Abstract

When discussing the Old Testament concept that the Lord *chose* Zion and/or Jerusalem, there is a tendency amongst scholars to do so 1) part and parcel with a discussion of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula and 2) synonymously with other ideas of the election of Zion and/or Jerusalem. Unfortunately, this tendency neglects important considerations. This study investigates the Old Testament passages that explicitly mention the Lord's choice of Zion and/or Jerusalem. These fourteen passages, all of which employ the verbal root בחר with the Lord as the subject and either Zion or

Jerusalem as the object, constitute what has been coined the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. In Part 1, the semantics of the theme are investigated. It is determined that this theme simultaneously draws upon Jerusalem's cultic prestige and its connection with the Davidic dynasty. More specifically, with the exception of the occurrences of the theme in First Zechariah, all the occurrences display an explicit association with either the Deuteronomic ideology of centralization or particular ideological elements of the Davidic tradition. In 1 Kgs 11:29-39 many of these nuances converge. Through a redaction-critical investigation of this pericope, it is determined that this theme exhibits a history of development, wherein the earliest phase of the theme's existence is intimately associated with the נִיר ideology of the Davidic tradition. In Part 2, the socio-historical and literary-critical issues that bear upon the theme's usage and development are investigated. This study reaches two major conclusions. First, the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem is a distinct thematic thread within the more extensive theme of the election of Zion/Jerusalem. Therefore, to speak of the Lord's choice of

Zion/Jerusalem and the election of Zion/Jerusalem interchangeably, without distinction, is imprecise. Second, while this theme was utilized for approximately two hundred years, it exhibits three identifiable phases of development, wherein the theme's emphasis upon the Davidic facet in its earliest phase moves through a phase exhibiting a relative balance between facets and into a phase emphasizing the cultic facet. In phase one, the cultic facet informs the more salient issue, the privileged position of the Davidic dynasty for Ancient Israel. In phase two, the Davidic and cultic facets are brought into relative balance, and it is at this point that the ideology of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem is explicitly linked to Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula. Incidentally, to discuss the idea of the divine choice of Zion/Jerusalem part and parcel with Deuteronomy's ideology of centralization is also imprecise. In phase three, the Davidic facet informs the more salient connotation of Zion/Jerusalem's cultic prestige. There is reason to believe that the demise of the theme's usage is linked to the absence of a Davidic descendent as a viable socio-political option for the community, and First Zechariah's peculiar usage of the theme provides important evidence to support this conclusion.

DISSERTATION APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation, entitled

"For the Sake of Jerusalem, the City Which I Have Chosen":

On the Lord's Choice of Zion/Jerusalem and Its Development in the Old Testament

written by

David Benjamin Schreiner

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has been read and approved by the undersigned members of

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"For the Sake of Jerusalem, the City Which I Have Chosen":

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Acknowledgments

So much of my postgraduate research has focused upon David, his legacy, the monarchy, and other related issues. The biblical stories of David and the subsequent kings of Israel and Judah are a fascinating, provocative, and spiritually enriching body of literature. This dissertation represents the culmination and synthesis of ideas that have grown during my graduate and postgraduate coursework. I consider it a privilege to present it to Asbury Theological Seminary. Furthermore, I consider it a privilege to have been one of the first students to matriculate and graduate from Asbury Theological Seminary with a Doctorate of Philosophy in Biblical Studies. Special thanks must go to Jean and Paul Amos as well as the Daniel P. Amos Family Foundation. They have underwritten much of the Asbury's Biblical Studies program, including a scholarship fund from which I had the advantage of partaking.

A word of immense thanks goes to my professors, under whose tutelage I have learned so much. In particular, I wish to thank Dr. Bill Arnold, who supervised me throughout my course work and dissertation. He offered many words of advice and wisdom on issues relevant to ministry and the academy. To Dr. Lawson Stone. When I look upon our conversations inside and outside of the classroom, I see God's providence. Dr. Stone has taught me and encouraged me more than he will ever know. I will always be grateful to him. To Dr. Sandra Richter. She has believed in me, and her criticisms always seek to make me a better scholar and man. To Dr. John Cook. He continually expects excellence and settles for nothing less. Finally, to Dr. Michael Matlock, who

functioned as my examiner for this dissertation. His gracious criticisms and willingness to listen are always welcome.

I would be remiss to forego acknowledging the important role that my family and friends have played. I wish to thank Mr. Rob Fleenor. He is always willing to listen in times of great stress, and his advice always seems to recalibrate my life's perspective. My father Robert, my mother Debbie, and my two brothers Aaron and Michael have been some of my biggest fans. Without their advice, enthusiasm, encouragement and spiritual insight I would not be the person I am today. To my wife Ginny. Thank you. Thank you for always challenging me to be a better husband and father. To Maddox, my daughter. Thank you for bringing so much joy to Ginny and me, reminding us of things that matter most.

I present this dissertation to Asbury Theological Seminary with the hope that it is both academically and spiritually enriching. I hope that it encourages subsequent debate amongst scholars, offering insights that will mature with a better understanding of and appreciation for God's economy and interaction with his people.

Prologue

In the 2009 video *Jerusalem: Center of the World*, Ray Suarez queries, "Why have so

many loved and fought for Jerusalem? Why has this small city had such an impact on the

arc of history? Why have so many for so long called Jerusalem "The Center of the

World"?"[1] The answers to these questions are quite complicated, and a proper response

requires an examination of the history of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic ideas. This is

well beyond the scope of this study. Instead, this study offers an examination of a

particular ideological theme that testifies to Jerusalem's prestige and permeates the Old

Testament. This study will examine the belief that Jerusalem is the Lord's *chosen* city by

means of a thematic thread that I have characterized as the theme of the Lord's choice of

Zion/Jerusalem. The questions that drive this study include, "What are the semantics of

the verses that speak to the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem? Can one identify a

development within this theme? How does the choice of Zion/Jerusalem relate to other

ideas of Zion/Jerusalem's election? Are there any significant nuances that appear with the

use of this theme? What are the implications of this theme for New Testament studies and

Christian theology?"

 To answer these questions, this study exists in two distinct parts. Part 1, which

encompasses chapters 1-4, constitutes an investigation of the particular occurrences of the

theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem in order to determine its semantics and the

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[1] Ray Suarez, *Jerusalem: Center of the World* (DVD; dir. Andrew Goldberg; New York: Two Cats

Production, 2009).

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nuances surrounding its usage.[2] In chapter 1, the theme will be introduced alongside other foundational issues, including an introduction to specific components of the Davidic and Zion traditions. Chapter 2 examines the particular occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem against the larger theme of Zion/Jerusalem's election to demonstrate its distinctiveness. Chapter 3 investigates redaction-critically 1 Kgs 11:29-39, for this is the one location where many of the nuances associated with the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem converge. Chapter 4 examines comprehensively the נִיר ideology of the Davidic tradition, for the belief in the נִיר promised to David directly influences the use of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem.

Part 2 expands the purview of this study, focusing on the socio-historical and literary-critical issues that bear upon the occurrences of the theme. Admittedly, this section is more theoretical and abstract than the first. Furthermore, one could critique much of this part as detrimental to a focused study. In response however, I reiterate what was just said: the issues discussed in Part 2 bear upon one's understanding of the theme under investigation. Moreover, these issues establish the groundwork for subsequent research.

Within Part 2, certain works are foundational starting points. First, this work adopts major conclusions of S. Richter's work on "the place of the name" in Deuteronomy. Utilizing the work of B. Levinson on the relationship of the Deuteronomic

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[2] One could even describe Part 1 as an inductive investigation, insofar as it is committed to allowing the data to determine the meaning of the theme. For this definition of an inductive study, see David R. Bauer and Robert A. Traina, *Inductive Bible Study: A Comprehensive Guide to the Practice of Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 1-2.

legal code and the Covenant Code, in chapter 6 I propose a framework for the development of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula.[3] This framework will have further implications for the developments within the books of Kings, which will be discussed in chapter 7. In the process of this discussion, the deficiencies of the confines of the so-called Deuteronomistic History will become clear. Instead, K. Schmid's idea of a Moses Story will be adapted for the literary context of Kings, the corpus that constitutes or influences the context of nine of the fourteen occurrences of the theme.[4] The debate with respect to the date of composition of Pss 78 and 132 will be taken up in chapter 8, and the historical implications of Zerubbabel in chapter 5. Zerubbabel's status appears to be informative for understanding the peculiar usage of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem by the prophet Zechariah.

With any study, philosophical assumptions are fundamental. This study assumes the value of historical-critical principles,[5] including the usefulness of understanding the diachronic history of the Old Testament as best as possible. Yet, while this study considers the implications of the Bible's diachronic history for interpretation, it privileges the text as a whole. As S. Frolov has argued, only where there is sufficient warrant should

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[3] For the component parts of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula, see Norbert Lohfink, "Zur deuteronomischen Zentralisationsformel," *Bib* 65 (1984): 297-98.

[4] Six occurrences appear in the books of Kings, and 3 more in 2 Chronicles, which assumes Kings as a source.

[5] For an accessible overview of the essential features, see John Barton, "Historical-critical approaches," in *The Cambridge Companion to Biblical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1998), 9-20.

one deviate from the text's canonical form.[6] Furthermore, this study assumes that the biblical traditions that came to constitute the content of the Bible were "actualized" (*Vergegenwärtigung*) as they were transmitted, and that process underwent a shift from predominately oral mediums to predominately textual ones under the impetus of certain socio-historical developments.[7] As such, knowledge of scribes and their conventions become integral to understanding and reconstructing the transmission process. As K. van der Toorn has demonstrated, these scribes carried out this laborious and expensive process with a particular *modus operandi*, which can be fundamentally categorized as transcriptional, inventive, compilatory, expansive, adaptative, and integrative.[8]

The theoretical model that this study employs can be articulated as follows. Interpretation proceeds with the text's canonical form, considering its frame of reference. However, upon sufficient warrant, deviation from the initial frame of reference to one that more adequately explains the data occurs. In any case, it is prudent to let the

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[6] Frolov uses the term "frame of reference," which refers to the textually determined posture that the reader is to initially adopt. For example, in the case of 1 and 2 Kgs, the frame of reference the reader is to adopt initially is synchronic, for the text exists as a prose-narrative. In the case of the prophetic corpus, the frame of reference is often diachronic, for the superscriptions allude to the schematic organization of numerous oracles delivered throughout the prophet's career. According to Frolov, only when there is sufficient (qualitative or quantitative) warrant should one depart from the narrative's frame of reference. Serge Frolov, *The Turn of the Cycle: 1 Samuel 1-8 in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives* (BZAW 342; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 29-32.

[7] William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2004); Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[8] van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 109-41.

exegetical questions and their explanations arise naturally. For example, if source-critical or redaction-critical questions arise, these criticisms become applicable. In the cases where the redactional history of a text becomes important, scribal conventions must be considered in the reconstruction process. That is, any proposed reconstruction should not fundamentally contradict what is known about the scribal *modus operandi*. For instance, any phase of a text's redactional history must be associated with an identifiable occasion, motive, and warrant that arose from a particular set of circumstances, whether socio-political, historical, theological, or some combination thereof.[9] In short, redactional reconstructions of any given pericope must not be ad hoc. Even more fundamental is the determination of the semantics of the text, which involves close attention to grammar, syntax, and a text's genre. Into this semantic framework, the data of historical reconstruction and archeology are brought to bear, which further tightens the semantic possibilities in order to allow the interpreter to make more definitive claims about a text's meaning.

A few other notes regarding the assumptions of this study are warranted. First, to make this study as efficient as possible, it is admitted now that there is sufficient warrant to deviate from the synchronic frame of reference posed by the books of Kings. In fact, this study sides with those who argue for at least three editions of the books of Kings, with two pre-dating the exile and attributed to the Hezekian and Josianic milieus respectively.[10] Second, this study employs the conclusions of J. Cook with respect to the

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[9] van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 146.

[10] For a synopsis of this scheme, see Baruch Halpern and David Vanderhooft, "The Editions of Kings in the 7th-6th Centuries B.C.E.," *HUCA* 62 (1991): 179-244.

verbal syntax of Biblical Hebrew.[11] Cook employs a grammaticalization approach, which

explains the cyclical and layering effects of languages while taking into account the

synchronic and diachronic data. Of particular concern is his conclusion that the Biblical

Hebrew verbal system was aspect prominent.[12] Cook also weighs the concept of

modality, which characterizes the speaker's view of the actuality of the event. He

concludes that the *weqatal* form, traditionally called the waw-consecutive perfect, is

actually a modal-qatal. In these cases, the *weqatal* form can communicate conditional,

contingent, or deontic modality. These principles will become clear in chapter 2. Third,

as already noted, this study assumes the conclusions of Richter with respect to

Deuteronomy's Centralization and Name Formulas. While this is clarified in Part 2, let it

suffice to say that her monograph *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*

and her article "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy" will be important starting

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[11] John Cook, "The Hebrew Verb: A Grammaticalization Approach," *ZAH* 14.2 (2001): 117-43;

John Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal Stem: A Grammaticalization Approach" (PhD diss., University of

Wisconsin-Madison, 2002). Since his dissertation, Cook has written extensively on the Biblical Hebrew

Verbal System and has fueled a vigorous debate, particularly between those who are pro-aspect and pro-

tense based with respect to the fundamentals of the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System. See J. Hobbins' blog

post entitled "The Tense-Mood-Aspect System of Ancient Hebrew":

http://ancienthebrewpoetry.typepad.com/ancient_hebrew_poetry/2008/02/the-tense-mood.html. Amongst

aspectualists, Cook's work continues to be an important voice. For example, Alexander Andrason, "The

Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in light of Grammaticalization: The Second Generation," *HS* 52 (2011):

19-52; David O. Moomo, "The Meaning of the Biblical Hebrew Verbal Conjugation from a Crosslinguisitc

Perspective" (PhD. diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2004), 27-31.

[12] Also, John Cook, "The Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Do Express Aspect," *JANES* 30

(2006): 21-35.

points.[13] The vast majority of scholars understand the referent of the "place of the name" in Deuteronomy to be Jerusalem, for it is explicitly identified as such in the books of Kings. However, such logic is questioned. Stemming from her understanding of the origins and semantics of the Deuteronomic idiom "to place a name," Richter has cogently argued that the presence of this idiom bolsters the antiquity of a large portion of the Deuteronomic literary tradition. When considered alongside oft-ignored archeological data, there is a high probability that Jerusalem was not the original referent of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula. In short, her work is forcing a reevaluation of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula and the so-called Name Theology,[14] which has implications for understanding the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem.

This study proposes that the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem is a distinct thematic thread within the larger biblical idea of Zion/Jerusalem's election. The genesis of the theme of the Lord's choice appears to have occurred in a Hezekian milieu as a component of the pro-Davidic/pro-Jerusalem literary endeavors of that period, and this theme manifests symbiotic cultic and political connotations. That is, Zion and/or Jerusalem is believed to have been chosen by the Lord because of its cultic and Davidic implications. Indeed, one connotation can be emphasized over the other, but both are always present. Linked to Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula *secondarily*, this theme

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[13] Sandra Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology* (BZAW 318; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002); Sandra Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," *VT* 57 (2007): 342-66.

[14] Recently, Anne Knafl has expanded upon the work of Richter. Anne Knafl, "Deuteronomy, Name Theology, and Divine Location" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature Conference, Atlanta, GA, November, 2010).

was used for only a short period. The reason for the theme's demise appears to be linked to the demise of the Davidic line as a viable political option for the community.

Consequently, this study will challenge aspects of the scholarly consensus. In addition to adopting an alternative stance on the critical issues pertinent to Deuteronomy's Centralization and Name Formulas, this research will recalibrate and refocus discussion pertaining to the ideology of Zion/Jerusalem's election. All too often, statements regarding the "choice of Zion/Jerusalem" and its "election" are used interchangeably and without distinction. J. J. M. Roberts, who will be discussed below (§1.2), illustrates the problem. In short, there needs to be more precision. This study will demonstrate that to say that the Lord chose (בחר) Zion or Jerusalem is to make a specific statement and invoke specific connotations. Moreover, the idea of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem does not appear in the Old Testament very often, and of those occurrences, they appear in strategic contexts. Consequently, scholarship would benefit from a more refined framework in its discussions of Zion/Jerusalem's election. The Lord's choice (בחר) of Zion or Jerusalem is a particularization of the Lord's election of Zion/Jerusalem. Stated otherwise, the Lord's election is not necessarily reciprocal with the Lord's choice. There is a distinction between the idea that the Lord chose Zion/Jerusalem and other ideas of divine election.

Finally, it is worth articulating why I have undertaken this study. I have already alluded not only to my dissatisfaction regarding the imprecision that characterizes discussions on the election and choice of Zion/Jerusalem but also to the presence of new scholarship, which is pushing old paradigms. In addition to Richter's work, Schmid's work has provocative implications. Yet, there is also a personal element behind this

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study. I have always been fascinated with the historical reality that Jerusalem somehow escaped the clutches of Sennacherib. The exact reason(s) behind its salvation–whether capitulation or a miracle–is, in my opinion, not as important to the indisputable fact that Jerusalem was not razed when so many of its surrounding cities and nations were. Thus, the imprint of this event upon the Judean psyche would have been immense. Moreover, this event, perhaps more than any other, would have offered tremendous implications for the developments of the Zion tradition, which fundamentally assumes the principle of the cosmic mountain. In fact, the earliest usage of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem appears to be associated with literature that sought to discuss the implications of this event.

Part 1

A Focused Investigation of the Theme of the Lord's Choice of Zion/Jerusalem

Part 1 focuses the investigation of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem by discussing the individual occurrences of the theme in their immediate contexts so to determine its semantics, its place amongst other ideas of election, and whether any perceptual development is observable. Chapter 1 introduces the study through a selective introduction of the Davidic and Zion traditions, for the theme of the Lord's choice possesses connotations that have roots in both traditions. Chapter 2 investigates the broad theme of Zion/Jerusalem's election in order to demonstrate the error of those who interchange the ideas of the Lord's "choice" of Zion/Jerusalem with its "election." J. J. M. Roberts manifests such a tendency. First Kings 11:29-39 is discussed in chapter 3, for many of the component parts of the theme under investigation converge on this pericope. There is widespread agreement that this pericope manifests a history of development, but the nature of that development is in dispute. When this is considered along with the multiple occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice in 1 Kgs 11:29-39, as well as the nature of those occurrences, there is warrant to speak of at least two distinct layers of composition for 1 Kgs 11:29-39 that employed the theme of the Lord's choice. Through this reconstruction, the importance of the נִיר promised to David for understanding the perceptual development of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem becomes clear. The נִיר promised to David first appears in 1 Kgs 11:36, and the theme of Lord's

choice is syntactically related to it. Thus, the נִיר ideology is examined comprehensively

in chapter 4.

Chapter 1: An Introduction[*]

This chapter introduces the Davidic and Zion traditions[1] by discussing certain aspects of each tradition that bear upon observations related to the theme[2] of the Lord's choice of

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[*] All translations from Hebrew throughout this study are my own unless stated otherwise.

[1] For the purposes of this study, the term "tradition" has an inclusive denotation, referring to the totality of the tradition-complex deemed authoritative and foundational to the community's identity. Thus, I have decided not to distinguish between separate Davidic or Zion *traditions*. See Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 6-7. Therefore, a tradition can be articulated in archeological terms, as it is analogous to an assemblage. Just as archeology considers burial practices, settlement patterns, pottery assemblages and other small finds pertinent to daily life, epigraphy, and other considerations to profile an ancient culture, so too does the critic consider narratives, with their oral and written stages, genres, themes, motifs, ideologies, and other considerations while profiling a specific tradition. Thus, when profiling the Davidic tradition and the Zion tradition, the cluster of themes, motifs, ideologies, narratives, terms, and other features related to the person of David and the locale of Zion/Jerusalem are considered. Moreover, just as different cultures can influence neighboring ones, so too can different traditions affect other traditions. Credit for this analogy must go to Dr. Lawson Stone, who offered it in a personal conversation.

[2] "Theme" refers to a specific idea, or belief, that is communicated through the recurrence of imagery, terms, and other means. James L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 46-48. Thus, the theme of election is derived from the recurrences of specific lexemes and images that disclose the belief in the divine discrimination of Zion/Jerusalem for particular purposes (§1.1.2; 2.1). With respect to the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, it is derived from the recurrence of passages that display particular syntactical and lexical features in order to communicate the belief that the Lord chose Zion/Jerusalem for a particular purpose (§2.2). As will be argued, the latter is more specific than the former.

Zion/Jerusalem. Of particular interest will not only be the centrality of the Davidic

covenant and its elasticity but also the belief within the Zion tradition that Mt. Zion is the

cosmic mountain and its implications for the belief in Zion/Jerusalem's election. In

addition, the traditio-historical roots of the Zion tradition will be discussed with particular

emphasis upon its relationship to the Davidic tradition.

1.1 Introduction to the Davidic Tradition

A fundamental ideology for the Davidic tradition, is the Davidic covenant. Disclosed

most clearly in 2 Sam 7; 23:1-7; 1 Chr 17; Pss 89 and 132, scholarship however remains

divided in articulating the nature of the covenant, as well as its perceptual developments.[3]

According to Schniedewind, the Davidic covenant in its earliest stages functioned as a

unifying ideology for united Israel under the reign of David and his immediate

successors. It provided the "critical element for the emerging state…*a common ideology*

on which the legitimacy of the rulers could be based."[4] Schniedewind emphasizes that

due to the socio-political developments that began at the end of the eighth century B.C.E.

and continued into the seventh century B.C.E., the Davidic covenant began to assimilate

certain ideals associated with the temple. While Schniedewind's typological development

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[3] Some important questions that cannot be discussed in this study but deserve mentioning include
the following: Should the Davidic covenant be described as a conditional or unconditional covenant? What
is the most appropriate Ancient Near Eastern model for interpreting the meaning of this covenant? Did the
concept of the Davidic covenant develop later, perhaps in conjunction with larger issues of Israelite
religion? See J. J. M. Roberts, "Davidic Covenant," *DOTHB*, 206-11.

[4] William M. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Sam
7:1-17* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 28, emphasis his.

has not escaped critique,[5] his work correctly demonstrates that the role of the temple in the ideology of the Davidic covenant is both a distinct and variable component.[6] The implications of this particular conclusion will become especially informative later in this study (§7.1).

Another important ideological component informing the Davidic tradition, which incidentally is nurtured by the ideology of the Davidic covenant, is messianism. "Messianism" here refers to the somewhat generic expectation that a Davidic descendent

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[5] McKenzie criticizes Schniedewind's typology, maintaining that it depends too much upon his dating of specific texts. However, many of Schniedewind's proposed dates are neither idiosyncratic nor unreasonable. McKenzie also emphasizes Schniedewind's refusal to consider Deuteronomistic terminology in his dating of 2 Sam 7. Important lists can be found in Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1973), 252-54; Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 320-65. McKenzie states, "If 2 Sam 7 is thoroughly Dtr as these lists indicate, then the first recorded version of the promise is Dtr, and this completely alters Schniedewind's typology" (Steven L. McKenzie, Review of William M. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1-17*, *JBL* 120.3 (2001): 538.). However, to suggest that Schniedewind is "inattentive" to such issues is wrong. Rather, Schniedewind utilizes a model that is controlled by socio-political considerations and redaction critical criteria that can be substantiated by empirical data. See Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 29-33.

[6] Fundamental is Schniedewind's literary analysis of 2 Sam 7, which hinges upon the observed *Wiederaufnahme* in 7:12-13. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 35-36. I use the term "variable" intentionally. The implications of the temple are inextricably bound to the significance of the Davidic covenant. However, as will be discussed in chapter 7, certain socio-historical developments precipitated perceptual developments that increased the importance of the temple when pondering the implications of the Davidic covenant.

will ascend to the throne and fulfill the ideals of kingship intended by Yahweh.[7] Such ideology appears predominately in the prophetic corpus and anticipates, through a variety of terms and images, a Davidic heir who will restore the throne to its intended state. For example, Is 11:1-9 anticipates the "shoot" (חֹטֶר) of Jesse who will lead the people through an empowerment of the holy spirit. Micah proclaims to Bethlehem that a "leader" (מוֹשֵׁל) will come forth to shepherd his flock "in the strength of the Lord" (5:1-3). Jeremiah proclaims that the day will come when the Lord will bring forth "a righteous branch" (צֶמַח צַדִּיק) to rule, properly administering justice and righteousness (23:5). Haggai anticipates some type of revival for the Davidic line when he declares to Zerubbabel that the Lord has made him a "signet ring" (חוֹטָם; 2:23).

The royal psalms also inform messianic ideology, particularly as their preservation in contexts absent a king encouraged interpretation that anticipated a future Davidic ruler.[8] Thus, the Psalter is another important corpus that informs the Davidic tradition, namely as certain psalms recount Davidic ambitions, actions, and ideology. For example, Pss 89 and 132 testify to aspects of the Davidic covenant, and Ps 132 also recounts David's desire to transport the Ark into Jerusalem. Ps 78 climaxes with a

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[7] For a synopsis surrounding "messiah" terminology, Marinus de Jonge, "Messiah," *ABD*, 4:777-78.

