schreibers," 51-52; and Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 427.

[516] Galling, "Die Halle des Schreibers," 51-52. Busink also argues that the Sur Gate was the second gate in the southern wall of the altar court, which is connected to the courtyard of the palace. However, he does not provide any strong evidence for his argument. Lack of evidence makes any argument about the location of the Sur Gate inconclusive. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomos bis Herodes*, 149.

the south of the Temple.[517] Since Athaliah could pass freely from the palace to the

Temple (2 Kgs 11:13//2 Chr 23:12), one of the gates between the Temple and the palace

must have been (deliberately) unguarded. This gate is not named in the text. 2 Kgs

11:16 states that Athaliah was killed at the Horses' entrance (מבוא הסוסם) located at the

eastern end of the Ophel (the south-east corner of the Temple). Through the Horses'

Gate (שער הסוסים), one reaches the Horses' entrance which opens directly into the royal

precinct.[518] S. Yeivin conjectures that the Horses' Gate would have probably been the

main entrance of the palace from the outer court since it was wide enough to admit horse-

drawn chariots.[519] If his conjecture is correct, Athaliah went to the Temple from the

Horses' Gate through the eastern gate of the Temple.[520] This Horses' gate must have

been left unguarded, so that Athaliah could go freely to the Temple.

On the other hand, the guards off duty on the Sabbath were commissioned to surround

the king to protect him and also to guard the Temple (2 Kgs 11:7-8). They were also

commanded to kill anyone who approached 'the ranks' (אל־השדרות). S. Yeivin suggests

that the term השדרות is an architectural term,[521] which probably means the rows of semi-

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[517] Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 426.

[518] Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 130; Gray, *1 & II Kings*, 523.

[519] S. Yeivin, "Was There a High Portal in the First Temple?" *VT* 14 (1964): 336.

[520] According to 2 Kgs 11:14//2 Chr 23:13, Athaliah saw the king (Joash) standing by the pillar (על־העמוד) 'as the custom' (כמשפט) when she went in the Temple. This pillar is one of the two pillars that Solomon set up at the vestibule of the Temple (לאלם ההיכל) (1 Kgs 7:21), which faces east. Ezek 46:2 also explains the usual place for the king when the sacrifices are offered: "The prince shall enter by the vestibule of the gate from outside (דרך אולם השער מחוץ), and shall take his stand by the post of the gate (על־מזוזת השער)." Thus, if she entered by the way of the eastern gate, this scene would have been caught by her right away since the pillar is located at the entrance of the Temple.

[521] *HALOT*, 1310; and *BDB* 690.

detached pillars adorning the inside of the gateway of the Temple (cf. 1 Kgs 6:9).[522] John Monson also considers it as an architectural term, which means 'wood beams.'[523] Thus, השׂדרות in 2 Kgs 11:8 probably indicates the paneling of the wall with rows of wooden planks rather than 'the ranks.' This highly ornamented gateway must be the eastern gateway, that is, the main entrance to the inner court of the Temple. This gateway is fronting the façade of the Temple.[524] This was the place where Athaliah was arrested (2 Kgs 11:15).

Therefore we may conclude that the Kings' version of Jehoiada's coup against Athaliah (2 Kgs 11:4-20) indicates the existence of the eastern gate to the outer court of the Temple as well as the existence of at least two or three gates between the palace and the Temple although the location of each gate is not certain. However, this narrative does not contain any reference to the western gate. In this sense, the Chronicler's portrait of the gate complexes found in 1 Chr 9:24 and 1 Chr 26:14-18 is not completely consonant with the one in 2 Kgs 11:4-20. However, the existence of the western gate in the Temple needs further investigation since the silence about the western gate in 2 Kgs 11:4-20 does not prove its absence. This question will be taken up again in section 3.1.2.3.

As mentioned above, the Chronicler's version of the narrative of Jehoida's coup (2 Chr 23:1-21) provides additional information of the Chronicler's views on the gate complexes.

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[522] Yeivin, "Was There a High Portal in the First Temple?" 336.

[523] John M. Monson, *The Temple of Jerusalem: A Case Study in the Integration of Text and Artifact*, 125-126.

[524] Yeivin, "Was There a High Portal in the First Temple?" 336.

First of all, in the Chronicler's version, neither the Carites nor the royal guards are mentioned (cf. 2 Kgs 11:4). According to 2 Chr 23:1-2, five captains of hundreds (שׂרי המאות) came to Jehoiada to make a pact with him, and then Johoiada sent them to recruit the Levites for the upcoming coup against Athaliah. Thus, in the Chronicler's version, the main guards were not the royal guards, but the priests and the Levites (2 Chr 23:4). By this change, the Chronicler shows once again his preference for priestly class (priests and Levites) for work in the Temple, and at the same time successfully excludes foreigners (i.e., the Carites) from the Temple. The priests and Levites were commissioned to guard at the three guarding posts: (1) 'at the thresholds' (הספים); (2) 'at the royal palace' (בית המלך); and (3) 'at the Foundation Gate' (שער היסוד). The text reports that the captains of hundreds (שׂרי המאות) were stationed in the Temple (2 Chr 23:9).

Second, according to the Chronicler's version, it is certain that above-mentioned three guard posts are located in the Temple. Clearly, the Chronicler is concerned to guard the Temple since the guards in 2 Chr 23:4-5 are the priests and Levites. 2 Chr 23:10 also emphasizes that the Temple was protected on three sides, south, north and east by the entire force.

Third, it is observed that except for the guard post at the royal palace, the other guard posts are described very differently from those in the Kings' version. For this reason, Raymond B. Dillard argues that this variation in the gate names may reflect updating or modernizing the gate names to those in use in the Chronicler's period.[525] It is possible,

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[525] Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 178. For instance, Dillard argues that the reason why the Chronicler did not mention the name of 'the gate behind the royal guards' (שער אחר הרצים) is that the royal guards no longer frequented the entrance.

but the two versions do not seem to demonstrate the same concern about the guarding posts. The following examination of the three guard posts will support this speculation.

The guard post at the royal palace (2 Chr 23:5) must be the gate(s) between the Temple and the palace. Another guard post at the thresholds (2 Chr 23:4) needs to be the gates within the Temple since their guards are priests and the Levites. Furthermore, other references to the thresholds (הספים) also indicate that they are part of the Temple structure: 2 Kgs 12:10; 22:4; 23:4; 25:18; 2 Chr 34:9; Jer 35:4 and 52:24. Thus this guard post cannot be identified with 'the gate behind guards' (שער אחר הרצים) in 2 Kgs 11:6, *contra* Busink.[526] The location of the Foundation Gate is difficult to identify since no reference to it is found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.[527] Several scholars identify the Foundation Gate with the Sur Gate,[528] but the Foundation Gate should be somewhere in the Temple since Jehoiada positioned the guards 'from the south end to the north end of the Temple' to protect Joash 'on every side (סביב)' (2 Chr 23:10). The southern and eastern guard posts are identified, but the northern post is not specified. Thus, the Foundation Gate might have been at the north side of the Temple, but there is no certainty about its location.

To sum up, the Chronicler alters the narrative of Jehoiada's coup in Kings to convey his own interest in the Temple. By doing so, he provides some data on the temple gates: the southern gate(s) between the Temple and the palace; the gates within the Temple (including the main eastern entrance of the Temple); and the Foundation gate. This

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[526] Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomos bis Herodes,* 150.

[527] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 831.

[528] Dillard considers that the Sur (סור) Gate and the Foundation (יסוד) Gate are the same gate, the one a textual error to the other (Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 182). See also, Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomos bis Herodes,* 160.

picture is not contradictory to the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple gates in 1 Chr 9:24 and 26:14-18, rather complementary, with exception of the western gate. 2 Chr 23:1-21 does not mention the western gate nor does Kings.   Thus, to determine what the Chronicler was attempting to accomplish in his descriptions of the temple gates in 1 Chr 9:24 and 26;14-18, we need to examine the western gate in the Temple (see section 3.1.2.3).

3.1.2.2. Other Biblical References to the Temple Gates

Two more named temple gates are found in the Hebrew Bible: 'the Upper Gate of the Temple' (שער בית יהוה העליון, or שער העליון) (2 Kgs 15:35//2 Chr 27:3; cf. Jer 20:2) and 'the New Gate' (שער יהוה החדש, or שער בית יהוה החדש) (Jer 26:10 and 36:10).

The location of the Upper Gate of the Temple is controversial.[529] Busink argues that 'the gate behind guards' (שער אחר הרצים) in 2 Kgs 11:6 is identical to 'the Upper Gate of the Temple' or 'the New Gate.'[530] The textual evidence for his argument is 2 Chr 23:20, which is parallel to 2 Kgs 11:19. We are told that King Joash, after he was anointed as a king by Jehoiada, marched through 'the Upper gate' (שער העליון) to the royal palace in

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[529] According to 2 Chr 27:3, Jotham built the wall of Ophel as well as the Upper Gate. The wall of Ophel was the southern slope of the temple hill, between the Tyropoeon valley and the Kidron valley. Thus, it is a part of the southern wall of the Temple. However, Jotham's Upper Gate is not certainly identified. Scholars have proffered various opinions about the location of it, and we can classify them into three different groups: (1) a part of the northern wall of Jerusalem (Edward L. Curtis, John Gray, Marvin A. Sweeney, and Volkmar Fritz); (2) an eastern gate (Michael Chyutin, Julian Morgenstern, and S. Yeivin); and (3) a southern gate (Kurt Galling, Jack R. Lundbom, and Asher Selig Kaufman). Concerning the location of the Upper Gate, refer to Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 454; Gray, *I & II Kings*, 609; Sweeney, *I & II Kings*, 377; Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings*, 338; Chyutin, *Architecture and Utopia in the Temple Era*, 102; Julian Morgenstern, "The Gates of Righteousness," *HUCA* 6 (1929): 22-23; Yeivin, "Was There a High Portal in the First Temple?", 337-338; Kurt Galling, 'Die Halle des Schreibers: Ein Beitrag zur Topographie der Akropolis von Jerusalem,' *Palästinajahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts* 27 (1931): 51-57; Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 847; ibid, *Jeremiah 21-36* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 291, 599; Asher Selig Kaufman, *The Temple Mount: Where is the Holy of Holies* (Jerusalem: Har Year'eh Press, 2004), 83-84.

[530] Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomos bis Herodes*, 150-151.

order to take over the throne, according to 2 Chr 23:20. However, this gate is named as 'the gate of guards' (שער הרצים) in 2 Kgs 11:19. Thus, the Chronicler seems to have considered that 'the gate of guards' was identical to the Upper Gate (שער העליון). However, this identification is problematic, since the Upper Gate was built by Jotham almost a century later than Joash's coronation (2 Kgs 15:35//2 Chr 27:3). In other words, 'the gate behind the guards' must have existed before Jotham built the Upper Gate. There is no basis for arguing either that the Upper Gate replaced 'the gate of guards,' or that Jotham built the Upper Gate in order to add another gate to the Temple.[531] Thus we leave this question of whether the Upper Gate is identical to 'the gate of guards' unanswered.

While the Chronicler seems to consider the Upper Gate identical to 'the gate of the guards,'[532] Ezekiel's description about the Upper Gate is different from the Chronicler's. The Upper Gate is said to face north in Ezek 9:2. J. Gray, Marvin A. Sweeney and V. Fritz have argued that the Upper Gate was a part of the northern wall of Jerusalem based

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[531] Edward L. Curtis explains the Chronicler's change of the name of gate in 2 Chr 23:20 as follows: "The gate of the guards probably a gateway connecting the precincts of the Temple with those of the palace. The Chronicler, writing when the palace had ceased to exist, would naturally fix a locality by its connection with the Temple" (Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 432).

[532] A later Jewish tradition's identification of the Upper Gate with the eastern gate seems to be based on the Chronicler's understanding. According to J. Morgenstern, the Upper Gate has been considered as one of the seven different names of the East Gate of the Temple in Jewish tradition. Both J. Morgenstern and M. Chyutin argue that the Upper Gate is an eastern gate of the Temple, following the Jewish tradition without giving any further evidence for their argument (Morgenstern, "The Gates of Righteousness," 22-23; and Chyutin, *Architecture and Utopia in the Temple Era*, 102). See, also Johann Maier, "The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in the Light of the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. George J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 30, 32. However, *m. Mid.* 2.6 states that the Upper Gate is one of the southern gates located within the inner wall of the Temple leading to the inner court. Thus, the Jewish tradition itself does not help to pin down the location of the Upper Gate that Jotham built. Lee I. Levine guided us to examine *m. Mid.* for our reference although he did not explicitly mention *m. Mid.* 2.6 with regard to the Upper Gate (Levine, *Jerusalem*, 229-230).

on Ezek 9:2.[533] On the other hand, Moshe Greenburg argues that the Upper Gate was in

the northern wall of the exterior court of the Temple.[534] Since it is clear that the Upper

Gate is a part of the Temple (2 Kgs 15:35), Greenburg's argument is sensible. He also

considers this Upper Gate the same as Jotham's Upper gate and 'the Upper Benjamin

Gate' of the Temple in Jer 20:2. According to Moshe Greenburg, 'the Upper Gate' was

also called 'the Upper Benjamin Gate' because through it one gained access to 'the

Benjamin Gate' of the city wall (Jer 37:13).[535] If Greenburg's interpretation is correct,

Ezekiel's 'Upper Gate' was the northern gate of the Temple. Ezek 8:14 also mentions the

northern gate of the Temple, but names it in a different way: שער בית־יהוה אשר אל־

הצפונה. It is not certain that these two gates were meant to be the same.

  All in all, none of the biblical references to the Upper Gate provide any explicit

indication for the location of the Upper Gate in the Temple, except for the fact that it

faces north (Ezek 9:2).

  Jeremiah mentions 'the New Gate of the Temple' (שער [בית] יהוה החדש) in Jer 26:10

and 36:10. When Jeremiah prophesied in the Temple court (Jer 26:2-8), the officials

came from the palace to the Temple and sat at the entrance of 'the New Gate of the

Temple' (שער יהוה החדש) to open judicial proceedings against Jeremiah (Jer 26:10).

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[533] See footnote 529.

[534] Moshe Greenburg, *Ezekiel, 1-20* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 176.

[535] Greenburg, *Ezekiel, 1-20*, 176; and also Mongomery, *The Books of Kings*, 453. James A. Montgomery
argues that the Upper Gate and the Upper Benjamin Gate are identical, called by "double nomenclature.'
On the other hand, some scholars have identified the Upper Benjamin Gate of the Temple with the
Benjamin Gate, the northern city gate of the city wall (Jer 37:13 and 38:7). See, Morgenstern, "The Gates
of Righteousness," 22-23; Galling, "Die Halle des Schreibers," 51-57; and Daniel I. Block, *The Book of
Ezekiel Chapters 1-24* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 304. However, Jer 20:2 states that the
Upper Benjamin Gate is in the Temple (בשער בנימן העליון אשר בבית יהוה). Moreover, its name (שער
בית יהוה העליון) itself indicates that it belongs to the Temple (2 Kgs 15:35). Therefore, the Upper
Benjamin Gate cannot be 'the Benjamin Gate.'

This implies that the New Gate is a part of the Temple. Jer 36:10 also supports this conjecture, in that the entry of the New Gate is said to connect to the Upper court (החצר העליון). The fact that the New Gate is connected to the Upper court has led some scholars to identify the New Gate with the Upper Gate.[536] The inner court seems to have been more elevated than the outer court. For this reason, the inner court is also named as 'the upper court' (החצר העליון). Thus, the scholars who identify the New Gate with the Upper Gate surmise that the gate at the entrance of the inner court (the New Gate) was called the Upper Gate. Nevertheless, there is no clear evidence that necessitates equating these two gates.

Therefore, we conclude that none of the biblical references to the Upper Gate or the New Gate can be used (without further archaeological or non-biblical data) to verify the existence of the four gates at the four sides of the Temple, which the Chronicler describes in 1 Chr 9:24 and 1 Chr 26:14-16.

All the biblical texts we have examined in sections 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2 indicate the existence of an eastern gate, a southern gate between the Temple and the palace, and a northern gate of the Temple.   However, a gate at the west side of the Temple is not mentioned except in 1 Chr 9:24 and specifically in 1 Chr 26:16. The latter also refers to the gate of chamber(s) and the ascending gateway to the Temple in the west.[537] The following section is devoted to speculating a western gate of the Temple.

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[536] Morgenstern, "The Gates of Righteousness," 23; Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 847; and ibid, *Jeremiah 31-36*, 291; Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomos bis Herodes*, 150-151.   These scholars also conjecture that it was called 'the New Gate' since it was built by Jotham long after the original building of the Temple.

[537] M. Chyutin reconstructs the western gate based on 1 Chr 26:16 and the Temple Scroll:
> An ascending causeway, a ramp, leads to the western enclosure of the Temple. … In this western enclosure there were chambers and free-standing columns to which the animals

3.1.2.3. A Western Gate of the Temple

Since no archaeological findings or biblical references to a western gate (except for 1 Chr 9:24 and 26:16) of the Temple before the Hellenistic period are available for the present study, any examination about a western gate of the Temple cannot help but be speculative.

Without denying a certain degree of uncertainty in our speculation, we argue that it is highly probable that a western gate existed in the First Temple for several reasons. First, the eastern gate of the Temple was used only for cultic purposes or by kings, and the southern gate was used by court officials since it was located between the Temple and the palace. This fact greatly limits lay access to the Temple via these gates. Thus, as the Temple of Jerusalem became the national sanctuary and the religious center of the nation especially after Hezekiah's and Josiah's reforms, there should have been a need for a gate through which the people could easily access the Temple. Second, as A. Mazar argues, archaeological findings prove that Jerusalem was expanded greatly to the west almost completely covering western hill of Jerusalem in the later periods of the monarchy.[538] This fact demands a ramp to connect the Western Hill to the western enclosure of the Temple since there was a valley between the two. Thus, the Chronicler's description of the ascending gateway to the Temple and the gate of chambers on the western wall of the Temple (1 Chr 26:16)[539] may reflect, to a certain degree, situations of

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were tied, with a strict separation between the sacrificial animals of the Israelites and those of the priests (Chyutin, *Architecture and Utopia in the Temple Era*, 99-100).

[538] A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 422-423; and Benjamin Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 37-38. This new quarter (or the second quarters) of Jerusalem is mentioned in Zeph 1:10-11 and 2 Kgs 22:14 (A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* , 423-424).

[539] The Chronicler's description of the ascending gateway to the Temple and the gate of chambers on the western wall was discussed in Section 2.1.2.2.

the later monarchic period.[540] S. Yeivin also argues: "The description (of the First Temple) contained in the second book of Chronicles is based on the state of the building towards the last days of the kingdom of Judah, in the late VIIth (or early VIth) century BCE."[541]

On the other hand, Benjamin Mazar's excavations in the Mishneh Quarter have shown that after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE there was no new occupation of the Western Hill before the Hasmonean times (the second and first centuries BCE).[542] Mazar's observation is again corroborated by Lipschits and Vanderhooft's joint studies of Yehud Seal Impressions which report the total absence of Yehud stamps in the Western Quarter of Jerusalem until Hasmonean era.[543] Therefore, it is not certain whether or not 1 Chr 26:16 would have had some connection to the Chronicler's own day. This question will be dealt with in the following section.

3.1.2.4. Gates of the Second Temple in the Post-Exilic Period

Few details about the Second Temple built in the Persian period appear in the biblical texts. Ezra 6:1-4 describes the measurement of the Temple as 'its height sixty cubits and its width sixty cubits,' but does not mention its length. According to this measurement, the Second Temple built in the time of Zerubbabel (henceforth designated as

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[540] A similar conjecture about the late monarchic period with regard to the western wall is proffered by Williamson ("Nehemiah's Wall Revisited," 68, 71-72).

[541] Yeivin, "Was There a High Portal in the First Temple?" 331

[542] B. Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord*, 38.

[543] Lipschits and Vanderhooft, "Yehud Stamp Impressions in the Fourth Century BCE," in *Judah and Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE*, 80. The same understanding about the Western Hill of Jerusalem during the Persian period is also found in the following scholars' works: Finkelstein, "Jerusalem in the Persian (and Early Hellenistic) Period," 504-507; and Williamson, "Nehemiah's Wall Revisited," 66.

Zerubbabel's Temple)[544] was higher and wider than Solomon's temple, which was 'sixty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and thirty cubits high.' (1 Kgs 6:2). However, several other biblical texts imply that Zerubbabel's Temple was smaller and more modest than Solomon's Temple (Hag 2:3; Ezr 3:12; and Tob 14:5).[545] Josephus also confirms that view. He quotes Herod's speech announcing his extension plan for the Temple in *Antiquities* 15:385-387.[546] In this speech, Herod mentions that neither the Persian kings nor the Macedonians permitted the Temple to be built according to its former dimensions. Thus we may conclude that Zerubbabel's Temple was not as large as the First Temple.

The inner structure of Zerubbabel's temple still remains unknown. Even archaeological studies have not provided much help since the Persian stratum in Jerusalem is badly preserved because of later extensive construction in the Hasmonean and Herodian periods.[547] The gate complexes of Zerubbabel's Temple could be vaguely imagined based on only a few biblical texts: 1 Chronicles 9 and Ezekiel 40.

As we have noted above, 1 Chronicles 9 states that there were gates on each of the four corners of the Temple. The second such account, Ezekiel 40 is a part of Ezekiel's structural plan for a future temple (Ezek 40-48), rather than a description of the rebuilt Temple in the Persian period. Ezekiel gives a quite detailed plan for the gates for the outer courts and for the inner courts. For the outer court, there will be three gates: the

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[544] This naming of the Temple in the post-exilic period originally is borrowed from Busink's work, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, 29.

[545] Chyutin, *Architecture and Utopia in the Temple Era*, 88.

[546] Chyutin, *Architecture and Utopia in the Temple Era*, 145. Josephus' descriptions of the dimension of the Second Temple in the Persian period do not show consistency, so that they need to be taken with caution. For instance, in *Against Apion* 1:198, Josephus cites Hecateus of Abdera's description of the Temple at the end of the fourth century BCE, and Hecateus' description of Zerubbabel's Temple provides even larger dimensions of the Temple than Ezr 6:1-4 does; (See Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord*, 105).

[547] Y. Shiloh, "Jerusalem," 709; and O. Lipschits, "Persian Period Finds From Jerusalem: Facts and Interpretations," *JHS* 9 (2009) Article 20:2-30.

eastern gate (Ezek 40:6-7), the north gate (Ezek 40:20-23), and the south gate (Ezek 40:24-26).[548] In Ezekiel's plan, the western gate is not included. The major passageway to the Temple is to be the northern gate and the southern gate. Ezek 46:9-10 states that people who enter by the north or south gates are to exit by the opposite gate for efficient crowd management.[549] The eastern gate should remain closed according to Ezek 44:2 since God entered the Temple by it.[550] Only the prince shall enter and leave the Temple by way of the eastern gate (Ezek 44:3). This fact implies that the access to the eastern gate by laymen must have been limited.

Thus, it is clear that even these two biblical references to the gates of Zerubbabel's Temple are not concordant with each other. Certainly, Ezekiel's plan for the gate complexes in a future temple is not harmonized with the Chronicler's brief description of the temple gates (the gates at the four sides of the Temple), which means that there is no relevant data to determine whether or not the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple gates reflect his own time.

In conclusion, although our examination of the gate complexes of the Temple has relied primarily on very limited sources, we may conclude that the Chronicler's

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[548] Many commentators suggest that Ezekiel's descriptions of the temple gates show similarities with Iron Age gate complexes excavated at Meggido, Hazor and Gezer (Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983], 351-354; D. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel Chapters 25-48* [NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdemans, 1998], 519-521; Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48* [WBC 29; Dallas: Word Books, 1990], 229-231; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel* [Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox Press, 1990], 201-202). According to Ezekiel's descriptions, the three gates for the outer court have sealed windows and are covered by a roof (Ezek 40:15, 16, 22), but they seem not to have gate towers (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 360).

[549] Commentators speculate that Ezekiel's regulations for the people's entry into the Temple at the appointed feasts are given for crowd control (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 492; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 267-268; Blenkinsopp, *Ezekiel*, 228; and Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970], 576).

[550] The pre-eminent place of the eastern gate among the gates is again verified in 1 Chr 9:18, where the east gate is named as the King's gate. Concerning the pre-eminent place of the eastern gate of the temple in antiquity, see Baruch A. Levine and William W. Hallo, "Offerings to the Temple Gates at Ur," *HUCA* 38 (1967): 48-51.

descriptions of the temple gates in 1 Chr 9:24 and 26:14-16 are closely related to gates in the late monarchy. Since it is likely that the Chronicler did not attempt to provide realities of his own time at least with regard to the gate complexes, the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration must be reevaluated.

3.1.3. The Temple Treasuries and Store-chambers

In this section, we compare the Chronicler's description of the temple treasuries and store-chambers with the data that we can draw from other biblical and non-biblical sources. Since no archaeological finds provide evidence about temple treasuries or store-chambers, our comparison is constrained to be limited to textual sources which are grouped into two categories: (1) biblical references to temple treasuries and store-chambers appeared in the narratives of the First Temple period; and (2) biblical references to temple treasuries and store-chambers in Ezekiel and Nehemiah.

3.1.3.1. The Chronicler's Description of the Store-chambers and Treasuries

The Chronicler's descriptions of temple treasuries and store-chambers can be summarized as follows. In the Chronicler's narrative, David's plan for the future temple includes store-chambers, the treasuries of the Temple and the treasuries of the dedicated things, which appear to be located between the priestly court and the court of the Israelites in the Chronicler's description (1 Chr 28:12).[551] The Chronicler claims that Solomon completed all the work according to the plan that his father David handed over to him, and then stored the silver, the gold and all the vessels that his father David dedicated in the treasuries of the Temple (2 Chr 5:1). David's plan for the temple

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[551] According to 2 Chr 4:9 Solomon made the court of the priests, and the great court, and also made doors between the two courts.

treasuries is elaborated once more in 1 Chr 26:20-28, where the two treasuries and the supervisors for them are introduced: the treasuries of the Temple (על־אוצרות בית האלהים) and the treasuries of the dedicated gifts (אצרות הקדשים), which keep all the dedicated gifts donated by the political and military leaders from the war booty for the maintenance of the Temple (1 Chr 26:27). The Chronicler also asserts that Hezekiah built more store-chambers to store the gifts, the tithes, and the sacred things, which were to be allocated to the priests and Levites (2 Chr 31:11). The location of these chambers is not mentioned.

The Temple rebuilt in the post-exilic period, according to 1 Chr 9:26-29, had chambers (האצרות) and the treasuries of the Temple (האצרות בית האלהים). The treasuries of the dedicated things (האצרות הקדשים) were not mentioned. On the other hand, there seems to have been various chambers arranged by their contents: a chamber of the utensils of service (על־כלי העבודה); a chamber of the furniture and all the holy utensils (הכלים וכל־כלי הקדש); a chamber(s) of the fine flour, wine, oil, incense, and spices (הסלת והיין והשמן והלבונה והבשמים).

The Chronicler's treatment of temple treasuries and store-chambers displays its distinctiveness in the following two points. First, the Chronicler shows his growing interest in the two institutions of the Temple consistently. The Chronicler's interest contrasts with other biblical authors' treatments of these two institutions as will be shown in section 3.1.3.2. Second, the Chronicler's interest in these two institutions is expressed in parallel with a concern to praise David and highlight other righteous kings (especially, Hezekiah). In other words, the Chronicler's descriptions of temple treasuries and store-chambers are not free from his tendentious approaches to the Temple and its

administration. Thus, the Chronicler's treatment of temple treasuries and store-chambers needs to be understood as part of his overall plan for his work.

3.1.3.2. Biblical References to Temple Treasuries and Store-chambers in the First Temple Period

Only two texts refer to store-chambers of the Temple in the First Temple period: 2 Kgs 23:11and Jer 35:4. These references to chambers are related to a kind of office, which belongs to a certain official, such as the chamber of the eunuch Nathan-melech (2 Kgs 23:11), the chamber of the sons of Hanan, the chamber of the officials, and the chamber of Maaseiah, the guardian of the threshold (Jer 35:4). No detailed information about store-chambers in the Temple exists. The scarcity of the references to chambers does not necessarily prove their absence.

On the other hand, the existence of the temple treasuries, which held the former kings' votive gifts, such as silver, gold and precious vessels, was taken for granted as they had often been emptied out, according to numerous texts in Kings, to pay off the tributes imposed by foreign sovereigns (1 Kgs 7:51; 14:26; 2 Kgs 12:18; 14:14; 16:8; 18:15; 24:13). However, these texts do not display any organizational detail, such as interest in the ways in which the temple treasuries were administered.

Thus, our examination of the biblical references to temple treasuries and store-chambers in the First Temple period, although it does not provide any detailed information of these two institutions, confirms that the Chronicler's relatively frequent treatment of temple treasuries and store-chambers contrasts with other biblical authors' lack of interest in them.

3.1.3.3. Temple Treasuries and Store-chambers in Ezekiel and Nehemiah

Unlike the biblical references to temple treasuries and store-chambers we have examined above, the books of Ezekiel and Nehemiah display a relatively growing interest in these two institutions.

Ezekiel's plan for a future Temple contains many cells in the outer and inner courts of the Temple. There would be thirty chambers in the outer court (Ezek 40:17), a chamber for washing burnt offerings (Ezek 40:38), chambers for the singers in the inner court (Ezek 40:44), chambers for the priests (Ezek 40:45-46; 42:13), chambers for the Levites (Ezek 45:5), the upper chambers (Ezek 42:5) and many other chambers. Ezekiel devotes himself to detail the locations, dimensions and specific purposes of store-rooms especially in Ezekiel 40-42.

Nehemiah also provides some information about temple treasuries and store-chambers. First, the book specifies which items would be kept in the store-rooms: 'the first part of dough, contributions, the fruit of every tree, wine and oil for the priests, and the tithes' (Neh 10:38; cf. Neh 13:12). Mal 3:10 also implies that it was a matter of fact that tithes were brought into the treasury of the temple. Second, Nehemiah's concern about the store-chambers goes beyond specifying items kept in them. Since the Temple administration can be easily hampered by an abusive administrator, he appoints the treasurers' committee over the store-chambers, which is composed of four treasurers (Neh 13:13).

Our examination of the texts from Ezekiel and Nehemiah with regard to store-chambers and temple treasuries shows that two biblical authors of the exilic and post-exilic period are interested in these two institutions and portray them in a distinctive way

which reflects their own specific concerns. While Ezekiel is more drawn to laying out a structural plan for chambers in the Temple, Nehemiah is interested in describing how these institutions should be run. The Chronicler's treatment of these two institutions is not much different from Ezekiel's and Nehemiah's in that all of them exhibit growing interest in those institutions. However, the Chronicler's descriptions of the two institutions are distinctive in terms of his emphasis on who administers the institutions. The Chronicler seems to draw a conclusion that the Levites should run temple treasuries and store-chambers throughout the development of his narrative.

Therefore, we conclude that there is no textual and archaeological evidence to prove that the Chronicler's descriptions of temple treasuries and store-chambers reflect realities of his own time. Nevertheless, the Chronicler's treatment of these institutions illuminates the ways in which he dealt with his contemporary issues and concerns.

3.2. The Temple Revenue

The previous section has shown that the Chronicler's descriptions about the temple gates reflect realities of the late monarchic period. It has also shown that the Chronicler's interest in the systematic organization and supervision of the store-chambers and treasuries reflects traditions that emerge in the Second Temple era rather than the First. However, we cannot demonstrate that the Chronicler's descriptions of those institutions of the Temple reflect the realities of his own day. Our studies lead us to re-direct our approaches to Chronicles in order to ask how and why the Chronicler treats those institutions as he does.

In this section, we will examine the revenue of the Second Temple in the Achaemenid Era to compare it with the Chronicler's description.

It is not clear what the major sources of revenue to support the Jerusalem Temple in the Post-exilic period were. Unlike Babylonian temples under the Achaemenid Empire, we do not know if the Jerusalem temple of Yehud owned tracts of land, houses, or livestock that generated income through rent.[552] In general, biblical texts mention three different sources of income of the Temple: tithes, priestly gifts, and the temple tax. A close examination of the biblical texts which describe these sources, shows that there is a wide divergence in views on these three sources of income. We will pay special attention to the descriptions of who was in charge of collecting and storing them and who benefitted from them. Our aim is to show that the Chronicler has a very distinctive view on the three sources of temple revenue by comparing it with other views on these matters, which originated from different time periods. In this section, we will argue: (1) the

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[552] Lynn Tatum, "Jerusalem in Conflict: The Evidence for the Seventh-Century B.C.E. Religious Struggle over Jerusalem," in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period* (ed. A. G. Vaughn and A. E. Killebrew; SBLSS 18; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 315.

Chronicler's description about the institution of the tithe is not identical to that of any other biblical authors; (2) the Chronicler's treatment of the priestly gift is unique and different from Ezekiel's and Nehemiah's; and (3) The Chronicler does not mention the temple tax, but his silence about the temple tax seems to reflect ways in which he interacted with contemporary situations.

Although imperial taxes are not included in the category of temple revenue, we will examine the Chronicler's treatment of imperial taxes in this section, since they have been treated by scholars in relation to the temple administration during the Persian period. Moreover, the Chronicler's approach to imperial taxes illuminates his general attitude toward the Achaemenid Empire and its relationship to the temple administration.

3.2.1. Tithes

Setting aside a portion of private income either for sacred purposes or as a form of taxation was common throughout ancient Near East.[553] However, the exact nature of the tithe and the method of processing it in ancient Israel remain unclear. For instance, we do not know whether the tithe was understood to be exactly a tenth part or a certain kind of tax or gift; whether it was obligatory or voluntary; to which place(s) and in what season(s) of a year their collection was carried out; and the like.[554] We will not attempt

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[553] For the cases of rendering the tithes for sacred purposes in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, South Arabia and Ugarit, see, R. North, "עשׂר," *TDOT* 11:404-405; and Marc van de Mieroop, "Gifts and Tithes to the Temples in Ur," in *Dumu-E2-Dub-Ba-A: Studies in Honor of Ake W. Sjoberg* (ed. Hermann Behrens et al.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum Publication, 1989), 397-401; and Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3B; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 2421-2422.

[554] Not many books and articles on tithes have been published. We will largely depend on the following sources. H. Jagersma, "The Tithes in the Old Testament," in *Remembering All the Way: A Collection of Old Testament Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 116-128; Martin S. Jaffee, *Talmud Yerushalmi. Ma'aserot* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987); Menachem Herman, *Tithe as gift: The Institution in the Pentateuch and in Light of Mauss's Prestation Theory* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1991); Roger Brooks, *Talmud Yerushalmi. Ma'aser sheni* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,

to reconstruct the process of when and how the tithes were collected in ancient Israel. Rather, we seek to determine from biblical references: where the tithe was stored; who was put in charge of these stores; and how it was consumed. Attention to the changes in this institution over time will help us to understand how the Chronicler interacted with his earlier traditions.

Tithes are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible with either a form of verb עשׂר or of noun מעשׂר. The word מעשׂר appears 32 times in the Bible, but 30 occurrences are relevant to our studies since two cases in Ezekiel refer to 'one-tenth' of a certain measuring unit.[555] Except for the Pentateuchal regulations about the tithe, not many references to it are found. The occurrences of verb עשׂר which indicate practice of tithing are found in the following cases: Gen 28:22; Deut 14:22; 26:12; 1 Sam 8:15, 17 and Neh 10:38.[556]

For the sake of convenience, we divide all the references to tithes into four different categories for further examination:[557] (1) Texts portraying situations before the exilic period Gen 14:20; Gen 28:22; 1 Sam 8:15, 17; Amos 4:4; and 2 Chr 31:5, 6, 12; (2) Deuteronomic regulations: Deut 12:6, 11, 17; 14:22, 23, 28; 26:12; (3) Priestly

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1993); Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2421-2434; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 140-141; R. North, "עשׂר," *TDOT* 11:404-409; and J. Christian Wilson, "Tithe," *ABD* 6:578-580.

[555] The following is a detailed report of the occurrences of מעשׂר: Gen 14:20 (once); Amos 4:4 (once); Deut 12:6, 11, 17; 14:23, 28; 26:12 (total seven times); Lev 27:30, 31, 32 (thrice); Num 18:21, 24, 26(thrice), 28 (total six times); Ezek 45:11, 14 (total twice); Mal 3:8, 10 (total twice); Neh 10:38, 39 (twice); 12:44; 13:5, 12 (total six times); and 2 Chr 31:5, 6 (twice), 12 (total four times). See Even-Shoshan, ed., *A New Concordance of the Bible*, 693.

[556] Even-Shoshan, ed., *A New Concordance of the Bible*, 927.

[557] The logic behind this division is as follows: we first divide 29 references to מעשׂר into two groups: the Pentateuchal sources and the non-Pentateuchal sources. The first Pentateuchal sources are again divided into two sub-groups: the Priestly sources and Deuteronomic sources. The non-Pentateuchal sources are again divided into two sub-groups: the texts before the exilic period and the texts after the exilic period. This division is not based on the dates when the texts were written, but based on their ostensible settings. Thus, the four divisions of the references to מעשׂר are not intended to imply any chronological order.

regulations: Lev 27:30-33[558]; Num 18:21-32 and (4) Texts dealing with situations after the exilic period: Mal 3:8, 10; Neh 10:38-39; 12:44; 13:5, 12.

(1) Texts Portraying Situations before the Exilic Period

The references to the institution of the tithes before the Exilic period are rare: Gen 14:20; Gen 28:22; 1 Sam 8:15, 17; Amos 4:4; 2 Chr 31:5, 6, and 12. Gen 14:20 notes that Abraham gave a tenth of everything that he obtained in war to Melchizedek the king-priest of Salem. In Gen 28:22 Jacob vowed to pay a tithe at Bethel. M. Weinfeld interprets these two episodes as etiologies for the institution of the tithe in the royal sanctuary of Jerusalem and in one associated with northern Israel.[559] However, these two texts do not portray tithing as a systematic, continual practice but as an occasional, even exceptional, form of voluntary gifting.[560] A single instance of tithe is highlighted to generalize practices of tithe, as etiologies in general do. Amos 4:4 also describes the tithe as a voluntary offering to the sanctuary.[561]

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[558] Lev 27:30-33 is a part of "the Holiness Code" which A. Klostermann first named for the section of Leviticus 17-26 because of its linguistic and stylistic differences from the Priestly work. However, in the present work, we will not distinguish the Holiness Code from the other Priestly work since there is little scholarly consensus on the integrity of the Holiness Code, its composition, date or author, and its relationship to the Priestly work, and such differentiation is not necessary for our discussion. For an introduction to scholarly discussion about the relationship of the Holiness Code to the Priestly work, see I. Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence*, 1-7; Robert A. Kugler, "Holiness, Purity, the Body and Society: The Evidence for Theological Conflict in Leviticus," *JSOT* 76 (1997): 3-27; Gary A. Anderson, review of Baruch J. Schwartz, The Holiness Legislation Studies in the Priestly Code, *CBQ* 63 (2001): 128-129; and Michael D. Hildenbrand, *Structure and Theology in the Holiness Code* (North Richland Hills: Bibal Press, 2004).

[559] Weinfeld, "Tithe," *EJ* 19:736. See also Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2422, 2430.

[560] Andreas J. Köstenberger and David A. Croteau, " "Will a Man Rob God?" (Malachi 3:8): A Study of Tithing in the Old and New Testaments," *BBR* 16 (2006): 53-77.

[561] According to Francis I. Anderson, the tithes in Amos 4:4 are not "routine tithes, but special offerings promised on the eve of some hazardous enterprise or in a crisis" (Francis I. Anderson and David Noel Freedman, *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 24A; New York: Doubleday, 1989], 430).

On the other hand, 1 Sam 8:15, 17 treats the tithe as a form of royal taxation, not as a sacred donation assigned to the Temple. Nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible are tithes explicitly mentioned as being paid to the king. However, ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian documents show that the tithe could be a royal tax exacted by the king and granted as gifts or salaries to his officials.[562]

Unlike the earlier texts, 2 Chronicles 31 gives some detailed information of the institution of the tithe. In 2 Chr 31:4, Hezekiah is said to make an ordinance for people to support the priests and Levites by giving tithes. This is one of a series of measures that Hezekiah took to support the sacrificial worship in the Temple after he purified it of idolatrous practices. 2 Chr 31:5-6 catalogues the property subject to tithing: the first fruits of grain, wine, oil, honey, and of all the produce of the field; the tithe of cattle and sheep; and the tithe of the dedicated things.[563] The tithes were collected from the third month to the seventh month (2 Chr 31:7). Along with the contributions (התרומה) and the dedicated things (הקדשים), the tithes were stored in the chambers which were newly built by the order of Hezekiah (2 Chr 31:7-8). Conaniah the Levite was in charge of these store-chambers with eleven other chief officers of the Temple (2 Chr 31:12-13). The Chronicler's description of Hezekiah's measure for the institution of the tithes has no parallel in Kings. Moreover, it is quite similar to that known from the texts which portray

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[562] Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2428; and Weinfeld, "Tithe," 736.

[563] The term 'the tithe of the dedicated things' (מעשר קדשים) appears only in 2 Chr 31:6. Thus, what it designates is not clear. In his article, J. Baumgarten introduces Rashi's interpretation of this phrase: it is the tithe that the Levites should give to the priests from their tithes (Joseph Baumgarten, "Critical Notes: On the Non-Literal Use of Ma'aser/Dekate," *JBL* 103 [1984]: 245). On the other hand, other scholars suggest either omitting the word מעשר from this phrase as a dittography, or adding a few words after the word מעשר to smooth the text, such as to read 'tithes of all produce of the field.' For the former view, see Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 479-480; and for the latter view, see, Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 304. S. Japhet, H. G. M. Williamson, and S. L. McKenzie simply repeat both views without their own judgment in their commentaries on Chronicles. We will suggest later our own understanding of this phrase.

the post-exilic situations such as Mal 3:10; Neh 10:38-39; 12:44; 13:5, 12-13. Further analysis will show that it is the Chronicler who attributed the institution of the tithes to Hezekiah in 2 Chronicles 31. Thus, this text will be treated again along with the other texts which present the nature of the tithe and the way of processing and spending it in the post-exilic period.

(2) Deuteronomic Regulations for the Tithe

Deuteronomy prescribes two different kinds of tithes: the annual tithe and the triennial tithe.[564] For the annual tithe, all the Israelites should bring a tithe of their grain, new wine, and oil to the Temple.[565] The annual tithe should be consumed by the one who brings it (Deut 12:6-7; 14:23).[566] People who live too far from Jerusalem are allowed to convert their tithe into silver (Deut 14:23-24). Thus, the annual tithe prescribed by Deuteronomy is not used for the maintenance of the temple and its personnel. It will not to be given to the priests or the Levites. Likewise, the triennial tithe is not to be used for the central sanctuary. Deuteronomy requires that every third year all the landholding families should store the tithes of their increase in their village storehouse instead of bringing them to the central sanctuary. This is the triennial tithe. It will be given to the Levites,

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[564] In later Judaism three different tithes were known: the tithes for the Levites, a second tithe consumed by the offerers and a third one, known as the charity tithe, which was imposed for the benefit of the poor (Tobit 1:7-8) (Jagersma, "The Tithes in the Old Testament," 118). Thus, the annual tithe in Deut 14 corresponds to the later second tithe (Emmanuel Gitlin, "The Tithe in Deuteronomy," *Religion in Life* 32 [1963]: 580).

[565] According to Deut 14:23, all the Israelites should bring their tithes of grain, wine and oil as well as 'the firstlings of their herds and flocks' to the central sanctuary to consume them during the festival. Whether the firstlings are part of the tithe is not so apparent here (R. North, "עשׂר," 406).

[566] A. D. H. Mayes points out that this law is quite unrealistic since the whole tithe is too excessive to be entirely consumed by its offerer and his household (A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* [NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979], 245-246).

the strangers, orphans and widows in their towns (Deut 14:28-29; 26:12).[567] Therefore, according to the Deuteronomic regulations, the tithe is not one of the sources of revenue for the maintenance of the Temple.[568]

The Deuteronomic law concerning the tithe may have some connection to the cultic centralization that Josiah carried out.[569] If the tithe was one of the main sources for the maintenance for the local sanctuaries,[570] the Deuteronomic regulations for eating the tithes at the central sanctuary instead of giving them to the priests or the Levites could have been an efficient method to suppress the local sanctuaries and contribute to centralization of the cult at the Jerusalem Temple. However, it is hard to prove that the Deuteronomic regulations concerning the tithe were effectively observed at the time of Josiah.

(3) Priestly regulations for tithes

The Priestly laws concerning tithes are presented in Lev 27:30-33 and Num 18:21-32. The regulations of the tithes in Lev 27:30-33 can be analyzed as follows. First, it

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[567] Harold V. Bennett's interpretation of the Deuteronomic regulation for the triennial tithe is worth noting since it is unconventional. According to Bennett, this regulation must have been designed to oppress such a marginalized social group, not to support it, unlike the majority of scholars' interpretation (Harold V. Bennett, "Triennial Tithes and the Underdog: A Revisionist Reading of Deuteronomy 14:22-25 and 26:12-15," in *Yet with a Steady Beat: Contemporary U. S. Afrocentric Biblical Interpretation* [Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003; Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2002], 7-18). Bennett's proposal for a new interpretation would open up a new way to interpret the Deuteronomic regulation, but it remains speculative.

[568] The expenses of the maintenance of the Jerusalem Temple seem to have been covered by the royal revenue. J. Milgrom explains that the novelty of eating the tithe could have been possible after Josiah's cultic reform which abolished the local sanctuaries and the local cultic officials for whose needs tithes had been destined (Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2424). Concerning the consumption of tithes, therefore, the Deuteronomic law conflicts with the priestly law on the tithe as will be shown below in detail.

[569] Deuteronomy's innovative view on the tithe and its connection to the cultic reforms have been pointed out by many scholars, such as, J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, 156-159; Weinfeld, "Tithe," 738; Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 245-246; S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (ICC 5; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1951), 170-173; and Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (JPSTC; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 141-142.

[570] S. R. Driver argues based on Amos 4:4 that the custom of presenting the tithe at the local sanctuaries had prevailed in Israel before the cultic centralization (Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 166).

differentiates two kinds of tithes: the tithe of the land (מעשׂר הארץ) and the tithe of the

herd and flock (מעשׂר בקר וצאן). The tithe of the land is taken from either 'seed from the

ground' or 'fruit from the tree' (Lev 27:30). Second, monetary replacement of the tithe

of the land is allowed with a twenty percent addition to it (Lev 27:31). On the contrary,

the tithe of the herd and flock is not allowed to be redeemed.[571] M. Weinfeld suggests

that the rationale behind this ordinance was the Temple's constant need of sacrificial

animals.[572] Third, all the tithes are declared as 'holy to the Lord (קדשׁ ליהוה)' (Lev 27:30,

32). Lev 27:30 also states that the tithe of the land is assigned to Yahweh (ליהוה). We

will argue that the phrases, 'holy to the Lord' (קדשׁ ליהוה) and 'to Yahweh' (ליהוה),

indicate that the tithes in Leviticus are rendered to the priests and their household for the

following two reasons.[573] First, Lev 27:30 and 32 confirm that all the tithes are holy

(קדשׁ). Then, the tithes can be consumed only by the priests and their household since no

Israelites can profane the holy things (קדשׁים) that belong to Yahweh (ליהוה) (Lev 22:15).

Second, there are some cases in which the phrase 'to the Lord (ליהוה)' is in apposition to

the phrase of 'to the priest (לכהן)': Lev 23:30; Num 5:8; and cf. Num 18:28 (where תרומת

יהוה is clearly allotted to the priests) and Neh 10:37 (where לבית אלהינו is supplemented

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[571] Lev 27:32 shows how tithing of animals could have been carried out. It is said that all the animals which pass under the shepherd's staff should be subject to tithing. Interestingly, tithing animals is mentioned only here and in 2 Chr 31:6. It is not so certain why the tithe of animals is not referred to elsewhere in the Bible. J. Wellhausen contends that the tithe of animals is a late invention which was never put into practice. M. Weinfeld disputes Wellhausen's contention based on the Mesopotamian texts in which the tithe of animals is often referred to. On the other hand, the Mishnah comments on this tithe as a second or festival tithe (*m. Bek.* 9:1-8) (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, 155; Weinfeld, "Tithe," 738; and Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* [London; New York: Routledge, 2000], 138).

[572] Weinfeld, "Tithe," 737.

[573] J. Milgrom also interprets Lev 27:30 as assigning tithes to the sanctuary priests (Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2425).

with לכהנים).[574] However, there are no cases in Leviticus where the Levites are specifically connected with either the word קדש or the phrase ליהוה.[575] Thus, we conclude that the tithes are assigned to the priests in Lev 27:30-33.[576]

The laws of the tithe in Num 18:21-32 reflect a different view than that in Lev 27:30-33. The tithe is assigned to the Levites (Num 18:21, 24), not to the priests. In turn, the Levites should set aside a tithe of the tithe (מעשר מן־מהעשר) and give it to the priests (Num 18:26, 28). However, this regulation is not mentioned in Lev 27:30-33.

Thus, Lev 27:30-33 and Num 18:21-32 differ in terms of the objects of the tithes and of the beneficiary of the tithes.[577] There is no scholarly consensus about which law is earlier or what caused a change in the ordinances, mainly because of the lack of evidence tracing the development of the laws concerning the tithe.[578] The differences between these two regulations concerning the tithes (Lev 27:30-33 and Num 18:21-32) are also reflected in later halakhic exegeses on the biblical laws of tithe which demonstrate the rabbis' efforts to make a consistent and systematic law code for the tithe by harmonizing the different ordinances.[579]

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[574] Weinfeld, "Tithe," 737.

[575] Jacob Milgrom also comments: "The Priestly tradition consistently refrains from using קדש in regard to the Levites; this root is absent from even the Levites' ordination account, where the surrogate verb נתן is employed (Num 8:5-22)" (Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2428).

[576] The followings scholars also suggest the same conclusion: Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2386, 2397, 2425; Lester L. Grabbe, *Leviticus* (OTG; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 70; and Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 447.

[577] Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2424.

[578] Milgrom, "Can the Tithe Laws be Harmonized," in *Leviticus 23-27*, 2431-2434; and Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 141.

[579] The harmonization of the Pentateuchal regulations concerning the tithe is witnessed from Tobit 1:6-8, *m. Ma'aś.* to y. *Ma'aś.* and y. *Ma'aś. Š.* Concerning the later development of the regulations of the tithe, refer to Martin S. Jaffee, *Talmud Yerushalmi. Ma'aserot* and Roger Brooks, *Talmud Yerushalmi. Ma'aser sheni.*

(4) Texts Dealing with Situations after the Exilic period: Mal 3:8, 10; Neh 10:38-39; 12:44; 13:5, 12.

Several texts suggest that the tithe was collected for the maintenance of the Temple from the beginning of the Second Temple. Neh 12:47 asserts that even in the time of Zerubbabel, as well as in the time of Nehemiah, the daily portions of the singers and the gatekeepers were allocated from the people's contributions (מקדשים). The Levites in turn are said to have paid a tenth of the tithes that they received to the priests (Neh 10:39; 12:47).[580] However, both Malachi and Nehemiah state that the institution of the tithe had not been well established either due to the people's laxity in carring that obligation or due to the chief administrator's exploitation of it. For instance, Mal 3:8 denounces the people with "robbing God" by withholding tithes (המעשׂר) and offerings (התרומה) and exhorts them to "bring the full tithes into the storehouse (בית האוצר)" (Mal 3:10). A similar tithing crisis is noted in the time of Nehemiah when the chief officer Tobiah did not distribute the portions of the Levites (Neh 13:4-10).

In the post-exilic period, there seems to have been a distinction between the contribution (התרומה) as the share for priests and the tithe (המעשׂר) as one for the Levites, respectively. Mal 3:8 gives two different categories that people should offer to God: the contributions and the tithe. However, Mal 3:8 does not specify which group would be the beneficiary of each category. Neh 10:36-38 differentiates the priestly share and the share for the Levites. It provides a full list of the priestly share: the first fruits of the soil and of every tree; the firstlings of the herds and flocks; and the first part of the dough, grain, fruit, wine and oil. The share for the Levites is simply defined as 'the tithe of the land.'

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[580] The regulation for the tithe of tithes that the Levites paid to the priests (Neh 10:39 and 12:47) is in conformity with the one of Num 18:26, 28. The Chronicler, however, does not mention this regulation.

In Neh 12:44 the people's offerings are categorized into three: the contributions (תרומות), the first fruits (ראשׁית) and the tithes (מעשׂרות).[581] The first two categories were given to the priests. This distinction seems to reflect the Priestly regulations which are presented in Leviticus 27 and Numbers 18, but the practices described in Nehemiah reflect a combined form of two different sets of regulations of Leviticus 27 and Numbers 18, by including the tithe of the herds and flocks (only mentioned in Leviticus 27) and by assigning the tithe to the Levites according to Numbers 18.[582]

For the Persian period, these "tithes" were stocked in special rooms (נשׁכות/לשׁכות) of the temple in Jerusalem (Neh 12:44; 13:7; cf. 2 Chr 31:11) or in the treasury (אוצר) (Neh 12:44; 13:12; Mal 3:10).[583] This situation is not much different from what the Chronicler says about Hezekiah's measure for the maintenance of the Temple in 2 Chr 31.[584]

According to Neh 10:38, 39, the Levites seem to have been in charge of the collection of the tithes. Neh 10:38 says that the Levites collected the tithe from all the towns, but under the supervision of an Aaronide priest (Neh 10:39). The officials were appointed over the treasuries to oversee the contributions, first fruits and tithes, which would be given to the priests and the Levites. During his second term as governor, Nehemiah installed the Temple treasury committee to secure stable maintenance for the Temple

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[581] In 2 Chr 31:12, the Chronicler also itemizes the donations of the people into three categories, but not exactly in the same way: contribution (התרומה), tithe (המעשׂר), and the sacred things (הקדשׁים).

[582] J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (OTL; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1988), 317-319.

[583] André Lemaire, "Administration in Fourth-Century BCE Judah in Light of Epigraphy and Numismatics," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE*, 58.

[584] Michael W. Duggan also contends that Neh 10:38-39 has a number of affinities with the Chronicler's account of Hezekiah's Temple reform (2 Chr 31:2-9). He demonstrates the similarity and divergence between 2 Chr 31 and Neh 10, and considers both passages as examples of halakhic reinterpretations of the Pentateuchal laws (Michael W. Duggan, *The Covenant Renewal in Ezra-Nehemiah [Neh 7:72B-10:40]: An Exegetical, Literary, and Theological Study* [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001], 285-288).

after he found Tobiah's maltreatment of the tithing system (Neh 13:4-13).[585] This treasury committee is said to have been in charge of distributing the portions to the priests and the Levites (Neh 13:13).

In later texts, however, diversion of the Levitical tithes to the priests is evident. According to Jdt 11:13, it seems that the Levitical tithe was allowed to be given to the priests in the author's day.[586] Such diversion of the Levitical tithes to the priests is also mentioned in Josephus, who refers to various situations concerning the processing of the tithe. First, in *Ant.* 4:68 and 205 the tithe is assigned to the priests as well as to the Levites. Second, in *Ant.* 20:181, 206; and *Life* 1:63, 80, Josephus takes it for granted that the tithe belonged to the priests.[587] However, the diversion of the Levitical tithe to the priests is not found in Philo or Tobit 1:6-8, which indicate that the diversion was not considered as a matter of fact, even in the First Century CE. In *De Virtutibus* 1:95 Philo deals with the tithe, but he does not consider the tithe as the priestly due. Furthermore, in *De Specialibus* 1:146, Philo contends that Moses assigned the tithe to the keepers of the Temple. According to Tobit 1:6-7, the first fruits of the crops and the firstlings of the flock, the tithes of the cattle and the first shearings of the sheep are supposed to be given to the priests (τοῖς υἱοῖς Ααρων), but the tithe of the grain, wine, oil, pomegranates, figs, and the rest of the fruits is due to the Levites (τοῖς υἱοῖς Λευι). Thus, we conclude that

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[585] As for Nehemiah's reform concerning the tithes and its aftermath, refer to Gabriele Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, From Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 86-87, 123.

[586] Baumgarten, "Critical Notes: On the Non-Literal Use of Ma'aser/Dekate," 247.

[587] Baumgarten, "Critical Notes: On the Non-Literal Use of Ma'aser/Dekate," 247; and Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period*, 138. J. Milgrom adds another text, 4QMMT B 62-64, to the list of later texts which indicate the diversion of the tithes to the priests (Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2400). This text says: "Concerning the plantation of fruit trees planted in the land of Israel, it is like first-fruits, it is for the priests. And the tithe of the cattle and flocks is for the priests" (Martínez and Tigschelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 795).

there is no fixed system of processing and consuming the tithe in the Second Temple period. The diversion of the Levitical tithe to the priests appears to be a later innovation. It is not reflected in the sources from the early Second Temple period, as we have observed above. J. Baumgarten argues that the diversion of the Levitical tithes to the priests must have been a Hasmonean innovation, specifically enacted by John Hyrcanus I.[588]

Our exploration of the institution of the tithe presented in different texts will now help us to locate the Chronicler's description of the tithe into a certain time period. The following table will help to get a clear picture of the changes of the regulations concerning the tithe.

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[588] Baumgarten, "Critical Notes: On the Non-Literal Use of Ma'aser/Dekate," 247; and also see, A. Oppenheimer, "Terumot and Ma'aserot," *EJ* 19:653. Oppenheimer argues that 'the edict of Julius Caesar to Hyrcanus II,' which Josephus cites, can also be evidence for the Hasmonean kings' appropriation of the tithe. A part of the edict says: "… they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, which they paid to their forefathers" (*Ant.* 14:203).

Table 21. The Institutions of Tithes

Text	The property subject to tithe	Beneficiary of the tithes	Administration	Storage	Others
Gen 14:20	A tenth of everything	Melchizedek the king-priest of Salem			
Gen 28:22	A tenth of all that God gives to Jacob	At the shrine of Bethel			
1 Sam 8:15, 17	The tenth of the grain and of the vineyards	The king's officers and servants			The tithe will be paid to the king
Deut 12:6-7; 14:23	The annual tithe (the tithes of grain, wine and oil)	It should be consumed by its offerer and his household in the central sanctuary during the festival.			The tithe may be converted into silver for the people who dwell far from the central temple (Deut 14:23-24).
Deut 14:28-29; 26:12	The triennial tithe	It will be consumed by the Levite, the stranger, orphan and widow in each local village.			
Lev 27:30-33	The tithe of the land (מעשׂר הארץ) and the tithe of the herd and flock (מעשׂר בקר וצאן)	To the priests			Monetary replacement of the tithe of the land is allowed with 20% addition of it (Lev 27:31), but the tithe of the herd and flock may not be redeemed.
Num 18:21-32	The tithe	To the Levites			The Levites should set aside the tithe of the tithes to give it to the priests.

Text	The property subject to tithe	Beneficiary of the tithes	Administration	Storage	Others
2 Chr 31:5-6	The tithe of everything and the tithe of cattle and sheep	To the priests and the Levites	The supervision of collection of people's donations including tithes was in charge of Conaniah the Levite, and Shimei his brother as well as ten other overseers (2 Chr 12-13). For the allocation of these donations was in charge of Kore the Levite, the keeper of the East Gate and his six colleagues (2 Chr 31:14-19)	The chambers in the Temple (2 Chr 31:7-8)	The tithe of the tithes is not mentioned.
Neh 10:38 (cf. Mal 3:8)	The tithe of the land	To the Levites	The collection of the tithe was in charge of the Levites under the supervision of an Aaronide priest (Neh 10:38-39). For the distribution of the tithe, the temple treasury committee was composed by Nehemiah (Neh 13:13).	The store-rooms of the Temple or the treasury	The Levites give the tithe of the tithes to the priests (Neh 10:39; 12:47).
Neh 13:5	the tithes of grain, wine, and oil	To the Levites, singers and gatekeepers			
Jud 11:13		To The priests			
Tobit 1:6-7	the tithe of the grain, wine, oil, pomegranates, figs, and the rest of the fruits	To the Levites			
Ant. 4:68 and 205	The tithe	To the priests and the Levites			
Ant. 20:181, 206; and *Life* 1:63, 80	The tithe	To Priests			
De Specialibus 1:146	The tithe	To the keepers of the Temple			

This comparative table indicates that the Chronicler's description of the institution of the tithe in 2 Chr 31:5-12 is not exactly harmonized with the post-exilic texts on two key points. First, the tithe is assigned to the Levites in the post-exilic texts and in Numbers 18, whereas it is assigned to the priests and the Levites with other kinds of donations in 2 Chr 31:4-6. Second, the post-exilic texts mention the tithe of the tithes which the Levites should pay to the priests, as Numbers 18 does, but the Chronicler does not mention it in 2 Chronicles 31. How can these differences be understood? One might say that the Chronicler's description must have been earlier than the one in Nehemiah, since 2 Chronicles 31 does not reflect the regulations about the tithe of the tithes in Numbers 18.[589] But a closer examination of the text reveals otherwise.

In 2 Chr 31:4, the Chronicler asserts that Hezekiah commanded people to deliver the portion of the priests and the Levites (מנת הכהנים והלוים). Then, in 2 Chr 31:6, as we have observed before, the Chronicler mentions 'the tithe of the herds and flocks,' which appears elsewhere only in Lev 27:32-33. This fact implies that the Chronicler knew of the regulations of Leviticus 27. Furthermore, the Chronicler allocates the tithe to the priests and the Levites in 2 Chronicles 31. This regulation could be a creative synthesis of different regulations in Leviticus 27, where the tithe is assigned to the priests, and in Numbers 18, where the tithe is assigned to the Levites. Unlike in Numbers 18, the Chronicler does not put any distinction between the priestly share and the Levitical share

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[589] For instance, Z. Zevit holds a linear view about historical changes in practices of the Levitical tithe when he argue as follows:

> The Biblical, Apocryphal and Rabbinic data attest to the continuous decline of Levitical power and prestige from the last pre-exilic century on, and to the Levites' loss of control over their tithe from the beginning of the post-exilic period. (Ziony Zevit, "Converging Lines of Evidence Bearing on the Date of P," *ZAW* 94 [1982]: 492).

According to Zevit's contention, the Chronicler's description about the Levitical tithes reflects an earlier practice than Nehemiah's. However, situations related to the Levitical tithes as well as Levitical status do not support such a linear view as we show below, and also in section 3.3.3.

in 2 Chronicles 31. Describing the distribution of people's donation (2 Chr 31:14-19), the Chronicler does not presuppose that the share for the Levites is different from that of the priests.[590] Both groups will receive their due from the people's donations which include the first fruits of the grain, wine, oil, honey, and all kinds of agricultural produce, and tithes of all, which include tithes of cattle and sheep, and tithes of sacred things (2 Chr 31:5-6). Thus, we may conclude that 2 Chr 31:4 presupposes the Chronicler's acquaintance of both regulations presented in Leviticus 27 and Numbers 18.

The Chronicler's creative activity is once again shown in his unique term 'the tithe of sacred things' (מעשׂר קדשים) which is the final item in an extensive list of all the contributions and tithes that people offered for the maintenance of the Temple.[591] To clarify what this term designates, we need to examine first what קדשים might modify.[592] Among numerous references to קדשים in the Biblical texts, the relevant cases are found in

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[590] In 2 Chr 31:14-19 the Chronicler claims that Kore the gatekeeper, with six other assistants, was in charge of apportioning 'the contribution and the most holy things' (תרומת יהוה וקדשי הקדשים) to the priests and Levites. The phrase 'the contribution and the most holy things' is likely to include all the items that people brought to the Temple. With this phrase, the Chronicler seems to exclude any implication that the priestly share could be different from the Levitical due.

[591] Scholars have often suggested a textual corruption in the phrase 'the tithe of sacred things' (מעשׂר קדשים): either an accidental addition of the word מעשׂר by dittography or an accidental loss of some word behind the word מעשׂר, such as כל תבואת שׂדה, based on 2 Chr 31:5. However, there is no textual evidence for any of these proposals. The manuscripts of LXX, Vulgate, Targum and Peshitta retain the phrase without any emendation of it. For the scholars' suggestions on this issue, refer to my footnote 563.

[592] In 2 Chr 31:12, the Chronicler classifies the people's contributions into three categories: the gifts (התרומה), the tithes (המעשׂר) and the sacred things (הקדשים) without giving his own definition of each category. In LXX 2 Chr 31:12 omits the third category, the sacred things (הקדשים). The Vulgate also follows the LXX, but the Targum and the Peshitta follow the MT. L. C. Allen, with Rudolph, based on the textual witness of LXX 2 Chr 31:12, suggests that the third category, הקדשים, was mistakenly added from the phrase מעשׂר קדשים of 1 Chr 31:6. See, Allen, *The Greek Chronicles Part II Textual Criticism*, 103-104. However, Allen's suggestion is not convincing because 2 Chr 31:14 demonstrates the Chronicler's different categorization of people's donations as the gifts (התרומה) and the sacred things (הקדשים), and here הקדשים is considered as a separate category.

Lev 27:28, and 30. According to Lev 27:28, every dedicated thing (כל־חרם),[593] whether man, or beast, or one's inherited land, is defined as most holy (קדש־קדשים). Lev 27:30 also defines 'all tithes from the land' as holy to God (קדש ליהוה). In light of Lev 27:28 and 30, the Chronicler's term 'the tithe of sacred things' could mean either the tithe of every dedicated thing, or the tithe of the tithes.[594] On the other hand, every dedicated thing (כל־חרם) is reserved as a part of the priestly due in Num 18:14. Num 18:8 also grants 'all the sacred things of the Israelites' (כל־קדשי בני־ישראל) to the priests. Thus, the Chronicler's term, 'the tithe of sacred things,' can mean the tithe of the priestly share. It seems that the Chronicler alters the term 'the tithe of the tithes' (מעשׂר מן־המעשׂר) of Num 18:26 to make it designate both the tithe of the priestly share and the tithe of the Levitical share. Although the Chronicler's unique term מעשׂר קדשים has not been explained in this fashion by other commentators, this new interpretation makes better sense of it than other suggestions.

Our conjecture is corroborated by the fact that the subject who brought the tithe of the sacred things is not specified in 2 Chr 31:6. Those who brought the tithe of the sacred things are 'the men of Israel and Judah living in the towns of Judah.' By choosing a generic noun as the subject, the Chronicler seems to claim that everyone is obliged to bring the tithe. Not only the Levites, but also the priests are bound to pay the tithe. The

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[593] Concerning the various meanings and usages of חרם, refer to N. Lohfink, "חרם." *TDOT* 5:180-199. According to N. Lohfink, חרם in Lev 27:28 is used "in the sense of something removed from the sphere of the profane and set apart for Yahweh." See, also Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2394-2395.

[594] Rashi considers the Chronicler's term 'the tithe of sacred things' as identical to 'the tithe of the tithes,' but he does not explain why the Chronicler used an unusual term instead of the well-known term. For Rashi's interpretation, refer to Baumgarten, "Critical Notes: On the Non-Literal Use of Ma'aser/Dekate," 245. On the other hand, D. Kimḥi argues that the Chronicler, with this unique term, intended to express the people's extreme piety. According to Kimḥi's interpretation, the Chronicler highlights here the people's generosity which extends to a degree of giving the tithes of sacred things which are exempted from tithes (Berger, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*, 265).

Chronicler's egalitarian view appears in his description of Hezekiah's measures for the maintenance of the Temple. The priests as well as the Levites will pay the tithe of their revenue as laymen do and receive an equal share without any distinction in 2 Chr 31:4-19. The Chronicler once again asserts that whatever Hezekiah undertook in the service of the Temple was done 'in accordance with the law and commandment' (בתורה ובמצוה).

We argue, therefore, that 2 Chr 31:4-19 must represent the Chronicler's own exegesis of Leviticus 27 and Numbers 18. Whereas the author of Nehemiah 10 and 13 gave more weight to Numbers 18 in his application of the regulation for the tithe, the Chronicler produced a new regulation by combining two different regulations of Leviticus 27 and Numbers 18.

S. Japhet argues that the Chronicler's presentation of Hezekiah's measures in 2 Chr 31:11-13 "reflects a process of increasing centralization in the administration of the tithes, and probably reflects a specific development of the Second Temple period."[595] However, it is not certain that the Chronicler's description reflects the actual circumstances of the Temple in his time. First of all, the tithe is not explicitly mentioned in 1 Chronicles 9, where certain necessary items for the daily sacrifices are listed. Since 1 Chr 9:28-29 is not intended to present a full list of things kept in the store chambers and treasuries, this passage does not provide any help to verify the Chronicler's view on the tithe that appears in 2 Chronicles 31. Second, the Temple staff that the Chronicler describes in 2 Chronicles 31 is not identical with the one that he portrays in 1 Chronicles 9.[596] It is more likely that the Chronicler intends to provide a historical precedent for his own exegesis of the regulations for the tithe in Leviticus 27 and Numbers 18 by inserting an

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[595] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 966.

[596] The topic of the temple staff will be dealt with separately in a later section.

extended narrative into the Deuteronomistic History of King Hezekiah (2 Kings 18).[597] A brief one-verse statement concerning Hezekiah's reform in 2 Kgs 18:4 provides the opportunity for the Chronicler to elaborate it into three chapters (2 Chr 29-31).[598] Whereas 2 Kgs 18:4 portrays Hezekiah's reform based on the Deuteronomistic ideology (the centralized worship at the chosen place and a thorough elimination of any idolatrous practices), 2 Chr 31:29-31 describes Hezekiah's reform following not the Deuteronomistic ideology but his own idea of the temple worship and its administration, which are presented in 1 Chronicles 15-16, 23-28 and others.[599]

The Chronicler's innovative view concerning the tithe could not have been put into practice unless the king or the highest authority over the Temple administration strongly supported the Levites as Hezekiah is said to have done in 2 Chronicles 29-31. At any rate, we can say that the Chronicler's innovation in the institution of the tithe must have been short-lived if it was ever carried out, because the third-century BCE texts report the diversion of the tithe to the priests as we have noted.

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[597] Edward L. Curtis also gives a similar view on 2 Chr 31: "The Chronicler also gives an ideal picture of these contributions for the support of the priests and Levites as an object-lesson for his own times" (Curtis and Madsen, *The Books of Chronicles*, 480). The view that 2 Chr 31 reflects the Chronicler's concern about his own time is also found in the following works: Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 374; and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 347.