[8] T. Longman states about Ps 2, "But for those who were convinced that God would not lie or deceive, they would come to believe that the psalm did more than describe present realities. They would look to the future for a king who would fit the picture of the anointed in Psalm 2." Tremper Longman III, "Messiah," *DOTWPW*, 469. Also see Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 515-17.

confession that emphasizes Zion and David's election while juxtaposing it with Ephraim's rejection. Also, the royal psalms, while not explicitly referencing David or his line, inform the tradition by alluding to royal rituals and generic royal ideology that would have provided the perceptual foundation for specific ideology within the Davidic tradition.[9] For the purposes of this study, particular focus will fall upon Pss 78 and 132, for they are two contexts in which the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem appears.

The historiographic texts of the Old Testament arguably offer the most comprehensive information pertinent to profiling the Davidic tradition: namely, David's appointment to the throne, his ascension, and the exploits of his administration. Found tending his father's flock, David is anointed by the prophet Samuel as he was "chosen" (בחר) in light of Saul's "rejection" (מאס; 1 Sam 16:1). Being exiled to avoid Saul's attempts on his life that stemmed from his jealousy of David's military prowess and prestige (1 Sam 17-19), on two occasions David graciously spares Saul's life so not to kill "the Lord's anointed" (מְשִׁיחַ יהוה; 1 Sam 26:9). After Saul's death, David consolidated the tribes of Israel, conquered Jerusalem to be his new capital (2 Sam 5:6-10), and subdued the Philistine threat (2 Sam 5:17-25). Ultimately, David solidified the national cult in Jerusalem by means of the Ark's transportation into Jerusalem (2 Sam 6). However, these narratives also declare that David's reign was not utopian. Not only was

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[9] Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period* (trans. John Bowden; 2 vols.; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994), 1:116-22; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (trans. Keith Crim; CC; Minneapolis: 1992), 107-23.

there skepticism surrounding the institution of the monarchy (2 Sam 5:3;[10] 19:8b-10), but

David also had to deal with the occasional rebellion (2 Sam 15-20). However, regardless

of the opposition he faced, the tradition states unequivocally that David was the divinely

chosen king (בחר), who would succeed where Saul failed (1 Sam 13:14; 15:22-23, 26;

16:1; 2 Sam 6:21).

In sum, several features of the Davidic tradition are particularly relevant to this

study, and so deserve reiteration. First, the ideology of the Davidic covenant was

fundamental to the Davidic tradition and an elastic component, as demonstrated by its

ability to absorb the rising implications of the temple and function as an intellectual

foundation for messianism in light of the socio-historical developments of ancient Israel.

As this study will suggest, this elasticity bears upon the perceptual developments within

the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. For example, the theme of the Lord's

choice of Jerusalem in 1 Kgs 11 is linked to the נִיר passages, Deuteronomy's

Centralization Formula, and other reasons for articulating why Judah remained under

Davidic control. Also, the expectations of the Davidic covenant for the Second Temple

community expressed in Hag 2:20-23 appear to have implications for the utilization of

the theme in Zechariah. Second, the Psalter is a crucial, informative component to the

Davidic tradition, providing both specific and general information that complements

information disclosed by the historiographic texts. In fact, Pss 78 and 132 are important

witnesses for understanding the usage and development of the theme of the Lord's choice

of Zion/Jerusalem. Third, the Davidic tradition testifies to the close association between

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[10] Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion*, 1:122-24; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 230.
Cross goes so far as to say that Israel was associated with David by means of a conditional covenant.

David and Zion/Jerusalem. In fact, this association appears so close that some scholars have theorized the Zion tradition to be the product of the Davidic royal court (§1.3). However, before this issue is discussed, the Zion tradition must be sketched.

1.2 Introduction to the Zion Tradition

According to Levenson, "Zion" has at least four meanings in the Old Testament: 1) the name for the fortress captured by David and his men (2 Sam 5:6-10), 2) the temple mount, 3) a metonym for the entire city of Jerusalem, and 4) a metonym for the city, its immediate environs, and its inhabitants.[11] Thus, the terms Zion and Jerusalem commonly are often used synonymously. Within the occurrences of the theme under investigation, both Zion and Jerusalem are used. However, it should be noted that the historiographic texts and Zechariah use "Jerusalem" exclusively when addressing the idea of the Lord's choice, but Pss 78 and 132 employ "Zion."[12] This study strives to respect this phenomenon by using the terms Zion and Jerusalem simultaneously only when the entire theme is in view.

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[11] Jon D. Levenson, "Zion Traditions," *ABD*, 6:1098.

[12] Such a phenomenon comes as no surprise, for צִיּוֹן is only used, with a few exceptions (2 Sam 5:7; 1 Kgs 8:1; 2 Kgs 9:21, 31; 1 Chr 11:5; 2 Chr 5:2), outside of the Primary History and Chronicles. On the idea of a Primary History, see Richard Elliott Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Pretince Hall, 1987), 232. Consequently, some scholars have suggested that it is more prudent to speak of a "Jerusalem tradition" within the Primary History and Chronicles than a "Zion tradition." For example, J. A. Groves, "Zion Traditions," *DOTHB*, 1020.

Definitive is the fundamental perception of Zion/Jerusalem as the "cosmic mountain" within the Zion tradition.[13] According to the Canaanite and Israelite worldview, the cosmic mountain was believed to be the holy, center of the cosmos. As such, basic descriptions of Zion/Jerusalem throughout the Old Testament can be aligned with those of the cosmic mountain.[14] For example, Isaiah's call narrative testifies that the temple in Jerusalem was believed to be the place where the divine assembly convened, where heaven and earth met, and where effective decrees are issued. Also, the prophet Ezekiel testifies that Jerusalem was thought to be the center of all the nations of the world (5:5), and in Ps 46 the nations who move against the divine city and the forces of war that plague the earth will ultimately meet failure there (vv. 6 and 9). Moreover, the Gihon is

[13] The cosmic mountain is the mountain that "is given characteristics and potencies of cosmic, that is, of an infinite and universal scope." Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai & Zion: An Entry Into the Jewish Bible* (San Francisco: HaperCollins, 1985), 111. More specifically, the cosmic mountain is understood as: 1) the meeting place of the gods, 2) the source of water and fertility, 3) the battleground of conflicting natural forces, 4) the locale where heaven and earth meet, and 5) the locale where effective decrees are issued. Clifford sums it up nicely.

> In the Hebrew Bible, the cosmic mountain presents itself most dramatically in the beliefs
> surrounding Mount Zion. A hill between the Tyropoen and Kidron valleys in Jerusalem, it is
> overshadowed in the east by the Mount of Olives and in the west by another mountain . . . This
> low and undistinguished mound is nonetheless called in the Bible the tallest mountain in the
> world, the place which God has chosen for his dwelling place, the place protected in a special way
> from enemies who can only stand at its base and rage, the place of battle where God's enemies
> will be defeated, the place where God dwells, where fertilizing streams come forth.

Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (HSM 4; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 3.

[14] For a discussion that is only summarized here, see Levenson, *Sinai & Zion*, 111-45.

mentioned as a boundary for the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:13), which may allude to Jerusalem's Gihon Spring and thus its cosmic status.

One consequence of this worldview is the belief that the Lord consciously determined Zion/Jerusalem to be that cosmic center. Roberts' schematization of this belief, which he lays out in his article "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire,"[15] is particularly informative for this investigation.

I.   Yahweh is the great king.

II.   He chose Jerusalem for his dwelling place.

    a. Yahweh's choice has implications for Zion's topography.

        i. It is on a high mountain.

        ii. It is watered by the river of paradise.

    b. Yahweh's choice has implications for Zion's security.

        i. Yahweh protects it from his enemies:

            1. The unruly powers of chaos, and

            2. The enemy kings.

        ii. At Yahweh's rebuke:

            1. The enemy is undone.

            2. War is brought to an end.

            3. And plunder is taken.

        iii. The nations acknowledge Yahweh's suzerainty.

    c. Yahweh's choice has implications for Zion's inhabitants.

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[15] J. J. M. Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 94.

> i. They share in the blessings of God's presence.
>
> ii. They must be fit to live in his presence.

Roberts emphasizes that the Zion tradition centers on the belief that the Lord chose Zion/Jerusalem as his dwelling place. In the same article, Roberts reiterates this principle but through alternative terms. The cosmic prestige of Zion/Jerusalem largely results from the fact that the Lord has "elected" Zion/Jerusalem,[16] which according to Roberts logically finds its most potent support in Old Testament passages explicitly mentioning that the Lord "chose" (בחר) Zion or Jerusalem. Thus, according to Roberts, the "choice" of Zion/Jerusalem and the "election" of Zion/Jerusalem are interchangeable.[17] According to Roberts, this is a distinction without a difference.

Initially, this tendency to use "choice" and "election" interchangeably appears innocuous. However, this impression is misguided. Consider that H. D. Preuss and

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[16] Roberts demonstrates this when he emphasizes the witnesses of Pss 78:68 and 132:13, both of which employ בחר, during his discussion of this "fundamental conception." Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," 99.

[17] While Roberts' articles "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire" and "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition" are the intellectual basis to which he repeatedly returns, Roberts also interchanges the idea of divine "choice" with others, such as divine "founding" and "dwelling." See J. J. M. Roberts, "A Note on Isaiah 28:12," *HTR* (1981): 51; J. J. M. Roberts, "Isaiah in Old Testament Theology," *Int* 36 (1982): 136; J. J. M. Roberts, "Yahweh's Foundation in Zion (Isa 28:16)," *JBL* 106.1 (1987): 39; J. J. M. Roberts, "Solomon's Jerusalem and the Zion Tradition," in *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 168.

others[18] emphasize that the ideology of the Lord's election cannot be reduced merely to the passages that employ the verb בחר. Numerous verbs, given the proper contexts, can communicate the sense of election. According to Preuss, worthy examples include קרא, שׂים, מצא, לקח, קנה, פדה, גאל, ידע, אוה, בדל, and others.[19] Assuming this, it is therefore reasonable to ask whether each individual verb contributes nuances to the larger theme of election, establishing its uniqueness within the larger theme of election. In the case of בחר, does it contribute a particular nuance?

Election is a theological concept characterized by a divine action for a particular purpose.[20] Election characterizes "the actions of Jahweh in history"… "brought about by Jahweh for Israel's benefit."[21] "Election in the Old Testament refers not to some kind of supratemporal or primeval divine decree, but rather to a historical action of YHWH," through which God's relationship with his people is nourished.[22] Therefore, applied to this study, the election of Zion/Jerusalem assumes divine action(s) and articulates the

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[18] See the *Forschungsgeschichte* by J. Lohr, which repeatedly emphasizes this methodological principle. Joel N. Lohr, *Chosen and Unchosen: Conceptions of Election in the Pentateuch and Jewish-Christian Interpretation* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 1-31.

[19] Horst Dietrich Preuss, *Old Testament Theology* (trans. Leo G. Perdue; 2 vols.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 1:31-32.

[20] For a "theological" understanding that is distinguished from a "secular" understanding, see Emile Nicole, "בחר," *NIDOTTE*, 1:638-39; Seebass, "בָּחַר," *TDOT*, 2:75.

[21] Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (trans. D. M. G. Stalker; 2 vols.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2005), 1:69.

[22] Preuss, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:37.

belief that God distinguished that locale, within the confines of history, to nourish his

relationship with his people and, by extension, the world.[23]

This historically grounded understanding of election is appropriate for at least

three reasons. First, much of the Old Testament's revelation comes through real space

and time, suggesting that the principle of election should have a historical emphasis.

Preuss emphasizes this.[24] By implication, Preuss is also correct to suggest that the

election of Zion/Jerusalem was progressively communicated most clearly through a series

of events in the life of Israel, namely the transportation of the Ark, the building of the

temple, the defeat of Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E., the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, and

others.[25] Second, a historically grounded understanding aides in explaining the theme's

elasticity.[26] For example, deuteronomistic texts link the theme of election to the presence

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[23] In a recent study, J. Lohr has argued that "election" inevitably involves "non-election."

According the Lohr, the relationship between the elect and non-elect constitutes a dialectic, whereby both

groups function within the divine economy and possess mutual responsibilities and implications for each

other. While Lohr examines "test-cases" within the Pentateuch and evaluates them from a canonical

perspective, the implications for this study remain, particularly for ascertaining the full implications of the

election of Zion/Jerusalem. As will be discussed in chapter two, Zion/Jerusalem is the divinely elected

locus where both Israel and the nations partake in God's global plan, which includes the judgment of

Israel's enemies.

[24] He states, "The Old Testament witnesses *primarily*, not to the nature of Yahweh, but to his

divine activity." Preuss, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:23, emphasis mine. While Preuss creates a dichotomy

that is debatable, his emphasis upon the historical aspect of divine revelation is correct.

[25] For a similar view, Sara Japhet, "From King's Sanctuary to the Chosen City," *Jud* 46 (1997):

132-39.

[26] Preuss, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:33-38.

of the temple, whereas later Isaianic texts associate its election with its eschatological

glory (eg. 60:14). Third, the definition offered here is broad enough to encompass the

wide range of images, motifs, and other realities that communicate the principle. In other

words, it is broad enough to accommodate numerous thematic threads that collaborate to

inform the totality of the concept of election.[27]

As already mentioned, the thematic thread on which this study will focus is what I

have characterized as the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem–*those passages*

that employ the verb בחר *with the Lord as the subject and the explicit reference of either*

Zion or Jerusalem as the object. There are only fourteen occurrences of this theme within

the Old Testament: 1 Kgs 11:13, 32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:27; 2 Chr 6:6; 12:13;

33:7; Ps 78:68; 132:13; Zech 1:17; 2:16; 3:2. In all but one case the Lord is the subject,

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[27] For example, the Lord elected Zion because he "desired" (אוה) it as his dwelling place (Ps

132:13). Because its foundations were laid by the Lord (יסד; Is 14:32), the Lord seeks to return to Zion (Is

52:8) and to restore it so that people will once again join themselves to the covenant (Jer 50:5). The Lord

"redeemed" (גאל) Jerusalem in order to be an object that testifies to the Lord's salvation (Is 52:9). Zion is

the location to which the "ransomed of the Lord" (פְּדוּיֵי יהוה) will return to rejoice (Is 51:11).

Zion/Jerusalem will be the place to which the world will go to be instructed in the ways of the Lord,

כִּי מִצִּיּוֹן תֵּצֵא תוֹרָה וּדְבַר־יהוה מִירוּשָׁלָיִם (Is 2:3). Thus, the theme of the election of Zion/Jerusalem is broad, it

permeates the Old Testament, and the implications of Zion/Jerusalem's election touche all points of the

timeline. Quite simply, it was established in the past and will continue to bear upon the future.

בחר is the verb, and Zion or Jerusalem is the object.[28] Kings and Chronicles link the choice of Jerusalem with the piety of David and/or the temple. Ps 78 links the same theme with the explicit choice of David and the construction of the temple while juxtaposing it to the rejection of Ephraim and Shiloh. Similarly, Ps 132 explicitly mentions the choice of Zion as the Lord's dwelling place in the context of discussing the implications of the Davidic covenant. The passages in Zechariah are peculiar, but given the historical context linked to the temple's reconstruction and the presence of Zerubbabel, a Davidic descendent, there is continuity with the previous passages.

From these initial observations, the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem manifests a pronounced connection with ideology of the temple as it appears to inform Davidic ideology. That is, at first glance the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem testifies to the cultic prestige of Zion/Jerusalem in contexts that are distinctly pro-Davidic in their aims. More to the point, this thematic thread appears to contribute particular nuances within the larger theme of election, namely that Zion/Jerusalem was chosen to bolster the prestige of the Davidic line. Thus, given these nuances, its small number of occurrences, and the broad nature of the election of Zion/Jerusalem, there are grounds to question the legitimacy of Roberts' tendency mentioned above–to use the idea of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem interchangeably and without distinction with the election of Zion/Jerusalem. While this will occur in

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[28] The only exception occurs in Zech 3:2, where the text reads הַבֹּחֵר בִּירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם. Here, יְהוָה is the separated antecedent of the relative participle, and "Jerusalem" is the object of the choosing. Thus, while the syntax is different, the semantics are similar.

earnest in chapter 2, one may formulate a tentative hypothesis that the tendency of Roberts is imprecise.

In sum, the Zion tradition fundamentally assumes the concept of the cosmic mountain. Zion or Jerusalem is the cosmic center of the world because the Lord determined it as such, and the election theme of Zion or Jerusalem is integral to the tradition. Yet, the election theme is also expansive, able to accommodate a broad range of specific nuances and connotations. Of particular interest is what this study refers to as the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, which initially appears to be quite specific in its message and method of communication (i.e. syntax, lexemes, etc.). Moreover, its association with the Davidic tradition is undeniable, and there appears to be an association with the temple insofar as it bears upon the ideology of the Davidic tradition.

It is because of these observations with respect to the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem that some scholars believe there to be an unavoidable connection between the belief in the election of Zion/Jerusalem and certain aspects of the Davidic tradition, namely the belief in the election of David. Thus, the election of Zion/Jerusalem and the election of David are considered by some to be essentially two sides of the same coin. For example, "Yahweh's election of Zion is inextricably bound up with his election of David."[29] Alternatively, "It is probable that the idea in the royal ideology that the house of David was chosen for kingship is the mother of the idea of Zion's election."[30] However, this study questions some assumptions of this position. First, as has just been discussed, the assumption that all passages that discuss the ideological theme of election

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[29] Groves, "Zion Traditions," 1021.

[30] Levenson, "Zion Traditions," 6:1100.

should be assessed equally needs to be reevaluated. Consider the following statement by

J. J. M. Roberts. "[Yahweh's choice of Jerusalem] is explicitly stated in Ps 78:68 and Ps

132:13, but *it is implicit* in the Zion Songs' affirmation that Zion is God's city (Pss 46:5;

48:2-3, 8-9; 87:2), that he resides within her (Pss 46:6; 48:4), and that his covert lair is

within her (Ps 76:3)."[31] If some passages are implicit and some are explicit, it is

reasonable to investigate whether there was a catalyst behind the development of those

explicit passages. Second, there is reason to question a genetic relationship between the

Davidic and Zion/Jerusalem traditions, which may aid in understanding that the close

association assumed within the Old Testament is the result of a development. By

implication, individual election themes that comprise the larger election theme could

have existed concurrently only to be integrated when the traditions were fused. It is to

this issue that this study now turns.

1.3 The Roots of the Davidic and Zion Traditions

With respect to the relationship between the Davidic tradition and the Zion tradition, J.

Alan Groves reflects upon the totality of the witness of the Historical Books and states,

> [T]he the Zion traditions in the Historical Books understand the Davidic traditions
>
> and Zion traditions as being inextricably bound together. Yahweh's promise to
>
> preserve David's household is bound up with his promise to preserve
>
> Zion/Jerusalem, David's capital city. Yahweh's choice of David leads to his
>
> choice of Zion as his dwelling place, the place of his royal throne.[32]

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[31] Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," 99, emphasis mine.

[32] Groves, "Zion Traditions," 1019.

Few would question this statement even as it applies outside of the Historical Books. The Old Testament cumulatively testifies to an intimate association between these two traditions. Yet, what is questionable is *how* these two traditions developed in association with one another. Were the two composed as two sides of the same coin, or is the close association the result of a traditio-historical process? In an attempt to categorize the myriad of explanations, B. Ollenburger describes three groups.[33] The first group posits a pre-Israelite, Jebusite origin to the Zion tradition, suggesting that it was eventually adopted by Israel and absorbed into the Davidic tradition. Others prefer a more generic explanation of absorption, merely suggesting a fusion of Israelite and Canaanite concepts that ultimately matured in the Zion tradition. Finally, some scholars assert some type of Davidic/Solomonic origin to the tradition. That is, the Zion tradition was essentially an innovation of the royal court. The remainder of this section is devoted to discussing proposals that exemplify each category in order to 1) ascertain, as best as possible, a *basic* traditio-historical outline behind the Zion tradition and 2) understand its historical relationship with the Davidic tradition.

Fundamental to any traditio-historical reconstruction of the Zion tradition is the concept of the cosmic mountain (§1.2). Simply, how does one account for this underlying mythical imagery to the Zion tradition? For most scholars, the mythical imagery within Zion tradition is the result of Canaanite influence, or, more specifically, the remnant of a pre-Israelite, Jebusite origin. For example, G. von Rad describes the Zion/Jerusalem tradition as being focused upon Mt. Zion as "the mountain of God and his dwelling

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[33] For his discussion, see Ben C. Ollenburger, *Zion the City of the Great King: A Theological Symbol of the Jerusalem Cult* (JSOTSup 41; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 59-66.

place" ordained by a "mythical event," which is incidentally difficult "to reconcile with the geographical situation of Jerusalem."[34] As such, von Rad concludes, "Ideas [of the basic tenets of the cosmic mountain] are here used deriving from a primitive geography with its basis in myth, and this makes it perfectly certain that ultimately this Zion tradition derives from pre-Israelite, that is, Canaanite, ideas, which were only transferred to Zion at second hand."[35] Assuming such an idea, while considering such passages as Ps 110:4-5 (cf. Gen 14:14-24) and 2 Sam 5:6, it has been quite popular to conclude that the origins of the Zion tradition existed as a Jebusite sacral tradition associated with the geographic location of Jerusalem.[36] Accordingly, the close association between the Davidic and Zion traditions is ultimately the byproduct of Jerusalem's annexation into David's realm of rule. When David conquered the city and transported the Ark of the Covenant there to establish his cult, these mythical concepts were absorbed with Israelite theology.

However, J. J. M. Roberts has severely critiqued fundamental pillars of this Jebusite hypothesis.[37] First, Roberts contends that three fundamental motifs of Zion tradition–Zion is the highest mountain in the world; the river of paradise flows from Zion; the waters of chaos were defeated at Zion–are not compatible with the extra-biblical witnesses of the Canaanite El cult.[38] Second, a final motif, which imagines futile

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[34] von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:46.

[35] von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:47.

[36] For example, see John H. Hayes, "The Tradition of Zion's Inviolability," *JBL* 82 (1963): 419-26.

[37] J. J. M. Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," *JBL* 92 (1973): 329-44.

[38] Roberts believes that if the Zion tradition had its origin in Canaanite religion, its descriptions in the Old Testament (eg. Gen 14:18-22) must display affinities with the El cult described in Canaanite

assaults on Zion, at best has dubious support in the biblical text. According to Roberts, attempts to explain its origin by myth or comparative parallels are too general to be conclusive. Moreover, the Old Testament passages that supposedly corroborate such a Jebusite belief are exegetically problematic and presumptuously assume the previous motifs.[39] Consequently, Roberts believes the Jebusite hypothesis to be untenable. As an alternative, Roberts maintains "that all the features in the Zion tradition can be explained most adequately by positing an original *Sitz im Leben* in the era of the Davidic-Solomonic empire."[40] To argue this, Roberts considers three other issues alongside his refutation of the Jebusite hypothesis.[41] First, according to Roberts, the expansive exploits of David and Solomon would have needed theological legitimation. Thus, "What better way was there to stress the imperial god's older identification with the supreme head of the pantheon, thus undergirding Yahweh's divine right to grant world dominion to his

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sources. According to Roberts, this is not the case. See Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," 331-36.

[39] Roberts contends that while 2 Sam 5:6 implies a generic attitude of invincibility, it can be explained by Jerusalem's geography and not necessarily by a sacral tradition. Next, Roberts, maintains that theorizing a pre-Israelite motif regarding the defeat of kings tied to Melchizedek is tenuous as Ps 110:4-5 is exegetically problematic. Finally, the suggestion that because there is no event in Israelite history that would constitute a catalyst for this motif demonstrates that the sacral tradition must be pre-Israelite is an argument from silence, which Roberts describes as "precarious." See Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," 337-38.

[40] Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," 339.

[41] For his complete discussion on the positive elements of his argument, see Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," 339-44.

earthly regent in Jerusalem."[42] This adoption of the indigenous pantheon was the source

for the "mixed mythological traits" –of both El and Baal–evident in the Zion tradition.

Second, Roberts maintains, "The Davidic-Solomonic era also provides the most logical

setting for the glorification of Jerusalem as Yahweh's abode, a central theme in the Zion

tradition."[43] Third, the motif regarding the futility of assaults on Zion is also best

understood in the Davidic-Solomonic milieu, communicating that any opposition was

tantamount to a direct assault on Yahweh.

 While Roberts successfully refutes a Jebusite hypothesis, his argument does not

necessarily refute other theories of distinct origins, whatever they may be. Moreover,

Ollenburger has raised questions for those who suggest a genetic relationship between the

Davidic tradition and the Zion tradition. First, both traditions appear to have different

fundamental concerns. For instance, "Among the crucial concerns for the Davidic

tradition are those of legitimation, succession, and hegemony."[44] Conversely, according

to Ollenburger, the central message of the Zion tradition is rooted in its expression of the

kingship of the Lord.[45] Therefore, and secondly, the Davidic tradition and the Zion

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[42] Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," 340.

[43] Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition," 343.

[44] Ollenburger, *Zion the City of the Great King*, 63.

[45] Ollenburger examines Zion *symbolically* in order ascertain its theological message. More specifically, the symbol of Zion is examined within the larger context of the Jerusalem cult tradition, of which it is the central symbol. As such, the traditio-historical questions, which have proven to be such a point of contention, play a secondary role, surfacing insofar as they bear upon understanding the complex network of symbolic relationships associated with Zion and the Jerusalem cult tradition. Particularly helpful about this scheme is that the tradition as a whole, with its message, is allowed to inform and critique any discussion of the possible traditio-historical roots. For example, Roberts only discusses how the content

tradition have different traditio-historical roots. While the roots of the Davidic tradition obviously center on the person and exploits of King David, the roots of the Zion tradition stem in large part from the Ark of the Covenant, particularly at Shiloh.[46] Third, the Zion tradition can function independently from the Davidic tradition, which is most vividly demonstrated in certain Zion Songs (cf. Pss 46; 48; 76). He ultimately asserts, "It is important to recognize, however, that David and Zion are the central symbols of two

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of the Zion/Jerusalem tradition interacts with his proposed *Sitz im Leben* in a later article, wherein he is clearly assuming his previous work. Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," 93-108. For Ollenburger's methodological comments, see Ollenburger, *Zion the City of the Great King*, 13-22.