[598] According to S. Japhet, "the story of Hezekiah is the most extensive among the Chronicler's reports concerning the kings of Judah" (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 912).

[599] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 914.

3.2.2. Priestly Gifts (תרומות)

The second category of Temple revenue is a contribution or gift (תרומה). In general תרומה means 'a part or portion which has been lifted and separated from a greater whole for another purpose.'[600] This portion is given to the priests (Lev 7:14; Num 5:9 and 18:8).

Various items were offered as priestly gifts throughout the biblical era. The Mosaic laws command that all the Israelites should redeem the firstlings of their sons, and all their male livestock (Exod 13:2, 12-13, 22:28-29; 34:19-20; Num 18:15, 17; and cf. Deut 15:19-20).[601] Then all the redemption money for them will be given to the priests (Num 18:15). The following things are also mentioned as priestly shares in the Pentateuch: the choicest first fruits of their land (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Num 18:13); all the best of the oil, and all the best of the wine and of the grain, the first fruits (Num 18:12: Deut 18:4); the first batch of dough (Num 15:20); all devoted things (כל־חרם) (Num 18:14); all the holy contributions (תרומת הקדשים) (Num 18:19); all the meat of sin offering and guilt offering (Lev 6-7); the breast or right thigh from well-being offerings (Lev 5; 7:32; cf. Deut 18:3: the shoulder, the two jowls, and the stomach of every animal to be sacrificed); the first of the fleece of the sheep (Deut 18:4); and the tithe of the tithes (Num 18:26, 28). This long list of items assigned to the priestly share is based on regulations that originated from different situations and times.

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[600] *HALOT*, 1789. Exod 35:5-24 provides a long list of items that could be offered as a contribution to God (תרומה ליהוה). In principle almost everything that is useful for the service in the Temple can be offered.

[601] Deuteronomy 15:19-20 requires consecrating the firstlings of the herds and flocks to God, but they are not to be given to the priests. Rather, they will be consumed annually by their offerers in the central sanctuary at the festivals. This ordinance is also found in Deut 12:6-12. Deut 18:3-4 provides the Deuteronomic regulations on the priestly due (משפט הכהנים) as follows: the shoulder, the cheeks, and the stomach from every animal to be offered; the first fruits of new grain, wine, and oil; and the first shearing of sheep. As we will show below, the Deuteronomic regulations concerning the priestly due deviate from those of the priestly tradition.

Ezekiel also explains the priestly share in detail. The following will be allocated to the priests: the meal offerings, sin offerings, guilt offerings, and every devoted thing (כל־חרם), all the choice first fruits of every kind, all the gifts of every kind (כל־תרומת כל) (Ezek 44:28-30).[602] Ezekiel's list of the priestly share is not much different from the one presented in the Priestly tradition. Considering Ezekiel's general affinity to the priestly tradition, this is not surprising. However, Ezekiel's complete silence about the share of the Levites deviates from the regulations in Num 18:21, 24.

As a part of his blueprint for the future temple, Ezekiel provides a concrete and practical definition of the contribution (התרומה) that people should offer (Ezek 45:13-17). Ezekiel estimates the contribution as follows: one sixth of an ephah from every homer (1.5 %) of wheat and barley; one tenth of a bath from every kor (1.0 %) of oil; and one sheep from every flock of two hundred (0.5 %) should be offered for the meal offerings, the burnt offerings, and offerings of well-being. The people's contribution will be joined with that of the prince. The ultimate responsibility to provide for the regular service in the temple is given to the prince. Considering what we know about practices in royal sanctuaries of the ancient Near East, Ezekiel's attribution of this responsibility to the prince is not unprecedented. According to Ezek 45:17, it is the prince who is obligated to provide the sin offerings, the meal offerings, the burnt offerings, and the offerings of well-being on behalf of the people at all festivals, new moons, Sabbaths, and appointed festivals.

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[602] Ezekiel, however, does not show any concern about the share for the Levites (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 960). Ezekiel's treatment of the Levites is very intriguing. Ezekiel considers the Levites as servitors (משרתים) who guard the temple gates and perform the chores of the Temple, such as slaughtering and boiling the sacrifices (Ezek 44:11; 46:24). According to Ezekiel, the Levites were forbidden from approaching the most holy things because of their previous guilt of idolatrous worship in the Temple (Ezek 44:12-13). Ezekiel's view about the Levites is significantly different from what the Chronicler advocates in David's Installation Block.

On the other hand, the Chronicler's list of the priestly share is also quite extensive. 2 Chr 31:5-6 delineates all the offerings that the Israelites should offer to the Lord: the first fruits of grain, wine, oil, honey, and all the produce of the field; the tithe of everything; the tithe of cattle and sheep, and the tithe of the dedicated things. The Chronicler's list diverges as to the inclusion of all kinds of tithes in it. Moreover, all of these contributions will be distributed not only to the priests but also to the Levites, as we have indicated. The Chronicler's claim is a novelty which is not observed elsewhere in the Bible.

Neh10:36-38 also lists the priestly share, as part of the agreement (אמנה) that Nehemiah made with the returnees. The contributions that the returnees pledged to give to the priests are as follows: the first fruits of their soil, and of every fruit of every tree; the first-born of their sons and beasts; the firstlings of their cattle and flocks; the first part of their dough, and their gifts (תרומת) of grain, the fruit of every tree, wine and oil. As Neh 10:37 asserts that these items are imposed as is written in the Torah (ככתוב בתורה), the list of Neh 10:36-38 is a good example of synthetic harmonization of the regulations for the priestly share in the Pentateuch. In a sense, Nehemiah's list is more conventional than the Chronicler's in that it does not include the tithes since they are considered by Nehemiah as the Levitical share.

How was this priestly share consumed or distributed to the priests? The question of how to distribute it seems not to have been a major concern to biblical authors except for the Chronicler. The consumption of the priestly share is dealt with in Leviticus 10 and Numbers 18, but in terms of the purity issue. In Numbers 18 and Leviticus 10, the priestly gifts are divided into two categories: the most holy offerings (קדש הקדשים), and

תנופת and תרומות.[603] The most holy offerings are anything reserved from the offerings by fire, such as every meal offering, sin offering, and guilt offering (Num 18:9). This first category is designated exclusively for the priests and it must be consumed in a holy place (Num 18:10; and also Lev 10:12-13). The second category embraces the priestly portions which are set aside from the well-being offerings, such as the breasts for the *tənûp̄ōṯ*, and the right thighs for the *tərûmōṯ* (Lev 7:29-36; 10:14; Num 18:11), as well as all the best of the new oil, wine, and grain and the first fruits of everything in the land (Num 18:12-13). These are given for all the priestly families, and can be eaten in purity everywhere (Lev 10:14).

Nevertheless, these two texts do not have even a hint of any administrative body to supervise the process of distribution or disbursement of the priestly share. In several places in Nehemiah and 2 Chr 31:12-19, bits of information about the process of apportioning the contributions can be found. We will first present Nehemiah's description.

Neh 12:44 says that a certain group of people were appointed over the chambers, where the contributions (תרומות), the first fruits, and the tithes were stored, at the time when Nehemiah made a firm agreement with the returnees. The numbers and affiliations of such people are not mentioned. Their main responsibility is to collect (כנס) the priestly and Levitical portions in accordance with the law, and deposit them in the store-chambers. It is not mentioned that they also had a responsibility to *distribute* the portions to the

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[603] These two terms, *tərûmōṯ* and *tənûp̄ōṯ* are often translated as 'the heave offerings' and 'the wave offerings,' respectively, partly based on *m. Menaḥ.* 5:6, but the exact meaning of these terms is still debated (Lev 7:29-36; 10:14-15; Num 6:20; 18:18) . For this reason, we chose to put the transliteration of each term, instead of translating them. Concerning discussions about the precise meaning of these terms, refer to Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period*, 137.

priests and the Levites. A later accusation against Tobiah for embezzlement of the Levitical shares (Neh 13:10) implies that the officials of the chambers were likely responsible for allocating the portions to each group. According to Neh 13:13, Nehemiah, after his dismissal of Tobiah from his position, reorganized a treasury committee, whose main duty was to distribute the portions to their associates. This committee was comprised of four members, who were either priests or Levites.

In contrast to Nehemiah, the Chronicler appears more concerned about the process of the storage and distribution of the portions to the priests and the Levites. 2 Chr 31:12-13 describes an administrative body whose duty was to supervise the process of the collection and storage of the people's contributions. Another administrative body is introduced in 2 Chr 31:14-19. The latter was in charge of apportioning the contributions (תרומת יהוה) and the sacred things (קדשי הקדשים). Certainly, 2 Chr 31:12-19 shows a more elaborate bureaucratic tendency than Nehemiah. However, it does not necessarily imply that the Chronicler intended to retroject his contemporary situations into the time of Hezekiah, *contra* Japhet.[604] As we have shown in section 2.2.3, the Chronicler's concern here seems to be defending the Levites as eligible for the contributions in terms of equality. The Chronicler could have designed 2 Chr 31:12-19 as evidence of an historical precedent that he could rely on heavily for his defense. For this purpose, he introduces two changes to the passage.[605]

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[604] S. Japhet, "The Distribution of the Priestly Gifts according to a Document of the Second Temple Period," in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 292. Japhet argues: "The document in its present form (2 Chr 31:14-19) is undoubtedly from the Second Temple period, not only in terms of language and style but also in content, for the order of service described is based on the system of priestly courses, which certainly originated in the Second Temple Period."

[605] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 969-972.

First, the Chronicler abolishes the distinction of the sanctity between the two categories of the priestly gifts, which was presented in Leviticus 10 and Numbers 18, by combining them into one category in 2 Chr 31:14. In this verse, the contributions (the second category of the priestly gifts in Leviticus 10 and Numbers 18) and the most holy things (the first category) are altogether subjected to be distributed to the priests and the Levites. These gifts will be distributed to all the male priests from three years old and up (2 Chr 31:16) and all the Levites from twenty years old and up including their dependents (2 Chr 31:17-18).[606]

Second, the Chronicler elevates the degree of the sanctity of the Levites by applying to them the terminology previously used exclusively for the priests.[607] In 2 Chr 31:18, the Chronicler asserts that the Levites are eligible for the portions (previously priestly portions) because they are faithfully keeping themselves holy (כי באמונתם יתקדשו־ קדש).[608] In the Priestly source and in Ezekiel the Levites are never called 'holy' (קדוש).[609] The Chronicler's two other references to the holiness of the Levites show a strong contrast to the priestly traditions (2 Chr 23:6 and 35:3).

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[606] A textual corruption found in this passage hinders its precise interpretation, but the basic idea is not changed regardless of different reconstructions of the text. Concerning the text-critical issues of this passage, see Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 970.

[607] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 969-972.

[608] The phrase באמונתם is one of the Chronicler's favorite ones, which he uses to emphasize the virtue of the Levites in 1 Chr 9:22, 26, 31; 2 Chr 19:9 and 31:18.

[609] In the following places in the Pentateuch, it is the priests who are said to be holy (to God): Exod 28:36; 29:33; Lev 6:18, 27; 21:6, 7, 8; 23:20; Num 16:38. Num 16:3-40, where the account of rebellion of Korah and his company is introduced, directly deals with the issue of who is holy to God. In this passage, to come near to God is defended as the exclusive priestly prerogative. However, the Chronicler's defense for the sanctity of the Levites could be supported by the following passages, which urge all the Israelites to be holy: Lev 11:44; 19:2; 20:7; 20:26; Deut 7:6; 14:2, 21; 26:19; 28:9. In addition, in Num 6:5, 8 the Nazirite is claimed to be holy to God.

With these two changes, the Chronicler justifies the eligibility of the Levites for the priestly gifts.[610] But, what is more surprising is his remarkable ability to deal with various traditions. The Chronicler's treatment of the previous traditions in relation to the priestly gifts is unique. It is very different from the one presented in Ezekiel or Nehemiah. It is not certain how successfully the Chronicler's effort was put into effect in his own time. But the fact that a similar effort to entitle the Levites to some of the priestly gift is found in a later text, the Temple Scroll (11QT) 60:6-8, at least implies that the Chronicler's perspective on this issue had an influence on later readers.[611] 11QT 60:6-8 reads:

> And it shall be for the Levites: a tenth of the grain, the new wine and the oil which they consecrate to me first; and the shoulder from those who slaughter the sacrifice; and a levy on the booty and spoil; and one percent of the catch of birds, animals and fish; and of the pigeons and of the tithe of the honey, one fiftieth. But to the priest belongs one percent of the pigeons …[612]

'The shoulder from the sacrificed animal' was previously assigned to the priests, along with the two cheeks and the stomach, in Deut 18:3. In such a way, the share of the Levites is much expanded in the Temple Scroll in comparison with the former traditions of the Mosaic Law.

To sum up, our exploration concerning the priestly gifts reveals that there must have been an unsettled issue around the processing of the priestly gifts not only in the post-exilic period, but throughout the entire Second Temple period. This issue seems to have been entangled with the question of who controlled the temple administration. The

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[610] Japhet, "The Distribution of the Priestly Gifts," 293, 297, 301-303.

[611] Japhet, "The Distribution of the Priestly Gifts," 303-304.

[612] Translation from Martínez and Tigschelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 795.

temple revenue, either the tithe or the priestly gifts, must have been vulnerable to the influence of different groups which had controlled over the temple at different times. Comparing the view on the priestly gifts presented in Nehemiah, the Chronicler's perspective is quite pro-Levitical.[613] He claims that the Levites have an equal share in the priestly gifts. To implement the Chronicler's idea would be impossible without Levitical control over the administration of the temple treasuries or store-chambers. According to the Chronicler's picture, the Levites had always been in control of them throughout the history of Israel, both during the reigns of David and Hezekiah, as well as in the post-exilic period, as we have shown in section 2.2.3. Such a claim by the Chronicler is certainly harmonious with his own revolutionary idea for the processing of the priestly gifts.

3.2.3. The Temple Tax

Largely relying on Exod 30:11-16; 38:25-26; 2 Chr 24:5-11; 34:8-13; and Neh 10:33, scholars have assumed that the payment of the temple tax would have been "a regular feature of temple administration" in the Persian period, and continued down into the Roman period.[614] The present study argues that a closer examination of these texts, however, reveals that none of them explicitly supports that scholarly assumption.

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[613] S. Japhet compares the Chronicler's obvious pro-Levitical view in 2 Chr 31:14-19 with the Temple Scroll's emphasis of the status of the Levites, and concludes:

> It has become evident that the Chronicler's unique position of this work vis-à-vis Levites was not the personal inclination of one author, but a more widespread view, aspects of which are expressed in the writings of the Dead Sea sect (Japhet, "The Distribution of the Priestly Gifts," 303).

[614] Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 316; A. Lemaire, "Administration in Fourth-Century B.C.E. Judah in Light of Epigraphy and Numismatics," in *Judah and Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, 59-60; Marthy E. Stevens, *Temples, Tithes, and Taxes: The Temple and the Economic Life of Ancient Israel* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006), 108-113; and Charles E. Carter, "The Province of Yehud in the Post-Exilic Period: Soundings in Site Distribution and Demography," in *Studies in Politics, Class and Material Culture*, 140.

Exod 30:11-16 is a part of a longer section of Exod 27:20-30:38, where Moses explains the regular, daily activities to be performed in the Tent of Meeting. Exod 30:11-16 introduces a regulation to collect money from people as a measure to maintain the service of the Tent of Meeting. According to this regulation, when a census is undertaken, everyone from the age of twenty years and up is to pay a half shekel by the sanctuary weight as the expiation money (כסף הכפרים) (Exod 38:12, 15, 16) to ransom one's life (כפר נפשׁו). By repeating the word כפר four times in this short passage, the reason to collect a census tax is rhetorically justified. In addition, the phrase כפר נפשׁו implies that this money needs to be paid only once in one's lifetime.[615] That seems to be why this money is even defined as 'a reminder (זכרון)' that one's life is ransomed before God (Exod 30:16b).

Exod 30:16a, where this money is assigned 'to the service of the Tent of Meeting' (על-עבדת אהל מועד), does not exclude a possibility that the money can be collected at every census. However, after Exod 38:25-26, which indicates that the ransom money was collected in the wilderness period, a half-shekel tax never appears again in the biblical texts that describe the monarchic period.

It is the Chronicler who refers to Moses' regulation of Exod 30:11-16 in his treatment of Joash's repair of the Temple (2 Chr 24:5-11). As we have shown in section 2.3, the Chronicler uses the Mosaic regulation to justify collecting people's voluntary offerings for the upkeep of the Temple. However, the Chronicler does not treat this money as a compulsory census tax, by not mentioning any concept of expiation or the specific amount of money, such as 'a half-shekel.' The collection of the people's donation for the

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[615] Several scholars have argued that Exod 30:11-16 is a regulation for a one-time donation, not a yearly tax. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 844; and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 316.

Temple is once more described in 2 Chr 34:8-13, but this case is not much different from the previous one. In both texts, the Chronicler is providing legal precedents for the collection of the people's contribution for the management of the Temple and indicating who was eligible to handle it. However, it is unlikely that the two texts provide any explicit evidence for the Temple tax or for the presence of itinerant tax collectors as the following observations indicate.

The Chronicler does not give any hint of familiarity with Nehemiah's measure of the annual tax of one-third shekel of silver. Neh 10:33 asserts that the returnees conceded to give one-third of a shekel yearly for the service of the Temple.[616] However, there is no archaeological evidence for the collection of revenue in kind for the Temple during the Persian period.[617] The Chronicler's silence about the temple tax may imply that Nehemiah's stipulation for a poll tax (a third shekel of silver) for the Temple would have been temporary if it had been observed.[618]

Except for the texts introduced above, there is no reference to the temple tax in the Hebrew Bible. Even in the Deutero-canonical texts, a half-shekel of the temple tax is not

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[616] Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 316. Blenkinsopp conjectures that the stipulation of Neh 10:33 would have been earlier than the one reflected in 2 Chr 24:4-14, mainly based on his assumption that taxation inexorably tends to increase. His suggestion relies on his unverified identification of the phrase משאת משה (2 Chr 24:9) with a half-shekel tax. This identification is untenable, as we have shown before. Moreover, the amount of money to be paid for a tax is at most a precarious indicator determining the temporal sequence between two different stipulations for taxes.

[617] H. G. M. Williamson, *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, 52-53. On the contrary, C. E. Carter argues that a temple tax imposed by Nehemiah supported temple operations, and that the income generated by the periodic influx of pilgrims also had wide effects on the economy of Jerusalem and Yehud. However, this seems to be overstated since the textual evidence as well as archaeological findings in the Persian period do not support Carter's argument (Carter, "The Province of Yehud in the Post-Exilic Period," 140).

[618] Herbert Niehr also argues that the tax collection under Nehemiah soon came to a halt in that there are no references to the temple tax in the sources of the time after Nehemiah (H. Niehr, "Abgaben an den Tempel im Yehud der Achaimenidenzeit," in *Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute: antike Abgabenformen in Anspruch und Wirklichkeit* [eds. H. Klinkott et al.; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007], 151).

mentioned. Tobit 1:6-8, where Tobit's offerings for the sanctuary are delineated in detail to emphasize his piety, does not allude to the temple tax. According to J. Liver, the earliest testimonies we have for an annual half-shekel tax for the temple service date to the period of Roman rule in Judea.[619]

There are some references to the regulation for the payment of a half-shekel as ransom for one's life in several texts in the Qumran corpus, such as 4Q159 2:6, 12; 11 QT 39:8, 10.[620] 4Q159, a fragmentary text of a part of a commentary on biblical laws, states clearly that a half-shekel payment is not an annual tax, but a single payment in one's life.[621] The regulation that 11QT 39:8 presents is not much different from 4Q159. It states: "[…] for himself [a ransom] to YHWH (כופר [… נֹפֿשֹֿו ליהוה)] half a shekel, an eternal law."[622] However, these two texts seem not to confirm any type of annual collection of the temple tax. Rather, both texts appear to be an exegetical work on Exod 30:11-16.

Josephus mentions the collection of a half-shekel tax from Babylonian Jewry in *Ant.* 18:312. This practice seems to have been understood to be in accordance with the custom of their fathers (πάτριον). Moreover, Josephus provides almost a dozen imperial and local decrees, which grant Jews a privilege to send the sacred money (τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα)

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[619] Jacob Liver, "The Half-Shekel Offering in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature," *HTR* 56 (1963): 185-186.

[620] 4Q513 has one reference to a half-shekel, but the text itself is fragmentary, so that it is hard to know what the purpose of that half-shekel would be.

[621] F. G. Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; 2nd ed.; Leiden; New York: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 86.

[622] Translation is mine.

to Jerusalem in *Ant.* 16:160-172.[623] Philo also refers to this practice in *Special Laws* 1:76-78 which says: "It is ordained that everyone, beginning at his twentieth year, should make an annual contribution … In fact, practically in every city there are banking places for the holy money where people regularly come and give their offerings." Matt 17:24 is another textual evidence for the temple tax due to its reference to 'the collectors of the temple tax' (οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες).[624]

With all these observations, it seems reasonable to conclude that the annual monetary payment of the temple tax did not become an established institution and was not fixed as an obligation imposed on every Jew until the end of the Hasmonean rule or somewhat later.[625] In this sense, the Chronicler's creative exegesis on Exod 30:11-16, reflected in 2 Chr 24:5-11, as well as his silence about the temple tax, seems to indicate that he did not know the regulations about the temple tax imposed much later than his own time.

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[623] Levine, *Jerusalem*, 247.

[624] In fact, what τὰ δίδραχμα indicates has been debated among the New Testament scholarship. Scholars relate it to the pre-70 tax paid to the Jerusalem Temple, or to the post-70 tax for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus levied by Rome on Jews. Their views are dependent on the context in which they choose to read τὰ δίδραχμα. For the former view, that is, the pre-70 tax, see, W. D. Davies and D. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew Vol. II: Commentary on Matthew VIII-XVIII* (ICC 26; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988) 738-741. For the view of the post-70 tax, see, Warren Carter, "Paying the Tax to Rome as Subversive Praxis: Matthew 17.24-27," *JSNT* 16 (1999): 3-31; and R. J. Cassidy, "Matthew 17:24-27: A Word on Civil Taxes," *CBQ* 41 (1979): 571-80. Some scholars admit the polyvalence of the text (Matt 17:24-27) and accept both interpretations (Edward J. Carter, "Toll and Tribute: A Political Reading of Matthew 17.24-27," *JSNT* 25/4 [2003]: 414-416). Not only the identity of τὰ δίδραχμα, but also the method of paying it have been a subject of scholarly debate. Some scholars suggest that τὰ δίδραχμα should be regarded as a voluntary offering rather than as a tax in usual sense of the term (Cassidy, "Matthew 17:24-27: A Word on Civil Taxes," 574; S. Mandell, "Who Paid the Temple Tax when the Jews were under Roman Rule?" *HTR 11* [1984]: 223-32; and also D. Garland, "'Matthew's Understanding of the Temple Tax (Matt 17.24-27)," in *SBLSP 1987* [ed. K.H. Richards; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987], 197). These scholarly discussions indicate that the practices related to the temple tax even in the First Century CE were known only vaguely.

[625] Liver, "The Half-Shekel Offering in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature," 190.

3.2.4 Imperial Taxes

Unlike the case of the temple tax, archaeological evidence suggests that imperial taxes were paid by Yehud during the Persian period. However, the Chronicler does not make any explicit comment on imperial taxes. Considering the Chronicler's tendency to project interests from his own time into the past, his silence about imperial taxes attracts attention. If the Second Temple, as many scholars have argued, was the center of socio-economic activity in Achaemenid Yehud, one must ask how the temple administration was involved in collecting and paying imperial taxes.[626] The involvement of temples in the ancient Near East in collecting imperial taxes is widely attested in economic texts from the various temples during the Persian period.[627] What does the Chronicler's silence indicate about the payment of the imperial tax? Does the Chronicler wish to underscore his view that the temple administration should be independent from non-cultic fiscal matters? Or, does it reflect that the payment of imperial taxes was carried out by a different authority, such as the local governor, separately from the temple

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[626] The following scholars have contended that the Jerusalem Temple in the Achaemenid period functioned as a center of gathering imperial taxes, but they have not further examined how the temple administration was involved in gathering and paying the taxes to the central government except J. Schaper: Oded Lipschits, "Achaemenid Imperial Policy, Settlement Processes in Palestine, and the Status of Jerusalem in the Middle of the Fifth Century BCE," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, 38-40; Lester L. Grabbe, "The History of Israel: The Persian and Hellenistic Periods," in *Texts in Context: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (ed. A. D. H. Mayes; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 409; Reiner Albertz, "The Thwarted Restoration," in *Yahwism After the Exile* (ed. R. Albertz and Bob Becking; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 3; John Kessler, "Persia's Loyal Yahwists: Power Identity and Ethnicity in Achaemenid Yehud," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, 109-111; Joachim Schaper, "The Temple Treasury Committee in the Times of Nehemiah and Ezra," *VT* 47 (1997): 200-206; ibid, "The Jerusalem Temple as an Instrument of the Achaemenid Fiscal Administration," *VT* 45 (1995): 528-539; Jon L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persian's Shadow: A Social and Historical Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 131-135; and Kenneth G. Hoglund, *Achaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria-Palestine and the Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 224-226.

[627] Such as the Eanna Temple at Uruk and the Ebabbar Temple at Sippar. The references to these temples will be introduced later when we discuss the administrative systems of these temples in section 3.3.

administration?[628] These questions will be discussed in the following section. We will

mainly deal with two major questions concerning imperial taxes: (1) Did Yehud pay

imperial taxes to the Achaemenid Empire? (2) Was the temple administration involved in

collecting and paying imperial taxes?

3.2.4.1. Evidence for Imperial Taxes Paid by Yehud

Textual and archaeological evidence indicates that Yehud paid imperial taxes to the

Achaemenid Empire. First, we will present the biblical and extra-biblical literary

evidence for the payment of imperial taxes by Achaemenid Yehud. Then, the

archaeological evidence will be introduced.

3.2.4.1.1. Textual Evidence

(1) Biblical Texts

There are several references to imperial taxes in Ezra-Nehemiah. The first appears in

Ezra 4:13. The text claims that opponents of the returnees' rebuilding Jerusalem sent a

letter concerning Jerusalem to King Artaxerxes (Ezr 4:7). In that letter, presented in Ezra

4:11-16, the opponents argued that if Jerusalem was rebuilt and its walls were completed,

the people of Jerusalem would not pay tribute (מנדה), poll-tax (בלו), or land-tax (הלך)

(Ezr 4:13).[629] Here, the payment of the imperial taxes is taken for granted, if we take the

text at face value. Artaxerxes' reply is presented in Ezra 4:17-22. This letter also

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[628] M. Heltzer argues that taxation inside the province could have been organized according to the decisions of the local governor (as in the case of Nehemiah). The central authorities of the Empire were interested in obtaining the tax in the amount due, but were concerned neither with how it was levied inside the province nor which group of the population paid it (M. Heltzer, "The Provincial Taxation in the Achaemenid Empire and 'Forty Shekels of Silver' (Neh 5:15)," *Michmanim* 6 [1992]: 15). See also, M. Heltzer, "The Social and Fiscal Reforms of Nehemiah in Judah and the Attitude of the Achaemenid Kings to the Internal Affairs of the Autonomous Provinces," in *The Province Judah and Jews in Persian Times* (Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 2008), 71-93.

[629] It is still debatable what these three Aramaic terms exactly mean. A brief survey on Akkadian cognates to these three Aramaic terns will be presented below.

confirms that the Judeans, under Achaemenid rule, paid tribute, poll-tax, and land-tax to the Persian kings (Ezra 4:20). Furthermore, according to Ezra, Darius issued a decree allowing the returnees to resume rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 6:8-12). In this decree, Darius commands that the cost for rebuilding the Temple should be paid from 'the tribute of the province Beyond the River' (מדת עבר נהרה) (Ezra 6:8). This text confirms that royal tribute was imposed on the province "Beyond the River," to which the province of Yehud belonged. On the other hand, Artaxerxes' decree, addressed to all the treasurers (כל גזבריא) of the satrapy Abar-nahara (Ezra 7:21-24), grants an exemption from tribute, poll tax, or land tax for the cultic personnel of the Jerusalem Temple.[630] Regardless of the historical authenticity of this decree,[631] the authors of these texts assume that the payment of imperial taxes was routine at that time.

Other texts also indicate that the people of Yehud paid imperial tax levies. According to Neh 5:4 people in Yehud had to borrow money to pay the royal tax (מדת המלך). Neh 9:37 also describes people's regret over the fact that their riches flew to the kings.

These texts assume that the people in Yehud paid three different types of imperial taxes: tribute (מנדה), poll-tax (בלו), or land-tax (הלך). All three terms are Aramaic. The

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[630] It is questionable whether this text reflects the historical reality. H. Niehr argues that Ezra 7:12-26 originates in the Hellenistic period, so that Ezra 7:24 cannot be a portrayal of the Achaemenid period (Niehr, "Abgaben an den Tempel im Yehud der Achaimenidenzeit," 146).

[631] Exemption of temple officials from taxation and tribute is attested to in several documents originating in the Persian period. For instance, Darius's letter to Gadatas mentions the exemption to the priests of Apollo from tribute and corvée labor. However, the authenticity of this letter has been questioned from the beginning when the inscription was found (Fried, *The Priest and the Great King*, 108-119). The authenticity of Ezra 7:21-24 has also been questioned. For instance, Lester L. Grabbe asserts: "Ezra 7:21-26 is not the decree of a Persian king, but the wishful thinking of a Jewish apologist" (L. L. Grabbe, "The "Persian Documents in the Book of Ezra: Are They Authentic?" in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period*, 555). Nevertheless, such scholarly debates on the authenticity of Ezra 7:21-24 do not eliminate the fact that the author of Ezra-Nehemiah assumes that these taxes are being paid.

Aramaic term מנדה or מדה is the equivalent of Akkadian *mandattu* or *maddattu*,[632] which has a wide semantic field: 'tribute, work assignment, rent, endowment capital, compensation for slaves paid by slaves or their employers to their owners.'[633] J. N. Postgate, based on his studies of the Assyrian terminology for taxes, claims that *mandattu* is applied strictly only to compulsory payments. It generally designates tribute, by which is meant the payment imposed by his overlord upon a subject.[634] Neh 5:4 implies that the מנדה could be paid in silver and in kind.[635]

On the other hand, the second Aramaic term בלו is probably equivalent to Akkadian *biltu*, whose semantic field is quite wide. *Biltu* could designate 'burden,' 'yield of a field, a garden, or a flock,' 'tax,' 'rent payable to the lessor of a field or a garden,' or 'tribute.'[636] It is not clear what the term בלו exactly designated in the Persian period. M. Heltzer suggests that it could be 'the natural product tax.'[637] Based on the usages of the

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[632] I. Eph'al, "Syria-Palestine under Achaemenid Rule," in *The Cambridge Ancient History Second Edition Vol. IV: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525 to 479 BCE* (ed. John Boardman et al; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 158-159; and Schaper, "The Jerusalem Temple," 535-536.

[633] *CAD* M I:13-16. The old Persian word *bazi*, or the Iranian words, *baziš* and *barra*, which correspond to the Akkadian *mandattu*, are used to designate tribute in the Behistun and other Achaemenid inscriptions. See, Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 178.

[634] J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974), 119.

[635] Schaper, "The Jerusalem Temple," 535.

[636] *CAD* B:229-237. Cf. Stephen Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influence on Aramaic* (AS 19; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 44. Kaufman argues that בלו is a corruption of *bāru*, a loanword from Old Persian **bhara* rather than Akkadian *biltu*. According to Kaufman, *bāru* designates one kind of Persian taxes along with *ilku* and *nadi/anātu*. However, his proposal does not offer much help to comprehend what בלו designates in the Persian period.

[637] Heltzer, "The Provincial Taxation," 21.

Akkadian word *biltu*, it is likely to be a type of tax levied upon the landowners in proportion to yearly produce of their fields.[638]

The third term הלך appears to be equivalent to Akkadian *ilku*, which means, in general, 'services performed for a higher authority in return for land held.'[639] For this reason, *ilku* is often translated as 'corvée service.'[640] J. N. Postgate sums the usage of *ilku* in the Neo-Assyrian period as follows: "*ilku* was either the performance of military or civilian service for the state, or the payment of contributions as a commuted version of that service."[641] Dandamaev and Lukonin also assert that the initial meaning of the word *ilku* was "service from the land," but this term is used most frequently in Babylonia to designate royal taxes from the land.[642] For this reason, several scholars interpret the term הלך as "land tax."[643] No detail is known about how the הלך tax was levied in Yehud during the Persian period. Perhaps, this הלך tax could have been used to supply conscript forces or to pay mercenaries for the Persian Empire.[644]

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[638] J. Schaper, following I. Eph'al, claims that the term בלו is a kind of poll tax, which is levied based on a person's capacity for work, but Schaper does not provide any basis for his claim.

[639] *CAD* I-J:73.

[640] Heltzer, "The Provincial Taxation," 16.

[641] Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, 91.

[642] Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 178-179.

[643] I. Eph'al and J. Schaper consider the term הלך as a land tax (Eph'al, "Syria-Palestine under Achaemenid Rule," 158-159; and Schaper, "The Jerusalem Temple,"535-536).

[644] Dandamaev and Lukonin point out that in the fifth century BCE, the military obligations of the royal colonists were usually replaced by taxes. This tax is termed by the word *ilku*. This fact implies the possibility that the *ilku* tax would have been used for the upkeep of garrison troops (Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 179). The studies of Yehud stamp impressions by O. Lipschits and D. Vanderhooft also support the possibility of local consumption of הלך tax. According to them, the jars dated to the fourth-third centuries BCE, which point to "practices connected with collecting agricultural products, perhaps as taxes," were found almost exclusively within a small radius in the heart of Yehud (Lipschits and Vanderhooft, "Yehud Stamp Impressions in the Fourth

Our brief survey on the three Akkadian loanwords for the imperial taxes sheds some light on what these terms could have designated. However, it is still not known how these taxes were levied. Nor does, one find references in the biblical texts for how these taxes were paid to the Persian Empire by Yehud.[645] Aramaic ostraca dated to the fourth century BCE may provide insight on this issue, which will be discussed below.

Not only the imperial taxes, but also the governor's salary and all the expenses for the maintenance of the province were defrayed by the people in the province of Yehud according to Neh 5:14-18. It is reported that the governors before Nehemiah took food and wine from people besides the forty shekels of silver as their לחם הפחה. M. Heltzer argues that forty shekels of silver was the tax for a single peasant household to pay annually to their local governor.[646] Neh 5:17-18 suggests the scale of the daily expense for the governor's food: one ox and six choice sheep, fowl, abundant wine for one hundred fifty people who sat at the governor's table.[647]

To sum up, the aforementioned texts suggest that the people in Yehud paid imperial taxes to both the Persian kings and their local governors even though it is not clear what, when and how they paid. This picture corresponds with Dandamaev and Lukonin's and

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Century BCE: A Time of Administrative Consolidation?" in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE*, 90). This observation implies the high possibility of the local consumption of tax in Yehud.

[645] C. E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period*, 256.