[46] As already stated, Ollenburger contends that the Zion/Jerusalem Tradition is rooted in a concern to proclaim the kingship of the Lord. As I understand Ollenburger, the logic of his argument is as follows. First, Yahweh's kingship was recognized and celebrated, which is evinced most pointedly by the Enthronement Psalms. While Ollenburger is aware of the problems surrounding these psalms and any hypothesis of an Enthronement Festival, he contends that those issues do not undermine his inquiry, which is to understand the nature of the Enthronement Psalms so to illuminate how Israel celebrated Yahweh as king. In short, Ollenburger concludes that there is substantial evidence to conclude that some type of Enthronement Festival existed and was celebrated, albeit its exact descriptions and characteristics are beyond reconstruction. Second, one of the few conclusive elements of this Enthronement Festival was a ritualistic shout for joy, which is linked with the Ark at Shiloh (cf. 1 Sam 4:4-5). Incidentally, according to Ollenburger, Shiloh presented the avenue for the assimilation of Canaanite elements into the tradition. Third, 2 Sam 6 exhibits ritualistic and epithetic echoes with 1 Sam 4, testifying that the Ark in Jerusalem stands in continuity with the Ark in Shiloh. Thus, when the Ark came to rest in Jerusalem, it become the new focal point of communicating Yahweh's kingship. For his discussion, see Ollenburger, *Zion the City of the Great King*, 23-52.

different traditions and cannot simply be identified, or the one reduced to the other."[47]

Yet, Ollenburger recognizes the overlap between traditions, emphasizing that such overlap is what makes discerning their roots so difficult.

Much of scholarship agrees that the full maturation of the Zion tradition is the result of some type of integration of Israelite and non-Israelite antecedents. The debate hinges upon the exact circumstances. Thus, it seems prudent to consider the implications of Levenson's caution, "The paucity and ambiguity of the evidence prevents the indebtedness of the Zion tradition to pre-Israelite Jerusalem from moving beyond conjecture."[48] While Levenson directs his warning to those who argue for a Jebusite hypothesis, his caution applies to other theories of a pre-Israelite/Jerusalem connection. The *exact* origins of the Zion tradition presently remain shrouded in mystery. Nonetheless, Ollenburger is correct to emphasize both the close association between the Davidic tradition and the Zion tradition and their observable differences. Consequently, the dubiousness of Roberts' theory of Davidic-Solomonic origin[49] coupled with the points of distinction observed by Ollenburger leads me to conclude that the Zion tradition probably originated in isolation from the Davidic court but was quickly adopted and expounded by it to bolster the propagation of their ideologies.

Incidentally, it is worth pondering how such a scheme meshes with the initial observations offered above with respect to the theme of the Lord's choice of

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[47] Ollenburger, *Zion the City of the Great King*, 59.

[48] Levenson, "Zion Traditions," 6:1102.

[49] Roberts' idea rests significantly on possibilities and inferences. Furthermore, as just mentioned, he is unable to refute any theory that posits an adoption of an extant sacral tradition by the royal court. The difference noted by Ollenburger are too stark to be ignored.

Zion/Jerusalem. Given that the theme appears to have an unavoidable association with elements of the Davidic tradition, could the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem be the indicator of a larger reality–i.e. the Davidic court's attempt to bridge the gap between once independent traditions?

1.4 Synopsis and Conclusions

This chapter has selectively introduced the Davidic and Zion traditions, for particular elements of each tradition inform our discussion of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. With respect to the Davidic tradition, it was mentioned that this tradition exhibits elasticity. Centering on the ideology of the Davidic covenant, the Davidic tradition developed to accommodate the increasing implications of the temple, the Ark of the Covenant, and messianic ideology. With respect to the Zion tradition, it centers on the principle of Zion/Jerusalem as the cosmic center of the universe. Fundamental to this discussion is the belief that the Lord elected Zion/Jerusalem as such. However, the question is whether or not the belief that the Lord "elected" Zion/Jerusalem and that he "chose" Zion/Jerusalem should be used interchangeably. I suggested through an initial overview of the passages that constitute the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem that they appear to communicate particular points of concern, implying that this tendency to use the "choice" and "election" of Zion/Jerusalem interchangeably needs reconsideration. Chapter 2 will examine this more closely.

Regarding the close association between the Davidic and Zion traditions, this chapter concurs with Ollenburger insofar as the Zion tradition was originally an independent tradition that was adopted by the Davidic court in order to espouse the legitimacy of the court and its cult in Jerusalem. It was also suggested that such a scheme

may explain how this theme appears to testify to the cultic prestige of Zion/Jerusalem in a way that bolsters ideological elements of the Davidic tradition. Could the theme of the Lord's choice be a mechanism that solidified the connection between two once independent traditions?

In chapter 2, some of these initial observations will be examined more closely. Chapter 2 will determine whether the tendency to use the "choice" of Zion/Jerusalem interchangeably with the "election" of Zion/Jerusalem is proper and whether constitutes a distinct thematic thread.

Chapter 2

The Election of Zion/Jerusalem and the Theme of the Lord's Choice of Zion/Jerusalem

This chapter discusses the theme of Zion/Jerusalem's election in the Old Testament. After revisiting a few methodological issues, this chapter first surveys the passages that testify to Zion/Jerusalem's election without the use of the verb בחר. This chapter then examines the passages that communicate this theme using the verb בחר, all of which comprise what has been labeled the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. In addition to understanding the semantics of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, this chapter further explores the tentative conclusion offered in the previous chapter: interchanging the ideas of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem with those of the election of Zion/Jerusalem is imprecise.

2.1 Methodological Considerations

The previous chapter offered a working definition of election. It communicates the belief in divine discrimination of someone or something for a particular purpose. Thus, the election theme of Zion/Jerusalem assumes divine action(s) and communicates the belief that the Lord, within the confines of history, has distinguished Zion/Jerusalem in order to nourish his relationship with his people, and by extension, the world (§1.2). A proper survey of the theme of Zion/Jerusalem's election therefore must consider passages other

than those that employ the verb בחר. Other verbs to consider include כון, גאל, אהב, אוה, שׂים, קרא, קנה, פדה, לקח, and שכן.

Generic statements that communicate such divine discrimination are also applicable. For example, Ps 99:2a reads יְהוָה בְּצִיּוֹן גָּדוֹל. Here, there is no explicit reference to divine action with Zion/Jerusalem as the expressed object; the text merely states that Zion is a location where the greatness of the Lord can be experienced.[1] This statement however implies a divine action of election. While not stated explicitly, Zion has been distinguished by the Lord to be the locus of his greatness. This suggests that a survey of the theme of election of Zion/Jerusalem should also consider passages where the divine action of election is understood and may not be explicitly stated. In every case however, divine responsibility for the action of election must be clear.

Admittedly, the broad understanding of election for this study is susceptible to problems of generality. Therefore, the controlling criteria introduced here deserve to be mentioned one more time. First, the Lord must be responsible for the action(s) preformed upon Zion/Jerusalem or the cause of a state of being, whether explicitly or implicitly. Second, action(s) preformed on behalf of Zion/Jerusalem are to be accomplished within the confines of history and function to nourish the relationship between the Lord and his people and the world. As Preuss has demonstrated, the theology of election is broad, and I believe these variables are inclusive enough to accomodate the many nuances of the election of Zion/Jerusalem.

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[1] Indeed the Lord's greatness can be experienced in other locations, but this study focuses upon the beliefs associated with Zion/Jerusalem.

2.2 The Election of Zion/Jerusalem According to the Non-בחר Passages

The passages that bear witness to the election of Zion/Jerusalem without בחר, can be

fundamentally classified as either positive or negative. Positively, Zion/Jerusalem is

elected to testify to the glories of God and his relationship with his people. Negatively,

Jerusalem is elected to demonstrate the effects of sin and overt rebellion. The following

section surveys the positive side of Zion/Jerusalem's election first, and then the negative

side.

One can sub-divide the positive side of Zion/Jerusalem's election into four broad

sub-categories. First, Zion/Jerusalem's election is associated with the royal institution.

Second, Zion/Jerusalem's election is integral to the nature of the Lord's future plans.

Third, the election of Zion/Jerusalem stems from the Lord's presence, as Zion/Jerusalem

is the place of divine dwelling. Finally, the election of Zion/Jerusalem stems from the fact

that the Lord *chose* (בחר) Zion/Jerusalem, which is discussed in the final section of this

chapter (§2.3).

2.2.1. Election and the Royal Institution

The association between the election of Zion/Jerusalem and the royal institution appears

quite clearly in Ps 2. A tone of mockery that is established in verse one permeates the

psalm. Questioning the logic of the מַלְכֵי־אֶרֶץ and the רוֹזְנִים who plot "against the Lord

and his anointed," desiring to tear off "their fetters" and to throw off "their cords" (v. 2),

the psalmist queries in v. 1, "Why are the nations restless, why do peoples plot in vain?"

The Lord adopts the psalmist's mockery, which is exhibited through his response to the

situation. First, the Lord merely laughs (v. 4). Then, he emphatically states, "*I* have

installed[2] my king on Zion, my holy mountain."[3] Thus, the sense is that the Lord is so offended by the conspiracies against him and his king that he can only respond with laughter and emphatic statements that he is responsible for the current state of affairs and the implications that follow. He installed his king–*his son*[4]–upon Zion. He encourages the

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[2] The clause וַאֲנִי נָסַכְתִּי מַלְכִּי as it appears in v. 6 of the Masoretic Text is a crux. I am reading a Niphal first person common singular perfect of סוך. While this verb often occurs in contexts of cosmetic application, Prov 8:23 also exhibits a general sense of installation. However, when the first person Niphal form is considered alongside the first person pronominal suffix on מֶלֶךְ, further problems arise. Thus, scholars suggest that said first person suffix should be emended to read a third personal masculine singular suffix. For example, Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms* (AB; 3 vols.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968), 1:10-11. Interestingly, he considers the orthography to be genuine as the *yod* preserves an archaic third person masculine singular suffix via analogy to Phoenician. However, I propose reading a Niphal first person form of סוך while reading מַלְכִּי as it appears, "my king." נָסַכְתִּי should be repointed to נְסַכֹּתִי and be understood as a benefactive double-status Niphal, or reflexive Niphal. *IBHS*, 23.4d. Thus, the sense is as follows. "*I* installed (for myself) my king upon Zion, my holy mountain."

[3] The pronoun אֲנִי functions emphatically. *IBHS*, 16.3.2e.

[4] For similar passages, see Ps 89:27-28 and 2 Sam 7:14. Whether this statement should be interpreted as evidence for an Israelite belief in the divinity of the king is debated. For example, von Rad suggests that this statement points to the belief in "divine adoption." Gerhard von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah," in *From Genesis to Chronicles: Explorations in Old Testament Theology* (trans. E. W. Trueman Dicken; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 170. However, Albertz suggests that this statement demonstrates an Israelite belief that is analogous with other ancient Near Eastern beliefs of divine kingship. Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion*, 1:116-17.

king in order to fulfill desires of global dominion.[5] He demands the reverence and service of the kings and rulers of the world.[6] Anything less will result in the Lord's indignation and their destruction.

Zion's election appears in verse six, albeit subordinate to the major issue of the psalm.[7] The psalmist declares that on Zion (עַל־צִיּוֹן), the Lord's holy hill (הַר־קׇדְשׁ), the Lord installed his king. Thus, the election of Zion is indirectly communicated. Zion is where the Lord has determined to enthrone his king. Moreover, Zion's election is associated with the reality that from Zion the king administers his divinely ordained dominance, indicated most pointedly by the utilization of the scepter (v.9).[8]

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[5] The syntax of v. 8, an imperative followed by a cohortative (שְׁאַל…וְאֶתְּנָה), constitutes an exhortation-result sequence. *IBHS*, 34.6. This encouragement–to request from him *so that* he may grant the nations and the ends of the earth to him as his inheritance and possession–appears immediately after the declaration that the Lord will be to him as a father. This is something the Lord *wants* to do.

[6] וְעַתָּה demonstrates continuity between vv. 10-11 and the preceding verses. *IBHS*, 39.3.4f. As such, one can interpret vv. 10-11 as alluding to the anticipated finality of such domination. This anticipation produces a call to respond, hence the imperative forms הַשְׂכִּילוּ, הִוָּסְרוּ, and עִבְדוּ.

[7] As summarized by Kraus, the psalm concerns conspiracy and rebellion against the Lord's king. Such action is tantamount to conspiracy and rebellion against the Lord, which is a "senseless undertaking." Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms* (trans. Hilton C. Oswald; CC; 2 vols.; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2000), 1:133.

[8] Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (trans. Timothy J. Hallett; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 259.

The idea that Zion is the locus of such dominance appears again in Ps 110.[9] The beginning of Ps 110 has a divine declaration to the king. "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies as your footstool." In verse two, the psalmist addresses the king, "The staff of your strength, the Lord sends[10] from Zion. Rule over your enemies." Verses three through four are particularly corrupt and ambiguous, but they ostensibly convey the sense that the king's victory and dominion were ordained by an oath previously made by the Lord. The psalm closes with the declaration that the Lord satisfies his anger through the judgment and death of foreign kings.[11]

Of particular interest is verse two. The phrase מַטֵּה־עֻזְּךָ, a nominative absolute, is the object of יִשְׁלַח. The psalmist is highlighting the fact that the Lord dispatches the king's strong staff, a symbol of dominance, from Zion (מִצִּיּוֹן). When considered alongside the message of verse one with its imagery of a royal footstool

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[9] Textual corruptions plague Ps 110, preventing a definitive reading of the psalm. Nonetheless, this text does not present insurmountable problems for understanding the implications of Zion's election. Verses three through four, which present the most serious textual problems, do not directly bear upon this inquiry.

[10] Dahood translates יִשְׁלַח from a root that means "to forge." Dahood, *Psalms*, 3:115. However, this is disputed. *HALOT*, 2:1516.

[11] The message of verse seven is perplexing. Whatever its meaning, it does not bear upon understanding the implications of the election of Zion.

(חֲדֹם לְרַגְלֶיךָ), the psalmist creates a very clear perception of the king. The king is the

instrument through which the Lord's dominance is displayed and administered.[12] Thus,

Pss 2 and 110 share a common feature with respect to their perception of Zion's election:

Zion is the elected focal point of divinely sanctioned dominion administered through the

Lord's king.

Psalm 20 continues the connection of the election of Zion/Jerusalem with issues

of royal warfare and conquest. Yet, this psalm incorporates a nuance of divine habitation.

Traditionally understood as a liturgy preformed on behalf of the king on the eve of battle,

the first portion (vv. 2-6) constitutes the congregation's intercession, which seeks military

success.[13] The second portion (vv. 7-10) constitutes the response based on an awareness

of the Lord's salvific power. In Ps 20:3, the congregation proclaims, "May he[14] send you

help from the sanctuary, and from Zion may he strengthen you." As with Ps 110, Zion is

the locale from which the Lord administers his aide (מִצִּיּוֹן). However, dissimilar to Pss 2

and 110, Zion is paralleled with the Lord's sanctuary (קֹדֶשׁ). In Ps 2:6, Zion is modified

by the Lord's holy mountain (הַר־קָדְשִׁי), which can be interpreted as conveying a nuance

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[12] For this imagery against an Ancient Near Eastern backdrop, particularly of the rod/staff/scepter and footstool, see Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World*, 253-59.

[13] Dahood, *Psalms*, 1:127.

[14] יִשְׁלַח־עֶזְרְךָ literary reads, "May he send your help from the sanctuary…" However, עֶזְרְךָ constitutes a genitive of advantage. *IBHS*, 9.5.2e. Thus, "May he send help (for) your (advantage)…" This is also described as a genitive with a datival notion. Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (trans. Takamitsu Muraoka; 2 vols.; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991; repr., 2005), §129.h.

of habitation. Yet, possession is not necessarily tantamount to habitation. In Ps 20, Zion clearly functions as the Lord's sanctuary. Thus, according to Ps 20, Zion's election is linked to the reality that it is both the place of the Lord's dwelling and the source of the king's divinely inspired strength.

Jeremiah 33 also informs the association between Zion/Jerusalem's election and the royal institution. Contextualized in a larger segment that concerns a discussion of the New Covenant (31:31-34:6), Jer 33:1 opens with, "And the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah a second time when he was still in the court of the guard." This introduction recalls Jer 32:1-2. "As for the word, which came to Jeremiah from the Lord, in the tenth year of Zedekiah King of Judah, the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, that is it came when[15] the army of the king of Babylon was besieging Jerusalem and when Jeremiah the prophet was being imprisoned in the court of the guard who was over the house of Judah…" In other words, the oracles of Jer 33 occurred at the height of Babylonian siege efforts.

Adding to the depressing state of affairs, the context discloses that Jeremiah had been prophesying that there was little hope and that Jerusalem would fall. For this, Jeremiah was imprisoned (Jer 32:3-5). To put Jeremiah's proclamations in terms of the present study, the larger context of Jer 33 demonstrates that Jerusalem was elected for

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[15] Verse two awkwardly opens with וְאָז and is widely understood to initiate an introductory digression. Reading an epexegetical waw, functioning on the clausal level (*IBHS*, 39.2.4c), in conjunction with the temporal adverb, v. 2 is further clarifying the temporal context of "the word." That is, it was (then) at the time of the siege that the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah.

destruction.[16] Yet, in Jer 33, the prophet counters this grim situation with actions and words that offer hope. First, Jeremiah redeems a field belonging to his family, signaling hope for the future (32:6-15). Next, Jeremiah, delivers an oracle that specifically details the eventual restoration of Judah after judgment is fulfilled (33:1-26). According to the prophet, the Lord will forgive Judah for its sin (33:7-8) and restore the city, making it a place of joy and testimony to the Lord (33:9). Judah will be transformed from a place of desolation and waste to a place rich with pastures and flocks (33:10-13). Associated with all of this is the installation of the righteous Branch (צֶמַח צְדָקָה) that will sprout from the Davidic line (33:15). Performing justice and righteousness in the land, this individual will initiate a dispensation wherein the Davidic line will never be cut off from its throne (33:16-17). Moreover, Jerusalem will be called (קרא) by a new name, "The Lord is our righteousness," which will serve as an eternal memorial to the restoration brought forth by the Lord.

Noteworthy is how the Lord claims responsibility for all of it, both the good and the bad. Judah and Jerusalem are elected for judgment because of perpetual sin and apostasy. Yet, Jerusalem and its geographic vicinity are also elected for a glorious restoration, which incidentally will foster a Davidic ruler on the throne who will be a catalyst for moral and economic prosperity. Consequently, according to the prophet, Jerusalem's election has implications for the restored dynasty; Jerusalem with its king will be the hub of that restoration.

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[16] For example, see 32:26-37. In light of the definition of election offered above (§2.1), important is the reality that the Lord claims responsibility for the events that are coming to bear upon Judah and Jerusalem. The Lord is orchestrating history to judge and ultimately purify his people.

In sum, the passages surveyed here all demonstrate the conviction that the election of Zion/Jerusalem is associated with the royal institution, mainly in the sense that Zion is the selected location of the institution's divinely sanctioned rule and dominance. Zion is the place where the Lord installs his king, and from there, the Lord projects that dominance upon the earth. Most importantly, Zion/Jerusalem's association with the royal institution is perpetual. Jeremiah demonstrates very clearly that the election of Zion/Jerusalem has future implications. Through this election, the Davidic line will be restored.

2.2.2 Election and Future Restoration

Zion/Jerusalem's election has tremendous implications for understanding the nuances of the Lord's future plans outside of those that pertain to the royal institution. While an entire monograph could be devoted to discussing this relationship, this study limits the discussion to particular passages that embody major components of how the election of Zion/Jerusalem affects the Lord's plans. The passages discussed include Isaiah chapters 35, 52, and 65, Jer 3, Joel 4, and Mic 4.

In Jer 3:14-18, the prophet offers a glorious image of how Zion/Jerusalem's election will influence the Lord's future restoration of his people. The land will be repopulated and home to a faithful king. However, to understand fully the gravity of these statements, one must consider the larger context. Utilizing graphic imagery, the

immediate literary context of Jer 3:14-18 (2:1-4:4)[17] intertwines accusations against

Judah and Israel to offer a depressing picture of the Lord's people in light of their

perpetual high-handed sin. The Lord targets their wanton apostasy (2:5-13), accusing

them of hypocrisy, denial, unbridled sin, and violent oppression of the less fortunate

(2:23-25, 34-35). Yet, the most damning accusation appears in 3:1-5. In this pericope, the

Lord likens his people to an unashamed prostitute whose only concern is satisfying her

physical desires by means of her next partner.[18] So rooted in her habits, this prostitute is

both unfazed by the consequences of her actions and incapable of altering her lifestyle.[19]

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[17] This segment is demarcated largely by the function and recurrence of the verb שׁוב, which

appears nine times within 3:6-4:4 (3:7, 10, 12, 14, 19, 22; 4:1). Jeremiah 3:6-4:4 is interconnected with 2:1-

3:5 by the occurrence of שׁוב in 3:1-5, which is the climatic accusation of 2:1-37.

[18] Jer 3:2-3 is particularly informative. In v. 2, the prophet exclaims, "Lift your eyes to the barren

heights and look!" This prepares the audience for the following profanity laced accusation. Allowing the

present reader to fill in the blank, the prophet interrogates his audience with a shocking rhetorical question.

"Where have you not been _____?" The verb in question is שׁגל, which is always accompanied in the Old

Testament with the *Qere* שׁכב. Often שׁגל is translated as "rape" or something similar. However, the

juxtaposition here of this question with imagery of someone waiting along the road for their next encounter

forces a nuanced interpretation. The context demands an interpretation that refers to a desired, sexual

encounter and is communicated by an offensive word. Moreover, v. 3 states that the prostitute remains

unfazed and unashamed, either ignorant or obstinate to the consequences of her sins. "Therefore, you have

polluted the land by means of your evil harlotry, and so the early lands were withheld and there was no late

rain. Though a brow of a prostitute was yours, you refused to be ashamed."

[19] In vv. 4-5, the text recounts to cries of the people offered to the Lord that question the length of

the Lord's indignation. "Will one be angry forever, does one rage forever?" However, the prophet counters

these cries with a simple but profound observation. "When you said this, you did obstinate things. And so

Yet, in the midst of this stinging imagery, the potential for repentance is introduced via the verb שׁוּב, which initially appears two times in 3:1. Permeating the rest of the segment, but appearing most notably in 3:12 and 3:14, this segment communicates primarily through the use of this verb that repentance is crucial for divine desires. One aspect of those divine intentions centers on Jerusalem and the role it will play. Verse 14 opens with an exhortation aimed at the "faithless sons" (בָּנִים שׁוֹבָבִים). "Return O faithless sons," says the Lord, "For I have proven myself to be master over you." The Lord then proceeds to proclaim,

> I will take you, one from a city and two from a clan, and I will bring you to Zion. I will give to you shepherds after my heart, and they will shepherd you with knowledge and understanding. It will come to pass when you increase and multiply in the land that, in those days, they will no longer say, 'The Ark of the Covenant of the Lord!' It will not come to mind. They will not remember it. They will not miss it. It will not be made again. At that time, they will call Jerusalem 'The Throne of the Lord,' and all the nations will assemble to it, to the name of the Lord, to Jerusalem. They will no longer stubbornly go after evil. In those days, the house of Judah will come to the house of Israel, and they will come together from the land of the north to the land which I gave to their fathers to inherit. (Jer 3:15-18)

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you prevailed." Intransitive in this context, יכל conveys the idea that their sinful nature has prevailed. In other words, the prophet observes that the people are who they are, despite what words may suggest.

Clearly, Zion/Jerusalem plays a strategic role within the Lord's future plans. It will be repopulated and possess faithful leaders. It will be the destination of global pilgrims, and it will provide access to the differently mediated presence of the Lord. Moreover, Jerusalem will be the center of a reunified kingdom. In short, according to the prophet, Jerusalem will be the focal point of what the Lord wants to do.

Yet, it is important to emphasize that this restoration is not a unilateral endeavor. While the prophetic word clearly communicates the Lord's desires for his people, it does not ignore the reality that the people must respond in repentance, rectifying their immoral ways. Perhaps Jer 4:1-2 communicates this most clearly. "If you repent…then the nations will be blessed."[20]

Similar to Jeremiah, Joel also testifies to the centrality of Zion/Jerusalem for the Lord's future plans. Yet, Joel also emphasizes the implications that this has for the Lord's enemies, which is most clearly demonstrated through the prophet's juxtaposition of judgment and restoration in chapter four. According to Joel, to speak of the restoration of some requires one also to speak to the judgment of others.

In Joel 4:1-2, the prophet proclaims that the Lord will gather the nations for judgment in conjunction with his restoration of the fortunes of Judah and Jerusalem

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[20] Jer 4:1-2 constitutes a lengthy conditional clause, and the apodosis, וְהִתְבָּרְכוּ בוֹ גּוֹיִם וּבוֹ יִתְהַלָּלוּ, appears in v. 2b.