[646] Heltzer, "The Provincial Taxation," 17-25.

[647] P. Briant points out how heavy the burden of hospitality would be for the province which had to host the king and his entourage or the satrap and his retinue when they visited. To prepare the royal dinner or 'the Satrap's Table' was the most ponderous duty of all weighty obligations (Herodotus, VII.118-120; Xenophon, *Hellenica* III.1.12; Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 12; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* XII.534c-d). See, Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 402-403.

P. Briant's reconstruction of the administration of taxation in the Achaemenid Empire.[648]

Provinces under the Empire had to pay imperial taxes and to provide for the satraps and

governors, although remarkable levels of diversity in practices on the matter of taxation

among the provinces existed within the Achaemenid Empire.[649]

(2) Extra-Biblical Texts

Although no economic documents are extant from Second Temple Yehud, several

documents seem to confirm that the province of Yehud paid the heavy tribute to the

Achaemenid Empire just as the other local provinces did. Chapters 90-94 of the Book III

of Herodotus provides a list of the taxes and gifts that the satrapies paid to the Empire.[650]

The fifth satrapy, that is, the whole of Phoenicia and Syria, is said to have paid a total of

350 talents.[651] The historical authenticity of Herodotus' report cannot be taken for

granted,[652] but Herodotus' description of the satrapial obligation to pay tribute to the

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[648] Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 177-195; and Briant, *From Cyrus and Alexander*, 388-421.

[649] Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 96-97, 192.

[650] Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 184; Helzter, "The Provincial Taxation," 15-16; and Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 388-398.

[651] M. Heltzer conjectures that this amount of silver was paid only as the royal tribute, which did not include the local payments on the satrapial and provincial level of the regions (Helzter, "The Provincial Taxation," 15-16).

[652] P. Briant evaluates Herodotus' passage on tribute and taxes as follows:
> This text poses many difficult interpretive problems due to Herodotus' main focus on the immediate relationship between tribute levying and imperial dominion. However this text offers a wealth of information, even on the level of accounting practices, despite the fact that Herodotus himself is no expert in fiscal matters. … Even though Herodotus made some arithmetic errors in converting to talents the amounts that had been furnished him in darics, it is apparent that the numerical information he gives must be considered reliable. The precision suggest quite strongly that he had access to official documents, such as, for example, quotations from the archive of Sardis and elsewhere. (Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 388, 392)

On the other hand, Herodotus mentioned that the Persians were exempted from taxes since they were the ruling people (III, 97). However, the Persepolis Fortification tablets (henceforth PF) indicate apparently that the Persians were not exempt from taxes in kind (*e.g.*, PF 443, 451, 567, 2025, and 2070). This

Persian Empire cannot be simply dismissed since it is supported by other archaeological findings.[653]

Josephus also states that Artaxerxes (II or III) imposed tribute on the Jews, so that they had to pay fifty shekels for every lamb which was offered for the daily sacrifices (*Ant.* 11.297).[654]

3.2.4.1.2. Archaeological Findings Concerning the Payment of Imperial Taxes

One looks for three different types of material to provide evidence for the practices of taxation in a region during a certain period:[655] (1) a list of taxable persons and property, which is necessary to assess the taxes and to collect them; (2) a record of assessment and

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contradiction shows that Herodotus' statement cannot be accepted without reservation (Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 179). For the cited texts, refer to Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969).

[653] P. Briant asserts that the tribute system did not undergo any revolutionary modifications throughout the Achaemenid empire except the variations in extent and number of satrapies (Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 389).

[654] H. G. M. Williamson suggests that the Artaxerxes mentioned in *Ant*.11.297 would be Artaxerxus III Ochus (358-338 BCE) in his article, ("The Historical Value of Josephus' Jewish Antiquities xi. 297-301," in *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, 74-89). However, James C. VanderKam argues that this incident happened during the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-358 BCE), refuting Williamson's argument (James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 60-63). Regardless of the debate on which Artaxerxes was intended in this story, it was cited here since it underscores the probability that the Jews in the province of Yehud paid imperial taxes.

[655] Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, 196-198.

collection of taxes;[656] and (3) any findings related to storage cities or granaries, where the taxes were deposited.[657]

The first category encompasses items such as a land registry[658] or a census list, which might have been used for taxation. No documents belonging to the first category that date to the Persian period have been found from the province of Yehud. But, a copious amount of material that belonged to the second category is now available. They are the Persian-period Aramaic ostraca[659] excavated from several places in the province of Idumea, to the immediate south of the province of Yehud.[660] Although they are not from Yehud itself, those ostraca shed some insight on practices of the taxation of Yehud during the Persian period.

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[656] The following Aramaic documents found in Egypt belong to the second category. *TAD* C 3.11 dated to c. 416 BCE is a record of tax payments by various food processors. From *TAD* D 8.4 to *TAD* D 8.8 there are five accounts concerning silver. Especially, *TAD* D 8.7 is an account about silver 'paid in(to) the treasury. *TAD* D 8.13 is a unique receipt for salt tax. For the text C 3.11, see Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, eds., *Literature, Accounts and Lists* (Vol. III of *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 209-210. For the texts *TAD* D 8.4; D 8.5; D 8.6; D 8.7; D 8.8; and D 8.13, see B. Porten and A.Yardeni, eds., *Ostraca and Assorted Inscriptions* (Vol. IV of *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 197-201.

[657] For example, *TAD* C 3.7, the Aramaic document from Elephantine, is a long list of monthly customs duty and tithe paid into the royal treasury dated to 475 BCE. For the text and its translation, see Porten and Yardeni, *Literature, Accounts and Lists*, 82-193.

[658] *TAD* D 8.3 is a land registry, which records a dozen Egyptian names and one Hebrew name with their properties. For the text and its translation, see Porten and Yardeni, *Ostraca and Assorted Inscriptions*, 196.

[659] Gerald A. Klingbeil provides a semantic analysis of the Persian-period Aramaic ostraca for Syria-Palestine. Although he does not include Aramaic ostraca found in Maqqedah (Khirbet el-Kōm), his study gives a good introduction to Aramaic ostraca. According to Klingbeil, the genre of Persian-period Aramaic ostraca is classified as business administrative texts, which comprise lists of persons, receipts and order forms (Gerald A. Klingbeil, "A Semantic Analysis of Aramaic Ostraca of Syria-Palestine During the Persian Period," *AUSS* 35/1 [1997]: 33-46).

[660] Concerning the border of Idumea during the Persian period, see, Amos Kloner and Ian Stern, "Idumea in the Late Persian Period (Fourth Century B.C.E.)," in *Judah and Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, 139-141.

At Tel Beer-sheva more than eighty Aramiac ostraca were found in the strata of the Persian period.[661] These Aramaic ostraca are dockets mentioning exact dates, specific amounts of wheat and barley and names of persons who presumably supplied these provisions. J. Naveh suggests that those ostraca were probably used as tags, attached to grain-sacks, which were brought as taxes to Beer-sheba.[662] Therefore, the excavators at Tel Beer-sheba conclude that Beer-sheba must have been an administrative center to which grain was brought as taxes.[663] John W. Betlyon also argues that Tel Beer-sheba was a local collection point for the payment of agricultural taxes.[664]

Some 100 Aramaic ostraca from the fourth century BCE were unearthed at Tel Arad on the eastern side of the Beer-sheba Valley, where the existence of the fortress during the Persian period is also proved by archaeological finds.[665] Most of these ostraca are notes instructing the recipient to provide supplies to the bearer. The supplies are various types of food for men and animals (horses, donkeys and camels). The food mentioned

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[661] Twenty-six Aramaic ostraca were found in the first and second seasons of excavation at Tel Beer-Sheba, all in refuse pits of the Persian period. All these ostraca were dated within the fourth century BCE, to the reigns of Artaxerxes II (404-359 BCE) and Artaxerxes III (359-338 BCE). An additional 54 Aramaic ostraca were discovered during the excavations held by Aharoni at Tell Beer-Sheba. These ostraca were found in silos. J. Naveh, "The Aramaic Ostraca," in *Beer-Sheba I, Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba 1969-1971* (ed. Y. Aharoni; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University-Institute of Archaeology, 1973), 79-82; idem, "The Aramaic Ostraca from Tell Beer Sheba (Seasons 1971-1976)," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 182-198; and also Hanan Eshel, "Hellenism in the Land of Israel from the Fifth to the Second Centuries BCE in Light of Semitic Epigraphy," in *A Time of Change: Judah and its Neighbors in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods* (ed. Yigal Levin; New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 116-124.

[662] Naveh, "The Aramaic Ostraca," 82.

[663] Naveh, "The Aramaic Ostraca," 82; and also E. Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible Vol. II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Period (732-332 BCE)* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 446.

[664] John W. Betlyon, "A People Transformed: Palestine in the Persian Period," *NEA* 68 (2005): 4-60.

[665] J. Naveh, "The Aramaic Ostraca from Tel Arad," in Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 153-176; and also, Hanan Eshel and Boaz Zissu, "Two Notes on the History and Archaeology of Judea in the Persian Period," in *"I Will Speak the Riddle of Ancient Things": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. A. M. Maeir and P. de Miroschedji; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 830; and Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 372.

includes flour, barley, grain, oil, and wine. The recipients of these supplies were horsemen and donkey-drivers serving in the Persian army or administration. The following three officials are also mentioned as recipients: a commander of ten, the *ganzabar* (treasurer) ʿAqabiah, who was in charge of ten donkey drivers, and ʿAnani, who seems to have been in charge of a granary.[666] Most of the names of recipients were Jewish,[667] but most taxpayers were Arabs and Idumeans.[668] The Jewish involvement in taxation in the province of Iduamea underscores the probability that the Judean taxes were similar to the Idumean taxes.[669] The Arad ostraca indicate that Tel Arad probably functioned as a way station where barley was supplied to horsemen, horses and donkeys.[670] These ostraca also imply that most of the imperial taxes were consumed in the local provinces or satrapies instead of delivered to the central government.

In about 1,000 unprovenanced Aramaic ostraca that have recently emerged on the antiquities market, Makkedah is the place that is most commonly mentioned.[671] For this

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[666] E. Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 446, 452.

[667] According to Esther Eshel, the majority of names recorded on the Arad Aramaic ostraca are Jewish names with the –YH theophoric element. For this reason, she asserts that in Arad most of the soldiers were Jews. See, Esther Eshel, "The Onomasticon of Mareshah in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods," in *Judah and Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, 150.

[668] A. Kloner and I. Stern examined the ethnic backgrounds of about 1,300 names recorded on the Aramaic ostraca from late-Persian-period Idumea, and provided the following result: "The enthnic breakdown reflected by the ostraca reveals a very mixed population: approximately 32% Arab names, 27% Idumean names, 25% West Semitic names, 10% Judean names, 5% Phoenician names and 1% other minor ethnicities." The divergence of ethnicity in Arad Aramaic ostraca, however, reveals an interesting feature: 61.22% the Judahites, 14.29% Idumeans, 12.25% the West Semites, and 12.24% Arabs. See, Kloner and Stern, "Idumea in the Late Persian Period," 141-143.

[669] André Lemaire, "New Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea and Their Historical Interpretation," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, 415.

[670] Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 446.

[671] For example, the following ostraca contain the place name, Makkedah: ostraca Nos. 2, 9, 15, 34, 38, 49, 54, 81, 108, 124, 131, 150, 151from I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BCE from Idumea* (Jerusalem:, 1996); ostracon No. 5, from A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméens d'Idumée au Musée d'Israël* (Paris: Gabalda, 1996); and Nos. 4 and 5 from H.Lozachmeur and A. Lemaire,

reason, scholars assume that the provenance of these ostraca is probably in the vicinity of Khirbet el-Kōm, the probable site of biblical Makkedah. These Makkedah ostraca provide direct evidence of tax-collection in the province of Idumea between 362 and 312 BCE.[672] Scholars suggest that these ostraca were used as tags attached to sacks or jars with agricultural produce that were submitted to the Persian authority as taxes.[673] According to A. Lemaire, most of them are connected with a land-tax paid in kind and collected in the Makkedah storerooms (מסכנת מנקדה). Evidence for a poll-tax paid in silver is also found in a few ostraca. A. Lemaire states:

> The Aramaic ostraca from Idumea probably reveal the existence of a poll tax, because a few ostraca manifest a list of personal names followed by "R II" (= '2 qu[arters of a shekel]' = half a shekel = a didrachm) or a multiple of half a shekel. This is particularly the case in ostracon AL 255 (= EN 184) with a list of 8 personal names followed by "R II/2 qu(arters of a shekel)," and of the Arad ostracon no. 41 with a list of the names of 6 people "who brought silver," each one: "R II/2 qu(arters of a shekel)".[674]

"Nouveaux ostraca araméens d'Idumée (Collection Sh. Moussaïeff)," *Semitica* 46 (1996): 123-142. Concerning the origin of these Aramaic ostraca, refer to Shmuel Ahituv, "An Edomite Ostracon," in *Michael: Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer* (ed. Yitzhak Avishur and Robert Deutsch; Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Archaelogical Center Publication, 1999), 3; and also André Lemaire, "Another Temple to the Israelite God: Aramaic Hoard Documents Life in Fourth Century BCE," *BAR* 30/4 (2004): 41.

[672] A. Lemaire, "Taxes et impôts dans le sud de la Palestine (IV^{e}s.av. J.-C.)," *Transpeuphratène* 28 (2004): 133-142; H. Lozchmeur and A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux ostraca araméens d'Idumée," 123-142; S. Ahituv and A. Yardeni, "Seventeen Aramaic Texts on Ostraca from Idumea: The Late Persian to the Early Hellenistic Periods," *Maarav* 11/1 (2004): 7-23; and B. Porten and A. Yardeni, "Social, Economic, and Onomastic Issues in the Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century B.C.E.," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, 457-488.

[673] Eshel, "Hellenism in the Land of Israel," 121-122.

[674] A. Lemaire, "Administration in Fourth-Century B.C.E. Judah in Light of Epigraphy and Numismatics," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, 58. Oren Tal notices that quarters are more common than half-shekels in many of the Edomite ostraca, and suggests that a common coin denomination in the fourth century BCE Edom was the *shekel* formed the basic weight standard, equal to four quarters, whereas the quarter was equivalent to six *ma'ehs*. Oren Tal, "Coin Denominations and Weight Standards in Fourth-Century BCE Palestine," *Israel Numismatic Research* 2 (2007): 17-28.

Some ostraca apprear to be drafts of a land registry, such as the ostracon published by Shmuel Aḥituv.[675] There is evidence that taxes on trade and markets as well as on craftsmen were also paid in the Persian period.[676] Some ostraca mention 'a tribute (אשכר)' and 'a tax collector (גבי).'[677] These cases lead some scholars to conclude that the Aramaic ostraca found at Makkedah are connected with practices of taxation in the province of Iduemea during the Persian period.

However, other scholars deny any connection of these ostraca with the taxation by the Persian Empire due to the lack of references to the royal treasury or storehouse, or references to standard Persian measures. For instance, in several fifth-century BCE Elephantine papyri, the references to אוצר מלכא 'treasury of the king'[678] or בית מלכא 'house of the king'[679] are found. But the Aramaic ostraca from Makkedah do not contain such references. Moreover, no standard Persian weight units were found, such as a unit for gold or silver: *karsh* (1 karsh = 10 shekels),[680] and a unit for grain: *ardab* (ארדב). For this reason, B. Porten and A. Yardeni dispute any connection of the Aramaic ostraca from

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[675] Ahituv, "An Edomite Ostracon," 33-34; and also, Lemaire, "New Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea," 414. According to I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, ostraca EN 188-194 are registrations of fields and orchards. For the texts and their translations, see, Eph'al and Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BCE from Idumea*, 13.

[676] Lemaire, "Taxes et impôts," 133.

[677] For example, ostraca EN 98 and 168 have the word אשכר which means 'tax' or 'tribute.' See Eph'al and Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BCE from Idumaea*, 54, footnote no. 98; and A. Lemaire, "Another Temple to the Israelite God: Aramaic Hoard Documents Life in Fourth Century BCE," *BAR* 30/4 (2004): 44. The Aramaic word אשכר is a loanword from Akkadian *iškaru* which is well attested in the Neo-Babylonian period to mean "delivery (of goods)" (Mankowski, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*, 42 and *CAD* I-J:244-249).

[678] See, the texts of *TAD* B 3.4:9 (437 BCE); 3.7:7 (420 BCE); 3.11:4 (402 BCE); 3.13:4 (402 BCE) from B. Porten and A. Yardeni, eds., *Contracts* (Vol. II of *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989).

[679] See, the texts of *TAD* B 4.3:13; 4.4:12, 14, 16; 5.5:8 from Porten and Yardeni, eds., *Contracts*.

[680] Ada Yardeni, "Maritime Trade and Royal Accountancy in an Erased Customs Account from 475 B. C. E. on the Aḥiqar Scroll from Elephantine," *BASOR* 293 (1994): 70.

Makkedah with imperial taxes. [681] Considering the general purposes for public storehouses or granary cities in antiquity, however, it is hard to deny connection of the storehouse in Makkedah with the Persian government. Such storehouses were used to secure provisions for the military or for emergencies. [682] In the Persian period, the province of Idumea was under the power of the Achaemenid Empire. Thus, it is doubtful that these storehouses were simply used only for the local administration without any supervision from the Achaemenid Empire.

To sum up, the Aramaic ostraca from Tel Beer-sheba, Arad, and Makkedah indicate that imperial taxes were paid by the province of Idumea during the Persian period. Although the Aramaic ostraca are not direct evidence for the payment of imperial taxes by the province of Yehud, they do indicate that imperial taxes were probably paid by the province of Yehud. [683]

Additional evidence from Ketef Yeriḥo supports this possibility. A document discovered in a cave of Ketef Yeriḥo is dated to the fourth century BCE. The document consists of a list of names (23 names; mostly Yahwistic), with a sum of money in shekels (שׁ), *ribʿîn* (ר) or *maʿat* (מ) noted next to each name. [684] Each amount of money is mostly

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[681] Porten and Yardeni, "Makkedah and the Storehouse in the Idumean Ostraca," in *A Time of Change*, 142.

[682] Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 477.

[683] Our brief survey on imperial taxation in Egypt, Idumea, and Yehud during the Perisan period draws our attention to the fact that the various terms for taxation are used in the documents originated from these three regions. For instance, in the Hebrew Bible, מנדה, בלו, or הלך are used to designate imperial taxes, while אשכר is used in Aramaic ostraca (see footnote 675). In Aramaic texts from ancient Egypt, מנדה and מכס are used. We do not know how these terms were used or why different terms were used in different regions. An extensive study of the terminology of taxation in the Achaemenid period is in great need, although it is beyond the scope of the present study. The following article is related to this topic, but it does not include the Achaemenid period: Maria deJ. Ellis, "Taxation in Ancient Mesopotamia: the History of the Term *miksu*," *JCS* 26 (1974): 211-250 (the Persian period is not included).

[684] Hanan Eshel and Hagai Misgav, "A Fourth Century B.C.E. Document from Ketef Yeriḥo," *IEJ* 38/3 (1988): 165. The shekel was equal to four רבעין, and a רבע was equal to six מעה. See also, H. Eshel and

either 1 or 2 shekels, or a half shekel. The purpose of this document is not clear.   H. Eshel and H. Misgav conjecture that the *recto* is probably a record of money lent to various people, amounting to twenty-one shekels, while the *verso* lists the amount of money received as repayment of these loans.[685] But this suggestion does not explain the significance of a specific amount of money. The same amount of money is mentioned in a few ostraca from Makkedah, which preserve a list of personal names followed by a half shekel or a multiple of a half shekel. Thus, following M. Heltzer, we may suggest that the papyrus from Ketef Yeriḥo is possibly connected with the taxes of the province of Yehud.[686]

The third category of evidence for imperial taxes paid by the province of Yehud includes findings related to the storage cities or granaries, where the taxes were deposited. In Palestine during the Persian period, there were many granary cities, such as Meggido, Tell Jemmeh, Makkedah, and Beer-sheva.[687] Meggido was one of the major cities that continued to serve as an important urban center furnished with several storehouses down to the end of the Persian period.[688] Tell Jemmeh also had a storehouse consisting of five rectangular-shaped rooms with mud-brick walls, as well as some ten round granaries (silos) in its latest stratum to the Persian period dated to as early as 460 BCE.[689] Four

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H. Misgav, "Jericho papList of Loans ar," in *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (ed. J. Charlesworth et al; DJD 38; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 21.

[685] Eshel and Misgav, "Jericho papList of Loans ar," 22.

[686] Heltzer, "The Provincial Taxation," 171.

[687] Morris Silver, *Prophets and Markets: The Political Economy of Ancient Israel* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1983), 35-38.

[688] Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 373.

[689] Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 412.

ostraca were found in this city. Two of them are notes instructing the recipient to provide

supplies to the bearer, similar to the Arad ostraca, but the other two are wine dockets.[690]

  The inscribed seal impressions belonging to the officials of the local Persian

provincial administration are a valuable indicator of such storage cities. Recent studies of

O. Lipschits and D. Vanderhooft about Yehud seal impressions (abbreviated as YSI

hereafter) have shown that among the 570 stamp impressions of different types 80% of

the YSIs were found in Ramat Raḥel and Jerusalem. About 95% of the entire corpus was

found in a small circle between Tell en-Naṣbeh in the region of Benjamin and Ramat

Raḥel.[691] According to Lipschits and Vanderhooft, YSIs found at Ramat Raḥel constitute

the largest and most varied group of impressions found in one place from the Persian

period.[692] On the basis of this fact, excavators suggest that in the Persian period the seat

of the governor of the province was located in the Ramat Raḥel.[693] The fact that the

highest percentage of the jars were found in Ramat Raḥel, can be explained in a different

way however. Ramat Raḥel could have been a major storage center, where the goods

were collected and stored in the province of Yehud.[694] The official nature of YSIs

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[690] J. Naveh, "Aramaic Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions from Tell Jemmeh," *Atiqot* 21 (1992): 49-53.

[691] Lipschits and Vanderhooft, "Yehud Stamp Impressions," 75-94.

[692] O. Lipschits, D. Vanderhooft, Y. Gadot, and M. Oeming, "Twenty-Four New *Yehud* Stamp Impressions from the 2007 Excavation Season at Ramat-Raḥel," *Maarav* 15/1 (2008): 8. See also Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 436-437.

[693]See, Y.Aharoni et al., *Excavations at Ramat Rahel: Seasons 1959 and 1960* (Roma: Centro di studi semitici, 1962); ibid, *Excavations at Ramat Rahel: Seasons 1961and 1962* (Roma: Centro di studi semitici, 1964); Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 437; and also O. Lipschits et als, "Palace and Village, Paradise and Oblivion: Unraveling the Riddles of Ramat Raḥel," *NEA* 74 (2011): 2-49.

[694] D. Vanderhooft comments on the fact that Ramat Raḥel is the only site where stamp impressions of all three *pḥwʾ*types have appeared as such:

> It would be hazardous to conclude that Ramat Raḥel, and not Jerusalem, was the seat of the governor of Yehud during the period when these seals were used. Nevertheless, it is clear that the site played a key role in the distribution of the commodities associated with the jars (O. Lipschits et al., "Twenty-Four New *Yehud* Stamp Impressions," 12).

strongly suggests that the goods stored in Ramat Raḥel were related to a process of collecting goods (as taxes) within the province of Yehud.[695] These taxes could have been consumed by the province of Yehud or delivered to another collection point in its proximity. This conclusion contradicts J. Schaper's argument that the Jerusalem Temple was the only tax-collection point in the Yehud province.[696]

All in all, none of the evidence that we have examined above proves that the province of Yehud paid imperial taxes. However, in spite of the dearth of direct evidence, our study of biblical and extra-biblical material concerning the payment of imperial taxes in the Persian period strongly suggests that the province of Yehud did so, just as neighboring provinces did. This suggestion, in turn, leads us to conclude that the Chronicler's silence about imperial taxes cannot prove that such taxes were not being paid in Yehud. Before proposing an explanation for the Chronicler's silence on the matter, we need to investigate whether the temple administration was directly involved in collecting and paying the imperial taxes.

3.2.4.2. The Temple Administration's Involvement in Collecting Imperial Taxes

Scholars who agree that the province of Yehud paid imperial taxes to the Persian Empire typically assert that the Jerusalem Temple played the central role in collecting and paying those taxes. For instance, K. G. Hoglund argues that Jerusalem was established by the Persian Empire as a location to collect and store imperial revenue

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See also, Melody D. Knowles, *Centrality Practiced*, 118-119. Knowles suggests that Ramat Raḥel was probably the economic center for the Persian era Yehud, which was related to the collection of taxes in kind. C. E. Carter also suggests that both Ramat Raḥel and Tell en-Naṣbeh functioned as administrative centers, perhaps for collecting of goods in-kind or other taxable items (Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period*, 267).

[695] O. Lipschits et als, "Palace and Village, Paradise and Oblivion," 34.

[696] Schaper, "The Temple Treasury Committee," 205.

during the time of Darius' administrative restructuring.[697] Jon L. Berquist asserts that the imperial government supervised the collection of taxes through the Temple since the Temple functioned as the civic and political center of Yehud.[698] These scholars effectively challenged the view that the province of Yehud enjoyed socio-political autonomy during the Achaemenid period, such as J. Weinberg's hypothesis of the Citizen-Temple Community.[699] However, their views about the Jerusalem Temple's crucial role in collecting imperial taxes need to be scrutinized. Since J. Schaper's arguments have served as the foundation of others who followed, we will challenge his assertions about the temple administration staff's role with regard to imperial taxes.

J. Schaper argues: "The Jerusalem temple administration acted as the interface between the tax-paying population of Judah and the Persian government."[700] In another place, he also claims: "No other institution except the temple treasury committee could have fulfilled the task of collecting and administering the tithes or any other taxes, and indeed no other institution would have received permission from the Persians to do so."[701] The logical basis for his argument is rooted in two observations: (1) the roles of the Babylonian temples in collecting taxes on behalf of the king; and (2) the presence of a foundry in the Jerusalem Temple. First, J. Schaper's argument that the temples were the sole agency for taxation or the only collection point in the Achaemenid Empire is not

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[697] Hoglund, *Achaemenid Imperial Administration*, 224.

[698] Berquist, *Judaism in Persian's shadow*, 135.

[699] Joel Weinberg, *The Citizen-Temple Community* (trans. Daniel L. Smith-Christopher; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

[700] J. Schaper, "The Jerusalem Temple as an Instrument of the Achaemenid Fiscal Administration," *VT* 45/4 (1995): 537.

[701] Schaper, "The Temple Treasury Committee," 205-206.

tenable. Even in Babylon during the Achaemenid period, temples were neither the sole collection point for imperial taxes nor the only imperial taxation agency.[702] The Achaemenid rulers recruited local entrepreneurs, such as the Egibi,[703] Iddin-Marduk,[704] and the Murašû,[705] into the upper ranks of their political administration, and these commercial houses became efficient agents for collecting imperial taxes as well as an effective means to suppress the power of influential Babylonian aristocrats.[706] Furthermore, many storehouses or local treasuries of the Persian period which are not attached to the temples are known to us, apart from the granary cities that we have mentioned above.[707]

Second, J. Schaper argues:

> Throughout the Achaemenid Empire state taxes could be paid in kind or in precious metals. All over the empire, temples served as collection and storage centers for these metals, and their foundries conveniently melted

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[702] Concerning the techniques of the Persian Empire for collecting state taxes, refer to Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 188-195.

[703] K. Abraham's work on the Egibi archive from Babylon shows how the Achaemenid Empire collected their taxes through the collaboration of the local power. She collected more than 300 tablets from the Egibi archive pertaining to *Marduk-nāṣir-apli*, a Babylonian entrepreneur, who led his family business from 521 BCE to 490 BCE (Kathleen Abraham, *Business and Politics Under the Persian Empire* [Bethesda: CDL Press, 2004]).

[704] Cornelia Wunsch, *Die Urkunden des babylonischen Geschäftsmannes Iddin-Marduk: Zum Handel mit Naturalien im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr* (Groningen: STYX, 1993).

[705] M. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murashu Archive, the Murashu Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia* (Leiden: Nederlands Historische-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1985).

[706] M. Stolper, "Mesopotamia, 482-330 B.C.," in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. VI*: The Fourth Century B.C.* (ed. D.M. Lewis et al; 2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 249.

[707] According to Peter R. Bedford, the Elamite administrative texts from Persepolis also identify about nineteen local treasuries/storehouses, which are not temples (P. R. Bedford, "The Economic Role of the Jerusalem Temple in Achaemenid Judah: Comparative Perspectives," in *Shai le-Sarah Japhet: Studies in the Bible, its Exegesis and its Languages* [ed. Mosheh Bar-Asher et al; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007], 17; and see also, Dandamaev and Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 208-209; and Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 428-429). According to Briant, these local treasuries included warehouses and a sizable staff, and their primary functions were to collect, warehouse, and process agricultural and animal products.

down and recast them where necessary. In the Yehud province, the Jerusalem Temple was the only institution which provided the infrastructure needed for such an enterprise.[708]

As we have observed above, the Aramaic ostraca found in Idumea indicate that imperial taxes were paid by agricultural products as well as silver in kind. If Yehud paid imperial taxes by agricultural products, and these taxes were sent to the granary cities where Persian authorities were in charge, then the Jerusalem Temple need not have been involved in collecting imperial taxes.

J. Schaper's supposition, that the Jerusalem Temple had the only foundry in the province of Yehud and had been used for recasting silver collected as taxes in order to mint it into a standard denomination, seems reasonable.[709] In the case of silver paid for imperial taxes, the metal usually came in irregular shape and purity. Thus, it needed to be standardized for further transactions or for the payment of tribute to the Persian Empire. That process requires a facility to recast silver, such as foundries. However, there is no evidence for the existence of foundries in the province of Yehud. Even in Ramat Raḥel, no vestiges of foundries have been found in the strata of the Persian period.

The existence of the foundry in the Jerusalem Temple during the Persian period can perhaps be inferred based on Zech 11:13. J. Schaper heavily relies on the term יוצר (Zech 11:13) in order to support his argument that the Temple was the sole institution to recast silver. יוצר can be rendered as "potter" (Ps 2:9; Jer 18:2, 4, 6), "maker," or "caster"

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[708] Schaper, "The Temple Treasury Committee," 204; and ibid, "The Jerusalem Temple," 531.

[709] Schaper, "The Jerusalem Temple," 536.

who melts down metal vessels and tools into ingots.[710] The context of Zech 11:13 requires this term to be rendered as "caster" or "foundry," because the prophet was told to throw his wages (thirty shekels of silver) into the יוצר in the temple. Apart from Zech 11:13, 2 Kgs 12:11 may imply that the foundry must have been a crucial part of the temple administration since the precious metal which was a part of the temple revenue needed to be recast for further transaction.

On the other hand, evidence from the Yadua coins demonstrates the existence of the minting facility in Yehud.[711] In the late Persian period, during the fourth century BCE, there was extensive local minting of coins in the coastal cities of Gaza, Ashdod, Ascalon and Dor as well as at Samaria and Yehud.[712] Our question is whether or not the existence of Yadua coins in the late Persian period implies that the foundry of the Jerusalem Temple was used for minting coins. Without further evidence, it is not possible to prove that the foundry in the Temple of Jerusalem, even if we assume that it existed, was used as a part of the minting facility.

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[710] *HALOT*, 429. The interpretation of יוצר as 'caster,' or 'founder' was first suggested by Charles C. Torrey ("The Foundry of the Second Temple at Jerusalem," *JBL* 55 [1936]:247-260). See also C. C. Torrey, "The Evolution of a Financier in the Ancient Near East," *JNES* 2 (1943): 295-231, esp. 298-299.

[711] The Yehud coinage consists of a series of tiny silver coins which seem to have been minted in Judah, most probably in Jerusalem during the fourth and third centuries. The Yadua coin is one of the earliest of the Yehud coin series, which seems to be dated to c. 360BCE. See, L. Mildenberg, "On Fractional Silver Issues in Palestine (Pls VIII-XI)," *Transeuphratene* 20 (2000): 89-100; ibid, "Numismatic Evidence," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 91 (1987): 381-395, esp. 388-389; Yigal Ronen, "Some observations on the Coinage of Yehud," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 15 (2003): 28-31; Ya'akov Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage* (2 vols.; Dix Hills: Amphora Books, 1982).

[712] Ya'akov Meshorer and Shraga Qedar, *Samarian Coinage* (Jerusalem: The Israel Numismatic Society, 1999); Haim Gitler and Oren Tal, *The Coinage of Philistia of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC: A Study of the Earliest Coins of Palestine* (Milan; New York: Edizioni Ennerre, 2006); H. Gitler, O.Tal, and Peter Alfen, "Silver Dome-Shaped Coins from Persian-period Southern Palestine," *Israel Numismatic Research* 2 (2007):47-62; O. Tal, "Coin Denomination and Weight Standards in Fourth-Century BCE Palestine," *INR* 2 (2007): 17-28; and Stephen N. Gerson, "Fractional Coins of Judea and Samaria in the Fourth Century BCE," *NEA* 64/3 (2001): 106-121.

Furthermore, contrary to J. Schaper, the existence of the foundry in the Jerusalem temple does not prove the Temple's involvement in collecting and sending imperial taxes to the central treasuries in Persepolis and Susa.[713] J. Schaper argues: "The treasury committee instituted by Nehemiah oversaw the collection and administration of both 'holy' and 'secular' taxes. This means that its members acted both as temple officials and as Achaemenid tax collectors."[714] However, Neh 13:13 does not support Schaper's contention. The treasury committee was organized mainly to distribute the proper share to the temple personnel. Even though the foundry had been used for the secular tax, the whole process of collecting and sending the imperial taxes could have been supervised by the local governor not by the temple administrative staff. There is no direct evidence, for the time being, that the Jerusalem Temple and the temple administration were directly involved in collecting and paying imperial taxes.[715]

3.2.4.3. Summary

As we have shown, the province of Yehud was not freed from the duties of imperial taxes that the Achaemenid Empire imposed. However, it is not clear that the temple administrative staff was involved in collecting and paying them to the central government

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[713] J. Schaper's argument is followed by H. Niehr in his article, "Abgaben an den Tempel im Yehud der Achaimenidenzeit," 141-157.

[714] Schaper, "The Temple Treasury Committee," 205. J. Schaper also argues that the priests and Levites seem to have been given a regular stipend from the imperial government since the central government wanted a fiscal system to be operated efficiently (Schaper, "The Jerusalem Temple," 539). However, there is no evidence for his argument.

[715] Melody D. Knowles also argues:
> Evidence for the temple as a depot for taxes is less clear. Although some of the tithe money would ultimately be sent to the imperium, it is hard to say whether all of Yehud had to pay their taxes at the temple. Besides Zech 11:13 there is no clear evidence for the existence of a "king's chest" at the Jerusalem temple. The יהד coins may point to the relation of the temple with a foundry late in the Persian period, but there is no necessary connection (Knowles, *Centrality Practiced*, 120).

of the Empire. Thus, we conclude that the Chronicler's silence about imperial taxes, on the one hand, does not reflect his own day concerning the payment of imperial taxes in the province of Yehud. On the other hand, concerning the temple staff's involvement in collecting imperial taxes, however, it is not possible to argue whether or not the Chronicler's silence about imperial taxes could have been connected with practices of his own time, mainly due to lack of evidence.

Nevertheless, the Chronicler's total silence about the presence of Achaemenid control except at the end of his book, 2 Chr 36:20, 22-23, seems to be deliberate, and his silence about imperial taxes should perhaps be understood in a broader context. The presence of the Achaemenid Empire was not presupposed in the Chronicler's ideal world. Thus, there was no need to mention imperial taxes. The Chronicler's silence about them, in fact, says more about his ideal world. What the Chronicler seems to present in his work by not mentioning any circumstances related to the Empire is an ideal system that could effectively manage the Temple and its administration without the patronage of the Empire. This issue will be developed in Chapter Four. At this moment, it suffices to say that the Chronicler's silence about imperial taxes seems to have been deliberately intended.

3.3. Temple Staff

The Chronicler assumes the existence of a collegial body of temple administrators throughout the book, such as in 1 Chr 9:26-29; 26:20-28; 2 Chr 31:11-13 and 34:12-13, although the constitution of the upper echelon of the temple administration is not always the same.[716] The bureaucratic system that the Chronicler describes has been treated by several scholars as a reflection of the practice of his own day.[717]

The bureaucratic system in states as well as in temple administration is well known in literary sources from the Persian period. B. Porten points out that in the Persian period the officials always appear in groups in biblical and extra-biblical material.[718] Porten asserts that the system was created to place checks upon the absolute exercise of authority by any single individual and to guard against unlawful usurpation.[719] We will present several key examples which illustrate the bureaucratic system of temple administration from the documents dated to the Achaemenid period.[720]

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[716] Concerning the variability in the Chronicler's descriptions about the temple treasurers, refer to Section 2.2.3 above.

[717] S. Japhet's comments on 1 Chr 26:20-28 and 2 Chr 31:11-13 (Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 454, 966); H. G. M. Williamson's comment on 2 Chr 34:12 (Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 400-401); and also S. L. McKenzie's comments on 1 Chr 26:1-32 and 2 Chr 34:11 (McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 198, 341).

[718] Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 46.

[719] Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 47. Several documents from ancient Near East give witnesses to such usurpation or a monopoly of power in a temple. In the Neo-Assyrian period, for example, Letter No. 134, among the letters from priests to the kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, mentions that Pulu, the lamentation priest, ran the temple of Nabû arbitrarily by appointing officials of his own and by controlling all the treasuries under his supervision. Another letter, No. 138, shows that the priest of Ea committed a theft in the Temple. For the texts of these letters, refer to Steven W. Cole and Peter Machinist, *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998), 102-104, 110. These letters indicate a possible background for the development of the bureaucratic system in the temple administration.

[720] M. Jursa provides a succinct introduction to the structure of temple administrations of Neo-Babylonian temples (M. Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents: Typology, Contents and Archives* [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005], 49-54).

First, the archive of the Ebabbar temple of Sippar (which was dedicated to the god *Šamaš*) contains more than 35,000 tablets and fragments from the Neo-Babylonian period to the early Achaemenid period.[721] These documents reflect the everyday practice of the temple administration.[722] The staff in the Ebabbar temple can be divided into five categories: administrators, ritualists, food offering preparers, craftsman and temple oblates.[723] Management of the Ebabbar was carried out by two principal officials, the

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[721] These texts are mostly kept in the British Museum's Sippar Collections, and copied and published by the following scholars; however, there are still many unpublished tablets:

1) J. N. Strassmaier, *Babylonische Texte: von den Thontafeln des Britischen Museums* (Leipzig : E. Pfeiffer, 1887-1897): Heft. 1-4. Inscriptions of Nabonidus (555-538 BCE); Heft 5-6. Inscriptions of Nebucadnezzar (604-561 BCE); Heft. 6B. Inscriptions of the reigns of Evil-Merodach (562-559 BCE), Neriglissar (559-555 BCE), and Laborosoarchod (555 BCE); Heft. 7. Inscriptions of Cyrus (538-529 BCE); Heft. 8-9. Inscriptions of Cambyses (529-521 BCE); Heft. 10-12. Inscriptions of Darius (521-485 BCE).

2) 2727 texts of 82-7-14 series dating to the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods form the Sippar (Abu Habba) collection of the British Museum were copied by T. G. Pinches in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part 55-57: *Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts* (ed. I. Finkel; London: British Museum, 1982).

3) John MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbar in the Late-Babylonian Period* (Poznan: Bonami, 1995): In this book 187 letter orders from the Sippar Collection of the British Museum are copied, transliterated and translated by J. MacGinnis. Furthermore, MacGinnis copied, transliterated and translated 53 more texts, which are mainly letters, from the same Sippar collection, and published them in "Letters from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbara," *Mesopotamia* 31 (1996): 99-159.

4) 248 Late Babylonian letters, simultaneously published in CT # 22, were transliterated and translated by R. Campbell Thompson, and published in *Late Babylonian Letters: Transliterations and Translations of a Series of Letters Written in Babylonian Cuneiform, Chiefly During the Reigns of Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius* (London: Luzac & Co., 1906; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1976).

5) Ronald H. Sack also transliterated and translated 23 Sippar contract texts dating to the reign of Neriglissar, and published them in *Nerglissar-King of Babylon* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker, 1994).

6) M. Jursa has dealt with land lease texts from the Sippar collections in the British Museum in *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit* (Vienna : Instituts für Orientalistik der Univ Wien, 1995). A. C. V. M. Bongenaar's book, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and its Prospography* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaelogisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997), also includes the transliterations and translations of some unpublished Sippar texts.

[722] Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 1-2.

[723] MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar*, 8. MacGinnis names the second category of the temple staff as "priests," but the definition of priests based on the Western culture, "the title of the principal functionaries at divine service," does not properly apply to the various cultic functionaries, such as *šangû*, *pašīšu*, *gudapšu*, *āšipu*, *kalû* and the like, in the Ancient Near Eastern religion. Thus we name the second category as "ritualists" who participate in divine services in various ways. Concerning the definitions of

'resident' (*qīpu*) of Ebabbar and the 'temple administrator' (*šangû*) of Sippar with collaboration of the 'scribes of Ebabbar' (*ṭupšarrū ša Ebabbar*).[724] Whereas these individuals belonged to the upper echelon of the temple administration in the Ebabbar temple, the middle echelon of the temple administration consisted of overseers (*šāpirū*) and chiefs (*rabûtu*).[725]

Bongenaar divides the administrative tasks of the *šangû* of Sippar into three categories: (1) management of the property of the temple of Ebabbar consisting of farm land, cattle outside the city and houses in the city; (2) supervision of temple personnel; (3) control over the movements of goods, i.e. the issue and receipt of commodities.[726] It is not always clear whether there was an explicit distinction between the role of *šangû* of Sippar and that of *qīpu* of Ebabbar as the top administrators in the Ebabbar temple. It appears that the *qīpu* of Ebabbar was considered superior to the *šangû* of Sippar during the Neo-

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these terms, see also R. A. Henshaw, *Female and Male: The Cultic Personnel: The Bible and the Rest of the Ancient Near East* (Princeton Theological Monographs 31; Allison Park, Pa: Pickwick, 1994), 24-25. G. van Driel also uses the term "ritualist" (*Elusive Silver: In Search of a Role for a Market in an Agrarian Environment Aspects of Mesopotamia's Society* [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nebije Oosten, 2002]).

[724] Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 6-7. The terms *qīpu*, *šangû*, and *ṭupšarrū ša Ebabbar* have been translated in various ways by different scholars. Here we follow Bongenaar's translation of these terms except for *ṭupšarrū ša Ebabbar* for which Bongenaar prefers to translate "College scribes" instead of "scribes of Ebabbar." We prefer to use the latter sicne it is a more literal translation of *ṭupšarrū ša Ebabbar*. See also, M. A. Dandamayev, "Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid State Administration in Mesopotamia," in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period*, 388-395. In the cited article, Dandamayev gives various usages of these titles of officials.

[725] Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 142. From the third millennium onwards certain groups of institutional personnel acquired status and income by performing a specific role in the cult. Their ultimate successors were the prebendal elites of the Neo-Babylonian towns of the First Millennium. Some high-ranking temple officials and the groups of brewers, bakers, butchers, fishermen and herdsmen owned the prebendal right which was principally heritable, but could be leased, sold, or transmitted through adoption. Royal officials and the temple scribes were not regarded as prebendaries through their roles in the temple administration unless they acquired a prebendal right by other means. For the prebendal right, see, G. van Driel, *Elusive Silver*, 64-86. According to Bongenaar, such a prebendal system continued to exist until the end of Hellenistic period. The main source of the prebendal income was the remnants of the sacrifices offered to the deities.

[726] Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 23.

Babylonian period.[727] From the beginning of the reign of Cambyses, this ranking is reversed.[728]

The *ṭupšarrū Ebabbar* (the scribes of Ebabbar)[729] actively engaged in temple administration as the assistants or executives of the *qīpu* and *šangû*. The five scribes of Ebabbar were first installed and introduced to the management of the Ebabbar temple by Nabonidus.[730] By installing the scribes in the Ebabbar temple from a new power group, it seems that Nabonidus attempted to counterbalance the power of the prominent Sippar families who owned important prebendal rights and were running the temple almost autonomously. The many 'letter orders' from the Ebabbar archives prove that the scribes of Ebabbar could order the issue of commodities without any perceptible sign of authorization by the temple administrator or the resident, such as their seals.[731] This fact shows that the temple scribes played a significant role in the temple administration.

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[727] MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar*, 117.

[728] MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar*, 117 and Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 6-7.

[729] The *ṭupšarrū Ebabbar* is written as ^{LÚ}UMBISAG.MEŠ (*ša*) É.BABBAR.RA or ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR.MEŠ (*ša*) É.BABBAR.RA. According to MacGinnis, during the Neo-Babylonian period, the temple *sepīru* (the scribe who wrote in Aramaic), who was subject to the *qīpu*, did not have any authority to issue commodities on his own as scribes of Ebabbar did as many letter orders indicate. Later in the Achaemenid period, this temple *sepīru* was included into the upper echelon of the temple administration with the same rank of the scribes of Ebabbar (*ṭupšarrū Ebabbar*) (MacGinnis, *Letter Orders From Sippar*, 122-123, and Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 56).

[730] Bongenaar summarizes Nabonidus' reforms of the temple administration as including three major changes: (1) the installation of a new *qīpu* in Nabonidus' first year; (2) the installation of a new *šangû* between Nabonidus' first and second year; (3) the introduction of the five scribes into the temple administration in the first half of Nabonidus' reign. After the five scribes of Ebabbar entered the management of the temple in the first half of Nabonidus' reign, they continued to be involved in the temple management until the end of the Sippar archive in Xerxes' second year. Later, during the reign of Cambyses, an Aramaic scribe joined the ranks of the scribes of Ebabbar (Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 58-59).

[731] Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, 58-59.

The administration of the Ebabbar temple in the Achaemenid period followed a similar pattern that of Neo-Babylonian period, with some minor modifications.[732] The upper echelon of the temple administration consisted of the *šangû* of Sippar, the *qīpu* of Ebabbar, and the five scribes of Ebabbar plus an Aramaic scribe (*sepīru*). The Achaemenid kings respected the basic structure of the Ebabbar temple administration, but they attempted to hold the real power of the temple administration in their own hands, by appointing a local elite, who would work for the king's benefit, to the position of top administration of the temple.

A second example of temple administration from Mesopotamia proper in these periods is reflected in the archives of the Eanna temple in Uruk, the sanctuary of the goddess Ishtar, which contains over 8,000 tablets. The majority of these tablets date to the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid periods (626-520 BCE).[733] In the Eanna temple in Uruk, the *qīpu ša Eanna* and the *šatammu ša Eanna* form the top echelon of the temple administration. Their management was executed in close collaborations with the *ṭupšarrū bīti* and the *sepīru* (the Aramaic scribe).[734] In the case of the Eanna temple, however, the involvement of the *šākin ṭēmi Uruk* (the governor of Uruk) and the *rēš šarri bēl piqitti ša muḫḫi quppi* [*makkūr*] *Eanna* (the royal courtier in charge of the cash box of

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[732] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 71-72.

[733] Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *Late Babylonian Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1994), 6; and M. Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents*, 138-139.

[734] M. A. Dandamayev, "State and Temple in Babylonia in the First Millennium B.C." in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Edward Lipinski; Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek, 1979), 590. L. S. Fried includes *zazakku* and *šākin ṭēmi Uruk* in the list of the Eanna temple personnel, but the *zazakku* (DUB.SAR.ZAG.GA) was a high royal official in charge of the national tax system and the *šākin ṭēmi Uruk* belonged to the city bureaucracy as the governor. Even though they had a strong influence over the temple, we do not include them as the temple staff. Fried, *The Priest and the Great King*, 9-13.

Eanna) in the temple administration was much more visible than in the case of the Ebabbar temple.

To sum up, the upper echelon of the administration in these two Babylonian temples consisted of the two top administrators and the collegial body of scribes which was composed of five or six scribes (including an Aramaic scribe).

A third example for the bureaucratic system of temple administration in the Achaemeid period can be found in the Elephantine archive. The archive, dating from the fifth century BCE, was found in the first decade of the twentieth century CE in a Jewsih colony on the island of Elephantine at the southern border of Egypt.[735] The Elephantine texts shed some light on the administrative structure of the Yahweh Temple in Elephantine. In several letters, Jedaniah the priest (הכהן) and his colleagues the priests (הכהנים) appear as either senders or recipients. The so-called "Passover Letter" (*TAD* A4.1 or C 21) was sent to "Jedaniah and his colleagues (ידניה וחבריו)" (*TAD* A4.1:1, 10 or C 21:1, 10) by Hananiah.[736] It was "Jedaniah and his colleagues the priests (ידניה וחבריו הכוהנים)" who wrote letters to Bagohi governor of Judah (*TAD* A4.7 or C 30; *TAD* A4.8 or C 31), and to Delaiah and Shelemiah sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria (*TAD* A4.7: 29).[737] The archive of Jedaniah ben Gemariah indicates that Jedaniah was a chief officer in the temple of Elephantine.[738] It is not clear how many colleagues assisted Jedaniah. In *TAD* A4.2 or C 37, 'Jedaniah, Mauziah, Uriah and the garrison' appear as

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[735] Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, vii-viii.

[736] Porten and Yardini, eds., *Letters* (Vol. I of *TAD*; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1986), 54-55.

[737] Porten and Yardini, eds., *Letters*, 68-71 and 72-75.

[738] This archive contains ten documents dealing with communal affairs. Most of them concerned the relations between Jews and Egyptians and the destruction of the Jewish Temple. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 278.

recipients of the letter sent by someone who introduced himself as their servant.[739] *TAD* A4.3 or C 38 is a letter that Mauziah son of Nathan sent to his lords Jedaniah, Uriah and "the priests of YHW the god" (כהני יהו האל), Mattan and Berechiah.[740] *TAD* A4.10 or C 33 contains an offer of payment for reconstruction of the temple, which was written by five representatives: Jedaniah, Mauzi, Shemaiah, Hosea son of Jathom, and Hosea son of Nattun.[741] In these papyri, Jedaniah, Mauzi or Mauziah and Uriah often appear together, but other names are not all the same. It seems that five or six officials represented the Elephantine Jewish garrison, whose chief officer was Jedaniah in the late fifth century BCE. The majority of them appear to have been priests, but the possibility that non-priestly members could have been involved in the administration cannot be excluded. These important leaders of the garrison seem to have been involved in the administration of the temple.

On the other hand, *TAD* A4.7:18-19 or C 30:18-19 mentions a letter that Jedaniah and his colleagues in Elephantine sent to Bagohi the governor of Judah, and to Jehohanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests in Jerusalem, and to Ostanes brother of Anani and the nobles of the Jews.[742] This reference sheds light on the temple administration in the province of Yehud in the late fifth century BCE. It implies that Jehohanan the high priest and his colleagues (priests) represented the Jerusalem Temple at that time. Several biblical passages dated to the Persian period also provide various pictures of the temple administration, especially about the upper echelon of the Jerusalem Temple. The

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[739] Porten and Yardeni, eds., *Letters*, 56-57.

[740] Porten and Yardeni, eds., *Letters*, 58-59.

[741] Porten and Yardeni, eds., *Letters*, 78-79.

[742] Porten and Yardini, eds., *Letters*, 68-71.

following table contains information about the temple staff, drawn from various sources

including the Hebrew Bible.

Table 22. Temple Staff

Texts	The composition of the temple staff	The function of the temple staff
Ezra 8:33-34	Two priests and two Levites	To weigh out the gold and silver and the vessels that Ezra brought from Babylon and to record them.
Neh 13:13	A priest, a scribe, a Levite and one officer[743]	To distribute the tithes to their kinsmen.
1 Chr 9:26-29	The four chief gatekeepers (the four Levites)	To guard the utensils of service and the furniture and all the holy utensils; and to supply flour, wine, oil, incense, and spices for daily sacrificial services.
TAD A4.7:18-19	Jehohanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests	
m. Šeqal. 5:2	The three treasurers, together with the seven administrators	To manage the finances and property of the Temple; to keep the holy vessels and priestly vestments; to distribute funds, flour for meal offerings and wine for libations; to handle any donations; and to supply wood, animals, flour and oil to make offerings. Many of these tasks were divided among fifteen officers, whose names are listed in *m. Šeqal.* 5:1.[744]

Except for *TAD* A4.7, none of the sources listed above mention the chief executive(s)

in the temple administration. The temple staff seems to be an administrative body, which

ran the Temple in a practical sense. In Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, the four members

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[743] J. Schaper argues that the scribe in Neh 13:13 belongs to the Zadokites since his name is Zadok, and another layman to the Levites because of his genealogy. Thus, according to J. Schaper, the treasurers' committee is composed of two priests and two Levites (Schaper, "The Temple Treasury Committee," 201-202).

[744] Levine, *Jerusalem*, 243. Although Mishnah was written in c. 200 CE when the Temple no longer existed, *m. Šeqal.* 5:2 is included in Table 22 since it provides detailed information about the temple administration (though it is not certain which period the information refers to) and at the same time, it indicates that the temple administration gradually developed into a sophisticated bureaucratic system.

constitute the temple staff although its composition shows slight differences.[745] The Chronicler's picture differs from the one of Ezra-Nehemiah in that it consists of all Levites, and its duties are wider than in Ezra-Nehemiah. The Mishnah's description of the temple staff and their duties seems to reflect a more sophisticated bureaucratic system than the ones from Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles. The Mishnah's description must have been related to practices of a much later period than the Chronicler's time, if it is meant to reflect realities of a certain time. The fact that *m. Šeqal.* 5:1 could recall the names of the fifteen officers who performed specific tasks in the Temple implies that the descriptions must derive from recent memories not from the fourth century BCE. Thus, the Chronicler's overall description of the temple staff belongs to somewhere in the line of the development of the bureaucratic system of the temple administration from the one of Ezra-Nehemiah to that of Mishnah.

Nonetheless, the Chronicler's description of temple staff needs to be examined since the Chronicler portrays it as consisting of only Levites, unlike Ezra-Nehemiah. We need to ask the following two sets of questions: (1) Does the Chronicler's pro-Levitical tendency pair with his negative treatment of the high priesthood? How does the Chronicler describe the relationship between the high priest or the chief priest and the other temple staff? Is the Chronicler's description harmonious with those of other authors' in the same period? (2) Could the Chronicler's partiality to the Levites be found

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[745] A possible relationship between the treasuries of the Temple in Ezra 8:33 and in Neh 13:13 is still debated among scholars. Williamson argues that they are two different ones, but J. Schaper contends, against Williamson, that Nehemiah set up the treasury committee as a permanent one, and the committee mentioned in Ezra 8:33 was the same one that Nehemiah installed. Both arguments are closely related to each scholar's opinion on whether Ezra preceded Nehemiah or not. For this debate, refer to H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco: Word Books), 388-389 and Schaper, "The Temple Treasury Committee," 200-206.

in later treatments of the Levites from the Hellenistic and Hasmonean periods? If not, how could we explain the Chronicler's favoritism of the Levites?

3.3.1. The Chronicler's Treatment of the High Priesthood

The Chronicler's treatment with the high priesthood during the Persian era does not deviate much from those in Ezra-Nehemiah or in Josephus' *Antiquities*. First of all, the majority of the references to the title 'high priest' (הכהן הגדל)[746] or 'chief priest' (הכהן הראש),[747] in fact, appear in the texts written after the Persian period. The title 'high priest' is used only once in Chronicles (2 Chr 34:9) for Hilkiah during the reign of Josiah. It is likely to be a simple repetition of its source 2 Kgs 22:4. Interestingly, the Chronicler omits Hilkiah's title in the other two times when his source refers to Hilkiah with this title (see 2 Kgs 22:8//2 Chr 34:15 and 2 Kgs 23:4 which is omitted in Chronicles). Moreover, in section 2.3.2, we observed that the Chronicler gives Hilkiah a lesser role in the account of Josiah's reforms than that found in Kings.

The Chronicler seems to prefer another title for the high priest, הכהן הראש, which appears five times in Chronicles. There are four priests termed 'chief priest' (הכהן הראש)

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[746] The references to the title הכהן הגדל: Num 35:25, 28 ; Josh 20:6; 2 Kgs 22:4, 8; 23:4; 2 Chr 34:9; Neh 3:1, 20; 13:28; Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4; Zech 3:1, 8; 6:11. The title הכהן הגדל is translated into ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας in the LXX of all the cited passages except for Josh 20:6 (the title does not appear in the LXX).

[747] The title הכהן הראש appears in 2 Kgs 25:18; Jer 52:24; Ezra 7:5; 1 Chr 27:5; 2 Chr 19:11; 24:11; 26:20; 31:10. Unlike the title הכהן הגדל, the title הכהן הראש is translated in various ways in the LXX. For instance, הכהן הראש is translated into ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ πρῶτος (in LXX 2 Kgs 25:18; Jer 52:24; Ezra 7:5; 2 Chr 26:20); ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ ἄρχων (in LXX 1 Chr 27:5; 2 Chr 31:10); ὁ ἱερεὺς ἡγούμενος (in LXX 2 Chr 19:11); or ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας (in LXX 2 Chr 24:11). However, the most frequently used title for the high priest in the Greek texts is ὁ ἀρχιερεύς: see 1 Macc 10:20, 32, 38, 69; 12:3, 6, 7; 13:36, 42; 14:17, 23, 27, 30, 35, 41, 47; 15:17, 21, 24; 16:12, 24; 2 Macc 3:1, 4, 9, 10, 16, 21, 32, 33; 4:13; 14:3, 13; 15:12; 1 Esd 5:40; 9:39, 40, 49; 3 Macc 1:11; 2:1; 4 Macc 4:13, 16, 18. The tithle ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας also appears in the following Greek texts: Jdt 4:6, 8, 14; 15:8; Sir 50:1; 1 Macc 12:20; 14:20; 15:2. These data indicate that more than 66%of the occurences of the title 'high priest' or 'chief priest' appear in the texts which orginate from the Hellenistic period. The frequent appearance of the high priest in literature could imply the significance of his role in the community.

in Chronicles: Amariah under Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 19:11); Jehoiada under King Joash (1 Chr 27:5; 2 Chr 24:6, 11); Azariah under Uzziah (2 Chr 26:20); and Azariah of the house of Zadok under Hezekiah (2 Chr 31:10).[748] In other cases, he uses a different title for the chief priest, נגיד בית־האלהים, for Azariah during the reign of Hezekiah (1 Chr 9:11 and 2 Chr 31:12).[749]

First, Amariah the chief priest, during the reign of King Jehoshaphat, appears only in Chronicles (2 Chr 19:11). In the Chronicler's narrative, Jehoshaphat appoints him over the religious matters (לכל דבר־יהוה) and Zebadiah over the king's matters (לכל דבר־המלך). According to the Chronicler, the chief priest has the highest authority only in cultic matters, but has no power in civic matters. Such distinction between spheres of sacerdotal and political responsibility is also found in 1 Chr 26:30 and 32, where the royal administration (דבר המלך) is distinguished from the religious matters (דבר האלהים). For this reason, several commentators consider the Chronicler's narrative of Jehoshaphat's judiciary reform as the Chronicler's own work in which he retrojected circumstances of his own day into the time of Jehoshaphat.[750]

The Chronicler's perspective on this issue is once again identified in his treatment of Azariah during the reign of King Uzziah (2 Chr 26:20). The mention of an Azariah under Uzziah appears only in the book of Chronicles. The Chronicler describes King Uzziah's leprosy as God's punishment for his violation of the priestly privilege of offering incense

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[748] Steven James Schweitzer, "The High Priest in Chronicles: An Anomaly in a Detailed Description of the Temple Cult," *Biblica* 84 (2003): 393.

[749] This title is used once by Jeremiah in a slightly different formula, הכהן והוא־פקיד נגיד בבית יהוה (Jer 20:1).

[750] Paul K. Hooker, *First and Second Chronicles* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 200; and Gary N. Knoppers, "Jehoshaphat's Judiciary," 80.

(2 Chr 26:16-17). At that time, Azariah, as a representative of the priests, defended their prerogatives against the king. In this narrative, the Chronicler presents the chief priest as one who has authority over cultic matters.

In section 2.3.1, we discussed the Chronicler's specific treatment of his source 2 Kgs 12:5-11. In the Chronicler's version (2 Chr 24:5-11), the chief priest Jehoiada's role for securing the fund for repair of the Temple is limited, but the Levites' involvement in guarding and handling the chest is emphasized. However, Jehoiada is portrayed as being responsible for the Levites's failure to implement the king's command.

The fourth chief priest mentioned in Chronicles appears in the narrative of Hezekiah's provisioning for the priests and Levites (2 Chr 31:2-21; and see section 2.2.3). Azariah the chief priest is portrayed by the Chronicler as the one in charge of the priests and the Levites. Azariah exercises his administrative authority over the cultic matters by participating in the appointment of officials of the storerooms along with King Hezekiah.

All these observations indicate that in Chronicles, the high priest or the chief priest is presented as being responsible in the cultic arena by judging cultic matters, by defending priestly privilege, or by being accountable for the actions of all the temple personnel including the Levites. However, the chief priest is never portrayed as being independent of the king, or having any authority over civic affairs.[751]

The Chronicler's distinction between cultic matters and civic matters can be found in other biblical authors during the Persian period.[752] The differentiation between the office of the governor and the office of high priest is found in Haggai and Zechariah as well as

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[751] Schweitzer, "The High Priest in Chronicles," 402; Deborah W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 238-239; and also Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 212-213.

[752] Knoppers, "Jehoshaphat's Judiciary," 80.

Ezra-Nehemiah. For instance, the diarchic leadership of the governor and the high priest is expressed with the phrase "Zerubbabel the governor of Judah (פחת יהודה) and Joshua the high priest (הכהן הגדול)" in Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4; Ezra 3:8; and 5:2.[753] Such leadership is also portrayed in Zechariah, but using different expressions, such as "two olive trees" (Zech 4:11); "two branches of the olive trees," (Zech 4:12) and "the two anointed ones" (שני בני־היצהר) (Zech 4:14). In Ezekiel's program for the future Temple, the careful distinction between the office of prince and the one of priests is also found (Ezek 37:24-28; 44:1-3; 45:4-5, 7-25; 46:1-10, 12, 16-18; 48:21-22).[754]

According to Ezra 4:1, it was 'Zerubbabel and the heads of families' that the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin approached to ask to participate in rebuilding the Temple. Joshua the high priest was not mentioned even though he was in charge of the construction work itself (Ezra 3:9). This omission indicates that Zerubbabel acted as a representative in civil matters. The answer to this request was given by "Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the rest of the heads of fathers' houses in Israel" (Ezra 4:3). Evidently there was a certain agreed boundary between the responsibilities that the two leaders assumed, but this boundary seems to have shifted over the course of time. For instance, the edict of Artaxerxes (Ezra 5:12-26) clearly indicates that the tasks of Ezra are bound to cultic matters, but Ezra's involvement in excommunicating assimilationists due to their exogamic status (Ezra 10) cannot be a solely cultic matter. Furthermore, according to Neh 7:1, it was Nehemiah the governor, not Eliashib the high priest, who appointed the

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[753] It is worth noting that Joshua is always mentioned second after Zerubbabel in these references. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 21.

[754] G. N. Knoppers, "An Achaemenid Imperial Authorization of Torah in Yehud?" in *Persia and Torah: The Theory of Imperial Authorization of the Pentateuch* (ed. James W. Watts; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 128.

cultic personnel, such as gatekeepers, singers and the Levites although, clearly, the appointment of cultic personnel is related to cultic matters.[755] All these facts indicate that during the Persian period there was a differentiation between the cultic sphere and the civic sphere although there was fluctuation of the boundary between the two spheres depending on the balance of power at each time. In this sense, the Chronicler's distinction between cultic matters and civic matters conforms to the circumstances of the Persian period.

The Chronicler's treatment of the high priesthood does not deviate significantly from the ones found in other post-exilic texts. Through Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4; Zech 3:1, 8, we know that Joshua was the high priest, but he is never called the high priest in the book of Ezra. His priestly status is only known from his patronym and from his association with other priests.[756] The list of priests in Neh 12:10-11, 22-23, 26 is believed, based on Josephus' list of the high priests (*Ant.* 11.121, 297, and 302), to be a list of the names of high priests in the Persian era.[757] However, the names on the list in Nehemiah 12 are not identified there explicitly as high priests. The only one called high priest in the book of Nehemiah is Eliashib the high priest (Neh 3:1). Eliashib and his fellow priests participated in Nehemiah's task to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem. This Eliashib was the

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[755] J. W. Cataldo interprets Nehemiah's reformation as a political move, by which Nehemiah solidified his power over the religious administration. According to Cataldo, Nehemiah's measures to secure the positions and income of the Levites were intended to counterbalance the priestly pursuit of power (Cataldo, *A Theocratic Yehud?* 103).

[756] VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 19-20.

[757] Levine, *Jerusalem*, 35. Our concern is not to reconstruct the genealogical line of the high priests in the post-exilic period, but to examine how the high priesthood is treated in the post-exilic texts. For the former issue, refer to F. M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94 (1975): 4-18; J. Betlyon, "The Provincial Government of Persian Period Judea and the Yehud Coins," *JBL* 15 (1986): 633-642; and also VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 44-99. VanderKam concludes, unlike F. M. Cross, that the extant list of high priests for the Persian period in Nehemiah 12 and *Antiquities* is likely to be complete, so that there is no need to insert several new names in it. See also Jan Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C.* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 549-599.

high priest when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I (=445 BCE; Neh 1:1; 2:1). When Tobiah's exploitation of the temple revenue is reported in Neh 13:4-9, the one who appointed Tobiah over the storerooms of the Temple is named as 'the priest Eliashib' (Neh 13:4), not the high priest Eliashib.[758] According to *TAD* A4.7=C 30, Johanan was the high priest (כהנא רבא) of the Jerusalem Temple in the year 401 BCE. This Johanan seems to be the same figure who appears in the list of Neh 12:22. He was one of the recipients of the letter that the Jews of Elephantine wrote asking for his support in rebuilding their temple. This fact implies that the office of the high priest in Jerusalem was highly regarded by the Jews in Elephantine. In stark contrast, the significance of the high priest in the community of Yehud can hardly be found in Nehemiah.

On the other hand, Josephus tells us that the high priest Johanan killed his brother Jesus in the Temple (*Ant*. 11.297-301). It is not clear whether this Johanan the high priest was the same as Johanan the high priest in *TAD* A4.7.[759] Regardless of whether they are the same individual or not, Josephus' story implies that the office of high priest was subject to intervention by Persian officials, such as Bagoses, the general of Artaxerxes' army (*Ant*. 11.298-301). On the other hand, Josephus' story about Alexander's meeting with Jaddua the high priest (*Ant*. 11.329-39) shows that the high priest had attained an

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[758] VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 50-51.

[759] H. G. M. Williamson argues that they are not the same individuals by suggesting Josephus' Johanan as a later priest paired with Bagoses, a Persian general of Artaxerxes III (358-338 BCE) (Williamson, "The Historical Value of Josephus' Jewish Antiquities xi. 297-301," 80-88). However, L. S. Fried argues that the high priest in *Ant*. 11.297 and Johanan in *TAD* A4.7 are the same individual as another Johanan who minted his coins between 378-368BCE (Fried, *The Priest and the Great King*, 229-230). In other words, this Johanan had been in office of a high priest for 40 years. The identity of Johanan referred to in the three different sources is still debated, and it is hard to reach a scholarly consensus without any further evidence.

exalted status by the close of the Persian period.[760] Jaddua seems to have been a leader

not only in cultic affairs, but also in political, and even military ones. However, in

general, the office of high priest appears to have been limited to the cultic area and never

incorporated autonomous authority in the province of Yehud during the Persian period.

This fact is corroborated by studies of bullae, seals, and coins from the Persian period,

which provide valuable data for the names of Jewish governors.[761] Apart from three

officials, Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel and Nehemiah which were styled with the title פחה (in

Ezr 5:14; Hag 1:1 and Neh 12:26, respectively), evidence from bullae, seals, and coins

from the province of Yehud during the Persian period proves the presence of other

governors who preceded Nehemiah and succeeded him. According to N. Avigad,

"Bagohi, governor of Judah" is mentioned in the Aramaic Elephantine Papyri, of the 5th

century BCE, and "Yeḥezqiyah the Governor" appears in coins found at Beth-zur and

Tell Jemmeh.[762] Two other governors' names, "Yehoʿezer" and " ʾAḥîāb,"[763] are found

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[760] VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiapas*, 67.

[761] Concerning this issue, refer to Nahman Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judean Archive* (Jerusalem: The Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976); E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 BCE* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1982); D. Barag, 'Some Notes on a Silver Coin of Johanan the High Priest," *BA* 48 (1985): 166-168. For the governors who served in the province of Yehud during the Persian period, refer to H. G. M. Williamson, "The Governors of Judah under the Persians," *TynB* 39 (1988): 59-82; C. Tuplin, "The Administration of the Achaemenid Empire," in *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires: The Ninth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* (ed. Ian Carradice; BAR International Series 343; Oxford: B.A.R., 1987), 109-66; D. M. Lewis, "The King's Dinner (Polyaenus IV 3,32)," in *Achaemenid History II: The Greek Sources Proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop* (ed. H Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1987), 79-87.

[762] Nahman Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judean Archive* (Jerusalem: The Institute of Archaeology, 1976), 6. Concerning Yehud coins, see also, Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 BCE*, 224-227.

[763] O. Lipschits and D. Vanderhooft, et al, suggest reading this name ʾAḥîāb not Ahzai (Avigad's reading) with certainty, based on their studies on the stamp impressions from Ramat Raḥel (O. Lipschits et al, "Twenty-Four New *Yehud* Stamp Impressions," 9-10).

with their title in the unusual Aramaic form פחוא on the jar-impressions from Ramat-Raḥel.