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(אֶת־שְׁבוּת יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם).[21] At this gathering, the Lord will pronounce judgment against

those who have displaced his people, and divided his land (v. 2). After specifically

targeting the Philistines as well as Tyre and Sidon in vv. 4-8, he expounds upon the

nature of this judgment beginning in v. 9. Through a string of imperatives, Joel

demonstrates that the time for the Lord's judgment is right, implying that judgment will

be decisive and quick.[22] "The day of the Lord is near" (4:14b). It is so near that the

prophet issues a call to take up arms immediately, even fashioning weapons out of daily

agricultural tools. "Beat your plowshares into swords, your pruning knives into spears"

(4:10).

The place where the Lord renders his final verdicts in light of these events seems

to be the immediate vicinity of Zion/Jerusalem,[23] and the expressed purpose of that

adjudication is the recognition of his omnipotence (4:16-17).[24] However, Joel 4 also

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[21] Chapter four verse one opens with a temporal clause, כִּי הִנֵּה בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה, which is then modified

by a relative clause, אֲשֶׁר אָשִׁיב אֶת־שְׁבוּת יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם. The clause וְקִבַּצְתִּי אֶת־כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם is the apodosis of

the leading temporal clause. Thus, 4:1-2a can be translated as follows: "For in those days and at that time,

when I will restore the fortunes of Judah and Jerusalem, I will gather all the nations…"

[22] This string is as follows: בֹּאוּ רְדוּ…שִׁלְחוּ…עוֹשׁוּ וָבֹאוּ…כֹּתּוּ…קַדְּשׁוּ…קִרְאוּ.

[23] The text states that the Lord sits to judge in the enigmatic valley of Jehoshaphat, which is

incidentally a play on words (4:12). Yet, because 4:16 clearly states that "the Lord roars from Zion (מִצִּיּוֹן),

from Jerusalem (מִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם) he gives his voice," it is reasonable to conclude that the Valley of Jehoshaphat is

in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. Also see W. Harold Mare, "Valley of Jehoshaphat," *ABD*, 3:668-69.

[24] Initiated by the resultative *weqatal* (וִידַעְתֶּם), v. 17 functions as the climax of the preceding

verses.

emphasizes that these plans are not limited to judgment. Verses 18-21 disclose that from this judgment Judah will enjoy perpetual habitation and the presence of the Lord *in Zion* (4:20-21). Moreover, Judah's glory will be at the expense of the devastation of its enemies, which is clearly demonstrated through juxtaposing the devastation of Egypt and Edom with the glory of Judah (v. 19). Taken in context of the entire book of Joel therefore, Joel communicates that the Lord's judgment of the nations is integral for the dispensation that will see Jerusalem and Judah no longer suffer from devastation and the displacement of its population. Rather, it will enjoy prosperity and the presence of the Lord in Zion.

From this context, it is clear that the election of Zion/Jerusalem has implications for how the Lord will administer his ultimate judgment. Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity will be the distinguished place from which the Lord adjudicates against those who have wronged him and his people. Conversely, that judgment of the Lord's enemies will be overwhelmingly positive for Jerusalem, which will enjoy the presence of the Lord. In other words, for Joel the judgment of the Lord's enemies and the restoration of his city and people are two sides of the same coin.

Micah 4 also envisions the glorious restoration of Jerusalem while acknowledging its status as the seat of divine litigation. Appearing immediately after the prophet's explicit declaration that Jerusalem's social elite bear the responsibility of Jerusalem's devastation (3:14),[25] Mic 4 communicates that the devastation will ultimately be

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[25] Referring to Jerusalem's "rulers," "priests," and "prophets," Mic 3:12 reads, "Therefore, on account of you, Zion will be plowed as a field and Jerusalem will be as a heap of rubble, the mount of the house as a wooded height."

reversed. "It will come to pass in the days to come that the mountain of the house of the

Lord will be established (כון) at the top of the mountains so that it may be lifted above the

hills, and the people may stream to it and many nations will come and say, 'Come, so that

we may ascend to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob.' " The

reason for this pilgrimage is that the people may benefit from the Lord's instruction.

"Come, so that we may ascend…so that he may instruct us in his ways, so that we may

walk in his ways."[26]

The prophet discloses that the Lord's instruction proceeding from the Lord's

mountain will result in peaceful resolutions between bickering nations. Important to this

atmosphere is Mic 4:3, which incidentally reverses the imagery in Joel 4:10. Whereas

Joel exhorted the people to forge their tools into weapons, Micah exhorts the opposite.

Indeed,[27] from Zion instruction (תּוֹרָה) will go out and the word of the Lord from

Jerusalem so that he may judge between many people and arbitrate for strong

nations far away, so that they may beat their swords as plowshares and their

spears as pruning knives. A nation will not lift a sword against a nation, and they

will never again learn of war.

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[26] The string וְנֵלְכָה…וְיֹרֵנוּ…וְנַעֲלֶה in Mic 4:2 constitutes a string of result clauses that stems from

the leading imperative לְכוּ.

[27] I am reading an emphatic כִּי for the clause כִּי מִצִּיּוֹן תֵּצֵא תוֹרָה וּדְבַר־יְהוָה מִירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם in 4:2. *IBHS*,

39.3.4e.

In short, Micah's idea with respect to the nature of Jerusalem's restoration and its role as the divine seat of judgment is markedly different. The judgment that proceeds from Zion/Jerusalem is mutually beneficial to all.[28]

Mic 4:6-13, which consists of two distinct segments (vv. 6-7; 8-13), continues this impressive vision. Of particular interest is the emphasis, through political imagery, that Zion will be the focal point of this restoration. Verse 7 discloses that the Lord will reign (מלך) perpetually "on mount Zion" (בְּהַר צִיּוֹן). Verses 8-13 disclose that "former dominion" (הַמֶּמְשָׁלָה הָרִאשֹׁנָה) will be restored, encouraging Zion to endure the present pain of exile (vv. 9-10). So while "many nations are gathered" and may presently mock Zion, the Lord has a plan (מַחְשָׁבָה; 4:11-12). This plan will ultimately mature with the restoration and glorification of Zion alongside the subjugation of its enemies. "Arise and thresh O daughter Zion, for your horn I [the Lord] will make as iron, and your hooves I will make as bronze so that I may crush many nations, so that I may devote[29] their gain to the Lord and their wealth to the Lord of all the earth" (4:13).

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[28] It should also be mentioned that Mic 4:3 is repeared almost verbatim in Is 2:2-5. Furthermore, the Isaianic passages communicates the same idea, an eschatological vision of Jerusalem wherein it is the locus of the Lord's adjudication and the source of peace. For a detailed discussion of these and other issues, see H. G. M. Williamson, *Isaiah 1-5* (ICC; London: T & T Clark, 2006), 166-88.

[29] The editors of the BHS suggest reading a second person singular feminine form of חרם versus the text's first person singular form (וְהַחֲרַמְתִּי לַיהוָה > וְהַחֲרַמְתְּ לַיהוָה). Presumably, this is to avoid a third person self-reference on the lips of the Lord. I question this proposal. When the Lord states, "I will devote their grain to the Lord," is it possible that the text is preserving the syntax of a ritual proclamation, albeit in a grammatically awkward manner? Lev 27:28 and Josh 6:17 preserve such syntax. Consider Lev 27:28,

Consequently, Micah testifies that the election of Zion will influence the function of Jerusalem within the Lord's global, universal vision. He agrees with Joel that Jerusalem will be the focal point of both judgment and restoration. However, the unique contribution of Micah is his emphasis that the election of Zion/Jerusalem has positive trans-Israelite implications, serving purposes of peace, peaceful negotiations, and global education according to the word of the Lord. Yet, it is important to mention that Micah does not ignore the implications of Zion/Jerusalem's election upon the future restoration of Jerusalem's corresponding "dominion" and "sovereignty." According to Micah, Jerusalem's political restoration will not solely be for the benefit of Israel.

Perhaps the most informative witness to how the election of Zion/Jerusalem affects the nature of the Lord's plans is Isaiah. Isaiah is unequivocal in the fact that Jerusalem will enjoy a future restoration beyond imagination. One example appears in Is 35. Functioning with Is 34 as a critical structural hinge for the flow of Isaiah as a whole, and appearing before the historical appendix of First Isaiah (chs. 36-39), this chapter foreshadows many important themes of Second Isaiah. Childs has demonstrated a connection between 35:4 and 40:9-10.[30] Childs also connects 35:5-6 with 40:5 and 42:7 via imagery of the blind and lame.[31] The highway imagery in 35:8-9 connects with 40:2-3

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which reads "Yet, every devoted object, which a man devotes to the Lord;" כָּל־חֵרֶם אֲשֶׁר יַחֲרִם אִישׁ לַיהוָה.

Also, in Josh 6:17, the text reads, "The city and everything in it is devoted to the Lord;"

הָעִיר חֵרֶם הִיא וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ לַיהוָה. In both cases, the root חרם is the predicate and the recipient of the offering is the Lord, which is prefixed with a לְ.

[30] Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 301.

[31] Childs, *Isaiah*, 258.

and 42:16. But the most obvious point of connection appears in 35:10, which is repeated verbatim in 51:11.

In the immediate context of Is 35, v. 10 functions to disclose the destination of the journey of those redeemed. "The ransomed of the Lord (פְּדוּיֵי יְהוָה) will return. They will come to Zion with singing, and perpetual joy will be upon their heads. Exaltation and joy they will produce, and trouble and groaning will flee." Isaiah 51:11 appears in the midst of a larger segment (51:1-52:12) devoted to communicating the reality that Jerusalem will be restored. According to Childs, this restoration will in turn climax prophetic history.[32] Jerusalem has "drunk the cup of wrath" from the hand of the Lord (51:17), but that cup has now been removed (51:22) as the Lord is actively redeeming Jerusalem. "Break forth! Shout for joy together O ruin of Jerusalem, for the Lord has comforted his people, he has redeemed (גאל) Jerusalem" (52:9). Thus, these Isaianic passages make it quite clear that Jerusalem's election was perceived not to have been fundamentally compromised by the exile, and that the Lord is the driving force behind its redemption and restoration. Furthermore, as 52:10 discloses, this redemption of Jerusalem will function as a global sign of the Lord's salvation.[33] "The Lord has exposed his holy arm to the eyes of all the nations so that all the ends of the earth may see the salvation of our God."[34]

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[32] In particular, see Childs, *Isaiah*, 406. For his discussion of the larger segment, see pages 401-07

[33] John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah* (NICOT; 2 vols.; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1986-1998), 2:370-71.

[34] וְרָאוּ constitutes a contingent *weqatal* signifying result or purpose.

Furthermore, the restoration of Jerusalem will ultimately coincide with the creation of the new heavens and the new earth (65:17). Jerusalem will be recreated "as an object of joy and its people as an object of delight" (v. 18). *In* Jerusalem, the Lord will rejoice (65:19a), and Jerusalem will be a place of long life, peace, and prosperity (65:20-25). Furthermore, Is 65:25 recalls the imagery of 11:6-9, which suggests that this new creation will have implications for the restored Davidic line.[35]

In sum, this brief investigation has demonstrated that Zion/Jerusalem's prestige has tremendous implications for the Lord's plans. The election of Zion/Jerusalem directly influences the nature of the Lord's restorative endeavors. In short, Zion and Jerusalem will be the center of it all. Jerusalem will be the center of the reunified kingdom with a righteous Davidide as its king. It will be the destination of pilgrims, who will offer tribute to the Lord and seek instruction from him. It will enjoy repopulation, reconstruction, and revitalization. It will be the object of joy and the center of the new heavens and the new earth.

2.2.3 Election and Divine Presence

The election of Zion/Jerusalem also stems from the presence of the Lord. Whether it is explicitly stated or merely implied, the Old Testament makes clear that Zion/Jerusalem's election arises in part from the reality that the Lord dwells there. Stated otherwise, Zion/Jerusalem is the elected place of the Lord's dwelling.

The explicit statements regarding the Lord's presence in Zion or in Jerusalem by far outnumber implicit statements, and the verb שכן is central. For example, in 1 Chr

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[35] Childs, *Isaiah*, 538-39; Oswalt, *Isaiah*, 2:662.

23:25 David acknowledges that "the Lord, the God of Israel, has given rest to his people, and he has dwelt in Jerusalem perpetually" (וַיִּשְׁכֹּן בִּירוּשָׁלַָם עַד־עוֹלָם). The Lord is also known as the "the one who dwells on Mt. Zion" (הַשֹּׁכֵן בְּהַר צִיּוֹן; Is 8:18). Similarly, the Lord is the "dweller[36] of Jerusalem" (Ps 135:21). Psalm 74:2 calls on the Lord to remember (זכר) "Mt. Zion, where you have dwelt."[37] Zechariah 8:3 states that the Lord has returned in order to inhabit Jerusalem again. "Thus says the Lord, 'I have returned to Zion so that I may dwell in the midst of Jerusalem, so that Jerusalem may be called the faithful city, the mountain of the Lord of hosts, the holy mountain.'"[38]

However, explicit statements regarding the Lord's presence are not limited to the verb שכן. Psalm 9:12 states that the Lord is the "inhabitant of Zion" (יֹשֵׁב צִיּוֹן). Psalm 65:2 highlights that God is "in Zion" (אֱלֹהִים בְּצִיּוֹן), and Ps 48:2 seems to communicate the same reality. "Great is the Lord, and very worthy of praise in the city of our God, the

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[36] The preposition שֹׁכֵן is in construct with יְרוּשָׁלָם and is separated from its antecedent יְהֹוָה. Moreover, the genitive is one of space, implying that the Lord is the dweller *in* Jerusalem. *IBHS*, 37.3b.

[37] הַר־צִיּוֹן, modified by the relative clause זֶה שָׁכַנְתָּ בּוֹ, is the object of the gapped imperative זְכֹר. For the demonstrative זֶה as a relative, see *IBHS*, 17.4.3d.

[38] The leading שָׁבְתִּי is correlated with two contingent *weqatals* that communicate purpose or result: וְנִקְרְאָה…וְשָׁכַנְתִּי.

mountain of his holiness, beautiful of heights, joy of all the earth, Mt. Zion the farthest north, the city of a great king."[39]

Notable implicit statements of dwelling include Pss 128:5 and 134:3. Exhibiting identical syntax, the psalm invokes a blessing of the Lord from Zion, which presupposes the presence of the Lord at said location. "May the Lord bless you from Zion."[40] In Is 60:14, the construct chain צִיּוֹן קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל is in apposition with עִיר יְהוָה, which is the name of Jerusalem. The genitive possession, "Zion of the Holy One of Israel," implies presence or possession.

2.2.4 Miscellaneous Statements of Election

A few noteworthy miscellaneous non-בחר passages deserved to be mentioned in addition to the passages surveyed. First, Ps 87 is a brief hymn of Zion. In v. 2, the psalm proclaims that "the Lord loves (אהב) the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob." The psalm then proceeds to state that "glorious things" (נִכְבָּדוֹת) are said about Zion, "the city of God." The nature of those glorious words is then disclosed in vv. 4-6. These verses mention that the natives of Zion, those who were born there, enjoy a

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[39] Verse two is clear that the Lord is great "in the city of our God." However, the syntax of the rest of v. 2 and v. 3 is difficult. The issue is how to interpret the series of construct phrases: יְפֵה נוֹף, הַר־קָדְשׁוֹ, יַרְכְּתֵי צָפוֹן, הַר־צִיּוֹן, מְשׂוֹשׂ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ, and קִרְיַת מֶלֶךְ רָב. All of these phrases can be interpreted as a string of appositional statements to "the city of our God." Thus, Mt. Zion *is* the city of God, and the greatness of God is experienced there.

[40] The clause in question reads יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן.

privileged position over those born at different locations. This prestige is linked to the

Lord's commitment to Zion's well-being; the Most High himself "establishes" Zion,

וְהוּא יְכוֹנְגֶהָ עֶלְיוֹן (v. 5). Thus, Ps 87 demonstrates that the election of Zion stems from the

Lord's commitment to that city, over all others, and that commitment has implications for

its inhabitants.

Ezekiel 5 targets Jerusalem with an oracle of imminent judgment. After shaving

his head and beard, Ezekiel divides his hair into thirds as a sign of the city's fate. Verses

5-17 constitute the interpretation of the drama in vv. 1-4. Here, the prophet proclaims that

the city has rebelled against the Lord's judgments (מִשְׁפָּט) and statutes (חֻקָּה), doing more

evil than the surrounding nations. Because of this, the prophet proceeds to detail the

violent judgment that will overcome the city. Ultimately, one-third will die by disease

and famine, one-third by the sword, and one-third will be displaced (5:12).

In Ez 5:5, the ideology of Jerusalem's election appears. "Thus says the Lord,

'This is Jerusalem. In the midst of many nations I have put (שִׂים) it, with lands

surrounding her.' " Unfortunately, the text is unclear as to the reason why the Lord

established Jerusalem in the midst of the nations. While one can infer that Jerusalem was

to be a testimony to God and his covenant with his people, what is clearly stated is that

Jerusalem and its inhabitant have violated the Lord's covenant. Therefore, judgment must

fall, and the Lord clearly states that he will be responsible. "Therefore, thus says the Lord

God, I, I myself, am now against you so that I may render judgments in your midst before

the nations, so that I may do[41] to you the things which I have not done or like the things

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[41] וְעָשִׂיתִי represents a contingent *weqatal* of purpose.

which I will not do again because of all your abominations' " (5:8). Thus, Ez 5 alludes to both the positive and negative sides of Jerusalem's election.[42]

2.2.5 Election and Judgment

There are passages that communicate the reality that Zion/Jerusalem was elected for judgment in light of the people's perpetual sinfulness and rebellion. Whether actively performed by the Lord or are merely sanctioned by him, such passages attest to divine responsibility for judgment leveled against the city. While negative election has already been mentioned above (egs. Jer 2:1-4:4; Ez 5), there are a few other passages that deserve comment.

In Am 2:5, the Lord states, "I will send fire on Judah so that it may consume the strongholds of Jerusalem."[43] This pronouncement is in response to Jerusalem's obstinate rejection of the Lord's instruction and statutes (2:4). In Jer 4:5-6, the Lord proclaims that he is bringing calamity upon Zion with the intention that it would become a desolate wasteland. Elsewhere in the book of Jeremiah, the Lord reiterates this.

> I am now bringing calamity against them from under which they will not be able
> to escape. They will cry out to me, but I will not listen to them. The cities of
> Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem will go and cry out to the gods to whom
> they are offering incense, but salvation they will not give to them during the time
> of their calamity. (Jer 11:11-12)

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[42] It is negatively elected for judgment, but one can argue that because the Lord elected it to be in the midst of the nations it was originally intended to be a positive election.

[43] The clause וְאָכְלָה אַרְמְנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלָם communicates the result or purpose of that divine sanctioned fire.

Isaiah 3:1 testifies that the Lord "is removing from Jerusalem and Judah every support,"[44] which will ultimately cause the breakdown of society. In Is 29, the Lord proclaims that he will distress Jerusalem by laying siege to the city (29:2-3) because of the city's hypocrisy (29:13).

However, the most important passages that demonstrate this negative side of Zion/Jerusalem's election occur in 2 Kings. Second Kings 21:1-18 documents the reign of Manasseh, and in this context the historian recounts how the Lord made it unequivocally clear through his prophets that a judgment vicious enough to make the ears of those who hear it tingle would come upon Jerusalem because of its and Manasseh's continual iniquity. This stinging pronouncement is revisited in 2 Kgs 23:26-27. Here, the historian juxtaposes the pronouncement of judgment with the commentary offered on behalf of Josiah and his glorious reforms (2 Kgs 23:24-25), implying that even the reforms of Josiah could not undo the damage of Manasseh. "The Lord said, 'Even Judah I will remove from my face, just as I removed Israel, so that I may reject (מאס) this city, Jerusalem, which I chose (בחר), and the house about which I said, 'My name will be there.' "

Notable is the reality that Zion/Jerusalem's election for the purposes of judgment appears in connection with a technical statement of election via the verb בחר. This is rhetorically powerful. The historian makes clear that the election of Jerusalem was not

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[44] מַשְׁעֵן וּמַשְׁעֵנָה is a hendiadys. *IBHS*, §4.4.1; *HALOT*, 1:650.

immune to the consequences of sin, and he emphasizes this belief by utilizing a particular expression regarding the election ideology of Zion/Jerusalem.

2.2.6 Conclusions

This survey has argued that the theme of Zion/Jerusalem's election is communicated in diverse ways and has diverse implications. Most importantly, there is no specific verb that must be used. Furthermore, the divine action can be explicit or implicit, and the divine agent can be active or passive. The election of Zion/Jerusalem is linked to the location's association with the monarchy and divine presence. The election of Zion/Jerusalem also influences the nature of the Lord's restorative plans. Nonetheless, the Old Testament bears witness to the truth that the election of Zion/Jerusalem is not absolute; election does not completely drown the consequences of sin. In fact, in some cases, Zion/Jerusalem is elected for judgment.

In contrast to this diversity, the passages that communicate the Lord's *choice* of Zion/Jerusalem, *via the verb* בחר, are uniform as there is obvious lexical and semantic continuity between these passages (§1.2). A detailed examination of these passages now commences to confirm these and other initial observations.

2.3 The Election of Zion/Jerusalem According to the בחר Passages; The Theme of the Lord's Choice of Zion/Jerusalem

The texts that refer to the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem are: 1 Kgs 11:13, 32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:27; 2 Chr 6:6; 12:13; 33:7; Ps 78:68; 132:13; Zech 1:17; 2:16; 3:2. Of these passages, 2 Chr 12:13 parallels 1 Kgs 14:21 and 2 Chr 33:7 parallels 2 Kgs 21:7, and so these passages in Chronicles will be discussed alongside their parallel accounts in Kings in order that their differences will be most efficiently highlighted. With respect to

issues of dating the composition of certain texts, significant debate centers on Pss 78 and 132. However, this topic will be addressed in Part 2. In fact, this section delays all such specific historical commentary until Part 2. Instead, this section seeks to determine the semantics of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. I will first examine the passages in Kings and Chronicles, giving proper attention to important semantic issues. I will examine the passages in Pss 78 and 132 next, and finally those in Zechariah, with its peculiar usage of this theme. This section concludes with an overview of this thematic thread while drawing the reader's attention to particular semantic conclusions and potential diachronic issues. Ultimately, the importance of 1 Kgs 11 will become apparent, for there numerous elements of the Davidic and Zion traditions converge including the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem.[45]

2.3.1 The Choice of Jerusalem in 1 and 2 Kings and 1 and 2 Chronicles

The first occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem in Kings appears in 1 Kgs 11:13, which is syntactically linked to vv. 11-12.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לִשְׁלֹמֹה יַעַן אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה־זֹּאת עִמָּךְ וְלֹא שָׁמַרְתָּ בְּרִיתִי וְחֻקֹּתַי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי עָלֶיךָ קָרֹעַ אֶקְרַע אֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה מֵעָלֶיךָ וּנְתַתִּיהָ לְעַבְדֶּךָ ¹²אַךְ־בְּיָמֶיךָ לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂנָּה לְמַעַן דָּוִד אָבִיךָ מִיַּד בִּנְךָ אֶקְרָעֶנָּה [46] ¹³רַק אֶת־כָּל־הַמַּמְלָכָה לֹא אֶקְרָע שֵׁבֶט אֶחָד אֶתֵּן לִבְנֶךָ לְמַעַן דָּוִד עַבְדִּי וּלְמַעַן יְרוּשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי

And the Lord said to Solomon, "Because this has happened with you, that you have not kept my covenant and statutes which I commanded to you, I will indeed tear the kingdom from you so that I may give it to your servant. Yet, in your days I will not do it because of David your father.[47] From the hand of your son, I will tear it away. Only the whole kingdom I will not tear away. One tribe I will give to your son because of David my servant and because of Jerusalem,[48] which I chose."

This pericope concludes a segment devoted to articulating Solomon's iniquity. The historian declares how Solomon's wives "turned his heart after foreign gods," ultimately leading him to do "evil in the eyes of the Lord" (11:4-6). Moreover, the historian recalls how Solomon capitulated to his wives by building for them high places appropriate for their religious practices (11:7-8). Accordingly, the Lord became incensed over his high-handed rebellion, particularly since he appeared to him twice (11:9-10). Yet, and somewhat unexpectedly, 1 Kgs 11:11-13 makes it clear that the Lord's anger was pacified and the full extent of judgment mitigated.

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be preferred, particularly in light of the importance of a particular *leitmotif* that employs קרע as a *terminus technicus* (§3.3.1).

[47] The Syriac translation and one medieval manuscript insert עַבְדִּי after אָבִיךָ. This is a harmonization with v. 13.

[48] The LXX, Targum, and Syriac traditions insert "the city," a harmonization in accord with other occurrences of this theme in 1 Kgs 11 that modify Jerusalem with הָעִיר.

In this context, both the accusation against Solomon and the pronouncement of judgment are clear. Because (יַעַן אֲשֶׁר) of his breach of covenant with its expectations, judgment will fall, and the kingdom will be given to another. However, the pronouncement's two-fold restriction (רַק; אַךְ) communicates that the maturation of judgment is more nuanced. Disclosed in the first restrictive clause, the stripping of the kingdom will not come to pass in the days of Solomon, and the substantiation is David. With the second restrictive clause, the entire kingdom is not forfeited; one tribe will remain for Solomon's son. The reasons for the second restriction expand on the first. It is because David was the Lord's servant and because Jerusalem is the chosen city. Reflecting upon the reality of the schism, the historian concludes that it was because of David and the prestige of Jerusalem that the Judean kingdom survived; the status of David and Jerusalem were so significant that it trumped the sins of Solomon. Put another way, the historian is explaining that David and Jerusalem alleviated the full force of judgment. Interestingly, no statement is offered as to the reason or purpose for the Lord's choice. Here, the theme of the Lord's choice merely exists as a declaration.

The next two occurrences in Kings appear in the pericope of 1 Kgs 11:29-39, which recounts the prophet Jeroboam's encounter with Ahijah as he left Jerusalem. The Shilohite prophet confronts Jeroboam, and a new garment is symbolically torn into twelve pieces (11:29-30).[49] He then proclaims to Jeroboam that he will be allotted the northern kingdom (1 Kgs 11:31-39).[50]

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[49] For the debate as to whose cloak was torn. See S. Min Chun, "Whose Cloak Did Ahijah Seize and Tear?: A Note on 1 Kings xi 29-30," *VT* 56.2 (2006): 268-74; Martin J. Mulder, *1 Kings* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 587-88.

וַיֹּאמֶר לְיָרׇבְעָם קַח־לְךָ עֲשָׂרָה קְרָעִים כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנְנִי קֹרֵעַ אֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה מִיַּד

שְׁלֹמֹה וְנָתַתִּי לְךָ אֵת עֲשָׂרָה הַשְּׁבָטִים וְהַשֵּׁבֶט הָאֶחָד יִהְיֶה־לּוֹ לְמַעַן עַבְדִּי דָוִד וּלְמַעַן יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר

בָּחַרְתִּי בָהּ מִכֹּל שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יַעַן אֲשֶׁר עֲזָבוּנִי וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ לְעַשְׁתֹּרֶת אֱלֹהֵי צִדֹנִין לִכְמוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֵי מוֹאָב

וּלְמִלְכֹּם אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן וְלֹא־הָלְכוּ בִדְרָכַי לַעֲשׂוֹת הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינַי וְחֻקֹּתַי וּמִשְׁפָּטַי כְּדָוִד אָבִיו וְלֹא־אֶקַּח

אֶת־כׇּל־הַמַּמְלָכָה מִיָּדוֹ כִּי נָשִׂיא אֲשִׁתֶנּוּ כֹּל יְמֵי חַיָּיו לְמַעַן דָּוִד עַבְדִּי אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי אֹתוֹ אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַר מִצְוֺתַי

וְחֻקֹּתָי וְלָקַחְתִּי הַמְּלוּכָה מִיַּד בְּנוֹ וּנְתַתִּיהָ לְךָ אֵת עֲשֶׂרֶת הַשְּׁבָטִים וְלִבְנוֹ אֶתֵּן שֵׁבֶט־אֶחָד לְמַעַן הֱיוֹת־נִיר

לְדָוִיד־עַבְדִּי כׇּל־הַיָּמִים לְפָנַי בִּירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי לִי לָשׂוּם שְׁמִי שָׁם וְאֹתְךָ אֶקַּח וּמָלַכְתָּ בְּכֹל

אֲשֶׁר־תְּאַוֶּה נַפְשֶׁךָ וְהָיִיתָ מֶּלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהָיָה אִם־תִּשְׁמַע אֶת־כׇּל־אֲשֶׁר אֲצַוֶּךָ וְהָלַכְתָּ בִדְרָכַי וְעָשִׂיתָ

הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינַי לִשְׁמוֹר חֻקּוֹתַי וּמִצְוֺתַי כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה דָּוִד עַבְדִּי וְהָיִיתִי עִמָּךְ וּבָנִיתִי לְךָ בַיִת־נֶאֱמָן כַּאֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתִי

לְדָוִד וְנָתַתִּי לְךָ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַאעַנֶּה אֶת־זֶרַע דָּוִד לְמַעַן זֹאת אַךְ לֹא כׇל־הַיָּמִים

He said to Jeroboam, "Take for yourself ten pieces, for thus says the Lord, the
God of Israel, 'I am now tearing the kingdom away from the hand of Solomon so
that I may give to you ten tribes, but one tribe will belong to him because of my
servant David and because of Jerusalem, the city which I chose from all the tribe
of Israel. (I am doing this)[51] because they forsook me! They worshiped Asherah,
the goddess of the Sidonians, Kemosh, the god of Moab, and Milcom, the god of

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[50] There are significant textual problems with this pericope. However, a discussion of these
problems will remain until the next chapter as it is devoted to a redactional analysis of this pericope.

[51] The syntax is awkward, which probably arises from the diachronic issues of this pericope (see
chapter 3). The accusation of v. 33 is intrusive and therefore the translation must be paraphrased to convey
the idea that v. 33 substantiates the tearing away of the kingdom.

the sons of Ammon and (because)[52] they did not walk in my ways, by doing good in my eyes, my statutes, and judgments as David his father. But I will not take the whole kingdom from his hand, for I have made him as a *nasi* all the days of his life, because of David my servant whom I chose, who kept my commands and statutes. When I take the kingdom from the hand of his son, I will give to you the ten tribes, but to his son I will give one tribe because dominion was to be for David, my servant, perpetually before me in Jerusalem, the city which I chose for myself to put my name there. But you I will take so that you may rule over all that your soul desires and that you may be a king over Israel. It will come to pass if you keep all that which I command you, if you might walk in my ways, if you do good in my eyes by keeping my statutes and commands just as David, my servant, did, then I will be with you and build for you a faithful house just as I have built for David, and I will give to you Israel. I afflicted the seed of David because of this, yet not forever."

The pericope's diachronic history explains the convoluted logic of this text; repetitions and awkward syntax abound in the present form of the text.[53] From the onset

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[52] The text after the athnach continues the substantiation for judgment begun with יַעַן אֲשֶׁר at the beginning of v. 33.

[53] Thus, in terms articulated by Frolov, the grammatical phenomena of the pericope constitute the quantitative warrant for abandoning a synchronic posture for a diachronic one. The consensus echoes the need for a diachronic investigation. For example, "It is generally agreed among scholars that 1 Kgs 11:29-39 do not derive from a single author or editor." Iain W. Provan, *Hezekiah and the Books of Kings* (BZAW 172; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), 100. Or, "There is no doubt that vv. 29-39 are overfull, repetitious, and characterized by changes of emphasis which are occasionally illogical. A. D. H. Mayes, *The Story of*

of the oracle, the prophet states that the Lord is tearing away the kingdom from Solomon

so that he may give ten tribes to Jeroboam. However, one tribe will remain for Solomon

because of 1) David, the Lord's servant, and 2) Jerusalem, the city which the Lord has

chosen from all the tribes of Israel. This logic is analogous to 1 Kgs 11:11-13. However,

beginning with v. 33, things change. Verse 33 discloses an accusation that ostensibly has

the entire nation in view. Verse 34 then revisits the restriction of the total forfeiture of the

kingdom, and here its substantiation is two-fold: 1) because Solomon is to be a נָשִׂיא and

2) because of David, whom the Lord chose (בחר) and who kept the Lord's commands

and statutes. The partial forfeiture is again emphasized in v. 35, as is the retention of one

tribe in v. 36. Interestingly, v. 36 mentions that the tribe to be retained has its basis in a

promise given to David. Dominion will be in Jerusalem, the city which the Lord chose

for himself to put his name. Beginning in v. 37, the syntax becomes less frustrating, and

the focus of the pericope shifts from an explanation of the nature and extent of the schism

to Jeroboam's role in all of this. Verses 37-38 communicate that Jeroboam would enjoy a

prosperous rule, so long as he would adhere to the Lord's covenantal stipulations. Verse

39 ends the pericope with a relatively enigmatic statement that alludes to the temporality

of the Davidic line's present affliction.

 In spite of these difficulties, it is clear that this pericope has two major issues of

concern. It communicates Jeroboam's role and expectations as the first king of Israel

alongside discussing the nature and extent of judgment to be leveled at the Davidic line.

With respect to the latter issue, the essential point is clear. The kingdom will be ripped

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Israel Between Settlement and Exile: A Redactional Study of the Deuteronomistic History (Philadelphia:

Fortress Press, 1983), 117.

away from Solomon's son, but not the whole kingdom. What is unclear from this pericope is exactly why one tribe will be retained for the Davidic line. There are four reasons given in this pericope: David's privileged status and faithfulness, the choice of Jerusalem, Solomon's status as a נָשִׂיא, and the dominion promised to David in Jerusalem.

With respect to the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, its appearances in vv. 32 and 36 are similar to its appearance in 1 Kgs 11:13. Both occurrences appear in a subordinate clause that substantiates why one tribe will be preserved for the Davidic line. However, there are important differences from 1 Kgs 11:13. First, the statement that Lord chose Jerusalem is further modified in vv. 32 and 36. In the case of v. 32, the city of Jerusalem was chosen "from all the tribes of Israel." In the case of v. 36, the city of Jerusalem was chosen both for the Lord and to put his name there.[54] Furthermore, the statement that the Lord chose Jerusalem appears in v. 36 in a relative clause that modifies עִיר, which in turn appositionally modifies יְרוּשָׁלַם. According to v. 36, יְרוּשָׁלַם is also the location of the נִיר promised to David (בִּירוּשָׁלַם). Thus, in the case of v. 36, the reality that the Lord chose Jerusalem is not the primary substantiation for the preservation of one

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[54] Lohfink has characterized the phrases "from all the tribes of Israel" and "to put his name there" as variants of the long-form of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula. See Prologue, n. 3. In fact, throughout the remaining occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem in Kings and Chronicles, the Centralization Formula will be present in one form or another. Thus, there is tremendous overlap between what I have described as the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem and Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula. Yet, for literary-critical, linguistic, and historical reasons, I believe the nuances of this relationship to be more intricate that what is implied if one merely studies them together. This will be discussed in earnest in Part 2 of this study.

tribe. Rather, the belief that Jerusalem was to represent the dominion promised to David is primary. This observation, along with the other reasons voiced in this pericope for retaining one tribe for the Davidic line, will have a significant impact on the diachronic reconstruction of this pericope (ch. 3).

The next occurrence of this theme appears in Kings within the pericope of 1 Kgs 14:21-24, the regal evaluation of Rehoboam.

וּרְחַבְעָם בֶּן־שְׁלֹמֹה מָלַךְ בִּיהוּדָה בֶּן־אַרְבָּעִים וְאַחַת שָׁנָה רְחַבְעָם בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁבַע עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר־בָּחַר יְהוָה לָשׂוּם אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שָׁם מִכֹּל שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נַעֲמָה הָעַמֹּנִית וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוּדָה הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיְקַנְאוּ אֹתוֹ מִכֹּל אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ אֲבֹתָם בְּחַטֹּאתָם אֲשֶׁר חָטָאוּ וַיִּבְנוּ גַם־הֵמָּה לָהֶם בָּמוֹת וּמַצֵּבוֹת וַאֲשֵׁרִים עַל כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְבֹהָה וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן וְגַם־קָדֵשׁ הָיָה בָאָרֶץ עָשׂוּ כְּכֹל הַתּוֹעֲבֹת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Now Rehoboam, son of Solomon, ruled in Judah. He was 41 years old when he ruled, and he ruled in Jerusalem, the city where the Lord chose from all the tribes of Israel to put his name, for 17 years.[55] The name of his mother was Naamah, the Ammonite. Judah did evil in the eyes of the Lord. They provoked him to jealousy with their sins, which they committed—more so than everything that their fathers did. Not only did they built for themselves high places, altars, and asherahs on every hill and under every luxuriant tree, but cultic prostitution was also in the land. They acted in accord with all the abominations of the nations whom the Lord disposed from before the sons of Israel.

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[55] There is an alternative LXX textual tradition that alters the age of Rehoboam and the length of his reign. See Marvin A. Sweeney, *I and II Kings* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 188.

In interpreting this pericope, issues of verbal pragmatics[56] become important. Verse 21 consists of four circumstantial clauses that provide the necessary background information for the more salient foregrounded information, which is the apostasy of Judah.[57] In other words, the historian deemed the age of Rehoboam, the length of his rule, his mother, and the location of his rule to be important to understanding the reality that Judah did evil in the eyes of the Lord.[58] Therefore, the choice of Jerusalem is subordinated in this context to the reality that Judah provoked the Lord to unprecedented levels of jealousy as they built pagan centers of worship.[59] In addition, other syntactical issues deserve comment. As with 1 Kgs 11:32 and 11:36, the relative clause אֲשֶׁר־בָּחַר יְהוָה modifies הָעִיר, which is appositional to בִּירוּשָׁלַם. Furthermore, in 1 Kgs 14:21 both long-forms of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula appear asyndetically juxtaposed and function in the same capacity. They are complimentary prepositional

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[56] On the nature of pragmatics as the study of meaning as communicated and interpreted, George Yule, *Pragmatics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[57] John Cook, "The Semantics of Verbal Pragmatics: Clarifying the Roles of *Wayyiqtol* and *Weqatal* in Biblical Hebrew Prose," *JSS* 49.2 (2004): 247-73. Cook concludes that the *wayyiqtol* functions in this capacity.

[58] Many manuscripts within the LXX tradition render the plural references singularly in light of the Chronicler's witness, which testifies that Rehoboam did evil in the Lord's eyes. The Masoretic Text is preferred, particularly as the plural form does not undermine the literary function of 1 Kgs 14:21-24. These verses introduce the account of Shishak's incursion, demonstrating that the historian interpreted his maneuvers as a means of national judgment. Moreover, the specific infractions mentioned here foreshadow the reforms of Josiah. See §7.3.

[59] The *wayyiqtol* forms וַיְקַנְאוּ and וַיִּבְנוּ continue the foregrounded material initiated by וַיַּעַשׂ.

phrases to the verb בחר. That is, the Lord chose Jerusalem 1) from all the tribes of Israel

and 2) in order to put his name there.

First Kings 14:21-24 is also similar to 1 Kgs 11:32 and 11:36 in the sense that it

links the choice of Jerusalem with the long-forms of Deuteronomy's Centralization

Formula. However, where it deviates from the previous passages is in its immediate

contextualization. Here, as just mentioned, the theme is contextualized and subordinated

to the more important reality of Judah's sin and the effects that follow. That is, the Lord's

choice of Jerusalem is an instrument to underscore the theological importance of a

particular historical event. By introducing the account of the pillaging of Jerusalem by

Shishak with a statement that includes the belief that the Lord chose the city, from all the

tribes, to put his name there, the historian is highlighting the egregiousness of Judah's

sin. The chosen city was the target of Shishak, and he attacked the city raiding the

treasures of the temple and palace. Whereas the choice of Jerusalem previously mitigated

the judgment, here it ostensibly means nothing. This is a significant perceptual deviation

from the occurrences of this theme in 1 Kgs 11.

A parallel to 1 Kgs 14:21 occurs in 2 Chr 12:13.

וַיִּתְחַזֵּק הַמֶּלֶךְ רְחַבְעָם בִּירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם וַיִּמְלֹךְ כִּי בֶן־אַרְבָּעִים וְאַחַת שָׁנָה רְחַבְעָם בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁבַע עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה

מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר־בָּחַר יְהוָה לָשׂוּם אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שָׁם מִכֹּל שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נַעֲמָה הָעַמֹּנִית

> King Rehoboam became powerful in Jerusalem and he ruled. Now Rehoboam
>
> was 41 years old when he began to rule, and he ruled in Jerusalem, the city which
>
> the Lord chose from all the tribes of Israel to put his name there, for 17 years. His
>
> mother's name was Naamah, the Ammonite.

Between 1 Kgs 14:21 and 2 Chr 12:13, the syntax is virtually identical. However, where 1 Kgs 14:21 proceeds to focus upon the sins of Judah, 2 Chr 12:13-14 focuses upon the sins of the king. *Rehoboam* did evil, for he did not set his heart to seek after the Lord.[60] Moreover, the Chroniclers account appears in 12:1-12 after his documentation of Shishak's raid. Thus, it appears to be a passing comment for the Chronicler.

Second Kings 21:7 is the next occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice in Kings. Here, the occurrence again is contextualized negatively. The appropriate pericope for verse seven ranges from 2 Kgs 21:1-9.

בֶּן־שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה מְנַשֶּׁה בְמָלְכוֹ וַחֲמִשִּׁים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ חֶפְצִי־בָהּ וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה כְּתוֹעֲבֹת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּשָׁב וַיִּבֶן אֶת־הַבָּמוֹת אֲשֶׁר אִבַּד חִזְקִיָּהוּ אָבִיו וַיָּקֶם מִזְבְּחֹת לַבַּעַל וַיַּעַשׂ אֲשֵׁרָה כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אַחְאָב מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ לְכָל־צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיַּעֲבֹד אֹתָם וּבָנָה מִזְבְּחֹת בְּבֵית יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה בִּירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם אָשִׂים אֶת־שְׁמִי וַיִּבֶן מִזְבְּחוֹת לְכָל־צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם בִּשְׁתֵּי חַצְרוֹת בֵּית־יְהוָה וְהֶעֱבִיר אֶת־בְּנוֹ בָּאֵשׁ וְעוֹנֵן וְנִחֵשׁ וְעָשָׂה אוֹב וְיִדְּעֹנִים הִרְבָּה לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לְהַכְעִיסוֹ[61] וַיָּשֶׂם אֶת־פֶּסֶל הָאֲשֵׁרָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בַּבַּיִת אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה אֶל־דָּוִד וְאֶל־שְׁלֹמֹה בְנוֹ בַּבַּיִת הַזֶּה וּבִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי מִכֹּל שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָשִׂים אֶת־שְׁמִי[62] לְעוֹלָם וְלֹא אֹסִיף לְהָנִיד רֶגֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לַאֲבוֹתָם רַק אִם־יִשְׁמְרוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִים

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[60] The clause כִּי לֹא הֵכִין לִבּוֹ לִדְרוֹשׁ אֶת־יְהוָה communicates the cause of the king's erroneous ways.

[61] With the suggestion of the editors and in light of significant textual evidence, I am reading a 3 ms sf on the infinitive construct. The Masoretic Text exhibits a haplography.

[62] The LXX tradition includes ἐκεῖ, reflecting שָׁם. The Masoretic Text is preferred as the LXX is a deliberate harmonization.

וּלְכָל־הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֹתָם עַבְדִּי מֹשֶׁה וְלֹא שָׁמֵעוּ וַיַּתְעֵם מְנַשֶּׁה לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־הָרַע מִן־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הִשְׁמִיד יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Manasseh was 12[63] years old when he began to rule, and he ruled for 55 years in Jerusalem. The name of his mother was Hephizibah. He did evil in the eyes of the Lord, according to the abominations of the nations whom the Lord dispossessed from before the sons of Israel. He rebuilt the high places which his father Hezekiah destroyed. He erected altars to Baal, and he made an Asherah just as Ahab, king of Israel, did. He worshiped all the hosts of the heavens, and he served them so to build altars in the house of the Lord, about which the Lord said, "In Jerusalem I will put my name." He built altars to all the hosts of the heavens in the two courts of the house of the Lord so that he could make his son pass through the fire, practice soothsaying, divination, perform necromancy and the consultation of the dead- continually doing evil in the eyes of the Lord so to provoke him to anger. He put up an idol of Asherah, which he made, in the temple, about which the Lord said to David and to Solomon his son, "In this house and in Jerusalem, which I chose from all the tribes of Israel, I will put my name perpetually. I will no longer cause the feet of Israel to wander from the land which I gave to their fathers if only they will be careful to do in accord with all that I commanded them and the whole Torah which my servant Moses commanded them." But they did not obey. Manasseh incited them to do more evil than the nations whom the Lord destroyed from before the sons of Israel.

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[63] Some traditions read 10 in place of 12.

The message of this pericope is unequivocal. Manasseh had a profoundly negative effect on the spiritual vitality of Judah by performing evil in accord with the abominable practices of the pagan cultures. He rebuilt the pagan high places and altars that were destroyed by his predecessor, and he mimicked the syncretism of Ahab. He worshiped the astral deities, and, as a direct affront to the Lord, he built altars to those deities in the temple complex. All of this established him as the paradigmatic apostate. He did more evil than anyone, either Israelite or non-Israelite, and he was responsible for the people's rebellion (2 Kgs 21:11).

The occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem appears in v. 7, a verse dedicated to disclosing the sin of constructing an Asherah in the temple. The syntax is subtle but important. First, the occurrence of the theme appears within a relative clause that modifies יְרוּשָׁלַם, the object of a בְ preposition. This prepositional phrase along with the previous prepositional phrase, בַּבַּיִת הַזֶּה, functions to emphasize the location where the Lord chose to put his name. Second, the relative clause, "which I chose from all the tribes of Israel," relegates one manifestation of Deuteronomy's long-forms of the Centralization Formula under the other and subordinates the theme of the Lord's choice to the notion that the Lord chose the city to put his name there. That is, in this verse the historian has created a hierarchy between the two long-forms of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula. According to the historian, the gravity of Manasseh's sin is realized more clearly through the reality that he profaned the location where the Lord chose to put his name than by the reality that the Lord chose Jerusalem from all the tribes of Israel.

A parallel account of 2 Kgs 21:7 occurs in 2 Chr 33:7. As with the comparison

between 1 Kgs 14:21 and 2 Chr 12:13 above, the syntax in these parallel accounts is

virtually identical. The only deviations are as follows. In 2 Chr 33:7, פֶּסֶל־הַסֶּמֶל is

interchanged with פֶּסֶל־הָאֲשֵׁרָה.[64] The noun אֱלֹהִים is interchanged in Chronicles with יְהוָה.

Where Kings reads בַּבַּיִת אֲשֶׁר immediately after the athnach, Chronicles reads

בְּבֵית אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר. However, these deviations do not offer any implications for the

intentions of this study.

The final occurrence of this theme in Kings appears in 2 Kgs 23:27. Verses 26-27

constitute a distinct pericope that recounts the fate of Judah.

אַךְ לֹא־שָׁב יְהוָה מֵחֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ הַגָּדוֹל אֲשֶׁר־חָרָה אַפּוֹ בִּיהוּדָה עַל כָּל־הַכְּעָסִים[65] אֲשֶׁר הִכְעִיסוֹ מְנַשֶּׁה

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה גַּם אֶת־יְהוּדָה אָסִיר מֵעַל פָּנַי כַּאֲשֶׁר הֲסִרֹתִי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמָאַסְתִּי אֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת

אֲשֶׁר־בָּחַרְתִּי אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַם וְאֶת־הַבַּיִת אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתִּי יִהְיֶה שְׁמִי שָׁם

Yet, the Lord did not turn from his intense anger which flared against Judah

because of all the provocations with which Manasseh provoked him to anger. And

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[64] There has been significant debate regarding this phenomenon, particularly since פֶּסֶל־הַסֶּמֶל is

unique to the Old Testament. It appears that Manasseh rekindled Phoenician worship practices like his

grandfather. See John McKay, *Religion in Judah Under the Assyrians* (SBT 26; Naperville, IL: Alec R.

Allenson, 1973), 22-23.

[65] The overwhelming majority of the LXX textual tradition, the Syriac, and the Vulgate omit

הַכְּעָסִים, presumably because the redundancy of the root כעס creates awkward syntax. However, the

Masoretic Text is preferred as it is the more difficult reading.

the Lord said, 'Even Judah I will turn from my face, just as I turned away Israel, so that I might reject this city, which I chose, Jerusalem, as well as the temple about which I said, "My name will be there."

The restrictive adverb sets these two verses apart from the previous verses, which document the reforms of Josiah (vv. 24-25). Verses 26-27 are thus rhetorically significant. Not only does the historian quote the Lord, who equates Judah's judgment with the judgment of Israel, but this quote also employs important phrases and lexemes that communicate a powerful theological point. The Lord will turn away his face so that he may reject Jerusalem.[66] In the midst of this, the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem appears and is subordinate to the main pronouncement of rejection via a relative clause that modifies הָעִיר הַזֹּאת. In addition, the rejection of Jerusalem is paralleled with the rejection of the temple. Thus, the gravity of sin and judgment has hit a high point. Because of sin, the Lord rejected that which he had chosen; even the reforms of Josiah were unable to pacify divine anger and mitigate his judgment. Furthermore, in this context some of the nuances of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem in Kings have been turned on their head. Whereas 1 Kgs 11 communicated that the choice of Jerusalem could at least alleviate the full expectations of judgment, here it matters not.[67]

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[66] I am reading וּמָאַסְתִּי as a contingent *weqatal*, signifying purpose or result.

[67] As a final note, it should be mentioned that the divine choice of Jerusalem is completely separated from the Deuteronomic Name Formula. Here, the temple bears the "name" of the Lord, which is distinct from Jerusalem. This observation will be discussed in detail in Part 2.

The final occurrence to be discussed appears in 2 Chr 6:6. In this context,

Solomon, at his dedicatory prayer, recounts the covenant offered to David. Verses 5-6 are

of particular concern.