These records of the governors' names indicate that a governor was present in the province of Yehud as a civic ruler in almost all the years of Persian control.[764] Recently, O. Lipschits et al. also argue: "The wide distribution of the several YSI types that include the term *pḥwʾ* (פחוא)" and "the existence of a stamp type with the reading *yhwd pḥwʾ*, but no personal name, strongly suggests that there was one, lone governor of Yehud [at a given time] and the office was widely recognized."[765] All these facts indicate that the high priest could not have been the only authoritative ruler in the province.[766]

However, the coins minted in the name of יוחנן הכוהן, i.e., " Yoḥanan the priest," seem to challenge this conclusion. The fact that the priest could mint the coins in the mid-fourth century BCE has been interpreted in several ways:[767] either as evidence for the involvement of Judea in the Tennes rebellion of the 340s BCE,[768] or as a concrete example for the high priest's control over the secular government.[769] These hypothetical interpretations are also open to criticism. First of all, the Jews are never listed as

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[764] J. W. Cataldo also argues that governors continued to function in the province of Yehud after Nehemiah through almost the entirety of the Persian period based on the testimony of the extra-biblical evidence, such as bullae and seals which have either or both *yhd* and *pḥh* signs (Cataldo, *A Theocratic Yehud?*, 90-93, 103, 117; and see also, Fried, *The Priest and the Great King*, 184-187).

[765] Lipschits et al, "Twenty-Four New *Yehud* Stamp Impressions," 11.

[766] VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 111.

[767] Barag, "Some Notes on a Silver Coin of Johanan the High Priest," 166-168.

[768] D. Barag, "The Effects of the Tennes Rebellion on Palestine," *BASOR* 183 (1966): 6-12; M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 60; and also, John Wilson Betlyon, "The Provincial Government of Persian Period Judea and the Yehud Coins," *JBL* 105 (1986): 637.

[769] The following scholars have interpreted the coins of Joḥanan more or less in this way: Betlyon, "The Provincial Government," 641; and H. G. M. Williamson, "Judah and the Jews," in *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, 44-45.

participants in either the Great Satrapal Revolt of 360 BCE or the Tennes Revolt of the 340s BCE in the ancient sources.[770] Archaeological evidence also does not support the involvement of Judah in these revolts. Moreover, the coins of Joḥanan were minted on the Persian shekel standard, not on the Attic standard, which most provinces adopted, and the coins are two *gerah* (1/20th of the Persian shekel) pieces. B. W. Root suggests that this fact may indicate that the one who minted the coins of Joḥanan was on friendly terms with the Persian king.[771] Thus, the hypothesis that the coins of Joḥanan would have been related to the involvement of Judah in the Tennes revolt is not sound.[772]

Second, the existence of the coins of Yeḥezqiyah the governor, which can hardly antedate the mid-fourth century BCE,[773] attenuates the merit of the argument that the high priest assumed power over the civic matters as well as the cultic matters in the later part of the Persian period.[774] The fact that the governor minted his coinage at the almost same time as the high priest implies that the governor was still in charge of the civil administration whatever power the high priest had assumed at that time.[775] Thus, the

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[770] Concerning the Great Satrapal Revolt of 360 BCE, see Diodorus, *History* 4:92; Nepos, "Chabrias"; Plutarch, "Agesilaus." And for the Tennes Revolt, see Diodorus, *History* 16:40-52 (Barag, "The Effects of the Tennes Rebellion on Palestine," 7-8).

[771] Bradley W. Root, "Coinage, War, and Peace in Fourth-Century Yehud," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 68/3 (2005): 134. L. S. Fried also argues that Yoḥanan could mint some coins with his name on them only with Persian permission (Fried, *The Priest and the Great King*, 227-231).

[772] H. G. M. Williamson, "Early Post-Exilic Judaean History," in *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, 22-23.

[773] For the date of these coins, see Barag, "Some Notes on a Silver Coin of Johanan the High Priest," 168; and H. Gitler and C. Lorber, "A New Chronology for the Ptolemaic Coins of Judah," *AJN* 18 (2006): 1-41.

[774] Barag, "Some Notes on a Silver Coin of Johanan the High Priest," 168.

[775] Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 237; and also Lisbeth S. Fried, "A Silver Coin of Yoḥanan Hakkôhēn (Pls II-V)," *Transeuphratene* 26 (2003): 85. Fried's conclusion in this article also supports our interpretation. She concludes her studies with the following argument:
> "If Yoḥanan obtained secular control for the priesthood, it did not outlast himself. He may have seized power while Bagavahya was away fighting in the campaigns against

governor's authority over the civic administration seems to have remained separate from the high priest's authority over the cultic matters throughout the Persian period although oscillations in the balance of power must have been inevitable.

All in all, we conclude that the Chronicler's differentiation between cultic matters and civic matters and his treatment of the high priesthood reflect practices of his own time. His description of the temple staff (priests, garekeepers and treasurers) also fits situations in the Persian period that other biblical authors describe, with the sole exception of its claim that the staff was all Levites.

We have observed that the Chronicler's treatment of the Levites is rather unusual when it is compared with treatment of the Levites in other post-exilic texts. Is the Chronicler's picture of the Levites also a product of his own time, or a reflection of his ideological view of the world? In order to answer this question, we will examine references to the Levites in writings of the Second Temple period, after the time of Chronicles. If the Levites have the same status there that the Chronicler granted to them, it is probable that the Chronicler's picture of the temple staff was related to the actual changes in the Second Temple period.

3.3.2. The Levites in the Writings of the Second Temple Period

In this section, we will examine the texts that originated in the Hellenistic and Hasmonean period, including Deutero-canonical and pseudepigraphic works as well as the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Egypt, and demonstrated it both by murdering his brother, Bagavahya's favorite, and by minting some coins with his name on it. His authority was short-lived and illusory. The coins of *Yeḥizqiyah happehāh* indicate that Yeḥizqiyah became governor after Bagavahya, also sometime between 378-368 BCE, and held it until the advent of Alexander the Great. Secular control quickly reverted into the hands of Persia."

3.3.2.1. The Levites in Deutero-canonical Works

The Levites are hardly mentioned in Deutero-canonical works, such as Ben Sira and 1 and 2 Maccabees.[776] The only two occurrences of the Levites are found in Tob 1:7 (which we have already mentioned above) and in LXX Esther 10:3 where a certain Dositheus is introduced as a priest and a Levite.

Ben Sira's silence about the Levites is particularly significant given the author's strong concern about the priesthood. Sir 7:29-31 states that fearing God means treating his priesthood as holy, and loving God means not forgetting one's relationship with the priesthood.[777] Sir 46:6-25 describes the priestly covenant with Aaron and his descendants. This passage emphasizes that Aaron's priesthood is eternal (vv. 7, 15, and 24) and exclusive (vv. 18-19). It also presents the priestly duties, such as to offer sacrifices, to make atonement for Israel, to guard and teach the Torah (vv. 16-17), but is completely silent about the Levites' teaching role, which 2 Chr 17:7-8; 35:3; Neh 8:7, 9 explicitly mention.[778] Furthermore, Sir 45:18-19, by alluding to the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram of Numbers 16, underscores the exclusivity of Aaron's priesthood and defines other priestly claims by different groups as illegitimate. Ben Sira's silence about the Levites should be understood in this context. It does not necessarily indicate an

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[776] Levine, *Jerusalem*, 244; and Cana Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4/2 (1997): 214.

[777] Saul M. Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," *HTR* 80 (1987): 263.

[778] In 2 Chr 35:3, the Chronicler uses a specific word מבנים ˋinstructors," to designate the Levites' teaching role (see also Neh 8:7 and 9). For this reason, Aelred Cody argues that the Levites' teaching role is distinguished from the priests' one, which is often designated by a Hiphil participle of verb ירה, such as in 2 Chr 15:3 (a teaching priest, כהן מורה). However, in 2 Chr 26:5, Zechariah the priest during the time of Uzziah is described as the king's "instructor," המבין. Furthermore, Ezr 8:16 also mentions a certain group of people as מבינים. These are not definitely Levites since they are the people whom Ezra sent to fetch some Levites from Casiphia. Thus, the word מבנים cannot be limited to designate the Levites' specific role, and at the same time, this term cannot be used as a supporting evidence for the argument that the Levites' teaching role is distinguished from the priests' one. Cf. Aelred Cody, *A History of Old Testament Priesthood* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 187-190.

absence of the Levites in the second century BCE.[779] What is worth noting is the fact that Ben Sira ignores not only the Levites, but also Moses' role as a priest (Exod 6:16-25), as well as Zadok and his descendants, and the Zadokite scribe Ezra.[780] Thus, S. M. Olyan rightly concludes that Ben Sira's silence about the Levites reflects his own tactic of attacking rival group(s) by completely ignoring them as if they did not exist.[781] In other words, the Levites could have existed as a rival group, which competed with Ben Sira's pan-Aaronide ideology.

1 and 2 Maccabees do not contain any references to the Levites though both books clearly indicate that the priests as well as the high priests had prominent roles in the second century BCE.[782] The silence about the Levites can be explained in several ways: (1) as an indication of the disappearance of the Levites; (2) as evidence that the Levites had been integrated into the priestly group, or that the author understood the category "priests" to include all temple personnel; or (3) as evidence of ignorance about the existence of the Levites. Since the two books take different perspectives on the history of the Maccabean revolt,[783] we will treat each book separately.

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[779] C. Werman argues that there were no Levites in the Second Temple period, and Ben Sira's silence about the Levites serves for her as supporting evidence (Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," 214-215).

[780] Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 275.

[781] Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 275.

[782] The book of 1 Maccabees is dated to sometime between the rule of John Hyrcanus I (134-104 BCE), who is introduced at the end of the book and Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 BCE. The book of 2 Maccabees was written in Greek sometime between 124 and 63 BCE (John R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998],33-34; Robert Doran, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees* [Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981], 1; Daniel J. Harrington, *The Maccabean Revolt: Anatomy of a Biblical Revolution* [Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988], 36-39, 57-59; and also Daniel R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees* [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008], 10-15).

[783] Concerning the differences between 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees, refer to J. R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 45-49, 66-67, 73-74. Due to these differences, J. R. Bartlett suggests reading the two books as a separate work as such: "It is unlikely that the historian of 1 Maccabees knew the work of the Epitomist (the author

In 1 Maccabees, there are several references to priests.[784] These references can be categorized into two groups. The first category includes references to priestly activities in the Temple. For instance, in the rededication of the Temple (4:36-61), Judas Maccabeus chose 'blameless priests' and made them purify the sanctuary (4:42-43). The author also mentions 'the chambers of the priests' in describing the restored places in the Temple (4:57). The activities of the Levites in the Temple are not mentioned.

The second category comprises the references that present priests as one of the representative parties of the Jews. When Nicanor, the general of Demetrius I, came to kill Judas Maccabeus, the ones who welcomed him to prevent a worse situation were 'some priests and the elders' (7:33). When Jonathan visited Demetrius II to win his favor, he chose 'some elders of Israel and some priests' to accompany him (11:23-24). The representatives of people fall into only two groups: the elders of Israel and the priests.[785] This categorization is also found in a letter of Jonathan to the Spartans (12:6) and a letter that the Spartans sent to Simon (14:20). In both letters, the elders (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι) or the senate of the nation (ἡ γερουσία τοῦ ἔθνους) and the priests appear with the high priest as a representative of the people. Moreover, the hereditary high priesthood in Simon's family was confirmed by the Jews and their priests (14:41, 44, and 47). There is one case in which the priests are not mentioned as a representative of people. In 1 Macc 13:36,

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of 2 Maccabees) or of his source, Jason of Cyrene, and it is important to try to understand the picture given by 1 Maccabees without confusion from 2 Maccabees" (Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 102).

[784] 1 Macc 4:42-43, 57; 7:33; 11:23-24; 12:6; 14:20, 41, 44, and 47.

[785] This categorization of the representatives of the people certainly contrasts with the Chronicler's categorization, such as 1 Chr 9:2 (Israelites, priests, Levites, and temple servants); 23:2 (all the officers of Israel and the priests and the Levites); 2 Chr 30:25 (All the congregation of Judah and the priests and the Levites and all the congregation that came from Israel); 35:18 (by the priests and the Levites, by all Judah and Israel). See also Ezr 3:12; 8:29 (many of the priests and Levites and heads of fathers' *households*); 6:16 (the people of Israel, the priests and the Levites, and the rest of the returned exiles); 10:5 (the leading priests, the Levites, and all Israel); and Neh 10:34 (the priests, the Levites, and the people).

Demetrius II sent a letter to the high priest (Simon) and to the elders, but the priests are not included as addressees. These observations do not enable one to construe the author's stance on the Levites. Examination of the author's treatment of the high priesthood may provide a vantage point to judge this issue. 1 Maccabees shows some peculiarities in his treatment with the high priesthood.[786]

1. The author of 1 Maccabees simply ignores Onias, Jason and Menelaus.[787] There is no reference to Onias III although the book begins with the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 BCE).[788] There is no explicit reference to Jason, but some allusions to Jason and his followers, the so-called pro-Hellenists. For instance, the term 'lawless men' (υἱοὶ παράνομοι) in 1 Macc 1:11 alludes to Jason and his followers. The term is used throughout 1 Maccabees to describe the Hellenizers.[789]

2. The high priest Alcimus was vehemently criticized. He had never been high priest before Demetrius I appointed him high priest (7:5, 9). This is contradictory to 2 Macc 14:3, where Alcimus was introduced as a former high priest. D. R. Schwartz comments on 1 Macc 7:5 as "a pro-Hasmonean author's way of undermining Alcimus'

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[786] Joan Annandale-Potgieter, "The High Priests in 1 Maccabees and in the Writings of Josephus," in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (ed. Clause E. Cox; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 393-429.

[787] Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 469.

[788] Interestingly, Onias III is praised in 2 Maccabees. Thanks to Onias' piety and his hatred of wickedness, the holy city enjoyed peace and the laws were strictly observed (3:1). Furthermore, the kings (the Ptolemies of Egypt and Antiochus III) and even Seleucus IV Philopater, son of Antiochus III (187-175) honored the Temple of Jerusalem with votive offerings and gifts (3:2-3). He was praised as 'a noble and good man, of modest bearing and gentle manner, one who spoke fittingly and had been trained from childhood in all that belongs to excellence, was praying with outstretched hands for the whole body of the Jews' in 15:12. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 188-189.

[789] John R. Bartlett, *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 22.

legitimacy."[790] Even though the author admits Alcimus' descent from the Aaronide family (7:14), he does not restrain himself from disparaging Alcimus as a leader of 'all the lawless and ungodly men of Israel' (πάντες ἄνδρες ἄνομοι καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐξ Ισραηλ) (7:5). Furthermore, Alcimus himself is designated as ungodly (ἀσεβής) (7:9). The author denounces Alcimus and his followers for damaging Israel greatly 'more than the Gentiles had done' (7:23). Alcimus' death is described as a divine punishment for his sacrilegious activity to tear down the wall of the inner court of the Temple (9:53-56).

3. The high priesthood of Jonathan is legitimized with triple confirmation by the Seleucid kings. Jonathan was appointed as high priest by Alexander Balas in 152 BCE (10:20-21), and his high priesthood was confirmed by the subsequent kings, Demetrius II (11:27) and Antiochus VI Epiphanes (145-142 BCE) (11:57). The author's intentional emphasis on the foreign kings' confirmation on the high priesthood of Jonathan does not seem to be harmonized with his anti-Hellenizing sentiment. Perhaps, it is being employed to underline the fact that Jonathan did not take the high priesthood of his own will.

4. The high priesthood of Simon is legitimized by multiple confirmations from various authorities, such as Demetrius II (13:36; 14:38-39), the Spartans (14:20), the Jews (14:35, 41-43) and Antiochus VII (138-129 BCE), who gave Simon permission to mint his own coinage (15:6). The Jews and their priests decided to make the high priesthood of Simon hereditary (14:41-43) and publicized this decision by a decree (14:44-49). In addition, Simon's membership in a priestly family is underlined with genealogical information

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[790] Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 469.

(14:29). Simon's father, Mattathias is claimed to have been a priest of the sons of Joarib (cf. 2:1, which indicates that the family moved from Jerusalem and settled in Modein.).[791]

Clearly the author of 1 Maccabees is pro-Hasmonean since his main focus is on ascertaining the legitimacy of the Hasmoneans' seizing the high priesthood.[792] The priesthood itself or temple administration is not the author's concern.[793] Thus, silence about the Levites cannot prove the absence of Levites at that time just as his silence about Onias, Jason and Menelaus does not mean their non-existence. The paucity of information about the temple administration cannot resolve the question of whether the Levites were included into the category of the priests, or were ignored intentionally. Could the Levites have been opponents of the Hasmoneans because of their unlawful possession of both the high priesthood and the secular authority, and their untraditional religious practices?[794]

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[791] If Mattathias was a priest of the sons of Joarib, the Hasmoneans belonged to the first division among 24 priestly courses as 1 Chr 24:7 shows. Thus, they were of the line of Aaron. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 280. However, the Hasmoneans' claim to have been priests of the order of Joarib is doubtful in two points as S. Scwartz argues. First, their ties to Jerusalem seem not to have been strong since they were influential mainly in Modein. The additional information about Mattathias' family's relocation from Jerusalem to Modein in 1 Macc 2:1 seems to be rather tendentious. Second, the Hasmoneans behaved in very untraditional ways to the extent that the traditionalists could not imagine. For instance, they did not bother much with the fact that their constant exposure to corpse impurity was not compatible with the purity requirement for the high priest. Moreover, their integration of the gentiles in their conquered territory into Jews by means of forcible circumcision produced a wide range of skepticism about the Hasmoneans among many Judean traditionalists (S. Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society 200 BCE to 640 CE* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001], 33-36).

[792] Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 266-267.

[793] Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 33.

[794] There is evidence for strong opposition to the Hasmoneans and their claims to the high priesthood. The Qumran Habbakkuk Commentary (1QpHab) implies that the Teacher of Righteousness was the legitimate claimant to the high priesthood after Alcimus' death and before the accession of Jonathan to that office. The Wicked Priest's illegitimate claim to the high priesthood seems to have been a deciding factor for the Teacher of Righteousness to split himself from the existing religious institutions and to find the Qumran community (Harrington, *The Maccabean Revolt*, 120-121). On the other hand, Aloson Schofield and James C. Vanderkam have recently argued that the Hasmoneans were a Zadokite family, based on the phrases 'a priest of the family of Joarib' in 1 Macc 2:1 and 'Phinehas our ancestor' in 1 Macc 2:54, which have been regarded as a pro-Hasmonean propaganda justifying their assumption of the high priesthood.

2 Maccabees is mainly a history of Jerusalem from the beginning of Hellenization under the high priest Jason around 175 BCE up to Judas Maccabeus' victory over the Seleucid general Nicanor in 161 BCE.[795] In 2 Maccabees, the priesthood itself is not of much concern.[796] For instance, according to 2 Macc 10:1-9, those who purified the Temple were not the priests, but 'Maccabeus and his followers.' The high priest Jason's adoption of Hellenistic trends affected priests to the extent that they did not want to serve at the altar any more (4:14). Moreover, the priests are not a separate category in the phrases which designate the whole nation, such as in 2 Macc 1:10 ('the people of Jerusalem and of Judea and the senate and Judas'), in 11:6 ('Maccabeus and his men and all the people'), and in 11:27 ('to the senate of the Jews and to the other Jews').

On the other hand, in 2 Macc 1:23; 3:15; 14:31, 34, those who prayed before the altar or offered sacrifices are always designated as "the priests" (οἱ ἱερεῖς); no Levites are mentioned. Even the hymn singers are the priests, not the Levites in 2 Macc 1:30, unlike Chronicles and Josephus (*Ant*. 20.216-218). Does this omission confirm the absence of the Levites at that time? D. R. Schwartz suggests another possibility to explain the absence of the Levites in 2 Maccabees. Schwartz states: "Note that it is difficult to render "Levites" in Greek; indeed, at *Antiquities* 20.216 Josephus felt the need to gloss "the Levites" and explain to his readers that they are "a tribe." Accordingly, it would be

The argument that Schofield and Vanderkam suggest does not nullify successfully this traditional view. If the Hasmoneans were Zadokites as they argue, it seems to be very strange not to have revealed their Zadokite descent explicitly since such disclosure could have eliminated all the potential oppositions to their claim to the high priesthood (Aloson Schofield and James C. VanderKam, "Were the Hasmoneans Zadokites?" *JBL* 124 [2005]: 73-87).

[795] D. R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 3.

[796] 2 Macc 1:10, 23, 30; 3:15; 4:14; 14:31 and 34.

understandable if some references to Levites were rendered by the word "priests" in Greek texts, such as 2 Maccabees.[797]

Consequently 1 and 2 Maccabees do not resolve the question of whether the silence of the authors about the Levites was deliberately intended or the category of 'the priests' was meant to be inclusive of all the temple personnel. Nevertheless, we have good reason to conclude that the lack of the references to the Levites does not prove the disappearance of the Levites at the authors' time.

Unlike 1 and 2 Maccabees and Ben Sira, Josephus refers to the Levites in *Antiquities*. The following is a brief sketch of Jesephus' treatment of the Levites especially in the post-biblical period.[798]

3.3.2.2. The Levites in *Antiquities*

Christopher T. Begg's studies of the terms "Levi," "Levite(s)," and "Levitical" in *Antiquities* provide a comprehensive view of Josephus' portrayal of the Levites.[799] According to Begg, the Levites in *Antiquities* are clearly distinguished from the priests and subordinate to them. Josephus consistently avoids the term "Levitical priests," transfers certain Levitical roles to the priests, and is silent about the Levites' prophetic role.[800]

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[797] D. R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 157.

[798] Josephus covers the post-biblical period in Antiquities 11.297-20.268 (Christopher T. Begg, "The Levites in Josephus," *HUCA* 75 [2004]: 19).

[799] Begg, "The Levites in Josephus," 1-22. According to C.T. Begg, the term s "Levi," "Levite(s)," and "Levitical" occurs some 93 times in *Antiquities* with the following distribution: Ληουίς, Λευίς (the proper name of Jacob's son Levi, 5/6 times), Ληουίτης, -αι, Λευιτῆς, -αι (the collective noun, "Levite(s)," 82/83 times); λευουτικός (the adjective "levitical," 1 time), and ληουῖτις, λευῖτις (another adjectival form, "levitical," 5/6 times).

[800] Begg, "The Levites in Josephus," 20-21.

Since our concern lies in the Levites in the post-biblical period, two pericopae from *Antiquities* which mention the Levites in that period will be treated: *Ant.* 13.62-73 and *Ant.* 20.216-218. The first text is Josephus' account of the construction of a Jewish temple at Leontopolis in Egypt sometime in the second century BCE.[801] According to *Ant.* 13.63, Onias (probably Onias IV, the son of Onias III) asked permission from King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra to build a temple in Egypt in order to "ordain Levites and priests out of their own family." Then Onias found the priests and Levites who would perform divine service at the temple (*Ant.* 13.73).[802]

Josephus comments on the Levitical singers in *Ant.* 20.216-218. The Levites are explained as a tribe in *Ant.* 20.216. In *Ant.* 20.218, this tribe is presented as 'the one who performs a religious service in the Temple.' Josephus states that many of the singers of hymns persuaded King Agrippa to get a permission for them from the Sanhedrin to wear linen robes "on equal terms with the priests" (ἐπίσης τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν) which the king granted (*Ant.* 20.217).[803] Furthermore, he also permitted some of them to learn thoroughly those hymns (*Ant.* 20.218). Thus, the references to the Levites in *Antiquities* presume the existence of the Levites as temple personnel in the First and Second Centuries BCE.

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[801] Concerning a Jewish Temple at Leontopolis, refer to M. Delcor, "Le temple d'Onias en Égypte," *RB* 75 (1968): 88-203; Robert Hayward, "The Jewish Temple at Leontopolis: A Reconsideration," *JJS* 33 (1982): 429-443; Boulos Ayad Ayad, "The Temple of the God Yahweh in Leontopolis (Tell el-Yahudiya) East of the Nile Delta," *Coptic Church Review* 14 (1993): 99-108; and David Noy, "The Jewish Communities of Leontopolis and Venosa," in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (ed. Jan Willem van Henten and Pieter Willem van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 162-182.

[802] With regard to the matter of Leontopolis, Josephus gives somewhat contradictory information about the identity of Onias who built the temple and his descriptions about the temple in *Ant.* 13.62-73 and in *War* 7.422-432. Furthermore, in *War* 7.422-432 Josephus does not mention the Levites. He only refers to the priests in *War* 7.430. Hayward, "The Jewish Temple at Leontopolis: A Reconsideration," 430 and Begg, "The Levites in Josephus," 20.

[803] Begg, "The Levites in Josephus," 1.

3.3.2.3. The Levites in Dead Sea Scroll Texts

Several Dead Sea Scrolls texts also refer to Levites.[804] The references to the Levites are found in the Damascus Document (CD),[805] the Community Rule (1QS),[806] the Rule for the Congregation (1QSa)[807] the War Scroll (1QM),[808] and the Temple Scroll (11QT).[809] These references prove that the Chronicler was not the sole promoter of the status of the Levites in the Second Temple period. Before proving this point, we need to classify the references to the Levites in these texts since some of the aforementioned texts are not meant to reflect contemporary practices. We will divide the texts into two groups and treat them separately: (1) the texts that treat actual life within the Qumran sect; and (2) the texts that portray a restored, eschatological Israel and its temple. While the Damascus Document (CD) and the Community Rule (1QS) belong to the first group, the Rule for

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[804] Several scholars have published studies about the Levites in the Qumran corpus. Among them, Robert C. Stallman's studies are most extensive. He has examined all the references to Levi and the Levites throughout the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus. The references to the Levites that we have examined in this section are mostly taken from his lists (Robert C. Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JSP* 10 [1992]: 163-189). The following works were also consulted: Jacob Milgrom, "Studies in the Temple Scroll," *JBL* 97 (1978): 501-523; ibid, "The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. George J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 165-180; C. G. Kruse, "Community Functionaries in the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document: A Test of Chronological Relationship," *RevQ* 10 (1981): 543-551; Barbara E. Thiering, "*Mebaqqer* and *Episkopos* in the Light of the Temple Scroll," *JBL* 100 (1981): 59-74; Terry L. Donaldson, "Levitical Messianology in Late Judaism: Origins, Development and Decline," *JETS* 24 (1981): 193-207; and George J. Brooke, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac Part I: General Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls Qumran and the New Testament the Present State of Qumranology* (ed. Zdzislaw J. Kapera; Krakow: The Enigma Press, 1993), 105-129.

[805] CD 3:1-4:4; 10:4-10; 12:23-13:7; 14:3-4. These and following references to the Levites are taken from Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 172-188.

[806] 1QS 1:19; 1:21-2:1; 2:5; 2:19-20.

[807] 1QSa 1:22-24.

[808] 1QM 1:3; 2:2-5; 3:13-4:17; 5:1; 7:13-14; 8:9-10; 13:1-2; 15:4; 16:3-9; 17:12-13; 18:5.

[809] 11QT 21:2-6; 44:4-45:2; 60:6-9.

the Congregation (1QSa), the War Scroll (1QM) and the Temple Scroll (11QT) belong to the second group. To investigate what role or status that the Levites took in the actual life of the sect, we will examine the first group of texts.[810]

The Damascus Document (CD) includes congregational and disciplinary rules which regulated the actual life of the sect. Scholars suggest that this document may have been produced around 100 BCE.[811] CD has four different sections in which Levites are mentioned: CD 3:21-4:4; 10:4-10; 12:23-13:7; 14:3-4.

First, the role of the Levites in the Rule for the Camps should be noticed (CD 12:22b-13:7a). In these statutes, an educated priest is required to preside over gatherings of ten or more men. If a learned priest is not available, a learned Levite can take his place. Thus, the Rule for the Camps presupposes the presence of Levites in the Camps.[812]

Second, the Rule for mustering the assembly of the Camps (CD 14) states that the Levites are enrolled after the priests and followed by the Israelites and the proselytes at

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[810] Since 4Q MMT is considered a key text about the sectarian community's history and identity, the absence of references to the Levites in 4QMMT needs to be addressed. 4QMMT presents twenty two laws regarding sacrificial law, priestly gifts, ritual purity, and other matters over which the writers disagree with the Jerusalem authorities (VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 83; Albert L. A. Hogeterp, "4QMMT and Paradigms of Second Temple Jewish Nomism," *DSD* 15 [2008]: 359–379; Azzan Yadin, "4QMMT, Rabbi Ishmael, and the Origins of Legal Midrash," *DSD* 10 [2003]: 130-149; and Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," *BA* 53 [1990]: 64). Considering the fragmentary nature of the text and the fact that the main focus of the text is not on who performs sacrifices, the lack of references to the Levites in 4QMMT does not negate our argument that the references of the Levites in the corpus of Dead Sea Scrolls indicate that the Levites were considered significant in the late Second Temple period.

[811] Joseph M. Baumgarten, Ada Yardeni and Stephen J. Pfann, eds., *Qumran Cave 4. V. XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1-2, 26-30; Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 117; and Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 21-24.

[812] Nevertheless, the issue of Levites' presence and role is not clear when the immediately following rule (CD 13:4-7) is considered. CD 13:4-7 governs a case of a skin disease: If a member of a Camp has a skin disease, a priest must come into the Camp to inspect it. If the priest does not know the law of skin disease, the Examiner, not a learned Levite, must explain the law and its application to the case. Since the Examiner's levitical lineage is never addressed throughout CD, the role of Levites in the Camp remains obscure.

the annual assembly which a priest presides over (CD 14:4-6). Such hierarchy, priests-Levites-Israelites, is also found in 1QS 2:21-22 which states rules for the idealized assemblies.[813]

Third, the Levites are presented along with the priests and the sons of Zadok as 'the converts of Israel,' and as 'the first men of holiness whom God forgave' in CD 3.21-4.4. CD 3.21-4.4 is an allegorical interpretation of Ezek 44:15 where הכהנים הלוים בני צדוק designates 'the levitical priests descended from Zadok' who maintained the service of the sanctuary even when the people of Israel went astray from God and will minister to God in the future Temple. The phrase, הכהנים הלוים בני צדוק, is interpreted as three different groups in CD 3:21-4.4: 'the priests' who founded the sect, 'the Levites' who joined them, and 'the sons of Zadok' who were the members of the sect. However, it is not clear that such interpretation is meant to reflect actual Levites in the sect.

Lastly, in CD 10:4-10, the Levites are presented as members of the judicial committee of the congregation, which consists of four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron and six from Israel. Considering the phrase 'למטה לוי ואהרן' in CD 10:5, the tribe of Levi seems undifferentiated from the sons of Aaron. Such phrase makes one speculate that Levites and priests were not always differentiated within the sect.[814]

All these references to the Levites in CD seem to indicate that the Levites hold leadership and judicial positions in the Camps and their overall status is just below the

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[813] The idealized nature of 1QS 2:21-22 will be dealt with below.

[814] In the Testimonia (4Q175) the distinction between Levites and priests is also obscured. The text states that an eschatological priests will come from Levi (4Q175 2:14-20) based on Deut 33:8-11.

priesthood.[815] Nevertheless, it still remains difficult to determine to what extent these references should be interpreted as a reflection of actual status of the Levites in the sect.

Another document which regulates the life of the sect is the Community Rule (1QS). This document contains statues concerned with initiation into the sect and with its common life, organization and discipline, and a penal code. All the five references to Levites in the Community Rule occur within the section dealing with entrance into the covenant community (1:16-3:12).[816] At this initiation ceremony, the Levites take a leading role along with the priests. They bless God along with the priests (1QS 1:19), and recount the iniquities of Israel during the reign of Belial (1QS 1:21-2:1a). Then, the priests will bless the men of the lot of God, and the Levites will curse the men of the lot of Belial (1QS 2:5) as regulated for the covenant ceremony at Mt. Gerizim in Deuteronomy 27 and 28. This annual initiation rite will be repeated until the dominion of Belial ends (1QS 2:19). In this ceremony, the priests will always be ranked first, then the Levites, and then all the people (1QS 2:19-20). Thus, the liturgical section of the

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[815] Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 180.

[816] All the references to the Levites in the Community Rule occur in its liturgical section (1QS 1:1-3:12). This causes a problem in determining the status of the Levites in the Qumran community. Twelve copies of the Rule of the Community have been found from the Qumran caves. Apart from 1QS, there are ten significant fragmentary manuscripts from Cave 4, one or possibly two from Cave 5, and one additional text combining QS and the Damascus Document (4Q265). 4QS[b] and 4QS[d] are the practically identical manuscripts and paleographically several decades later than 1QS, but 4QS[d] does not have any parallel to columns 1QS 1-4. This fact leads to the serious question of which manuscript of the Rule of the Community, among several manuscripts, would reflect the community's ideology most accurately (J. C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* [2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eedermans, 2010], 77-80; and Sarianna Metso, "The Textual Traditions of the Qumran Community Rule," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* [ed. Moshe Bernstein et al; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 147). Nevertheless, this question cannot be a big obstacle for our study of the status of the Levites in the Qumran community since the references to the Levites occur not only in 1 QS 1:1-3:12, but also in other sectarian texts, such as CD, 1QSa, 1QM, and the like. Moreover, all these references produce a relatively consistent portrayal of the Levites (Kruse, "Community Functionaries," 544-545).

Community Rule (1QS 1:1-3:12) implies the existence of the Levites as an identifiable class in the community.[817]

Nevertheless, it is important to draw attention to the fact that 1QS 2 contains clearly idealized components in anticipation of restoration of Israel at the End of Days. For instance, according to 1QS 2:21-22, the great assembly is to be organized by groups of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens at the covenant renewal rite. However, these numbers are not likely meant to be actual. For the same token, CD 12:22-13:2, which mentions rules for meeting of individual camps in a similar way, cannot be a reflection of actual realities of the community.

All in all, the first group of texts which treat actual life of the sect, both the Damascus Document (CD) and the Community Rule (1QS), present the Levites as a separate class in the community's life. However, it should be noted that the most frequent references to the Levites in CD and 1QS appear in the very sections which present rules for the idealized assemblies. Thus, we may conclude that the sect idealized a division between priets and Levites, with priests taking the superior position. While it is not possible to know exactly what role the Levites played in actual sectarian life, it is clear that the Covenanters shared the Chronicler's ideal view that Levites were distinct from and subordinated to Aaronide priests, and should play crucial roles in cultic activity.

In the second group of texts which portray a restored, eschatological Israel and its temple, the presence of Levites is assumed. We first deal with the references to the Levites in the Rule for the Congregation or the Messianic Rule (1QSa) since it was

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[817] The Levites' role in reciting blessings and curses in 1QS is also mentioned in 1QM 13:1-2, 4; 18:5. Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 182.

copied by the same scribe and sewn to the same scroll as 1QS.[818] This rule pertains to restored Israel at the End of Days (1QSa 1:1), and therefore must be read as an ideal portrait of Isrealite society, not a description of the sect's own time. In this future, eschatological Israel, the Levites shall hold office as the leaders, judges, and officers, 'under the authority of the sons of Aaron' (1QSa 1:22). Whenever the assembly of the congregation is mustered either for a legal verdict, a council of the community, or for war, the Levites will take responsibility to usher in and out all who attend certain assemblies (1QSa 1:22-23). The Levites are also included in the list of officials (1QSa 1:27-2:3) who are members of meetings that the Council of Yahad convenes. The Levites are among those who attend these meetings, but are not necessarily members of the Yahad.

Second, the War Scroll (1QM) contains the ordinances for the future final battle to be waged between the forces of light and darkness. Thus, this text reveals a more future-oriented and idealistic view of the community than its actual cultic and civic practices.[819] In the War Scroll, the Levites are elevated to the leadership in both cult and combat. The Levites, together with the sons of Judah, Benjamin and the exiles in the desert, will participate in the future battle against the sons of darkness (1QM 1:3). The name of Levi is to be inscribed on the shield of the prince of the congregation in the order of 'Israel and Levi and Aaron,' (1QM 5:1), then the names of the twelve tribes will be followed. According to 1QM 7:9-9:9, during the battle itself, the priests and Levites serve as commanders who carry no weapons. The priests' trumpets advance, and then the Levites' horns will follow (7:13-14). Here, the priests' trumpet blasts function differently from

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[818] Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Rev. ed.; London: Penguin Books, 2004), 159.

[819] Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 176.

the Levites' horns (8:9-10; 16:3-9; 17:12-13). In such way, the superiority of the priests to the Levites is emphasized. In the cultic arena, the Levites, ranked after the priests, are to officiate as the gatekeepers of the sanctuary and cultic functionaries (1QM 2:2-5), to pronounce blessings and curses (1QM 13:1-2; 18:5) and to offer prayers (1QM 15:4) together with the priests.

Lastly, the Temple Scroll (11QT), which presents a plan for an ideal sanctuary for the restored twelve tribes,[820] insists on the significance of the Levites in the temple cult.[821] The Temple Scroll describes cultic worship and the Temple, based on an effort to synthesize and reinterpret the biblical laws about sacrifices on Sabbaths and annual feasts, the temple building and furniture, purity regulations, the judicial system, specific regulations for the preparation for the sacrificial animals, regulations about vows, stipulations for the tithes and the like. In this systematization, the Levites receive attention along with the priests. In several places, the tribe of Levi is prominent. For instance, the tribe of Levi is assigned to the central gate on the eastern side in the naming of the gates of the middle and outer courts (11QT 39:12 and 40:14).[822] Furthermore, the

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[820] Johann Maier, "The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in the Light of the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. George J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 23.

[821] The Qumran sectarian origin of the Temple Scroll has been debated. Y. Yadin argues that it was composed as a 'sectarian Torah in the Qumran community,' but several scholars point out that there is no specific connection between the Qumran community and the composition of the Temple Scroll. However, the question of whether or not the Temple Scroll is a sectarian text does not affect our discussion since our concern is to examine how the Levites are portrayed in the texts from the Second Temple period. Concerning scholarly arguments for the sectarian origin of 11QM, see Y. Yadin, The Temple Scroll (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977-1983), 1:393-399; Barbara Thiering, "The Date of Composition of the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies*, 101-106. For the opposite opinions, see Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and its Status at Qumran," in *Temple Scroll Studies*, 123-148; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Enigma of the Temple Scroll," in *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 257-271; and Baruch A. Levine, "The Temple Scroll: Aspects of its Historical Provenance and Literary Character," *BASOR* 232 (1978): 12.

[822] Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 166.

sacrifices of the tribe of Levi will be offered first before any of the other tribes. According to 11QT 23:9-10, 12, when the high priest offers the sacrifices for the twelve tribes for six consecutive days, he will offer the sacrifices of Levi and Judah on the first day.[823] Nevertheless, the Levites are not superior to the priests. The shares that the Levites receive from the offerings are less than the priests' portions, but the Levites' shares are more expanded in the Temple Scrolls (11QT 21:2-6; 60:6-9) than in any other biblical sources (see above, section 3.2.2).[824] During the feast of the new wine, the Levites will drink the new wine after the priests (11QT 21:4). The function of the Levites in the Temple cult is distinguished from that of the priests. According to 11QT 22:4, the Levites perform the slaughtering (שחט) of the animal for the well-being offerings, while the priests sprinkle the blood on the altar, burn the fat, and the like.[825] In biblical texts, Levitical involvement in the slaughtering is also mentioned such as in Ezek 44:11; 2 Chr 30:17; 35, 6, 10-11.[826] The Levites are also mentioned along with the priests and judges as court members (11QT 61:8-9; see also Deut 21:5 and 2 Chr 19:8), as well as members of the royal cabinet along with twelve priests and twelve leaders

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[823] R. C. Stallman mentions 11QT 44:4-45:2 as another example for the special treatment of the Levites in the Temple Scroll. This section deals with the assignment of chambers in the Temple. Stallman interprets that the Levites were given more sections than the priests, but his interpretation is not correct. In fact, the priests, 'the sons of Aaron,' were allotted 108 chambers with their rooms in the sections to the north and south of Levi's gate (11QT 44:3-7). To the Levites, especially to the sons of Kohath, however, one section from the gate of Joseph to the gate of Benjamin is assigned (11QT 44:14) (Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 166).

[824] According to 11QT 21:2-5, the Levites will receive the shoulder from the well-being offerings. Deut 18:13 defines the shoulder of the offered animals as the priestly share. For this reason, J. Milgrom comments on 11QT 21:2-5 as 'the most radical innovation' in the Temple Scroll (Jacob Milgrom, "Studies in the Temple Scroll," *JBL* 97 [1978]:502-503). On the other hand, 11QT 58:13 deals with the allotment of booty. The Levitical portion will be a hundredth of the booty, but the priestly portion will be a thousandth of booty. This stipulation follows exactly the one of Num 31:28, 30, and 47 (Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 167).

[825] Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 170.

[826] Milgrom, "Studies in the Temple Scroll," 503.

(11QT 57:11-13). To sum up, the Levites are distinguished from the priests in the Temple Scroll.[827] Although the Levites play a significant role in the cult and court, their role is subordinate to the priests, and their cultic function is not the same.[828] R. C. Stallman views the Temple Scroll's treatment of the Levites as elevating their status above that assigned in the Pentateuchal material or in the pro-Levitic Chronicler's work.[829] However, except for the allotment of shoulder from the sacrificed animal to the Levites, the treatment of the Levites in the Temple Scroll seems not to be unusual, compared to the Chronicler's descriptions of the Levites. Rather than an intentional elevation of the Levites, 11QT may reflect the author's exegetical efforts to harmonize[830] or homogenize[831] the various biblical laws in order to present a hopeful portrait of an ideal system that will be implemented when God restores Israel.[832]

This prominent presence of the Levites in the three texts indicates that the Levites were considered significant to this community as an important part of their eschatological

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[827] Barbara E. Thiering argues that in the Temple Scroll, there are two kinds of members of the Levitical class: Levitical priests (sons of Levi, sons of the Levites) and Levites (Thiering, "*Mebaqqer* and *Episkopos* in the Light of the Temple Scroll," 61). However, Thiering's argument is not tenable. First, the priests are identified with sons of Aaron in 11QT 22:5; 34:13. Second, in the Temple Scroll, the expression, 'the priests, the sons of Levi' which is the main basis for her argument, appears only one time in 11QT 63:3. This expression is more likely influenced by its source Deut 21:5, rather than the author's intentional addition. For a critical view on Thiering's argument, refer to S. M. Oylan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 277.

[828] Oylan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 277.

[829] Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 171.

[830] Y. Yadin suggests that harmonization, that is, the fusion of the various laws on a single subject into one law, is one of the main organizing features of the Scroll (Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:74-77).

[831] According to J. Milgrom, another exegetical principle that the author of the Temple Scroll uses is the technique of homogenization, which means that a law which applies to specific objects, animals, or persons is extended to other members of the same species. It is the forerunner of rabbinic *binyan 'ab* (Milgrom, "The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles," 165-180).

[832] J. Milgrom reaches the same conclusion even though he does not deny the possible existence of tensions between priests and the Levites in the Second Temple, and R. C. Stallman also follows Milgrom's view (Milgrom, "The Qumran Cult," 177-178; and Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 172).

view although the references to the Levites in these eschatological texts cannot be taken as evidence for the actual existence of the Levites in this community. It is possible that the descriptions of the Levites presented in the three texts reflect the authors' interpretation about the biblical portrayals of the Levites. However, the references to the Levites in these eschatological texts do not prove that the Levites were absent in sectarian life or in general Judean life in the late Second Temple period. The opposite seems true especially considering the references to the Levites in the Damascus Document and the Community Rule, which regulate the actual life of the sect.

Scholarly evaluations of the references to the Levites in the Qumran sectarian texts are quite diverse as is the construction of the sect's eschatology in general. We will quote two scholars who represent divergent perspectives. First, C. Werman argues:

> The assumption that the Levites' absence was the subject of controversy can be strengthened by the observation that other documents from the Second Temple period that represent the priestly view, namely the Qumran Scrolls also struggle to explain the lack of Levites. The scrolls, however, give another solution. The writers of the Qumran literature create a fictive existence for the Levites, a literary creation designed to camouflage their scarcity. For example, in Column 2 of the Rule of the Community, the Levites appear in the ceremony of the covenant but not in the description of the ordering of the Yahad.[833]

On the contrary, R. C. Stallman reaches the opposite conclusion:

> The very fact that the Levites surface so often in the literature and that they are afforded such esteem is evidence that this tribe was both highly respected and the subject of extensive theological reflection. This observation fortifies the conclusion that such prominence in eschatological or otherwise future-oriented material paralleled the exalted stature of Levites who were involved at the center of the life of the Qumran community.[834]

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[833] Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," 212.

[834] Stallman, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 189.

In this manner, scholars' interpretations are varied, but we conclude this section that all the references to the Levites in the texts from the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls, at least, prove that the Levites were considered as a significant group, though subordinate to the priests, in the late Second Temple period.

3.3.2.4. The Levites in the Apocryphal Levi-Priestly Tradition

The status of the Levites in the late Second Temple period is also illuminated in the apocryphal Levi-Priestly Tradition, attested in *Aramaic Levi*, *Jubilees* 30:1-32:9 and *Testament of Levi*.[835] In this tradition, Levi, the third son of Jacob, is portrayed as the one who was chosen by God for the priestly office because of his zeal for Israel's purity.[836] R. Kugler traces this tradition back to a synoptic reading of four passages in the Pentateuch, Gen 34; Exod 32:25-29; Num 25:6-13; and Deut 33:8-11.[837] A comparable synoptic reading is first witnessed in Mal 2:4-7, where these passages, more noticeably Num 25:6-13 and Deut 33:8-11, were integrated into Malachi's portrait of the ideal priest.[838] Julia

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[835] Concerning the Levi-Priestly Tradition, refer to Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); James Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993): 1-64; and also C. Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," 211-225.

[836] Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 2-3.

[837] Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 9-16. Although each of the four passages cannot work alone as a cornerstone for the Levi-Priestly Tradition, later exegetes could have built such tradition based on a common denominator of these four scriptural passages: Levi's zeal revealed through his ferocious attack on Shechem in Gen 34, the Levites' involvement in punishing the participants in the act of apostasy and Moses' instruction for them to fill their hands (מלאו ידכם) in Exod 32:25-29, Phinehas' zeal for God, and God's granting him 'the covenant of peace' and 'the covenant of eternal priesthood' in Num 25:6-13 and Moses' blessing for Levi to give him the prerogatives of the priesthood (to keep Thummim and Urim, to teach the Torah, and to officiate at the altar) in Deut 33:8-11 (cf. Deut 10:8, where God chose the Levites for their future priestly role). Deut 33:8-11 is also quoted in 4QTestimonia (4Q175), which is a collection of messianic proof-texts. This quotation indicates the community's anticipation of the Priest-Messiah (G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 527-528).

[838] Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," 60; and also Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 17-18.

M. O'Brien points out that Malachi uses several terms in his description of the priesthood, such as 'the priests' (הכהנים), "the sons of Levi" (בני־לוי), and 'the covenant of Levi' (ברית הלוי), but never uses the terms: "sons of Aaron," "sons of Zadok," or "the Levitical priests."[839] In Malachi, the Levites are not treated as subordinate to the priests, because there is no distinction of functions between the priests and the Levites.[840] Malachi's reference to 'the covenant with Levi' is interpreted as an alternative to the incumbent priests, who failed to adhere to the Pentateuchal norms for sacrifice and teaching. Since the observance of the Mosaic law is considered a prerequisite for the priesthood in Malachi, a strong emphasis is given to the teaching role of the priests (Mal 2:5-7).

The author of *Aramaic Levi* furthers Malachi's covenant with Levi to the extent of promoting Levi as a proper model of the priesthood.[841] Levi's priesthood is confirmed in three ways: through his own vision; by Jacob's ordination of Levi to the priesthood with paying tithes to Levi; and with Isaac's instructions for the priesthood given to Levi. This triple confirmation affirms an ideal for the priesthood in *Aramaic Levi*, which appears to have been a polemic against another form of the priesthood. An ideal priesthood should have the following qualities: (1) Levi's passion for the purity for cult and community; (2)

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[839] Julia M. O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi* (Atlanta: Scholar Press, 1990), xiv.

[840] O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi*, 47.

[841] Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 224. The fragments of *Aramaic Levi* were discovered in the Cairo Geniza, as well as in the Qumran caves. All these fragments evidence kinship with *Testament of Levi* and with *Jubilees*. For the reconstruction of the text of *Aramaic Levi* and its date and relationship with *Jubilees* and *Testament of Levi*, we follow R. A. Kugler. Some scholars suggest different opinions about its date and its literary dependence from Kugler's, but they do not affect our discussion. For the references to the Levites in the texts of late Second Temple period, see Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 23-138; and also H.C. Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Second Century BCE): A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Vol. I: Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 776.

strict observance of priestly regulations; and (3) instructional functions (to teach the Torah) and the roles of the sage and scribe.[842]

   C. Werman argues that *Aramaic Levi* 48-49 denies the existence of the non-priestly descendants of Levi.[843] It states: "And now, my child, listen to my words and pay heed to my commandments, and let not these my words leave your heart all your days, for you are a holy priest of the Lord, and your seed will be priests."[844] However, the weight that Werman places on this verse appears to be contradicted in Levi's testament to his children:

> [And you will] be leaders, judges, and magis[trates]◦ and workers (works?) [ ] Also priests and kings you will te[ach]◦ (*Aramaic Levi* 99-100).[845]

   This reference to the Levites' instructional role does not assume that those who engage in teaching are necessarily priestly. The existence of priestly and non-priestly Levites appears also in *Jubilees* 30:1-32:9, where Levi is presented as the model priest.[846] We will quote several verses from *Jubilees* 30:1-32:9, which refer to Levi and his sons.

> And the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood and levitical (orders) to minister before the Lord always just as we [the host of angels] do. And Levi and his sons will be blessed forever because he was zealous to do righteousness and judgment and vengeance against all who rose up against Israel (*Jubilees* 30:18).[847]

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[842] Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 223 and Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," 218.

[843] Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," 211.

[844] Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 98.

[845] Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 121.

[846] Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 169; and Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood," 5-7.

[847] The quotation is taken from O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees (Second Century BCE): A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 2:113.

In this quotation, non-priestly Levites ('levitical orders' in the text) are mentioned as a separate group from those with priestly status, and Levi is the father of both Levites and priests.[848] The following quotations also reflect this tradition:

> And a spirit of prophecy came down his [Isaac's] mouth. And he took Levi in his right hand and Judah in his left hand. … "May the Lord give you and your seed very great honor. May he draw you and your seed near to him from all flesh to serve in his sanctuary as the angels of the presence and the holy ones. May your sons' seed be like them with respect to honor and greatness and sanctification. And may he make them great in every age. And they will become judges and rulers and leaders for all of the seed of the sons of Jacob (*Jubilees* 31:12, 14-15).[849]

> And he stayed that night in Bethel. And Levi dreamed that he had been appointed and ordained priest of the Most High God, he and his sons forever (*Jubilees* 32:1).[850]

The Levi-Priestly Tradition also shows up in *Testament of Levi*. R. C. Kugler argues that one concern of this text was to legitimate the joint assumption of military and sacerdotal power during the Hamsmonean period.[851] However, there is no explicit reference to any of the Maccabean priest-kings in *Testament of Levi*. *Testament of Levi* 18 is a hymn anticipating the glorious epoch of the eschatological priest. Nothing there connects "a new priest" that God will raise in the future (*Testament of Levi* 18:1) to any of the Hasmonean rulers. What is certain is that *Testament of Levi* also defends Levi's priesthood and his offspring's possession of the priestly office. The following quotation proves this point.

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[848] Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," 221-222.

[849] Wintermute, "Jubilees (Second Century BCE)," 115.

[850] Wintermute, "Jubilees (Second Century BCE)," 116-117.

[851] Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 224.

> And I saw seven men in white clothing, who were saying to me, 'Arise, put on the vestments of the priesthood, …. 'From now on be a priest, you and all your posterity.' … 'From among them will be priests, judges, and scribes, and by their word the sanctuary will be controlled' (*Testament of Levi* 8:2, 3, 17).[852]

This quotation also notes the existence of non-priestly descendants of Levi.

To sum up the Levi-Priestly Tradition in *Aramaic Levi*, *Jubilees* and *Testament of Levi*, holds that Levi himself was ordained as a priest in his life time, and his descendants were also blessed, through Levi, to serve before God as priests, judges, scribes and leaders. Thus Levi's offspring includes the priests as well as non-priestly Levites. One may ask who would have created this tradition. We will introduce four scholars who take very different positions on this question.

First, C. Werman asserts that the Levi-Priestly Tradition grew out of 'a priestly need to explain, in the course of a dispute with their opponents, the dearth of Levites.'[853] She argues that the potential opponents of the priestly trend were the sages, who could employ the dearth of Levites to their advantage. In other words, the sages could have quoted Jacob's curse of Levi in Genesis 49 to give a reason for the disappearance of the Levites and at the same time, to reject the priests' claim to power.[854] However, this reasoning is principally based on an incorrect observation that the tradition denies the existence of non-priestly descendants of Levi.

Second, R. C. Kugler states that the Levi-Priestly Tradition could have been produced by 'a wide range of opponents of the incumbent priesthood,' or by 'some of the

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[852] The quotation is taken from H.C. Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," 791.

[853] Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," 212.

[854] Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," 213.

occupants of the office.'[855] The latter case is closely related to Kugler's interpretation of *Testament of Levi* as a text designed to defend the double assumption of military and priestly roles.

Third, J. Kugel suggests two different candidates: (1) Levites in the Second Temple period who felt themselves disenfranchised by the current Aaronide priests' monopoly; or (2) A priest who wished to trace his own priesthood to his ancestor Levi. J. Kugel seems to be more inclined to the second hypothesis, but he does not clarify what would have been this priest's reason to create such tradition.[856]

Lastly, S. M. Oylan argues that the Levi-Priestly Tradition was produced by non-Aaronide Levitic circles to oppose to the Zadokite and Aaronide ideologues who sought to exclude the rest of Levi from the priesthood. His argument is based on his interpretation about the polemics against the chief priests (*Testament of Levi* 14:2) and the corrupt priesthood (*Testament of Levi* 14:4-8).[857] However, it is not obvious whether the polemics were against the Zadokite priests or the Aaronide priests. H. C. Kee suggests that *Testament Levi* 14 could reflect disillusionment with the increasingly secularized Maccabean priests.[858]

All these opinions about the producers of the Levi-Priestly Tradition, in spite of their differences, point to the fact that the conflicts over the legitimate priesthood known from the exilic and post-exilic periods continued to the late Second Temple period, and the Levites had been participants of those conflicts. This point leads us to conclude that the

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[855] Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 225.

[856] Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood," 43-44.

[857] Oylan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Preisthood," 279-280.

[858] Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," 793.

Chronicler's description about the temple staff could have been a product of the Chronicler's engagement in a dynamic conversation with the various parties which defended their own right for the service in the Temple. Certainly, the Chronicler has his supporters among those who defended the Levi-Priestly Tradition.

In the next section, we will go back to the Chronicler's unique description of the temple personnel and offer our proposal for the reason why the Chronicler took pains to describe all the non-priestly temple personnel as Levites.

3.3.3. The Chronicler's Incorporation of Cultic Personnel among the Levites

In the previous sections, we have raised questions of why the Chronicler incorporated all the non-priestly temple personnel into one category, that is, the Levites; why he singled out the Korahites to claim the continuity of the office of the gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel; and why he expanded the Levitical involvement in certain cultic duties, even though he would have known that such expansion brought out deviations from Priestly traditions which he considered authoritative. We will now propose our understanding of these three issues. We maintain, in fact, that these issues are not separable from one another; rather they are designed to support collectively the Chronicler's views on the temple administration. For this reason, our proposal concerning these issues is also designed to address them altogether.

The Chronicler's incorporation of the non-priestly temple personnel into the Levites has been a subject of scholarly speculation. For instance, scholars who devoted themselves to reconstructing the development of the cultic hierarchy between the priests

and Levites in the Jerusalem Temple, such as A. H. J. Gunneweg,[859] Risto Numela[860] and J. Schaper,[861] although proposals differ, agree that the Chronicler's assimilation of the other ranks of lower clergy into the Levites is an actual reflection of the final stage of the historical development of the cultic hierarchy. In other words, these scholars do not consider the incorporation of the entire minor clergy into the Levites as the Chronicler's formulation. Thus they do not question the Chronicler's intention behind that formulation.

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[859] A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester: Hauptlinien der Traditionsbildung und Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Kultpersonals* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965). Gunneweg concludes his study of the history of cultic personnels in Israel with this comment:

> So theoretisch diese Levitisierung ist, sie wird keine von Chr erfundene Theorie sein – dieser Prozeß fängt ja schon in vorexilischer Zeit an! -, sondern dem tatsächlichen Selbstverständnis dieser Gruppen entsprochen haben (*Leviten und Priester*, 218).

[860] R. Numela, *The Levites: Their Emergence as a Second-Class Priesthood* (Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1998). Numela identifies the Levites with 'former royal priests of the Northern Kingdom, living under impoverished circumstances in the South,' and differentiates them from the priests of the high places. According to Numela, these two groups were assimilated into one category as the Levites in Chronicles. Numela comments:

> The Chronicler reflects the latest stage of this development, as he includes them (the singers and gatekeepers who might have originated from the priests of the high places) into the Levites (*The Levites*, 175).

[861] Joachim Schaper, *Priester und Leviten im achämenidischen Juda: Studien zur Kult-und Sozialgeschichte Israels in persischer Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000). Unlike Numela, J. Schaper identifies the Levites as a small group of priests of the high places, who were enfranchised as minor clergy in the Jerusalem Temple during the reforms of Josiah. According to Schaper, Nehemiah promoted Levites in order to create a balance with the strong priestly families, and this promotion of the Levites continued to be strengthened by Ezra, who came to Jerusalem after Nehemiah. Thus, J. Schaper considers the Chronicler's assimilation of the non-priestly temple personnel to the Levites a natural result of this promotion of the Levites by Nehemiah and Ezra. He states:

> Die Vereinigung zwischen Leviten, Sängern und Torwächtern kann erst nach Esra eingetreten sein, mithin nach dem Jahre 398. Der Levitenstand war bereits durch Nehemia und Esra gestärkt und mit zusätzlichen Aufgaben versehen worden, … Die Betrauung der Leviten mit dem religiösen Lehramt durch Esra führte diese Entwicklung auf die Spitz: Der Levitenstand war nun, neben der Priesterschaft, die zweite Säule des religiösen Lebens Judas. Seine Lehrtätigkeit ist die Keimzelle, aus der später die pharisäische Bewegung wuchs; mit der Übernahme der religiösen Lehraufgaben wurde der Levitenstand zu einem immer bedeutenderen Gegengewicht zum Priesterstand. Mit den neuen Aufgaben wuchs aber auch die Arbeitslast, die auf den Schultern der Leviten ruhte. Und genau hierin dürfte der Grund für die Vereinigung mit den Sängern und Torwächtern gelegen haben: Nicht aus machtpolitischen Motiven, sondern aus praktisch-organisatorischen Erwägungen heraus schlossen sich die drei Gruppierungen zusammen" (*Priester und Leviten*, 300).

Gabriele Boccaccini, in contrast, interprets the Chronicler's assimiliation of nun-priestly cultic personnel to the Levites as the priestly aristocracy's response to the shortage of Levites in the post-exilic period. According to Boccaccini, the priests of the Jerusalem Temple during the post-exilic period introduced a series of measures to respond to the shortage of the Levites, such as lowering the age of admission to the Levitical rank, broadening the definition of the Levites to include temple personnel, and securing separate financial support for the Levites.[862]

Other scholars have interpreted the Chronicler's incorporation of the non-priestly cultic personnel into the Levites either as a legitimization of contemporary realities,[863] an *apologia pro* Levites,[864] or as a part of the Chronicler's plan to establish a more legitimate YHWH cult according to Pentateuchal traditions.[865]

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[862] G. Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 69-70.

[863] See, Timothy D. Goltz, "The Chronicler as Elite: Establishing an Atmosphere of Perpetuity in Jerusalem Yehud," in *The Function of Ancient Historiography in Biblical and Cognate Studies* (ed. Patricia G. Kirkpatrick and Timothy Goltz; LHBOTS 489; New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 97; Mark J. Boda, "Identity and Empire, Reality and Hope in the Chronicler's Perspective," in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives* (ed. G. N. Knoppers and Kenneth A. Ristau; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 251, 256; and Antti Laato, "The Levitical Genealogies in 1 Chronicles 5-6 and the Formation of Levitical Ideology in Post-exilic Judah," *JSOT* 62 (1994): 77-99.

[864] Some scholars argue that the Chronicler, as one of the Levites in the Persian period, tried to defend rights of the Levites to participate in the Temple cult through his work (Von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*, 81-119; P. R. Ackroyd, "The Theology of the Chronicler," *LTQ* 8 [1973] 111-112; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 16-17; Paul D. Hanson, "1 Chronicles 15-16 and the Chronicler's View on the Levites," in *"Sha'arei Talmon" Studies in the Bible,* 69-77; Kalimi, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context," 190; De Vries, "Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles," 636; and McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 28-29).

[865] See, among others: Kalimi, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context," 185-189; Fishbane, Biblical Interpretation, 385-387, 394, 401; Kenneth A. Ristau, "Reading and Rereading Josiah: The Chronicler's Representation of Josiah for the Postexilic Community," in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography*, 219-247; Antti Laato, "The Levitical Genealogies in 1 Chronicles 5-6," 88; and Thomas Willi, "Leviten, Priester und Kult in vorhellenistischer Zeit: Die Chronistische Optik in ihrem geschichtlichen Kontext," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel = Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (ed. Beate Ego, Armin Lange, und Peter Pilhofer; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 75-98.

Before presenting our own view about the Chronicler's descriptions of temple personnel, we will first examine the Chronicler's overall plan for his work, and try to comprehend the Chronicler's attempt to make all temple personnel Levites in the overarching plan of his work. Prevailing scholarly consensus is that the Chronicler's principal agenda is to emphasize the value of the Jerusalem Temple as the cultic center for all Israel,[866] although scholars' interpretations of his motivation are various, such as, to encourage the inhabitants of the province of Yehud as well as Jews from the Diaspora to move to Jerusalem and live in the city;[867] to highlight the holiness as well as the significance of his own contemporary small, poorly built and furnished Temple;[868] or to ensure the authoritative centrality of the Jerusalem Temple among several Jewish sanctuaries in neighboring regions in the fifth or fourth century BCE,[869] such as the Samaritan temple,[870] a Jewish sanctuary at Elephantine,[871] a Persian-period Judean sanctuary at Lachish,[872] and a sanctuary of "Yaho" in Idumea.[873]

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[866] See, Kalimi, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context," 189-191; ibid, "Jerusalem – The Divine City: The Representation of Jerusalem in Chronicles Compared with Earlier and Later Jewish Compositions," in *The Chronicler as Theologian*, 189-205; Kenneth A. Ristau, "Reading and Rereading Josiah," 241; Jonathan E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 166; Gary N. Knoppers, " 'The City Yhwh Has Chosen'," 307, 313-316.

[867] See, Kalimi, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context," 189-190; Knowles, *Centrality Practiced*, 91.

[868] Kalimi, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context," 189.

[869] Kalimi, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context," 189-191; Knoppers, " 'The City Yhwh Has Chosen'," 319-320; ibid, "Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Zion: A Study in the Early History of the Samaritans and Jews," *SR* 34/3-4 (2005): 320, 322, 325-326; ibid, "Revisiting the Samarian Question in the Persian Period," in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period*, 279; and Knowles, *Centrality Practiced*, 127; Jörg Frey, "Temple and Rival Temple – The Case of Elephantine, Mt. Gerizim, and Leontopolis," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel = Community without Temple*, 171-203.

[870] For the Samaritan Temple at Mt. Gerizim in the Persian period, refer to: Yizhak Magen, Haggai Misgav and Levana Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations* Vol. I: *The Aramaic, Hebrew and Samaritan Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2004), 1-3; Ingrid Hjelm, *Jerusalem's Rise to Sovereignty: Zion and Gerizim in Competition* (London: T& T Clark, 2004), 215; Bob Becking, "Do the Earliest Samaritan Inscriptions Already Indicate a Parting of the Ways?" in *Judah and Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*,

Undoubtedly, a variety of both internal and external challenges that the Jerusalem Temple encountered in the Chronicler's time are related to the Chronicler's emphasis on the legitimacy of the Jerusalem Temple. His descriptions of the temple administration emerge in this larger context. Then, the Chronicler's incorporation of all the minor clergy into the Levites can be seen as part of his views on the ideal temple administration. This ideal was fully supported by cultic traditions which were solidly grounded in Pentateuchal regulations of cultic practices, as John Van Seters states:

> The nature of Chronicler's historiography is revisionist, reading into the past all the necessary structures and institutions, and ideological legitimation to support the later religious community. The Priestly Code had already laid down the foundation for this religious constitution. What was lacking was the specific continuity from this Mosaic law through the political and religious authority of Jerusalem. The Samaritan community or their predecessors could and did claim that continuity through the sanctuary of Gerizim. The Chronicler's history is the Jerusalem community's attempt to establish the continuity of the Pentateuchal law in final form through Jerusalem.[874]

However, in the process of his rewriting the history of Israel in light of the Pentateuchal traditions, the Chronicler does not simply follow the traditions. He freely

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220; Knoppers, "Revisiting the Samarian Question in the Persian Period," in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period*, 265-289.

[871] Concerning the Jewish Temple at Elephantine and its religious practices, see, Stephen G. Rosenberg, "The Jewish Temple at Elephantine," *NEA* 67 (2004): 4-13; Paul-Eugène Dion, "La religion des papyrus d'Éléphantine: un reflet du Juda d'avant l'exil," in *Kein Land für sich allein* (ed. Ulrich Hübner und Ernst Axel Knauf; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 243-254; and Thomas M. Bolin, "The Temple of יהו at Elephantine and Persian Religious Policy," in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwism to Judaisms* (ed. Diana Vikander Edelman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 127-142.

[872] Ephraim Stern, "The Religious Revolution in Persian-Period Judah," in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period*, 200.

[873] A. Lemaire, "New Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea and Their Historical Interpretation," in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period*, 416-417.

[874] John Van Seters, "The Chronicler's Account of Solomon's Temple-Building: A Continuity Theme," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, 300.

harmonizes the different legal traditions about the same matter; presents a creative interpretation of certain traditions from his own perspective; and sometimes deviates from the Priestly tradition to make his own points concerning a specific matter. We see the Chronicler's presentation of the non-priestly cultic personnel as Levites as a fruit of such dialectic approaches to the traditions. For instance, according to the Priestly tradition, the Levites, except for the priests, can only approach the temple precinct to minister. Moreover, only the priests and Levites can be paid with people's donations and contributions for the Temple, which are mainly categorized into 'the priestly gifts' and 'the tithes.' Thus, in the cultic system as defined in the Priestly tradition, the cultic personnel should consist of the priests and the Levites. This is the picture that the Chronicler proposes in his description of the temple administration.[875] In Chronicles, the Levites are portrayed as well-trained cultic professionals, who are faithful to the traditions. By emphasizing the eligibility of the Levites to various cultic duties, and by providing the non-priestly cultic personnel with the Levitical lineage, the Chronicler formulates the legal ground for the payment of the cultic personnel of the Jerusalem Temple, which is, in the Persian period, left without any royal sponsorship. During the Persian period, the main source of income for the Jerusalem Temple was the people's donations and contributions including the tithes, which would cover all the expenses necessary to run the Temple. In other words, the Chronicler put the non-priestly cultic personnel on the payroll by making them Levites.

On the other hand, the Chronicler chose the Korahites to establish the continuity of the office of gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel. The Chronicler could have chosen

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[875] Antti Laato also argues that the Chronicler attempts to establish a legitimate YHWH cult according to the ancient model (Laato, "The Levitical Genealogies in 1 Chronicles 5-6," 88).

a different, and a less controversial branch of the Levites, such as the Gershonites or the Merarites. The Chronicler's special interest in the Korahites may imply a certain polemic against a priestly opponent group that used the tradition of Korah's rebellion (Numbers 16) as an argument against any attempt to recruit the Levites as cultic personnel.[876] The Chronicler's deviations from the Priestly tradition in his descriptions of specific cultic duties could be understood in the context of conflicts between the various groups that presented different interpretations of cultic practices. By projecting his own ideal for the cultic practices into David's institutions of the temple cult, the Chronicler attempts not only to justify his own perspective, but also to instruct his own generation to follow his ideal.[877]

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[876] R. Numela also interprets the story of Korah's rebellion in Numbers 16 in a similar way. He suggests:

> The story might also have been in harmony with the priestly writer's intention to portray the Levites' opposition against the Aaronites as a revolt against Moses, as Moses is the mediator in P of the divine regulations concerning the division of the priesthood into different ranks. If we so suppose an older P-story about a revolt of the people against the priests, we should also ask which historical situation such an account might reflect. This interpretation would imply that the distinction between priests and laymen as such had been challenged by some group in the post-exilic period. It is not historically feasible to assume that the prerogative of the priests concerning the cultic duties could be contested in the post-exilic period, when the division into different ranks within the priesthood was given its final legitimation, though there were conflicts as regards it (Numela, *The Levites*, 132).

On the other hand, J. Schaper suggests that the Korahites were the most important group among the class of the minor clergy of the Jerusalem Temple in the late Achaemenid era (Schaper, *Priester und Leviten*, 218).

[877] Mark J. Boda also comments that the book of Chronicles not only justifies present reality but also project future hope (Boda, "Identity and Empire, Reality and Hope in the Chronicler's Perspective," 251). However, some scholars asserts that the Chronicler's work is an attempt to justify the power of the priestly elite in Yehud. See, Timothy D. Goltz, "The Chronicler as Elite: Establishing an Atmosphere of Perpetuity in Jerusalem Yehud," 97.

Chapter Four   Conclusion

In this dissertation we have aimed to get a better understanding of the Chronicler's presentation of the administration of the Jerusalem Temple during the Achaemenid period. For this purpose, in Chapter 1, we selected the three sets of texts from Chronicles which present the Chronicler's distinctive views of the temple administration, especially about the gatekeepers (1 Chr 9:17-32; 26:1-19), treasurers (1 Chr 9:26-28; 26:20-32), and tax collectors (2 Chr 24:5-11; 34:8-13).

The first two selected texts are part of what we label "David's Installation Block," which functions as a programmatic section for the entire book of Chronicles. We have demonstrated in section 1.1 that the third set of texts, concerning tax collectors, is also the work of the Chronicler, who composed David's Installation Block. David's Installation Block underlines the literary unity of Chronicles even if some inconsistencies appear in it.[878] Thus, we read the book of Chronicles as a literary unit following its own structure without assuming different redactional layers added in different periods.