מִן־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִי אֶת־עַמִּי מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֹא־בָחַרְתִּי בְעִיר מִכֹּל שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לִבְנוֹת בַּיִת לִהְיוֹת

שְׁמִי שָׁם וְלֹא־בָחַרְתִּי בְאִישׁ לִהְיוֹת נָגִיד עַל־עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל וָאֶבְחַר בִּירוּשָׁלַם לִהְיוֹת שְׁמִי שָׁם וָאֶבְחַר בְּדָוִיד

לִהְיוֹת עַל־עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל

From the time when I brought my people out from the land of Egypt I had neither

chosen a city from all the tribes of Israel to build a house so that my name might

be there nor chosen a man to be a prince over my people Israel. I chose Jerusalem

(to build a house) so that my name might be there and I chose David to be (a

prince) over my people Israel.

In these verses, the choice of Jerusalem is explicitly paralleled with the choice of

David. Moreover, the choice of Jerusalem is discussed in such a way to emphasize the

reality that Jerusalem's election, like David's election, was the consequence of a

historical process. That eventual choice, according to 2 Chr 6:6, was so that Jerusalem

would be a place for the Lord's name.[68] More specifically, Jerusalem was elected so that

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[68] The parallel of this passage, 1 Kgs 8:16, as it appears in the Masoretic Text speaks only to the

election of David. In fact, Jerusalem is not even mentioned. However, Knoppers asserts that 1 Kgs 8:16

evinces a haplography based upon the recurrence of לִהְיוֹת שְׁמִי שָׁם. 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* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 313. The editors of the BHS also

suggest this, based on the witness of the LXX. This is probable, and thus there would be a fifteenth

occurrence of the theme. However, its appearance would contribute nothing new to the results of this study.

a temple would be built as a place for his name.[69] Consequently, 2 Chr 6:6 is very similar to 2 Kgs 23:27 in the sense that it distinguishes between Jerusalem as the divinely chosen city and the temple as the manifestation of the God's lordship.

In sum, within Kings and Chronicles, the choice of Jerusalem is associated with a variety of issues. It functions alongside the theme of David as the Lord's servant to substantiate the preservation of one tribe for the Davidic line (1 Kgs 11:13, 32), and in one instance, the Lord's choice of Jerusalem is associated with the dominion promised to David (1 Kgs 11:36). It is most often associated with both long-forms of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula (1 Kgs 11:32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:27; 2 Chr 6:6; 12:13; 33:7). However, both long-forms can function on different syntactical levels (1 Kgs 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 2 Chr 12:13; 33:7), which may allude to some perceptual developments. The choice of Jerusalem is paralleled with the prestige of the temple (2 Kgs 23:27) and the choice of David (2 Chr 6:6). Most importantly, the historian responsible for the conclusion of Kings informs the reader that the choice of Jerusalem no longer mitigates the extent of judgment (cf. 1 Kgs 11:13 vs. 2 Kgs 23:27).

2.3.2 The Choice of Zion in Psalms

One of the longest psalms in the Psalter, Ps 78 is entitled a מַשְׂכִּיל, categorizing it with twelve other psalms (Pss. 32; 42; 44-45; 52-55; 74; 88-89; 142). While the nuances of this title are still debated, scholarship does agree that Ps 78 serves a didactic function. In the words of R. P. Carroll, "It is a didactic recital," designed for "the instruction of the

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[69] In light of the logical relationship between 2 Chr 6:5-6, one can argue that the phrase לִבְנוֹת בַּיִת and the noun נָגִיד, which are not stated, can be assumed in v. 6.

hearers."[70] The content of that instruction arises from its recounting of the wilderness wandering, the plagues of Egypt, the possession of the Promised Land, and the people's perpetual rebellion, all the while contrasting God's faithfulness with the faithlessness of the people. Important to this study is its climactic pericope of vv. 67-72, which appears immediately after the proclamation that the Lord rejected Israel and abandoned Shiloh to destruction.

וַיִּמְאַס בְּאֹהֶל יוֹסֵף וּבְשֵׁבֶט אֶפְרַיִם לֹא בָחָר וַיִּבְחַר אֶת־שֵׁבֶט יְהוּדָה אֶת־הַר צִיּוֹן אֲשֶׁר אָהֵב וַיִּבֶן כְּמוֹ־רָמִים מִקְדָּשׁוֹ כְּאֶרֶץ יְסָדָהּ לְעוֹלָם וַיִּבְחַר בְּדָוִד עַבְדּוֹ וַיִּקָּחֵהוּ מִמִּכְלְאֹת צֹאן מֵאַחַר עָלוֹת הֱבִיאוֹ לִרְעוֹת בְּיַעֲקֹב עַמּוֹ וּבְיִשְׂרָאֵל נַחֲלָתוֹ וַיִּרְעֵם כְּתֹם לְבָבוֹ וּבִתְבוּנוֹת כַּפָּיו יַנְחֵם

He rejected the tent of Joseph, the tribe of Ephraim he did not choose. He chose the tribe of Judah, Mt. Zion, which he loves. He built his sanctuary as the heights, as the earth, he founded it forever. He chose David, his servant. He took him from the sheepfolds. From the nursing animals he brought him to shepherd Jacob, his people, and Israel, his inheritance. He tended them according to the integrity of his heart, and with the skills of his hand he led them.

These verses clearly contrast the rejection of the north with the election of Judah, which is communicated most pointedly in vv. 67-68 through its pivot on the negative and positive use of the verb בחר. The psalmist makes it clear via parallelism that to speak of the election of Judah is tantamount to speaking of the election of Zion.[71] Thus, Mt. Zion and Judah are one. Moreover, "Mt. Zion" is the place that the Lord loves, and upon Mt.

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[70] R. P. Carroll, "Psalm LXXVIII: Vestiges of a Tribal Polemic," *VT* 21 (1971): 133.

[71] In v. 68, בחר is gapped, functioning as the predicate for both object clauses.

Zion he has built his sanctuary as a witness to his constructive power. Just as the heavens and the earth bear witness to the Lord's ability to create and order the cosmos, so too does his dwelling on Mt. Zion. Also important is the intimate connection between the choice of David with the choice of Mt. Zion. Just as the Lord chose Mt. Zion, so too he chose David, his servant. He took him from his flocks to tend the flock of Israel, and David obeyed in an exemplary way. Thus, according to the psalmist, not only is the divine choice of David and Judah/Mt. Zion the apex of Israel's history, but they are intimately connected. Yet, this is not to say that one's importance is not elevated above the other. In fact, there seems to be a hierarchy (§8.2).

There is no shortage of commentary devoted to Ps 132, particularly since it is a valuable witness to understanding the nature of the Davidic covenant. The first twelve verses center on exhortations offered to the Lord. The psalmist exhorts the Lord to "remember" the deeds of David (132:1), to "arise" to his resting place (132:8), and to "let not your face turn from your anointed" (132:10). In the midst of these exhortations, the psalmist recounts the covenant sworn to David, further bolstering the legitimacy of his cry for action (vv. 11-12). Yet, what most concerns this study appears toward the end of the psalm, in vv. 13-18.

כִּי־בָחַר יְהוָה בְּצִיּוֹן אִוָּהּ לְמוֹשָׁב לוֹ זֹאת־מְנוּחָתִי עֲדֵי־עַד פֹּה־אֵשֵׁב כִּי אִוִּתִיהָ צֵידָהּ בָּרֵךְ אֲבָרֵךְ אֶבְיוֹנֶיהָ אַשְׂבִּיעַ לָחֶם וְכֹהֲנֶיהָ אַלְבִּישׁ יֶשַׁע וַחֲסִידֶיהָ רַנֵּן יְרַנֵּנוּ שָׁם אַצְמִיחַ קֶרֶן לְדָוִד עָרַכְתִּי נֵר לִמְשִׁיחִי אוֹיְבָיו אַלְבִּישׁ בֹּשֶׁת וְעָלָיו יָצִיץ נִזְרוֹ

Indeed the Lord chose Zion; he desired it as a dwelling for himself. "This is my resting place forever. Here I will dwell, for I desired it. Its provisions I will surely bless. Its needy I will satisfy with bread, and its priests I will clothe with

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salvation. Its faithful ones will indeed shout with joy. There I will make a horn

sprout for David. I have prepared a lamp for my anointed. His enemies I will

clothe with shame, but upon him his crown will shine."

English translations and scholars often translate the initial כִּי of this section

causally, suggesting that the Lord's choice of Zion substantiates the perpetual Davidic

rule spoken of in v. 12. Assuming this trend, these verses would evince a genetic

relationship between the David and Zion traditions.[72] However, this investigation

suggests such a position is questionable. Moreover, a causal כִּי is by no means definitive,

particularly since it initiates a noticeably different atmosphere for the psalm. The focus of

vv. 13-18 is overwhelmingly upon the geographic locale of Zion. In these verses, Zion is

the antecedent of the recurring pronominal suffixes.[73] Such a geographic focus is

demonstrated further by the locative particles פֹּה and שָׁם. Moreover, the verses

communicate that the Lord seeks to bless Jerusalem and its inhabitants abundantly in

order that they may reciprocate praise. The Lord also seeks to establish the Davidic line

there, which will result in the disgrace of the line's enemies (v. 17). This geographic

focus with its implications contrasts with the previous section of the psalm wherein upon

David and the implications of his deeds are the focus. In fact, these realities help

constitute the quantitative warrant to abandon a synchronic frame of reference assumed

by the psalm for a diachronic one (§8.3).

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[72] For example, Roberts, "Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire," 99.

[73] Consider אַוָּהּ, אוּתִיהָ, צֵידָהּ, אֶבְיוֹנֶיהָ, וְכֹהֲנֶיהָ, and וַחֲסִידֶיהָ.

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With respect to the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, the Lord chose

Zion because he desired it (אוה) as his perpetual dwelling place. Thus, this psalm

explicitly communicates that the divine choice of Zion stems from the Lord's desire to

establish it as his dwelling place. In this respect, Ps 132 is similar to Ps 78. What is also

similar between the use of this theme in Pss 132 and 78 is that the theme informs a more

salient issue. For Ps 78, it is the socio-political importance of the Davidic line. In Ps 132,

it is the city of Jerusalem, particularly the abundances and provisions that can be

experienced there.

In sum, both of these psalms proclaim the choice of Zion, and both link its

election to the reality that the worship of the Lord is accomplished there.[74] Psalm 78

parallels the choice of Zion with Judah and David, while contrasting these choices with

the rejection of Israel. Shepherding imagery associated with the Davidic tradition is

incorporated in Ps 78, and messianic and cultic imagery is employed in Ps 132.

2.3.3 The Choice of Jerusalem in Zechariah

This chapter has briefly alluded to the fact that the belief in the election of

Zion/Jerusalem plays a role within the message of First Zechariah. Three other passages,

all of which employ בחר, contribute to the theme of Zion/Jerusalem's election within

First Zechariah. Each passage appears in a context that is dated to the twenty-fourth day

of the eleventh month of the second year of King Darius' rule over Persia (Zech 1:7),

which is two months after Haggai's final oracle delivered to Zerubbabel (Hag 2:20-23).

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[74] Indeed, Ps 132 is more explicit in this regard. However, Ps 78 states that a consequence of the

divine choice is the construction of a sanctuary, an indirect statement regarding the worship of the Lord.

Haggai's final oracle is important because it illuminates the nature of Zerubbabel's role for the Second Temple community. I propose that understanding the nature of Zerubbabel's role for the Second Temple community has implications for understanding the peculiar usage of this theme in Zechariah. However, further discussion will remain until Part 2.

Understanding the semantics of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem in First Zechariah requires an understanding of the larger context of the theme's particular occurrences. Meyers and Meyers have best demonstrated the structural complexities of First Zechariah.[75] Existing in three major sections, the second section constitutes the bulk of the corpus as it spans 1:7-6:15. Moreover, the second section discloses seven visions and a confirmation scene, and it is arranged in concentric circles that cooperate to emphasize the importance of the temple and its leadership. Redaction-critically, Meyers and Meyers believe this intricate structure to be the product of a redactor who artistically compiled the oracles and visions of Haggai and Zechariah in order to produce a composite work for the temple's dedication ceremony. In fact, Meyers and Meyers consider the possibility that it may have been composed in order to be recited at that ceremony. In other words, according to Meyers and Meyers, Hag-Zech 8 is to be understood in light of its function to express the legitimacy and centrality of the temple for the community going forward.[76]

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[75] Eric M. Meyers and Carol L. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8* (AB 25B; Garden City, NJ: DoubleDay, 1987), liii-lx. The potency their proposal is corroborated by M. Butterworth, who comes to a remarkably similar conclusion. Mike Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zecheriah* (JSOTSupp 130; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 299-300.

[76] More specifically, these texts functioned "as the repository of words which expressed the ideological basis for [Judah]." Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, xliii.

The full extent of the conclusions of Meyers and Meyers can be debated, namely whether the composite work of Hag-Zech 8 was to be recited at the temple's rededication ceremony.[77] However, the dating formula and the thematic continuity between Haggai and First Zechariah are too stark to be ignored, not to mention the intricate structure of Zech 1-8. Consequently, I concur with Meyers and Meyers insofar as much of Hag-Zech 1-8 was probably compiled to be a unified corpus very shortly after the ministries of the prophets.[78] As such, each occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem must

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[77] For example, M. Boda disagrees. Mark J. Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 30.

[78] The critical issue in the compilation debate of the Haggai-Zechariah corpus is *when* it took place. Did it occur soon after the ministries of the prophets or over a lengthy period? In opposition to Meyers and Meyers, who represent the position that the redactional process of Haggai-Zechariah 1-8 was not long and drawn out, stands J. Wöhrle, who represents the opposing camp. He believes that compilation process spanned the early Persian period into the late post-exilic period. Jakob Wöhrle, "The Formation and Intention of the Haggai-Zechariah Corpus," *JHS* 6.10 (2006): 1-14. At the center of the debate are the chronological markers and Zechariah 8. While the intricacies of this debate would unnecessarily detract the present task, this study assumes the following points as a framework from which to proceed. First, I see insufficient reason to deny the likelihood that the dating formula discloses the historical contexts within which Haggai and Zechariah ministered. Second, at least Hag-Zech 7 were compiled shortly after 518 B.C.E.; it is significant that there is no mention of the temple's rededication ceremony in 516 B.C.E. Exactly when and in what form is certainly open for debate. Third, I agree with E. Assis and Wöhrle who understand Zechariah 8 as a type of exegetical response to the previous content, particularly as the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem is noticeably absent from chapter 8 (see below). For example Elie Assis, "Zechariah 8 As Revision and Digest of Zechariah 1-7," *JHS* 10.15 (2010): 1-26; Wöhrle, "Haggai-Zechariah Corpus," 13-14. Fourth, whatever redactional scheme one adopts, it must attribute Zech 1:17 and 2:16 to the same stratum; the syntactical and semantic continuity between each context is too pronounced.

be considered against this literary endeavor. That is, it must be asked of each occurrence

how it informs the temple-centric visions of Haggai and Zechariah.

As mentioned, the second section of First Zechariah exhibits an intricate structure.

"There is meaning to each vision on its own and also as a part of the larger whole."[79]

According to Meyers and Meyers, each vision corresponds to another within that section.

Vision one coincides with vision seven, two with six, and three with five. Cumulatively,

these visions emphasize chapters three and four. Assuming this scheme, the first

occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem (1:17) appears in a distinct

pericope (1:14b-17) that expounds upon the first vision.[80] In this first vision, the issue is

the peaceful state of the earth, as communicated through the reconnaissance of the

horsemen. Ironically, this peaceful state spurs the messenger of the Lord to cry out to the

Lord to act on behalf of Jerusalem and Judah. The seventy years of punishment are up,

and now the Lord must act on behalf of his people. The Lord responds with "comforting

words." These words are particularized in vv. 14-17 and should be subdivided threefold

According to Wöhrle, 3:1, where the third occurrence of the theme under question appears, belongs to a

different stratum than 1:17 and 2:16 (pp. 6-7). This is possible, particularly in light of its uniqueness (see

below). For similar opinions, see Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zecheriah*, 108; Martin

Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja 1-8: Eine Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (BZAW 411; Berlin:

De Gruyter, 2011), 192. However, Wöhrle's scheme is deficient because it atomizes the Haggai-Zechariah

corpus and stretches its redactional history well into the post-exilic period.

[79] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, liv.

[80] "The materials (vv. 14-17) integral to the whole chapter both amplify and require ideas

enunciated in the visionary section [vv. 7-14a]." Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 132. Boda

concurs, recognizing the connection between vv. 14b-17 and the previous verses. Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*,

199.

in light of the recurrence of the phase כֹּה אָמַר יְהֹוָה.[81] It is in this context that the first

occurrence of the Lord's choice in Zechariah appears.

כֹּה אָמַר יְהֹוָה צְבָאוֹת קִנֵּאתִי לִירוּשָׁלַם וּלְצִיּוֹן קִנְאָה גְדוֹלָה וְקֶצֶף גָּדוֹל אֲנִי קֹצֵף עַל־הַגּוֹיִם הַשַּׁאֲנַנִּים

אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי קָצַפְתִּי מְּעָט וְהֵמָּה עָזְרוּ לְרָעָה לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהֹוָה שַׁבְתִּי לִירוּשָׁלַם בְּרַחֲמִים בֵּיתִי יִבָּנֶה בָּהּ

נְאֻם יְהֹוָה צְבָאוֹת וְקָו יִנָּטֶה עַל־יְרוּשָׁלָם עוֹד קְרָא לֵאמֹר כֹּה אָמַר יְהֹוָה צְבָאוֹת עוֹד תְּפוּצֶינָה עָרַי מִטּוֹב

וְנִחַם יְהֹוָה עוֹד אֶת־צִיּוֹן וּבָחַר עוֹד בִּירוּשָׁלָם

> Thus says the Lord of Hosts. I am extremely jealous for Jerusalem and for Zion.
> With great anger, I am angry at the secure nations with whom I was angry but a
> little, but they came to the aid of calamity. Therefore, thus says the Lord, "I have
> returned to Jerusalem with comforting actions. My house is being rebuilt in it,"
> says the Lord of Hosts, and a line is being stretched over Jerusalem. Again,
> proclaim: Thus says the Lord of Hosts, my cities are again overflowing because of
> goodness so that the Lord may again have compassion on Zion, that he may again
> choose Jerusalem.' "

The syntax of these verses is important. First, verse 17, which contains the

occurrence of the theme under investigation, is syntactically linked with v. 16. The

leading verb of v. 16, שַׁבְתִּי, is perfect in form, communicating that the Lord has returned

to Jerusalem. In conjunction with this return is the reconstruction of the temple, the

extension of the measuring line, and the prosperity of the cities. All of these realities are

all either ongoing or lie in the immediate future, as demonstrated by the imperfect forms

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[81] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 132.

(תְּפוּצֶינָה ;יִנָּטֶה ;יִבָּנֶה). This proclamation culminates with two *weqatal* forms that signify

finality: וְנִחַם and וּבָחַר.[82] Second, Meyers and Meyers are correct to note the logical

development of vv. 14-17. In short, this context "signals the beginning of a new era"[83]

that is characterized by the reconstruction of the temple and the expansion of Jerusalem

while anticipating prosperity. Thus, one could describe vv. 14-17 as a divine response

that considers the past and present situations in order to build hope for the future.

Particularly important for this study is the reality that the full maturation of this

(re)choice[84] of Jerusalem has not yet happened. According to the syntax, the (re)choice is

contingent upon the ongoing efforts of reconstruction and revitalization of Jerusalem and

its immediate environs, hence the use of the *weqatal* form.

The next occurrence of this theme within Zechariah appears in 2:16. Similar to the

first occurrence, the second appears in a context that expounds upon Zechariah's visions.

The difference however is the scope of the explanation. Whereas 1:14-17 expounded

upon one vision, the immediate context of 2:16 (2:10-17; see below) expounds upon three

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[82] Boda refers to these clauses as "final crucial step." Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 201.

[83] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 133.

[84] The adverb עוֹד is present here and in Zech 2:16. This is important, particularly in light of 2 Kgs

23:27. In the words of Meyers and Meyers, the strategic use of עוֹד "seems to express the prophet's

understanding of continuity between the pre-exilic and postexilic communities, a continuity to be

symbolized by the restored temple." Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 124. As the sacking of

Jerusalem and its temple along with the exile of its inhabitants manifested divine rejection, the return from

exile, the repopulation of Judah, and the restoration of the temple signifies renewed election. However, as I

will discuss, I deviate from some of the nuances of their statements.

previous visions. Meyers and Meyers describe 2:10-17 are "oracular expansions" that "recapitulate, in reverse order, the themes and content of the first three visions."[85] They are both "a commentary upon the first three visions and a climax to them."[86] Broken up into vv. 10-11, 12-13, and 14-17, the occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice falls within the third expansion, which expounds upon the theme of the Lord's universal dominion and the return of his presence expressed in the first vision. In other words, 2:14-17 revisits 1:7-14a.

הוֹי צִיּוֹן [87]הוֹי הוֹי וְנֻסוּ מֵאֶרֶץ צָפוֹן נְאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי כְּאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם פֵּרַשְׂתִּי אֶתְכֶם נְאֻם־יְהוָה אֶל־הַגּוֹיִם הַשֹּׁלְלִים אֶתְכֶם כִּי [89]הִמָּלְטִי יוֹשֶׁבֶת[88] בַּת־בָּבֶל כִּי כֹה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אַחַר כָּבוֹד שְׁלָחַנִי

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[85] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 172.

[86] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 176. Boda also notes the logical connection, referring to these verses as a "call to respond" in light of the previous visions. Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 232.

[87] The editors state that כִּי כְּאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם פֵּרַשְׂתִּי אֶתְכֶם נְאֻם־יְהוָה is an addition. This suggestion is rejected for it has no textual support.

[88] The editors of the BHS hypothesize that הִמָּלְטִי יוֹשֶׁבֶת בַּת־בָּבֶל should read הִמָּלְטוּ יוֹשְׁבֵי אֶת בַּת־בָּבֶל in light of the LXX tradition. The Masoretic Text is accepted; the singular form possesses a collective nuance.

[89] With respect to אַחַד כָּבוֹד שְׁלָחַנִי, the editors of the BHS suggest it to be a corruption, or possibly an edition. There is no textual support for this. However, כָּבוֹד here is a divine title (cf. 2:9). Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 165. Boda also rejects the suggestion of the BHS editors. However, Boda does not interpret כָּבוֹד as a divine title, rather through an analogy with Ez 39:21 as a reference to judgment. Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 236.

הַנֹּגֵעַ בָּכֶם נֹגֵעַ בְּבָבַת עֵינוֹ[90] כִּי הִנְנִי מֵנִיף אֶת־יָדִי עֲלֵיהֶם וְהָיוּ שָׁלָל לְעַבְדֵיהֶם וִידַעְתֶּם כִּי־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת

שְׁלָחָנִי רָנִּי וְשִׂמְחִי בַּת־צִיּוֹן כִּי הִנְנִי־בָא וְשָׁכַנְתִּי בְתוֹכֵךְ נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְנִלְווּ גוֹיִם רַבִּים אֶל־יְהוָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא

וְהָיוּ לִי לְעָם וְשָׁכַנְתִּי בְתוֹכֵךְ וְיָדַעַתְּ כִּי־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שְׁלָחַנִי אֵלָיִךְ וְנָחַל יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוּדָה חֶלְקוֹ עַל אַדְמַת

הַקֹּדֶשׁ וּבָחַר עוֹד בִּירוּשָׁלָם

Alas! Alas! Flee from the land of the north, says the Lord. Indeed, as the four winds of the heavens, I spread you, says the Lord. Alas! To Zion escape O dweller of the daughter of Babylon! For thus says the Lord of Hosts, after Glory sent me to the nations plundering you- "The one striking you strikes my eye" Indeed, I am now waving my hand against them so that they may be plundered by their servants, so that you will know that the Lord of Hosts sent me. Sing and rejoice O Daughter of Zion! For I am coming so that I may dwell in your midst, says the Lord. When many nations are joined to the Lord at that time, they will be to me as a people and I will dwell in your midst, that you may know that the Lord of Hosts sent me to you, that the Lord may inherit Judah as his portion on the holy land, and that he may again choose Jerusalem.

After suggesting that any movement against the well-being of his people will incur his wrath (2:12b),[91] the Lord discloses that his judgment against Jerusalem's adversaries is imminent (v. 13). Yet, the purpose of judgment is missional, so that the recepients will acknowledge the Lord's sovereignty and power (וִידַעְתֶּם; v. 13). In

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[90] A first person singular pronominal suffix has been altered by the scribes to a third personal masculine singular suffix in order to prevent an unwanted anthropomorphism. See Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 166.

[91] Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 236; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 174.

response to these intentions, Zion is called to rejoice, and the reason for this joy is the presence of the Lord (v. 14). Moreover, "many nations" will join the inhabitants of Jerusalem as the Lord's people (v. 15). In other words, the prophet is amalgamating imminent judgment and imminent salvation on a global scale.

The Lord's choice of Jerusalem represents the climactic element for all of this.[92] Paralleled with a statement that the Lord will inherit Judah as his portion out of the holy land, v.16 states that Jerusalem's (re)choice is the ultimate result. Yet, that וּבָחַר is a *weqatal* of purpose demonstrates that the (re)choice of Jerusalem is contingent upon the dwelling of the Lord and global assemblage. This is similar to 1:17 insofar as the full maturation of Jerusalem's election is still not obtained. Nonetheless, whereas the previous occurrence in 1:17 linked the concept to the reconstruction of the temple and the revitalization of Judah, here it is linked to the global assemblage at Jerusalem.

The final appearance of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem in Zechariah appears in 3:2, in a chapter that recounts the heavenly confrontation of Joshua, the high priest, with the satan. However, the occurrence of this theme here is unique, existing merely as an epitaph of the Lord in order to bolster the rebuke of the satan: וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־הַשָּׂטָן יִגְעַר יְהוָה בְּךָ הַשָּׂטָן וְיִגְעַר יְהוָה בְּךָ הַבֹּחֵר בִּירוּשָׁלִָם. The Lord is the one who chooses Jerusalem.

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[92] "The end result is a convincing interweaving of universalistic presentations rooted in a focus upon the particular manifestation of God in the place of his choosing, in the Holy Land and in Jerusalem. This combination of theological concerns is achieved in the final verses." Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 176.

Initially, this appears to be little more than a passing comment with little bearing upon the immediate context, not to mention the thesis of my research. However, as Meyers and Meyers have discussed, this comment illuminates the nature of interaction between the satan and the Lord with respect to Joshua the High Priest.[93] Namely, this comment helps counter the essence of the satan's accusation. Whether Joshua's past precludes him as a worthy candidate as High Priest inevitably has implications for the legitimacy of Jerusalem. If Joshua, the High Priest of Jerusalem, is rendered unfit, it would logically follow that the temple in Jerusalem is unfit. However, given that the one who chooses Jerusalem is defending Joshua, the implication is that Joshua too enjoys divine favor. So, while this final occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice initially seems inconsequential, it exhibits continuity with the previous two occurrences in Zechariah insofar as it communicates that the choice of Jerusalem is associated with its cultic institution and its role within God's restorative plans.

In sum, in Zechariah there are three occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. However, these occurrences exhibit peculiar features. In one instance, בחר is used as a displaced relative participle, functioning as an epitaph of the Lord (3:2). Second, two occurrences of this theme appear as a *weqatal* form (1:17; 2:16). Thus, the Lord's choice of Jerusalem is contingent upon other ideas under which it is subordinated. In the case of 1:17, the (re)choice of Jerusalem is contingent upon the ongoing reconstruction of the temple and the revitalization of the cities of Judah and Jerusalem. In the case of 2:16, the (re)choice of Jerusalem is contingent upon the Lord's imminent arrival while being associated with the global assemblage at Jerusalem.

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[93] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 187.

The peculiarities of the theme in First Zechariah are significant. Therefore one asks why. Why is the choice of Jerusalem spoken of in terms that allude to the reality that the full maturation of this (re)choice is yet to be obtained? Meyers and Meyers link this theme to the reconstruction of the temple, implying that its ongoing reconstruction is the reason for speaking of the immature (re)choice of Jerusalem.[94] Indeed this is correct, but I believe this only partially explains the phenomenon. Recall what was mentioned above: understanding the role of Zerubbabel may hold an answer. Consider the following observations. First, in Zech 8, the universal centrality of Jerusalem is conveyed, much like in the visions of the second section of First Zechariah. Given that the Lord has returned to Zion in order to dwell in its midst (Zech 8:3), it follows that glory will return to Jerusalem. People will flood its street, exiles will return, economic prosperity will return, and Judah and Jerusalem will no longer be an object of scorn and mockery (8:4-13). The calamity of the past will give way to future blessings (8:14-16). In addition, Jerusalem will be the location of an assembly for the entire world. In fact, it will be so alluring that people will take hold of the garments of pilgrims in order to make the trip (8:23). In short, Jerusalem is the elected place of a global assembly. Conspicuous to these images is the absence of the verb בחר. It is curious that Zech 8 speaks of the election of Zion/Jerusalem in glowing terms but fails to utilize a *terminus technicus* that appeared in the previous chapters in the discussion of Zion's election. Second, chapter eight was composed at least two years after chapters 1-6,[95] and, third, Zechariah mysteriously and

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[94] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 132-34.

[95] It was mentioned above that I concur with those who argue that Zech 8 is a type of exegetical response to the chs. 1-7 (see n. 71). More specifically, the theory of Assis, that Zech 8 is a revisionary

abruptly disappears from the socio-political scene of Judah (chapter 8). Could it be that sometime within this chronological stretch Zerubbabel had already disappeared from the political scene, which diminished the use of the fully developed ideology of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem? This issue will be discussed in further detail in Part 2.

2.4 Conclusions

This chapter has expanded chapter one. Defining Zion/Jerusalem's election as the divine action(s) that indicate the belief that the Lord, within the confines of history, has distinguished Zion/Jerusalem in order to nourish his relationship with his people and the world, this chapter has emphasized that it is methodologically unsound to limit a study of Zion/Jerusalem's election to the verb בחר. The theme of the election of Zion/Jerusalem is quite broad and manifests numerous nuances. Zion/Jerusalem's election can be negative or positive. The positive aspects of Zion/Jerusalem's election can be further categorized along certain broad demarcations. First, the election of Zion/Jerusalem is perpetually associated with the royal institution, being the location of that institution's divinely sanctioned rule and the location of the restored Davidic line. Second, the election of Zion/Jerusalem has implications for the Lord's plans for the future. In addition to it being

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digest of the Zech 1-7, is provocative. While she is receptive to the possibility that chapter 8 was composed at the same time as chapter 7, she does not offer a definitive statement. From her argument–chapter 8 summarizes, clarifies, and expounds upon the chapters–chapter 8 could not have antedated the date of composition for chapter 7. I am unconvinced by Wöhrle's tenuous argument for placing the composition of chapter 8 in the "later post-exilic time." He simplistically roots the *Tendenz* of the final redactor, who also composed Zech 8, against the fifth century B.C.E. because of its ostensible harsh socio-economic conditions. Wöhrle, "Haggai-Zechariah Corpus," 13-14.

the destination of the redeemed, Jerusalem will be the focal point of a global assemblage. Jerusalem will be the place of the Lord's judgment seat, against his enemies and as a third party for bickering nations. In short, Jerusalem will be the center of it all. Third, the election of Zion/Jerusalem is also associated with divine presence as the Lord elected Zion/Jerusalem as his place of dwelling.

The final category that was examined dealt with those passages that explicitly state that the Lord chose Zion/Jerusalem. In each case, the Lord is the subject of the verb בחר and Zion or Jerusalem is the object. Furthermore, these passages exhibit a

pronounced association with particular elements of the Davidic tradition, which includes an awareness of the temple. In one location, the choice of Jerusalem is linked to the dominion promised to David (1 Kgs 11:36). The theme is also linked to the choice of David, the Lord's servant (Ps 78:68-72). Elsewhere, the choice of Zion is associated with the Lord's desire to make it the place of messianic rule and perpetual provision and glory (Ps 132:13-18). However, in eight of the fourteen occurrences this theme is associated with both manifestations of the long-form of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula (1 Kgs 11:32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:27; 2 Chr 6:6; 12:13; 33:7).

Consequently, the theme of the Lord's choice represents a distinct thematic thread within the larger theme of Zion/Jerusalem's election. It conjures up specific issues and it does so in a relatively uniform manner. These phenomena allow one to distinguish these passages from all other statements regarding the belief in Zion/Jerusalem's election. Therefore, the tendency exemplified by Roberts, to use the "choice" of Zion/Jerusalem interchangeably with the "election" of Zion/Jerusalem is imprecise. To speak of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem is to speak of the election of Zion/Jerusalem. However,

to speak of the election of Zion/Jerusalem is not necessarily equivalent to speaking of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. There is a distinction with a difference.

Another important implication of this chapter is the reality that the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem predominately functions within two spheres; only the uses within Zechariah deviate. On the one hand, the choice of Zion/Jerusalem is associated with David and the ideology and literature that developed in response to his legacy. On the other, it is associated with Deuteronomy's ideology of centralization. With respect to the latter, this chapter has observed a development as the narrative of Kings unfolds. In 1 Kgs 11:32 and 11:36, both long-forms of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula function in the same capacity, syntactically and theologically. Both forms complement the verb בחר, which functions as the predicate within a relative clause that

modifies Jerusalem. Furthermore, in these contexts, the choice of Jerusalem functions to give reasons why one tribe remained for the Davidic kings. Both forms again appear as complementary phrases in 1 Kgs 14:21. Yet, in 2 Kgs 21:7, the belief that the Lord chose Jerusalem from all the tribes of Israel is subordinate to the belief that the Lord chose that city to put his name there. In 2 Kgs 23:27, the belief that the Lord chose Jerusalem from all the tribes of Israel does not even appear in conjunction with the belief that the Lord chose Jerusalem to put his name there. These observations will be discussed in greater historical-critical detail in Part 2.

Yet, it deserves to be repeated that the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem does not always function with the long-forms of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula, even in Kings (eg. 1 Kgs 11:13). In fact, both the Davidic and Deuteronomic elements that gravitate to this particular theme converge only in 1 Kgs

11:29-39, suggesting that it is the prime pericope to understand the relationship of these two planes. Therefore, in the next chapter a redactional analysis of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 will commence in order to begin to determine how the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem developed and functioned, particularly within Israel's historical works.

Chapter 3

The Lord's Choice of Jerusalem and the Redaction of 1 Kgs 11:29-39

At the conclusion of the last chapter, it was noted that the theme of the Lord's choice of

Zion/Jerusalem, minus its occurrences in Zechariah, functions within two spheres. On the

one hand, it is associated with ideological elements of the Davidic tradition. On the other

hand, it is associated with ideological elements of the Deuteronomic tradition,

particularly its centralization ideology. Only in 1 Kgs 11:29-39 do these sphere collide.

Therefore, this pericope is fertile ground to 1) investigate this theme's relationship to

these ideologies and 2) determine as best as possible development of those relationships.

After a selected *Forschungsgeschichte* with respect to this pericope's compositional

history, this chapter discusses the pertinent text-critical issues of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 as they

are foundational to the redactional reconstruction of this pericope offered in the final

section of this chapter. This redaction critical analysis of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 analyzes and

draws out the implications of a few syntactical features observed in this pericope along

with other related episodes. This chapter suggests that 1 Kgs 11:29-39 exhibits at least

two phases that utilized the ideology of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem in the process of

discussing the secession of the northern tribes. It was the second phase that incorporated

Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula in order to draw attention to the cultic

prominence of Jerusalem as an explanation as to why Judah remained under Davidic

control.

3.1 A Selected Forschungsgeschichte

There is wide scholarly support that 1 Kgs 11:29-39 is a composite text. The debate

centers on the nature of this composition. To some, 1 Kgs 11:29-39 is essentially the

creation of an Israelite historian who used pre-existing sources only in a generic way. For

example, Halpern proposes "the historian has added to this skeleton of "facts" the flesh of

living discourse."[1] According to Halpern, 1 Kgs 11 is the creation of the historian,

constituting the "turning point" of the historian's presentation in order to foreshadow

Josiah's reign and his reforms as "the remedy for the division of the kingdom."[2] To

others, the canonical form of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 is the product of a much more lengthy and

complicated history of composition and redaction. Given that the theories of the latter

category are so diverse, a selective survey of theories that represents the scope of

opinions follows.

M. Noth proposed that 1 Kgs 11:29-39 is the product of deuteronomistic

supplements into a prophetic cycle devoted to Ahijah the prophet from Shiloh.[3]

According to Noth, the prophetic core consisted of 11:29aβb-31; 36abα; 37. The

deuteronomistic supplements were added to explain the continuity of one tribe for the

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[1] Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1988), 152. For his argument, see pp. 153-67.

[2] Halpern, *The First Historians*, 150-55.

[3] Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (trans. John Barton et al.; JSOTSup 15; 2d ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 97-99.

Davidic dynasty and admonish Jeroboam to live in accord with divine law: vv. 32-35 (minus אֶת עֲשֶׂרֶת הַשְּׁבָטִים); 36bβ; 38-39a.[4]

A. D. H. Mayes is similar to Halpern in that he believes that the historian composed much of this pericope while utilizing source material.[5] He diverges from Halpern however in the sense that this pericope's compositional history was more complex. Mayes suggests that the prophetic source consisted of vv. 29-31; 34a; 35bβ; 37a, which documented how a portion of Solomon's kingdom was transferred to Jeroboam. The historian adapted this source by incorporating vv. 32; 34bαβ; 35abα; 36; 37b; 38-39, stressing the election of David and Jerusalem along with their implications upon the maturation of the sins of Solomon. Subsequently, according to Mayes, a nomist redactor incorporated vv. 33 and 34bγ.

Provan suggests two phases of development for this pericope, which is perceivable upon thematic considerations.[6] According to Provan, the original form of this pericope consisted of vv. 29-31, 33(sg), 34a, and 36-38. It communicated that the Davidic dynasty, would rule over Judah forever, and that Jeroboam's line would also be forever over Israel so long as his line behaved as David. Verses 32 and 34b-35 (minus the glosses of vv. 34bβ and 35bβ) were added in the exilic period in order to explain the historical reality that all of Israel was not forfeited and to rectify the previous notion that the promise to David and his line was absolute.

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[4] Noth believes that v. 39b, and possibly all of vv. 38bβ-39 were added later. Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 99.

[5] Mayes, *Story of Israel*, 117-18.

[6] Provan, *Hezekiah*, 100-05.

R. Nelson believes that the historian "took over an old prophetic source, a fragment of which remains as vv. 29-32a and 34a."[7] According to Nelson, the historian expanded his source by emphasizing the postponement and restriction of judgment. In the process, the historian also emphasized the eternal dominion of the Davidic house and the temporary loss of the north (cf. vv. 36 and 39).

O'Brien assumes much of the work of A. Campbell, who reconstructs a "Prophetic Record" that was adapted by the historian.[8] That prophetic kernel, which is identified by its absence of deuteronomistic language, was comprised of 11:29-31; 37; 38b. According to O'Brien, vv. 34abβ; 35abγ; 36; 38a were added in light of the postponement and limitation of judgment. After this, vv. 32; 33; 39 were added, along with v. 34bβ, כָּל of v. 34, and אֶת עֲשֶׂרֶת הַשְּׁבָטִים of v. 35, during the exilic period.

In perhaps the most comprehensive reconstruction yet, H. Weippert argues for a four-phase development.[9] The first phase saw the composition of a kernel of tradition that functioned to legitimize Jeroboam's kingship: vv. 29-31; 37; 38aαβ. The second phase, which occurred before Baasha's uprising, incorporated vv. 34a; 35a; 36a in order to rectify the account in light of the historical turn of events. The third phase, which is the most pervasive and is attributed to a Josianic redactor, inserted vv. 32; 34b; 36b; 38abγ in

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[7] Richard D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 116.

[8] Mark A. O'Brien, *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis: A Reassessment* (OBO 92; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1989), 161-71.

[9] Helga Weippert, "Die Ätiologie des Nordreiches und seines Königshauses (1 Reg 11 29-40)," *ZAW* (1983): 344-75.

order to align the text with his historiographic scheme. Finally, vv. 33; 38; 39 were added as supplements.

Adopting the form-critical expectations of a "Succession Oracle Narrative," a sub-genre of a regnal succession oracle, DeVries suggests that vv. 29b-31; 34-35; 37 were original and that vv. 32; 33; 36; 38 are later expansions by the historian.[10]

Consequently, there is wide divergence amongst scholars with respect to the composition history of 1 Kgs 11:29-39. The only element of agreement regards vv. 29-31, as it seems to constitute the remnants of a kernel of tradition or the vestiges of a source used by the historian. Verses 32 and 36, the two texts within this pericope that contain the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem alongside Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula, are not always attributed to the same hand (see below). This lack of a consensus has caused some scholars to adhere to the most basic of reconstructions.[11] Yet, while the frustration over the lack of a consensus is understandable, the need to understand this pericope's development, as best as possible, is undeniable, particularly since the previous chapter noted the four reasons arising from this pericope that explain why the Davidic dynasty was preserved in light of apostasy.[12] As a way forward, this investigation will begin by recalling G. Knoppers' critique of many redactional reconstructions of 1 Kgs 11:29-39. According to Knoppers, many scholars "ignore the

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[10] Simon J. Devries, *1 Kings* (WBC 12; Waco: Word Books, 1985), 147-51.

[11] For example, M. Cogan states, "It seems best to speak of the kernel of the Ahijah prophecy…and its DtR reworking, the two detectable levels within the present text." Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings* (AB 1; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 344.

[12] Recall that I proposed that the syntax of the canonical form of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 constitutes the quantitative warrant for a diachronic investigation.

essential role of textual criticism. A number of awkward constructions [in the Masoretic Text of 1 Kgs 11:29-39] can be successfully explained text-critically."[13] Thus, before a redactional reconstruction commences, the text-critical situation of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 will be discussed.

3.2 A Text-critical Discussion of 1 Kgs 11:29-39

In discussing the textual situation of this pericope, the first issue to recognize is the witness of the Septuagintal textual tradition and the debate between the LXXA and LXXB textual traditions.[14] However, only the witness of the LXXA account is relevant to the task at hand, which is to evaluate text-critically the Masoretic Text of 1 Kgs 11:29-39.

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[13] Gary N. Knoppers, *Two Nations Under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies* (HSM 52; 2 vols.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 1:195.

[14] The Septuagintal tradition preserves alternative accounts of this event. On the one hand, there is the so-called LXXA account, which generally agrees with the Masoretic Text's account. On the other hand, there is the so-called LXXB account that significantly diverges from the Masoretic Text, namely through the absence of the prophet Ahijah delivering the oracle to Jeroboam. As such, this situation has engendered significant debate. Recently, Sweeney has argued that the Septuagintal accounts constitute later midrashic interpretations that seek to reduce the culpability of Solomon in favor of vilifying Jeroboam as a traitor. Marvin A. Sweeney, "A Reassessment of the Masoretic and Septuagint Versions of the Jeroboam Narratives in 1 Kings/3 Kingdoms 11-14," *JSJ* 38 (2007): 165-95. However, Schenker has significantly criticized Sweeney's methodology and indirectly questioned his competence to engage this text-critical discussion. Adrian Schenker, "Jeroboam's Rise and Fall in the Hebrew and Greek Bible: Methdological Reflections on a Recent Article: Marvin A. Sweeney, "A Reassessment of the Masoretic and Septuagint Versions of the Jeroboam Narratives in 1 Kings/3 Kingdoms," JSJ 38 (2007): 165-195," *JSJ* 39 (2008): 367-73.

The issue is how the LXXA account illuminates the textual-history of the Masoretic Text of 1 Kgs 11:29-39.[15]

First, the LXX bears witness to a haplography in v. 29. Because of a homoioteleuton, the phrase וַיְסִירֵהוּ מִן־הַדֶּרֶךְ was probably inadvertently omitted from the Masoretic Text. Also, in vv. 32 and 36, the LXX reads that "two tribes," rather than "one tribe," were to be left for Solomon's son. This variant is rejected as it seems to be an intentional effort to rectify the obvious mathematical conundrum. The text only accounts for eleven tribes instead of twelve. In v. 33, the phrase "my statutes and my ordinances" (וְחֻקֹּתַי וּמִשְׁפָּטַי) is lacking in the LXX, as well as the relative clause "who kept my commands and statutes" (אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַר מִצְוֹתַי וְחֻקֹּתָי) in v. 34. I concur with the suggestion put forth by the editors of the BHS that these phrases are probably expansionary glosses that later found their way into the Masoretic Text. However, I do not agree with the editors' suggestion to read תִּשְׁמֹר in place of תִּשְׁמַע in v. 38, which is based on the LXX's use of φυλασσω. In contexts that speak to covenantal obedience, the semantic fields of שמר and שמע overlap (e.g. Deut 7:12).

The most significant textual issues that emerge from the consultation of the LXX text concern vv. 33 and 38b-39. With respect to the former, the LXX reads singular verbal forms opposed to the Masoretic Text's plural verbs. It seems likely that the LXX preserves the original reading, particularly in light of the final clause כְּדָוִד אָבִיו. Knoppers is correct in stating that the Masortetic Text and its plural form "probably represents an

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[15] Consequently, in the remainder of this chapter LXX refers to the LXXA tradition.

attempt to soften Solomon's culpability."[16] It could also be an attempt to emphasize the culpability of the people as a whole. With respect to the latter issue, the Masoretic Text of vv. 38b-39 preserves the original text. Verse 38b is original, for it is logically and syntactically linked to its immediate context. Verse 39 of the Masoretic Text, as will be discussed, is probably a post-exilic interpolation and not a gloss, as suggested by the editors of the BHS. Indeed, the LXX represents the shorter reading, and, as pointed out by Knoppers, there is no obvious mechanism for a haplography.[17] Therefore, it appears that the LXX is the product of what Tov calls a "random omission."[18]

Consequently, the text from which to proceed with a redactional reconstruction is as follows:[19]

ויהי בעת ההיא וירבעם יצא מירושלם וימצא אתו אחיה השילני הנביא בדרך ויסירהו מן־הדרך והוא מתכסה בשלמה החדשה ושניהם לבדם[20] בשדה ויתפש אחיה בשלמה החדשה אשר עליו ויקרעה

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[16] Knoppers, *Two Nations*, 1:187.

[17] Knoppers, *Two Nations*, 1:191.

[18] Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 236-37.

[19] The reconstruction offered here does not constitute the earliest reconstituted stage of the biblical text. Rather, the text reconstructed here has identified and eliminated textual glosses and other significant copyist issues in light of the witness of the LXX that have often complicated redactional reconstructions of this pericope. For my complete reconstruction of the text, see §3.3.

[20] The G* omits this adverb, presumably to avoid a superfluous particle.

שׁנים²¹ עשׂר קרעים ויאמר לירבעם קח־לך עשׂרה²² קרעים כי כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישׂראל הנני קרע

את־הממלכה מיד שׁלמה ונתתי לך את עשׂרה השׁבטים והשׁבט האחד יהיה־לו למען עבדי דוד ולמען

ירושׁלם העיר אשׁר בחרתי בה מכל שׁבטי ישׂראל יען אשׁר עזבני וישׁתחו לעשׁתרת אלהי צדנין

לכמושׁ אלהי²³ מואב ולמלכם אלהי²⁴ בני־עמון ולא־הלך בדרכי לעשׂות הישׁר בעיני כדוד אביו

ולא־אקח את־כל־²⁵הממלכה כי נשׂיא אשׁתנו²⁶ כל ימי חייו למען דוד עבדי אשׁר בחרתי אתו ולקחתי

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²¹ Multiple manuscripts and the Targum prefix a לְ. This probably stems from the tendency of

Aramaic to employ the preposition modally. See Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Porta

5; 6h ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), §79.

²² The editors of the BHS suggest reading עשׁתי עשׂר, but it is rejected based on the lack of

evidence.

²³ A few manuscripts read תועבת in place of אלהי. The LXX reads τοῖς εἰδώλοις. The Masoretic

Text is preferred, as the LXX represents a theological *Tendenz*.

²⁴ The LXX reads προσοχθίσματι. See previous note.

²⁵ The editors suggest that כל should be deleted, for it is illogical and is not present in G⁵⁰⁹. Many

commentators adhere to this suggestion. I suggest however that the Masoretic Text should be preferred,

based on syntactical considerations. In v. 31, the participle קֹרֵעַ is used, which manifests a progressive

aspect; the Lord is *tearing* away the kingdom. By implication, the subsequent imperfects should be

understood progressively. In other words, the chain of events has already begun; the Lord is presently

tearing away the kingdom. Assuming this, the line of logic often imposed—if the kingdom is not to be

taken from Solomon, then why should the adjective כָּל be used?—is fallacious. Because the process has

started, Solomon is having the kingdom torn from his control. However, given that the whole kingdom will

not be torn from him, the maturation of this process will not occur until after his death.

המלוכה מיד בנו ונתתיה[27] לך ולבנו אתן שבט־אחד למען היות־ניר לדויד־עבדי כל־הימים לפני

בירושלם העיר אשר בחרתי לי לשום שמי שם ואתך אקח ומלכת בכל אשר־תאוה נפשך והיית מלך

על־ישראל והיה אם־תשמע את־כל־אשר אצוך והלכת בדרכי ועשית הישר בעיני לשמר חקותי ומצותי

כאשר עשה דוד עבדי והייתי עמך ובניתי לך בית־נאמן כאשר בניתי לדוד ונתתי לך את־ישראל ואענה

את־זרע דוד למען זאת אך לא כל־הימים

3.3 A Redactional Reconstruction

As already mentioned, some scholars lament the futility of any effort to ascertain, with

any degree of certainty, the compositional history of 1 Kgs 11:29-39. Schniedewind

states, "Without objective criteria, by which I mean obvious editorial or redactional

markers, it is impossible to subdivide Ahijah's prophecy into sources."[28] Despite the

legitimacy of such laments, I propose a way forward, and I begin by noting a widely

accepted conclusion. There is widespread agreement that the passage of 1 Kgs 11:29-39

exhibits a relationship with other passages throughout Samuel and Kings by means of

lexical, syntactical, and thematic continuity. The reconstruction of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 will

begin in earnest with a discussion of this continuity.

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[26] Based on Hos 1:6, the LXX reads ἀντιτασσόμενος ἀντιτάξομαι αὐτῷ. The Masoretic Text is

preferred because it presents no significant difficulties and represents an ideological connection with

Ezekiel.

[27] The LXX, Vulgate, and Syriac versions omit the 3 fs sf. Given that אֵת עֲשֶׂרֶת הַשְּׁבָטִים is a gloss,

the sf is retained.

[28] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 92.