We asked in section 1.3 if the Chronicler deliberately marked his contemporary time period. By examining the evidence that scholars suggest for the hypothesis of the fourth-century BCE date for Chronicles, we came to a conclusion that that the genealogy of Jehoiachin (1 Chr 3:17-24) and the genealogical records of the restored community (1 Chronicles 9) are the chronological markers that the Chronicler deliberately put in his work. Although it cannot be proven, these markers seem to point to the fourth-century BCE. At the very least, these two chronological markers indicate that the Chronicler's temporal setting is sometime later than the sixth century BCE and earlier than the third century BCE.

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[878] See section 1.2.

In Chapter 2, we analyzed the three selected texts to identify how the Chronicler depicts the function of each group of temple personnel and how he deviates from other biblical authors. Our analyses of the texts have demonstrated how the Chronicler portrayed gatekeepers, temple treasurers and tax collectors, and uncovered the Chronicler's particular methods for retrojecting his own ideals into the pre-exilic past. To identify the Chronicler's methods is very important for understanding his descriptions of the temple administration, since his methods illuminate how the Chronicler sought to encode elements of the temple administration of his own day in his narrative of the past, whether those elements were ideal or not. While M. Fishbane[879] and I. Kalimi[880] have extensively studied the Chronicler's exegetical techniques and literary methods,[881] they have not treated the texts at the core of the present study. Thus, our study develops what they have already done. A summary of our conclusions about these methods follows.

4.1. The Chronicler's Methods

We have encountered various literary methods that the Chronicler applied to present his own views on temple personnel. These methods can be summarized according to ten different categories. What follows is a concise presentation of each method and representative examples in Chronicles.

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[879] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 380-440.

[880] Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 18-403.

[881] See, also William M. Schniedewind, "The Chronicler as an Interpreter of Scripture," in *The Chronicler as Author*, 158-180.

(1) To create or to highlight a particular genealogical connection:

Shallum is one of the gatekeepers in the Persian period (1 Chr 9:17). [882] By highlighting (inventing?) his genealogical connection to Korah (a Levite in the wilderness period: 1 Chr 9:19) and to Zechariah (a Korahite gatekeeper during the reign of David: 1 Chr 9:22-23 and 1 Chr 26:1, 14), the Chronicler establishes the continuity of the office of gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel, and also confirms that the gatekeepers are Levites. However, other biblical texts indicate that the Levitical status of gatekeepers was not confirmed until late in the exilic or the post-exilic period, as we have shown in section 2.1.1.3. Thus, Shallum's Levitical lineage reflects the Chronicler's intention to claim the Levitical status of gatekeepers in his own time.

(2) To coin a new term:

The Chronicler coins a new term by combining well-known phrases taken from earlier biblical texts to convey a specific message. For example, the Chronicler uses a new term to connect the office of gatekeepers of his own day to that of the wilderness period, and to that of the First Temple, such as, שמרי הספים לאהל (1 Chr 9:19), שמרי המבוא על־מחנה יהוה (1 Chr 9:19). These two phrases are coined by the Chronicler, as we have examined in Section 2.1.1.1. The first term is used to emphasize that the First Temple is the continuation of the Tent of Meeting, [883] and at the same time, the office of gatekeepers in

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[882] See section 2.1.1.2.

[883] The connection between the Temple and the Tent of Meeting is once again emphasized by the Chronicler's equation of 'the house of the Lord' and 'the house of the Tent' in 1 Chr 9:23 (see also 1 Chr 6:33, where the Tabernacle is combined with the Temple in a phrase משכן בית האלהים). James T. Sparks succinctly points out the Chronicler's attempt to establish continuity of the cult by creating such new phrases as follows:

> The Chronicler sought to combine all of the terminology he found in his sources into his text as synonyms for the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem. In doing so he seeks to illustrate continuity in the worship of the people from the beginning of Israel's history until his own day. The Chronicler appears to have recognized the need for all of the

the First Temple is a continuation of the one of the Tent of Meeting. The second term, שמרי המבוא על־מחנה יהוה, serves to highlight the Korahites' role as gatekeepers in the wilderness period. Since the Priestly tradition does not specify the Korahites' office of gatekeepers (it only mentions their general role of guarding the Tabernacle), the Chronicler traces the office of gatekeepers to the wilderness period by coining this new term.

(3) To highlight Levite office holders:

To highlight the Levitical status of gatekeepers, the Chronicler makes a Levite gatekeeper a frequent character in his work, such as Zechariah, a Korahite gatekeeper at the time of David (1 Chr 9:21); the Korahites gatekeepers (1 Chr 26:1-19); and Kore, a Korahite gatekeeper during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chr 31:14).

The Levitical status of the temple treasurers is also underlined by multiple attestations. According to 1 Chr 9:20-26, the four chief gatekeepers who supervised the chambers and treasuries of the Temple were Levites. This fact is once again emphasized in 1 Chr 26:20-28, where David instituted the temple treasuries and appointed those who were to be in charge of the treasuries of the Temple. They were all Levites.

(4) To insert an explicit statement of what is to be emphasized:

To confirm the gatekeepers' Levitical lineage, the Chronicler explicitly adds a statement that the gatekeepers are Levites, such as השערים למחנות בני לוי (1 Chr 9:18) and הם הלוים (1 Chr 9:26).[884]

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cultic life of the postexilic community to be in conformity with the Torah (James T. Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1-9* [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008], 166).

[884] See section 2.1.1.2.

The Chronicler also adds three references to the Levites (1 Chr 24:5, 6, 11) not found in his source (2 Kgs 12:5-11), which instead refers to כהנים, to highlight the Levitical involvement in the process of collecting funds to repair the Temple.[885]

In 2 Chr 34:8-13, the Chronicler changes his source (2 Kgs 22:3-7) to highlight the Levitical involvement in the repair work of the Temple, by specifying the guardians of the threshold as Levites and by adding the list of the Levites who participated in the repair of the Temple, either in the supervision of labor or in the administration of the process.[886]

(5) To legitimize his contemporary situation by harmonizing it with older traditions:

As we have shown in Section 2.1.2.1, the Chronicler removes a contradiction between his contemporary practice in regard to the age of the Levites at their initiation into service and the Priestly regulation for it.[887] The difference between the initiation age of the Levites of his own day (twenty) and of the Priestly tradition (thirty) is attributed to David's organization of cultic matters. According to 1 Chr 23:24, 27, it is David who changed the Levites' initiation age from thirty to twenty when he instituted new assignments for the Levites.

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[885] See section 2.3.1.

[886] See section 2.3.2.

[887] The Priestly traditions show two different regulations for the initiation age of the Levites: (1) the age of thirty: Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 39; 43, 47; (2) the age of twenty-five: Num 8:24. The Chronicler seems not to have considered the regulation of Num 8:24 as a significant divergence from the first regulation (the age of thirty), since he did not mention the regulation of Num 8:24 (the age of twenty-five) in 1 Chr 23:3. For a more detailed discussion of this topic, see section 2.1.2.1.

(6) To retroject his contemporary situation into the past:

According to 1 Chronicles 23-26, David organized the temple personnel in the pattern of twenty four divisions.[888] Since the evidence for the twenty four priestly divisions is only found in the post-exilic period and afterward, this system evidently originated in or just before the Chronicler's own time. Moreover, there is no reference to the twenty four divisions for either gatekeepers (1 Chronicles 26) or temple musicians (1 Chronicles 25) elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Even in 1 Chr 9:17-32, where the office of gatekeepers in the Persian period is briefly presented, there is no reference to the twenty four divisions among the families of gatekeepers. Rather, 1 Chr 9:17-32 presents a somewhat different organization of the gatekeepers (local gatekeepers and the chief gatekeepers).

Thus, we may conclude that the Chronicler applied the contemporary system of twenty four priestly divisions to the organization of the other cultic personnel, and retrojected his ideal for the cultic organization into the time of David. By doing so, the Chronicler seems to have intended to shape the cultic practices in his own time based on his ideal, which is laid out in 1 Chronicles 23-26.

(7) To exemplify figures for a didactic purpose[889]

In 1 Chr 26:26-28, the Chronicler highlights David's magnanimous donations to the Temple, and the generous acts of Israelite leaders who followed David's example. The Chronicler specifically states that the chiefs of the clans, the officers of thousands and hundreds, and the other army officers (1 Chr 26:26) followed David's exemplary act. Furthermore, the Chronicler adds that Samuel, Saul, Abner and Joab (1 Chr 26:28) also

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[888] See section 2.1.2.1.

[889] I. Kalimi deals with the same kind of methodology that the Chronicler applies here but he did not mention 1 Chronicles 26 (Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 166-174). See, also Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 401.

dedicated some of the booty of war as David did so to maintain the sanctuary, even though there is no explicit report about their dedication of the booty in the Hebrew Bible.[890] By adding the names of Israelite leaders to the list of dedicators, the Chronicler seems to emphasize that the maintenance of the Temple is a duty of political and military leaders, and thereby instructs the contemporary generation to follow their great ancestors' examples.

(8) To resolve a contradiction between its source and Pentateuchal Traditions:

The Chronicler changes Joash's command (2 Kgs 12:5), which contradicts the Priestly tradition, into a non-contradictory one in 2 Chr 24:5, as we have shown in Section 2.3.1. In 2 Kgs 12:5, Joash commands that a certain amount of money be set aside, which originally belonged to the temple treasuries, to secure the fund for the repairs of the Temple. But this command violates the priestly prerogative.[891] Thus the Chronicler changes the command into a neutral one: to go out and to collect money from people in the cities of Judah and Israel. Scholars have conjectured that the Chronicler, through this change, retrojected contemporary practices into the monarchic period. However, the Chronicler's change does not alter the original situation in his source where the king's first command was not carried out (2 Kgs 12:7). Likewise, the king's command, though it was changed into a neutral one, was not carried out in 2 Chr 24:5-6. It is likely that the Chronicler's alteration of the king's command was intended to correct its contradiction

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[890] Knoppers, "Treasures Won and Lost," 196.

[891] See section 2.3.1. In 2 Kgs 12:5, Joash directs the priests to separate the money for the votive offerings and the voluntary offerings to finance the restoration of the Temple. However, according to Pentateuchal tradition (Lev 22:2-16; Num 18:8-10, 19), the money of the sacred donation is to be given to the priests.

with the priestly tradition well known to the Chronicler, not to make it something relevant to his own time.[892]

   The Chronicler's emphasis on Obed-edom's family as Levitical gatekeepers in 1 Chr 26:4-8 can be considered another case of resolving a contradiction between its source and Pentateuchal traditions. In 1 Chronicles 15-16, the Chronicler tried to rationalize David's temporary transfer of the Ark to Obed-edom's house by making Obed-edom eligible to accompany the Ark either as a Levitical musician or as a Levitical gatekeeper. By endowing Obed-edom with the Levitical lineage (Obed-edom son of Jeduthun), the Chronicler intends to harmonize the earlier text (Obed-edom, a foreigner in 2 Sam 6:10-12) with the Pentateuchal legislation which states that only the Levites can carry the Ark (Num 4:15-20; 7:9; Deut 10:8).[893] Nevertheless, the Chronicler's attempt to justify David's transfer of the Ark to a foreigner's house is not entirely successful.[894]

   These two cases indicate that the Chronicler read his earlier texts in light of Pentateuchal traditions and reworked his sources to make them reflect his own beliefs and ideals based on those traditions. [895]

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[892] Thus, we have argued that 2 Chr 24:5-6 does not support the existence of the itinerant tax collectors in the Chronicler's time.

[893] Cf. Kalimi, *The Shaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 149-150, 382.

[894] See section 2.1.2.2, esp. our exegesis of 1 Chr 16:37-38.

[895] Kalimi, *The Shaping of Ancient Israelite History*, 141. Similarly, M. Fishbane comments on the Chronicler's transformation of his sources as follows:

> The Books of Chronicles provide an interesting series of parallels and variations on the foregoing aggadic transformations. Of one type are those instances where those kings who are favorably assessed in the Book of Kings are redescribed by the Chronicler in terms of having fostered or promoted Torah observance. … Such transformations serve to highlight the post-exilic ideal of Israelite piety, an ideal which repeatedly promoted that type of religious person who is ceaselessly concerned with the Torah, its study and its observance (Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 385-386).

(9) To provide a legal basis for a specific issue:

The Chronicler provides a legal basis for Joash's measure to collect the people's contribution especially for the purpose of repairing the Temple in 2 Chr 24:6, 9, by connecting it to the historical precedent of what Moses did in the wilderness period (Exod 30:12-16). At the same time, by eliminating the terms denoting the atonement (כפר נפשׁו and כסף הכפרים), the Chronicler attempted to dissociate the money collected by Joash from the atonement money which was paid out only once in one's life time at the census. Due to this dissociation, משׂאת משׁה can be collected annually without violating the Mosaic regulation of Exod 30:12-16.[896] The Chronicler's effort to justify Joash's measure to collect money to repair the Temple must be related to his contemporary problem that the Jerusalem Temple was without any royal sponsorship after the monarchic period. The upkeep of the Temple had become the people's responsibility in the Persian period.

This example shows that the Chronicler uses his sources as well as Pentateuchal traditions to make it applicable to his own time. A few more examples which indicate the Chronicler's deviation from Priestly traditions can also be seen in the following texts where the Chronicler interprets them from his own perspectives.

(10) To deviate from the Priestly traditions concerning a specific cultic practice:

In 1 Chr 9:28-32, the Chronicler describes certain duties of gatekeepers. Some of them, such as the responsibilities for the utensils of service (על־כלי העבודה) (1 Chr 9:28), the furniture (על הכלים) and all the holy utensils (על כל־כלי הקדשׁ) (1 Chr 9:29), flour,

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[896] We have challenged the traditional interpretation of 2 Chr 25:5-11 as a reflection of the actual situation in the Chronicler's own time, especially with regard to a yearly collection of tax (one-third of a shekel). We have argued that משׂאת משׁה is not a compulsory tax but people's voluntary contributions, collected especially for the repair work on the Temple.

wine, incense and spices (1 Chr 9:29), and the preparation of the flat cakes and the showbread, are assigned to the priests in Priestly traditions. However, the Chronicler describes them as part of the Levites' responsibilities (1 Chr 9:31-32; 1 Chr 23:28-32).

The Chronicler's emphasis on the Korahites' position as gatekeepers also deviates from Priestly tradition which dishonors Korah with the account of his rebellion against the Aaronide priesthood in the wilderness (Numbers 16). The Chronicler's effort to establish the continuity of the office of the Korahite gatekeepers from the wilderness period through the reign of David to his own time could have been intended to support the Korahites against the tradition depicted in Numbers 16.

These two cases show that the Chronicler's approach to Pentateuchal traditions are much more sophisticated than they may at first glance appear to be. On the one hand, the Pentateuchal traditions were considered authoritative to the Chronicler to the extent that he reinterpreted his sources by means of Pentateuchal cultic traditions. On the other hand, he did not hesitate to deviate from Priestly traditions when he needed to make his point in a certain cultic matter.[897]

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[897] Rolf Rendtorff also concludes his examination of the Chronicler's ideas about the sacrificial cult and his use of cultic language in 2 Chronicler 29-31 as such:

> The Chronicler has a good knowledge of the sacrificial service in the Temple, more or less in accordance with the Priestly texts of the Pentateuch. In at least one case, however, he mentions a detail not recorded in the Priestly texts, the receiving of the blood. On the other hand, he usually does not seem to quote directly from Pentateuchal texts or to be too eager to use exact cultic terminology. In one case he shows a totally non-Priestly use of a central Priestly word, namely *kippēr*. Thus the relations to the Priestly texts of the Pentateuch are not in terms of literary dependence but in terms of personal knowledge and experience with the cultic reality of his own time ("Chronicles and the Priestly Torah," in *Texts, Temples and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* [ed. Fox, Michael V. et al; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996], 266).

4.2. The Chronicler's Description of the Temple Administration in Relation to Economic Activities

Using the above-mentioned methods, the Chronicler made his claims about the temple administration, especially with regard to economic activities in the Temple. Here we will highlight his claims.

According to the Chronicler, the Aaronide priests are in charge of cultic matters in the temple administration. Under their supervision, the cultic personnel, involved in economic activities in the Temple, consists of gatekeepers and treasurers. First, the Chronicler's claims about the gatekeepers contrast with traditions he inherited in the following ways: The Chronicler demonstrates that the gatekeepers are Levites, and their Levitical lineage is traced back to Korah, a Levite in the wilderness period. The office of gatekeepers in the Persian period is a continuation of the one from the wilderness period and the one that David instituted. David installed the Levitical gatekeepers to guard the four sides of the Temple, and also organized the gatekeepers into the twenty-four divisions according to their families. It seems that the Chronicler creates David's installation of the twenty-four divisions in the families of gatekeepers to advocate for structuring the practice of his own day in the same manner, not simply as a reflection of the actual organization of the gatekeepers familiar to him in reality.

Second, the Chronicler made the following claims for Levitical involvement in the temple treasuries. According to the Chronicler, the four chief gatekeepers were in charge of the chambers and treasuries of the Temple during the Persian period (1 Chr 9:26). The Levitical involvement in the temple treasuries is traced back to the times of David's reign. It is David who appointed the Levites to supervise the temple treasuries that he instituted. Thus, the temple treasurers are Levites as well, according to the Chronicler.

Third, the Chronicler presents a much more expansive Levitical involvement in cultic practices than stipulated by the Priestly legislation.

Fourth, one of the Chronicler's most innovative claims in cultic matters appears in his presentation about how the cultic personnel are to be paid: The priests and Levites were to be paid with the priestly gifts and tithes that the people offered. This claim is different from the one presented in Priestly traditions.[898]

Sixth, the Chronicler proffers his view of how the upkeep of the Temple should be supported. According to the Chronicler, the upkeep of the Temple was funded by the people's donations, and the Levitical gatekeepers and treasurers were involved in retrieving and storing this money during the reigns of Joash and Josiah. These two cases were probably presented by the Chronicler either to establish a historical precedent for the contemporary practice or out of need to collect the people's donation to maintain the cultic activities in the Temple, which did not have royal sponsorship any more. For this reason, the people's generous donations for the Temple are highlighted by the Chronicler on several occasions.

Furthermore, the Chronicler presents his ideas of Levites' age of initiation for their office and of the terms of their office. According to David's Installation Block, the Levites initiate their service at the age of twenty (1 Chr 23:24; 2 Chr 31:17), and their guarding posts are hereditary in a specific gatekeeper family. Their guarding posts were decided during the reign of David by casting lots.

Based on these observations, we raised several questions about the Chronicler's descriptions of the Levitical involvement in the temple administration, such as: (1) Why did the Chronicler make such an effort to legitimize the office of gatekeepers by tracing

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[898] See section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.

their office and their Levitical lineage to the wilderness period and to the time of David? (2) Why did the Chronicler take pains to confirm the gatekeepers' Levitical lineage? (3) How can we explain the Chronicler's deviation from Priestly tradition in his descriptions of certain cultic duties that the Korahites performed? How is it related to the Chronicler's emphasis on the continuity of the office of gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel? (4) If the Chronicler's claims for the gatekeepers in 1 Chr 9:17-32 were intended to reflect realties in his own time, these claims imply that the gatekeepers were deeply engaged in the temple economy, especially by controlling access to the Temple and by supervising inventory control of the storehouses in the Temple. Did the Chronicler's effort to establish the continuity of the office of gatekeepers have any relation to his claims for the gatekeepers' involvement in economic undertakings in the Temple?

In order to answer these questions, one should know whether the Chronicler's descriptions were intended to reflect realities of his own day. If that was the Chronicler's intention, his claims about the temple administration were probably for defending practices of his own day based on his interpretation of the Pentateuchal tradition. But, if it was not so, one should ask again why the Chronicler took pains to make such claims for the Levitical involvement in the temple administration. For this purpose, in Chapter Three, we chose the following three topics from the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration to examine whether the Chronicler's presentations are harmonious with the ones that other biblical and extra-biblical texts, as well as material data that originated from the Persian period, present concerning the three topics: (1) The temple gates and treasuries as the main *loci* of economic activities in the Temple; (2) the temple

revenue; and (3) the temple staff. We compared the Chronicler's presentation about these three topics with the ones that our comparative material provides. This comparative approach enabled us to conclude that the Chronicler's descriptions deviate from the other biblical and extra-biblical data. A summary of this comparison follows.

4.3. The Chronicler's Deviation from Other Biblical and Extra-Biblical Data

In Chapter Three, we demonstrated that the Chronicler deviates from other biblical and extra-biblical sources in his descriptions of the temple gate complexes, temple revenue and temple staff.

First, in section 3.1, we concluded that the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple gates appeared to be comparable to the circumstances of the late monarchic period (the eighth or seventh century BCE).[899] However, it cannot be determined whether or not the Chronicler's gate complexes also reflect those of his own time because of the dearth of data about such complexes in the Persian period. This conclusion, therefore, makes it difficult to ascertain what the Chronicler is trying to accomplish in his work.

On the other hand, our study of gate complexes in antiquity, based on biblical and non-biblical sources,[900] has shown the importance of the temple gates in economic activities as a kind of check point where people and their offerings were screened and the income was collected before it was transferred to the store-chambers and treasuries. In other words, to have control over the temple gates implies significant control in the temple economy. In this sense, the Chronicler's special emphasis on the Levitical supervision of the temple gates draws our attention. The Chronicler's strong interest in temple treasuries and store-chambers should be understood in the same vein. The Chronicler's treatment of these two institutions is not greatly different from Ezekiel's and Nehemiah's in that all of them exhibit growing interest in those institutions. However, the Chronicler's descriptions are distinctive from Ezekiel's and Nehemiah's, since the Chronicler shows strong interest in advocating for Levitical involvement in these two

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[899] See section 3.1.2.

[900] See section 3.1.

institutions. Our examination of biblical and non-biblical sources about the temple gates, treasuries and store-chambers enabled us to conclude that there is no textual and archaeological evidence to prove that the Chronicler's descriptions of temple gates, treasuries and store-chambers reflect realities of his own time. Rather, we should approach the Chronicler's treatment of these institutions as yet another opportunity for him to promote his ideals and concerns.

Second, our studies of the temple revenue (section 3.2) have shown that the Chronicler's descriptions of it deviate from those of other biblical sources. What follows is a summary of the Chronicler's unique descriptions of the tithes, priestly gifts, temple tax and imperial taxes.

(1) The Chronicler's description of the institution of the tithe in 2 Chr 31:5-12 deviates from other biblical texts on two key points. First, the tithes are assigned to the priests and the Levites with other kinds of donations in 2 Chr 31:4-6, whereas they are assigned to the Levites in the post-exilic texts and in Numbers 18. Second, the Chronicler does not mention 'the tithe of the tithes' in 2 Chronicles 31 unlike in Numbers 18 and Neh 10:39; 12:47. Rather, by coining a new term 'the tithe of sacred things' (מעשׂר קדשׁים), the Chronicler makes everyone, including the Levites and the priests, obliged to pay the tithes.

(2) The Chronicler's descriptions about priestly gifts differ significantly from Priestly regulations in that he makes the Levites eligible for a share in the priestly gifts (2 Chr 31:12-19). For this purpose, the Chronicler abolishes the distinction of the sanctity between the two categories of the priestly gifts (Leviticus 10 and Numbers 18), and elevates the degree of sanctity of the Levites. Thus, according to the Chronicler's claims

about the tithes and priestly gifts, the priests and the Levites, both receive payment with the tithes and priestly gifts without any class distinction in their payment. This description is historically unprecedented.

(3) The annual monetary payment of the temple tax did not become an established institution in Chronicles, contrary to the claims of several scholars.[901] Our analyses of 2 Chr 24:5-11 and 2 Chr 34:8-13 have shown that these two texts do not provide explicit evidence for the temple tax or for the presence of itinerant tax collectors. Rather, the Chronicler uses these two historical cases to provide legal precedents for the collection of the people's contribution for the management of the Temple and for indicating who was eligible to handle it.

(4) Unlike the case of the temple tax, there are several archaeological indications that imperial taxes had been paid by Yehud during the Persian period. However, the Chronicler does not make any explicit comment on imperial taxes.

The comparison of the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple revenue with other biblical and non-biblical data shows that the Chronicler portrays a very independent picture of the institutions of the tithes and priestly gifts. Whereas his description of the temple tax reflects circumstances of his own time, his silence about imperial taxes does not.[902] This observation indicates that the Chronicler does not simply retroject his

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[901] See section 3.2.3.

[902] The Chronicler's treatment of treasury despoliations by Asa (2 Chr 16:2), Amaziah (2 Chr 25:24), Ahaz (2 Chr 28:21) and other Judihite monarchs implies that his silence about imperial taxes was intentional. Gary N. Knoppers proffers a valuable survey on this topic (Knoppers, "Treasures Won and Lost," 192-208). According to Knoppers, the Chronicler does not deny the history of exploitation of the temple and royal treasuries to pay tribute to foreign kings, but he reworked his sources, either by disclaiming a linkage between despoliation and the alleviation of foreign bondage (see esp. 2 Chr 28:21) or by omitting some recordes about the despoliations in the Deuteronomistic History (such as, no report of Hezekiah's looting the silver in the temple and royal treasuries [cf. 2 Kgs 18:15]). Knoppers argues that the Chronicler's treatment of the treasuries presents both an ideal of construction, devotion and endowments, which contributes to the nation's well-being, and a pattern of destruction, failure and plunder, which contributes to

contemporary situations into the pre-exilic past. Rather, he projects his ideal of how things ought to be in regards to cultic practices on the basis of his interpretations of Pentateuchal traditions. His goal was evidently to influence or persuade his own generation that his interpretations were proper.

In section 3.3, we also pointed out the Chronicler's characteristic perspective by comparing the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple staff with the ones that are portrayed in other biblical and extra-biblical sources. This comparison showed that the Chronicler's descriptions of temple staff contain his argument for an ideal constitution of temple personnel, and yet this argument reflects his contemporary circumstances in which cultic affairs were dealt with separately from civic affairs, and conflicts over the legitimate priesthood were not resolved.

Unlike the monarchic period when the king held ultimate authority over civic matters and perhaps cultic matters, it seems that the cultic sphere was differentiated from the civic sphere in Yehud during the Persian period, although there was a fluctuation of the boundary between the two spheres depending on the balance of power at any given time. In this sense, the Chronicler's distinction between cultic matters and civic matters may reflect his own time. According to the Chronicler's descriptions, the chief priest had the highest authority in cultic matters either by exercising a judicial role in cultic affairs, by defending priestly privilege, or by being accountable for the actions of all the temple personnel including the Levites. However, the Chronicler never portrays the chief priest independent from the king, or having any authority over civic affairs.

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the nation's decline (Knoppers, "Treasures Won and Lost, 205). The Chronicler's silence about imperial taxes can be understood as a reflection of the same ideal.

Nevertheless, the Chronicler's description of temple staff deviates from that of Ezra-Nehemiah. The temple staff, which ran the Temple as an administrative body under the supervision of the chief priest, consisted of four leading Levites in Chronicles, unlike in Ezra-Nehemiah. We compared this rather unusual favoritism shown to the Levites with the absence of the references to the Levites in Sirach, 1 and 2 Maccabees, with the Levitical priesthood in Malachi, and with the Levi-Priestly traditions in *Aramaic Levi*, *Jubilees* and *Testament of Levi*. This comparison enabled us to see the Chronicler within the context of ongoing conflicts over the legitimate priesthood, which continued from the exilic and post-exilic periods to the late Second Temple period.

Finally, based on the results of our literary analyses of the texts in which the Chronicler describes the temple administration and from our comparison of them with other biblical and non-biblical sources, we conclude this dissertation with a proposal for the reason why the Chronicler took pains to describe all the non-priestly temple personnel as Levites.[903]

As we have shown in section 3.4, scholars have offered various hypotheses about the Chronicler's incorporation of non-priestly temple personnel among the Levites. We pointed out the inadequacy of three dominant scholarly interpretations of such incorporation: 1) as a reflection of the final stage of the development of the cultic hierarchy;[904] 2) the priestly aristocracy's response to the shortage of Levites in the post-exilic period;[905] or 3) a legitimization of contemporary realities.[906] While we agree with

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[903] See section 3.4.

[904] The view held by Genneweg, Numela, and Schaper. For more detailed information, see section 3.4.

[905] Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism*, 69-70.

[906] E.g., Goltz, Boda, Laato and the like. For more detailed information, see section 3.4.

scholars who argue that the Chronicler's incorporation was a part of his plan to establish a legitimate YHWH cult,[907] we conclude that the Chronicler's incorporation of all the minor clergy into the Levites can be seen to cohere with his idealistic view of the temple administration, which he supported by his dialectic interpretations of Pentateuchal regulations for cultic practices.

The Chronicler formulated the legal ground for the payment of the cultic personnel of the Jerusalem Temple, which was left without any royal sponsorship during the Persian period. For this purpose, the Chronicler emphasized the eligibility of the Levites for various cultic duties, and provided the non-priestly cultic personnel with Levitical lineage. This was because, according to Priestly traditions, only the priests and Levites could be paid with the temple revenue. By doing so, the Chronicler made non-priestly cultic personnel, along with priests, payees from the temple revenue which included people's contributions as well as tithes. The Chronicler's new formulation was a product of his creative interpretation of Priestly traditions, which rested on the particular literary methods we have shown above.

Our analyses of the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration also illuminate situations of conflict among various groups that upheld different interpretations about cultic practices during the post-exilic period.[908] For this reason, we proposed that the Chronicler's distinctive views on the temple administration should be read in the context of conflicts between various interpretations about cultic practices. For example, the Chronicler's choice of the Korahites to establish the continuity of the office of gatekeepers throughout the history of Israel can be understood as an argument against

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[907] Such as, Kalimi, Fishbane, Ristau, and Willi.

[908] See section 3.3.2.

a priestly opponent group that used the tradition of Korah's rebellion (Numbers 16) as a polemic against the Levites. Likewise, the Chronicler's deviations from Priestly traditions in his descriptions of specific cultic duties could be understood in the context of conflicts between the various groups that presented different interpretations about cultic practices, which continued to appear in later works than Chronicles.

Thus, we argue that the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration are a product of his dialectic approach not only to Pentateuchal traditions but also to his contemporary circumstances in which various interpretations about cultic practices were produced. In other words, the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration were formulated in the context of the post-exilic period, but they were not intended to present "what really happened" in regards to the temple administration of his own time. Rather, the Chronicler attempts to present his views on who should run the Temple, and how the Temple is supposed to be administered. To legitimize his own views on the temple administration, the Chronicler provides the legal bases for it from Pentateuchal traditions and also gives several historical precedents for it in his own version of the historical narratives of the exemplary kings, especially David, Hezekiah and Josiah. The Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration are part of his larger project to legitimize his particular view of the Jerusalem Temple and cult. By presenting his idealistic temple administration as deeply rooted in ancient cultic traditions, the Chronicler proposes that his own generation implement his plans.[909] In this sense,

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[909] Kenneth A. Ristau's study of the Chronicler's reinterpretation of Josiah reaches a similar view on the Chronicler's intention. Ristau comments: "Historical impulses of the text constitute an ideological re-presentation of the community's historical traditions with the purpose of making them (intellectually and/or pragmatically) relevant to the community's present. A text such as this, then, aims to inscribe its ideological re-presentation on its audience in order to persuade them to a certain world view and to actions that reflect that world view." (Ristau, "Reading and Rereading Josiah: The Chronicler's Representation of Josiah for the Postexilic Community," in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and*

following I. Kalimi, we can say that the Chronicler presents his view on the temple administration "to make it applicable to his time and generation, rather than [as] an accurate representation" of the temple administration of his own day.[910]

Comparative Perspectives [ed. G. N. Knoppers and Kenneth A. Ristau; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009], 240).

[910] Kalimi, "Placing the Chronicler in his own Historical Context," 189.

4.4. Summary and Avenues of Further Research

The present study of the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration challenged several hypotheses for the redactional history of Chronicles which assume various redactional layers produced by different redactors at different times. By proposing a new way to perceive David's Installation Block as a programmatic section, we emphasized the literary unity of Chronicles, which in turn provided a vantage point to look into the Chronicler's overall plan for his work. For instance, redactional critics have argued for different redactional layers to resolve several longstanding problems: confusion between Shallum (1 Chr 9:17, 19) and Meshelemiah (1 Chr 9:21; 26:2, 14);[911] exegetical problems including redundancy and an apparent grammatical error in 1 Chr 26:21-22;[912] and the peculiarity of the section on Obed-edom (1 Chr 26:4-7), whose Levitical origin is dubious.[913] However, we demonstrated that these problematic sections could be explained in a better way when we consider the literary unity of Chronicles. As such, the recognition of the essential unity in Chronicles opens a new avenue to appraise properly the Chronicler's literary tactics and aims to build a monumental work which covers the history of ancient Israel from the creation to his own day.

We challenged commentators' customary interpretations of the Chronicler's two passages, 1 Chr 24:5-11 and 34:8-13, as evidence for the collection of a temple tax and for the existence of itinerant tax collectors during the Persian period.[914] By pointing out the apparent differences between Joash's command (2 Chr 24:6), Nehemiah's regulation

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[911] See section 2.1.1.2.

[912] See section 2.2.2.1.

[913] See section 2.1.2.2.

[914] See section 2.3.

for the temple tax (Neh 10:33), and the regulations of Exod 30:12-16, we argued against the hypothesis that the Chronicler's modifications of his source (2 Kgs 12:5-11) in 2 Chr 24:5-11 reflect the actual situation in his own time. This argument is also supported by our further studies about later texts which prove that the annual monetary payment of the temple tax did not become an established institution until the end of Hasmonean rule.[915] We also showed that several commentators' arguments that 2 Chr 31:11-13 reflect the Chronicler's contemporary practices in administration of the tithes cannot be proved. Rather, that passage should be viewed as a presentation of the Chronicler's creative view concerning the tithe. Our approach to 2 Chr 31:12-19 also opens a way to see the Chronicler's remarkable ability to deal with various traditions to justify the eligibility of the Levites to the priestly gifts which were assigned only to the priests in Priestly traditions.

Thus, our critical analysis of the Chronicler's descriptions of the temple administration opens a door to look into the Chronicler's revisionary ways of treating earlier traditions as well as his contemporary issues.

In this dissertation, we suggested a new way to interpret several difficult or unusual phrases, such as שׁער שׁלכת (1 Chr 26:16), במסלה העולה (1 Chr 26:16), שׁנים שׁנים (1 Chr 26:17), לפרבר (1 Chr 26:18),[916] מעשׂר קדשׁים (2 Chr 31:6),[917] based on our text-critical and lexical studies. The proper understanding of these terms provides a new vantage point to discern what the Chronicler attempts to argue in these passages.

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[915] See section 3.2.2.

[916] See section 2.1.2.2.

[917] See section 3.2.1.

Our study also opens for us important avenues for further research. Although we have only briefly addressed them, the following topics need to be studied further: the process of the historical development of the various cultic personnel; the conflicts between the competing priestly and non-priestly cultic groups in the exilic or the post-exilic period; different views on the Jerusalem Temple in the post-exilic period and its relationship with the other Jewish Temples in the fourth and fifth century BCE; the Pentateuchal traditions' authority in Persian-era Yehud; and the architecture and structural dimensions of the Second Temple in the post-exilic period. The present analysis of the Chronicler's distinctive methods and views concerning temple administration promises to open new possibilities in the analysis of such fundamental problems.

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