3.3.1 The Tearing Away of the Kingdom[29]

The related episodes within the books of Samuel and Kings can be identified by the

following characteristics. In each, the verb קרע is used and the object of the action is the

kingdom. In addition, there is an expressed result of this action, communicated by a form

of the verb נתן. In these episodes, the kingdom is torn away to give it, or at least part of it,

to another. Finally, each passage communicates that the Lord is responsible for these turn

of events. Thus, the relevant passages, which will be characterized below as the "tearing

with the intent to give" passages, include 1 Sam 15:28; 28:17; 1 Kgs 11:11-13; 11:29-39;

and 14:8.[30]

In 1 Sam 15, Saul's inability to dispatch the dreaded Amalakites in accord with

divine stipulations is recounted. After emphasizing the Lord's rejection of Saul as king,

Samuel turns to leave but is initially prevented by Saul's refusal to release the hem of the

prophet's garment. The garment tears, which incites the prophet to proclaim, "The Lord

has torn the kingdom of Israel from you today so that he may give it to your fellow man,

one better than you." Here, the Lord is the subject of the perfect verb קָרַע. The object is

מַמְלְכוּת יִשְׂרָאֵל, and the prepositional phrase מֵעָלֶיךָ is used. Also, the irreal *weqatal* with

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[29] One may criticize this deviation away from the passages that voice the theme of the Lord's

choice of Zion/Jerusalem as unwarranted and/or tangential. However, this deviation, alongside the

conclusions of chapter 4 allows insight into the nuances of the theme of the Lord's choice of

Zion/Jerusalem.

[30] Also see Weippert, "Die Ätiologie," 351. She includes 2 Kgs 17:21, but she acknowledges its

dissimilarity to the other episodes. For the moment, it has been excluded, but it will be revisited at the end

of this chapter.

its objective suffix, וּנְתָנָהּ, communicates finality; the tearing is done so that the kingdom may be transferred to another.

First Samuel 28:17 reiterates the message of 15:28. Annoyed that he has been consulted by Saul yet again, Samuel proclaims to the king that his plight has been in accord with divine providence. "The Lord tore the kingdom from your hand and so he gave it to your fellow man, to David." The general semantics of this passage are the same as that of 15:28, but the syntax deviates, albeit only slightly. Instead of the preposition מֵעָלֶיךָ, מִיָּדֶךָ is used. Also, the *weqatal* form of נתן is replaced by a suffixed *wayyiqtol* form, וַיִּתְּנָהּ. However, given that this *wayyiqtol* form of נתן constitutes logical succession,[31] the nuance of finality displayed in 1 Sam 15:28 is present.

The context of 1 Kgs 14:8 details the interaction of the elderly prophet Ahijah with the wife of Jeroboam. Here, the prophet discloses to the queen that her son will die, and her husband's kingdom would soon be forfeited. During this proclamation, the Lord utters through the prophet, "I tore the kingdom from the house of David, and so I gave it to you. But you were not as my servant David who kept my commandments and who walked after me with all his heart, only doing good in my eyes." The form of קרע in this context appears as a first person singular *wayyiqtol* form. The object is הַמַּמְלָכָה, and the prepositional phrase מִבֵּית דָּוִד is used. Similar to 1 Sam 28:17, the *wayyiqtol* form of נתן, וָאֶתְּנֶהָ, constitutes logical succession and preserves a nuance of finality.

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[31] *IBHS*, §33.2.1. Waltke and O'Connor characterize logical succession as the most common function of the *wayyiqtol* form.

First Kings 11:11-13 constitutes the divine accusation and pronouncement of judgment against Solomon in light of his covenantal infidelity. Because he violated covenantal expectations, the Lord emphatically pronounces in v. 11, "I will certainly tear the kingdom away from you so that I may give it to you servant." Here, the first singular form of the verb קרע is intensified by the infinitive absolute, and מַמְלָכָה is the object. Moreover, the finality of this action is expressed via the irreal *weqatal* form, וּנְתַתִּיהָ. The prepositional phrase מֵעָלֶיךָ communicates from whose possession the kingdom will be torn, and the phrase לְעַבְדֶּךָ communicates the new recipient. The kingdom will be torn from Solomon and given to his servant.

However, vv. 12-13 exhibit two restrictive clauses that clarify judgment. As discussed is the previous chapter of this study, the forfeiture of the kingdom will not happen during the days of Solomon, but during the days of his son. Neither will the forfeiture of the kingdom be absolute; one tribe will remain. Thus, it is a spatial and temporal restriction. The reason for these restrictions is both David, who is the Lord's servant, and Jerusalem, the city which the Lord chose.

In sum, this brief survey has produced a few noteworthy of emphasis. First, there is notable syntactical agreement between these passages. In each case, the Lord is responsible for, at least, partially tearing away the kingdom from the incumbent with the intention of giving it to another. Moreover, the verbs קרע and נתן are constituent components of these passages. Admittedly, the syntactical agreement is not absolute, but it is enough to conclude that these passages constitute a common thread that communicates the belief that failure to meet divine expectations results in the forfeiture

of privilege and responsibility. Second, a significant variation within this thread occurs in 1 Kgs 11:11-13, which imports another level of meaning. First Kings 11:11-13 communicates that the Davidic line is superior to other monarchal families as the Davidic line enjoys unparalleled divine approval. Whereas sinfulness on the part of Saul and Jeroboam resulted in the total forfeiture of their respective kingdoms, sinfulness on the part of Solomon resulted in neither total forfeiture of the kingdom for his line nor forfeiture in his lifetime. The status of Jerusalem also factors into the logic of this retention, for it is the divinely chosen city.

Consequently, I propose that these syntactical observations have implications for the reconstruction of the latter's compositional history. Given the literary relationship between 1 Kgs 11:11-13 and 11:29-39, it stands to reason that the syntax of 1 Kgs 11:11-13, with its expressed restrictions and the substantiations for those restrictions, should be mirrored in 1 Kgs 11:29-39.[32]

3.3.2 Syntactical Observations in 1 Kgs 11:29-39

The "tearing to give to another" syntax first appears in v. 31. After exhorting Jeroboam to take ten pieces of the torn garment, the Lord relays the message to Jeroboam. "I am now tearing the kingdom from the hand of Solomon so that I may give to you ten tribes." Here, the Lord is the subject of the participle קֹרֵעַ, and the object is מַמְלְכָה. Also, the prepositional phrase מִיַּד appears along with the *weqatal* form וְנָתַתִּי. Thus, one should

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[32] Consequently, it is apparent that the redactional reconstruction offered here is untraditional insofar as it does not predominately rely upon traditional methods. As demonstrated by the *Forschungsgeschichte* above, traditional modes have failed to produce a consensus. The proposal here seeks to utilize the few issues that are agreed upon and proceed from there.

reasonably expect to encounter similar commentary to 1 Kgs 11:12-13 with respect to how judgment is restricted and the reasons for that restriction. True to form, these restrictions and their substantiations appear throughout vv. 32-36. In v. 32, the text states that "one tribe" will belong to Solomon because of David, the Lord's servant, and Jerusalem, the city which the Lord chose to put his name. In v. 34, the Lord asserts that he will not take the whole kingdom away because of David, who was not only chosen by the Lord but who also kept his commands. Verse 36 reiterates that one tribe will be given to Solomon's son, but the reason articulated here is that dominion, in Jerusalem the chosen city, was promised to David, the Lord's servant.

Consequently, one could argue that vv. 32, 34, and 36 should be attributed to the same hand that sought to edit an extant form of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 in accord with the same ideology in 1 Kgs 11:12-13. If accepted, however, one is forced to recognize the imprecision and awkwardness of the redaction. In other words, it makes little sense why a redactor would speak to the restriction of judgment and the reasons for that restriction in so many ways. This is a significant observation, and I believe that an explanation appears upon the consideration of the two occurrences of the long-forms of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula.

Both long-forms of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula appear in this pericope in vv. 32 and 36 respectively. In v. 32, Jerusalem is the city which the Lord chose from all the tribes of Israel. Verse 36 states that Jerusalem is the city, which the Lord chose for himself to put his name there. Yet, both occurrences of the long-form occur peculiarly. In the case of v. 32, the prepositional phrase מִכֹּל שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל appears directly after a resumptive pronoun. The Name Formula לָשׂוּם שְׁמִי שָׁם directly after the

reflexive phrase לִי. In the case of the former, there is one other location where a

manifestation of the long-form appears on the heels of a resumptive pronoun: Deut

12:11.[33] In the case of the latter, 1 Kgs 11:36 is unique. There is no other instance of

לָשׂוּם שְׁמִי שָׁם occurring immediately after a reflexive phrase. Also, consider the syntax of

the substantiating clause that begins in v. 36b. As noted by Provan, the syntax and the

sense of this clause differ from the similar substantiating clauses of v. 32.[34] While all the

substantiating clauses in vv. 32 and 36 disclose why one tribe will remain for the Davidic

line, in v. 36 the emphasis is upon the perpetual dominion, the נִיר, promised to David.[35]

Here, David is the object of the possessive לְ and thus is syntactically subordinate to the

promised נִיר. Moreover, Jerusalem, the chosen city, is the location of this נִיר (בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם).

As emphasized by Provan, this deviation from v. 32 is noteworthy. In v. 32 the legacy of

David and the chosen city of Jerusalem are two sides of the same coin because both

rationale for preservation of one tribe for the Davidic line.

Upon these observations, I concur with Provan and Knoppers who attribute parts

of vv. 32 and 36 to different literary strata. Where I deviate is with respect to the reason

why and to which socio-historical context these strata belong. Both Provan and Knoppers

attribute these verses to different strata because v. 32 disrupts the verse's logical flow.

However, their proposal severs the Josianic redactor from the use of the Deuteronomic

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[33] There the text reads, אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם בּוֹ לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם.

[34] Provan, *Hezekiah*, 101.

[35] For a discussion of the noun נִיר, including its semantics, see chapter 4.

Name Formula, which, as Levinson and Richter have shown, is a hallmark of the Josianic redactor.[36] Therefore, I propose that a Josianic redactor was responsible for the interpolation of both v. 32 and the phrase לָשׂוּם שְׁמִי שָׁם in v. 36. These insertions largely contributed to the text's convolution, communicating different substantiations regarding the restriction of judgment (§2.3.1). As for the phrase לִי, I propose that its provenance is that of a post-exilic milieu, which saw a waning enthusiasm surrounding the Davidic dynasty.[37]

3.3.3 A History of 1 Kgs 11:29-39

The earliest phase of this pericope's history that can be reconstructed with any confidence is that of the Hezekian historian.[38] I propose that this text consisted of vv. 29-31, *34 (minus the clauses אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַר מִצְוֺתַי וְחֻקֹּתָי and כִּי נָשִׂיא אֲשִׁתֶנּוּ כֹּל יְמֵי חַיָּיו), 35, *36 (minus לָשׂוּם שְׁמִי שָׁם), and 37-38. It would have read as follows:

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[36] This issue will be taken up in Part 2, ch. 6.

[37] The testimony of 1 Chr 17:12 is important. The reflexive phrase לִי in 1 Kgs 11:36 imports the sense that the Lord chose Jerusalem *for himself*, which echoes 1 Chr 17:12 when it states that Solomon will build a temple for the Lord. Just as Solomon would build a temple for the benefit and interest of the Lord (הוּא יִבְנֶה־לִּי בָיִת), so too has the Lord chosen Jerusalem for the benefit and interest of himself. Schniedewind has argued that the Chronicler's testimony, particularly in light of its difference from 2 Sam 7:13, points to a perceptual development within the post-exilic Judean community that emphasized the temple's divine implications versus the temple's Davidic implications. See §7.1.

[38] The belief that there is a "prophetic kernel," which had its roots in traditions associated with Ahijah, is quite reasonable. However, it is imprudent to attempt a reconstruction of such a kernel. The subsequent hands of the later historians are too pervasive.

ויהי בעת ההיא וירבעם יצא מירושלם וימצא אתו אחיה השילני הנביא בדרך ויסירהו מן־הדרך והוא

מתכסה בשלמה החדשה ושניהם לבדם בשדה ויתפש אחיה בשלמה החדשה אשר עליו ויקרעה שנים

עשר קרעים ויאמר לירבעם קח־לך עשרה קרעים כי כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל הנני קרע

את־הממלכה מיד שלמה ונתתי לך את עשרה השבטים ולא־אקח את־כל־הממלכה למען דוד עבדי

אשר בחרתי אתו ולקחתי המלוכה מיד בנו ונתתיה לך ולבנו אתן שבט־אחד למען היות־ניר

לדויד־עבדי כל־הימים לפני בירושלם העיר אשר בחרתי ואתך אקח ומלכת בכל אשר־תאוה נפשך

והיית מלך על־ישראל והיה אם־תשמע את־כל־אשר אצוך והלכת בדרכי ועשית הישר בעיני לשמר

חקותי ומצותי כאשר עשה דוד עבדי והייתי עמך ובניתי לך בית־נאמן כאשר בניתי לדוד ונתתי לך

את־ישראל

Subsequently (Stage 2), the Josianic redactor added vv. 32, 33 in the singular, and

the phrase לָשׂוּם שְׁמִי שָׁם in v. 36, presumably to highlight the culpability of Solomon

while emphasizing the preservation of one tribe in light of the court's deuteronomic

reforms. However, as a result, the redactor created the redundancies apparent in the

Masoretic Text with respect to preserving one tribe and the reasons for that preservation.

At a later stage (Stage 3), vv. 39, 33 in the plural and the phrase

כִּי נָשִׂיא אֲשִׁתֶנּוּ כֹּל יְמֵי חַיָּיו were added later in accord with the ideological developments of

the exilic and post-exilic communities.[39] Similarly, the reflexive phrase לִי was

incorporated in the post-exilic period. The final relative clause of v. 34,

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[39] Provan, *Hezekiah*, 103, n. 34. In particular, Provan notes the strategic use of the Piel form of ענה

in v. 39 and נָשִׂיא, which mirrors Ezek 37:25.

אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַר מִצְוֹתַי וְחֻקֹּתַי, and אֶת עֲשֶׂרֶת הַשְּׁבָטִים in v. 35 were probably initially glosses that

found their way into the text at a latter juncture.

The Development of 1 Kgs 11:29-39		
Stage 1 (Hezekian)	Stage 2 (Josianic)	Stage 3 (post-Josianic)
ויהי בעת ההיא וירבעם יצא מירושלם וימצא אתו אחיה השילני הנביא בדרך ויסירהו מן־הדרך והוא מתכסה בשלמה החדשה ושניהם לבדם בשדה ויתפש אחיה בשלמה החדשה אשר עליו ויקרעה שנים עשר קרעים ויאמר לירבעם קח־לך עשרה קרעים כי כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל הנני קרע את־הממלכה מיד שלמה ונתתי לך את ערשה השבטים ולא־אקח את־כל־הממלכה למען דוד עבדי אשר בחרתי אתו ולקחתי המלוכה מיד בנו ונתתיה לך ולבנו אתן שבת־אחד למען היות־ניר⁴⁰ לדויד־עבדי כל־הימים לפני בירושלם העיר אשר בחרתי ואתך אקח ומלכת בכל אשר־תאוה נפשך והיית מלך על־ישראל והיה אם־תשמע את־כל־אשר אצוך והלכת בדרכי ועשית הישר בעיני לשמר חקותי ומצותי כאשר עשה דוד עבדי והייתי עמך	ויהי בעת ההיא וירבעם יצא מירושלם וימצא אתו אחיה השילני הנביא בדרך ויסירהו מן־הדרך והוא מתכסה בשלמה החדשה ושניהם לבדם בשדה ויתפש אחיה בשלמה החדשה אשר עליו ויקרעה שנים עשר קרעים ויאמר לירבעם קח־לך עשרה קרעים כי כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל הנני קרע את־הממלכה מיד שלמה ונתתי לך את ערשה השבטים *והשבט* *האחד יהיה־לו למען עבדי דוד* *ולמען ירושלם העיר אשר* *בחרתי בה מכל שבטי ישראל* *יען אשר עזבני וישתחו* *לעשתרת אלהי צדנין לכמוש* *אלהי מואב ולמלכם אלהי* *בני־עמון ולא־הלך בדרכי* *לעשות הישר בעיני כדוד אביו* ולא־אקח את־כל־הממלכה למען דוד עבדי אשר בחרתי אתו ולקחתי המלוכה מיד בנו ונתתיה לך ולבנו אתן שבת־אחד למען היות־ניר לדויד־עבדי כל־הימים לפני	ויהי בעת ההיא וירבעם יצא מירושלם וימצא אתו אחיה השילני הנביא בדרך ויסירהו מן־הדרך והוא מתכסה בשלמה החדשה ושניהם לבדם בשדה ויתפש אחיה בשלמה החדשה אשר עליו ויקרעה שנים עשר קרעים ויאמר לירבעם קח־לך עשרה קרעים כי כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל הנני קרע את־הממלכה מיד שלמה ונתתי לך את ערשה השבטים והשבט האחד יהיה־לו למען עבדי דוד ולמען ירושלם העיר אשר בחרתי בה מכל שבטי ישראל **יען אשר עזבוני וישתחוו** **לעשתרת אלהי צדנין לכמוש** **אלהי מואב ולמלכם אלהי** **בני־עמון ולא־הלכו בדרכי** **לעשות הישר בעיני כדוד אביו** ולא־אקח את־כל־הממלכה **כי** **נשיא אשתנו כל ימי חייו** למען דוד עבדי אשר בחרתי אתו **אשר שמר מצותי וחקתי** ולקחתי המלוכה מיד בנו ונתתיה לך **את עשרת השבטים**

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⁴⁰ On the contextualization of the נִיר ideology in a Hezekian milieu, see §4.3.

ובניתי לך בית־נאמן כאשר בניתי לדוד ונתתי לך את־ישראל	בירושלם העיר אשר בחרתי *לשׂום שׁמי שׁם* ואתך אקח ומלכת בכל אשר־תאוה נפשך והיית מלך על־ישראל והיה אם־תשמע את־כל־אשר אצוך והלכת בדרכי ועשית הישר בעיני לשמר חקותי ומצותי כאשר עשה דוד עבדי והייתי עמך ובניתי לך בית־נאמן כאשר בניתי לדוד ונתתי לך את־ישראל	ולבנו אתן שבת־אחד למען היות־ניר לדויד־עבדי כל־הימים לפני בירושלם העיר אשר בחרתי **לַי** לשום שמי שם ואתך אקח ומלכת בכל אשר־תאוה נפשך והיית מלך על־ישראל והיה אם־תשמע את־כל־אשר אצוך והלכת בדרכי ועשית הישר בעיני לשמר חקותי ומצותי כאשר עשה דוד עבדי והייתי עמך ובניתי לך בית־נאמן כאשר בניתי לדוד ונתתי לך את־ישראל **וְאַעֲנֶה אֶת־זֶרַע דָוִד לְמַעַן זֹאת אַךְ לֹא כָל־הַיָמִים**

3.4 Conclusions

From this redaction-critical investigation, certain implications bear upon understanding the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. First, a particular observation of chapter two is corroborated, namely the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem is not inextricably linked to the Deuteronomic ideology of centralization. This chapter has argued that an early stage of the motif of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem is related to the belief that Jerusalem was promised to David as perpetual territorial dominion for his dynasty. Second, with respect to 1 Kgs 11:29-39, the Josianic redactor may not have been as pervasive as often thought, for this reconstruction here implies that his work in this pericope merely sought to emphasize the implications of his Deuteronomic reforms. It is likely that the pre-Josianic phase to the pericope's compositional history utilized the theme of the Lord's choice in its discussion of the secession. Building upon the general redactional scheme of Kings mentioned in the Prologue of this study, this pre-Josianic

phase may be attributed to a Hezekian author. That is, a Hezekian edition of Kings utilized the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem.

A brief comment on 2 Kgs 17:21 is now necessary, particularly since it is often associated with 1 Sam 15:28; 28:17; 1 Kgs 11:11-13; 11:29-39; 14:8 while recognized as distinct from the other passages. M. Brettler has argued that 2 Kgs 17:21a should be translated, "For Israel broke away from the house of David, and they made the son of Nebat king," instead of the traditional rendering, "When he had torn Israel from the house of David, they made Jeroboam son of Nebat king" (NRSV).[41] According to Brettler, this passage explains that Israel deserved its fate for breaking away from the Davidic monarchy. In turn, Schniedewind has argued that this verse supports the idea of a Hezekian history that functioned to reflect upon the fall of Samaria in relation to the preservation of Jerusalem.[42] Initially, the stance of Brettler and Schniedewind appears to be incompatible with the conclusions offered in this chapter. Stating that Israel was culpable in 2 Kgs 17 contradicts the previous passages of this thread that attribute the separation to the Lord. However, Brettler's proposal is only partially correct.

Brettler's argument is correct insofar as its points out the error of the traditional trends of translations for 2 Kgs 21:17a. Israel is the subject of the verb. However, I disagree with Brettler in rendering the leading כִּי of v. 21 as "for," signifying a causal clause. Rather, כִּי should be rendered temporally, "when." In fact, a temporal כִּי is usually employed in contexts that convey a contemporary nuance.[43] Thus, 2 Kgs 17:21a should

[41] Marc Brettler, "Ideology, History, and Theology in 2 Kings XVII 7-23," *VT* 39.3 (1989): 278.

[42] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, 79-80.

[43] *IBHS*, §38.7a.

be translated as follows: "(At the time) when Israel broke away from the house of David, they installed Jeroboam, son of Nebat, as king."

In light of this translation, Brettler's suggestion that this verse testifies to the belief that Israel was at fault in light of their rebellion deserves slight nuancing. The Lord's anger and his expulsion of them from the land was not necessarily caused by Israel's secession. Rather, the burden of blame falls upon Jeroboam with his sinful influence (2 Kgs 17:21b). Such ideology is consistent with 1 Kgs 14 where Jeroboam is rebuked for his sin. Most importantly though, 2 Kgs 17:21a does not contradict the previous occurrences of the "tearing to give to another" theme. Whereas the previous occurrences are overtly theological, attributing the "tearing" to the Lord, the text here merely states the visible fact of history. Israel broke away from Judah.

Thus, 2 Kgs 17:21 brings the "tearing with the intent to give" thread to a conclusion, and thus can been seen as a thread that permeates the Hezekian history, cooperating to communicate in part the belief that the Davidic line was superior to those who went before and after. Whereas disobedience of other ruling lines, such as the lines of Saul and Jeroboam, resulted in the forfeiture of their prestige and rule, the disobedience of the Davidic line resulted only in the reduction of prestige and rule. Yet, let the reader recall that this thread is influenced in part by the Davidic נִיר ideology, which communicates that territorial dominion was promised to David (1 Kgs 11:36; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19). Furthermore, similar to the "tearing with the intent to give" motif, the נִיר passages of Kings testify to the enduring prestige of the Davidic line and affect one's understanding of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem. Therefore, a more exhaustive investigation of this ideology is now warranted.

Chapter 4

The נִיר Passages of Kings and their Relationship to the Theme of the Lord's Choice of Zion/Jerusalem

This chapter discusses the semantics and function of the passages in Kings that utilize נִיר,

for the previous chapter demonstrated that its ideology influences the theme of the Lord's

choice of Zion/Jerusalem.[1] After identifying the necessary passages and determining

some general semantic issues of this rare noun, a discussion of the function of these

passages follows. The נֵר passages in the books of Samuel are also discussed, since this

study takes the proposal of R. Polzin's as a point of departure. Polzin suggests wordplay

between the נִיר passages of Kings and the נֵר passages of Samuel, but he does not

adequately investigate the methodological requisites for such a proposal. Redactional

comments relevant to these passages are also offered. This chapter concludes by

discussing how these passages function with the theme of the Lord's choice of

Zion/Jerusalem.

4.1 Initial Semantic Considerations of the Davidic נִיר Passages

The Davidic נִיר passages are those passages that employ the noun נִיר in contexts that

discuss the ramifications of the Davidic covenant: 1 Kgs 11:36; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19; 2 Chr

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[1] While this chapter may be criticized as ancillary, it is worth repeating that it has important implications for the task at hand.

21:7.[2] On the one hand, there is virtual uniformity in the translation of נִיר amongst

English translations. נִיר is often rendered as "light" or "lamp." Given many lexicographic

discussions, this is understandable; נִיר is often considered a bi-form of נֵר.[3]

On the other hand, amongst ancient translations, there is no uniformity.[4] The LXX

employs three different terms: λύχνος, "light" (2 Kgs 8:19), θέσις, "position" (1 Kgs

11:36), and κατάλειμμα, "remnant" (1 Kgs 15:4).[5] The Vulgate employs *lucerna*, "light"

or "lamp,"[6] in all three passages, but the Targum translates נִיר as מַלְכוּ, "kingdom."[7]

Clearly, ancient translators had different understandings of נִיר. Moreover, phonological

and morphological expectations exacerbate the discussion. If נִיר in Kings assumes either

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[2] The occurrence in 2 Chr will not be discussed as it does not bear upon Polzin's proposal.

[3] D. Kellermann, "נֵר," *TDOT*, 10:14; Martin J. Selmer, "נֵר," *NIDOTTE*, 3:159-60; *HALOT*, 1:697.

[4] I recognize the complicated issue regarding the relationship between the Vorlage of these ancient translations with that of the Masoretic Text, particularly with respect to the LXX. Even if the Vorlage of the LXX for these three passages is deemed to be of a different tradition than the Masoretic tradition, the witnesses of the Targum and the Vulgate, whose Vorlages are closely related to the Masoretic tradition, constitute sufficient warrant to question the tendencies of English translations. See Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 134-54.

[5] Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 274, 318, 379.

[6] J. R. V. Marchant and Joseph F. Charles, eds., *Cassell's Latin Dictionary* (New York: Funck and Wagnalis, 1958).

[7] Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Tragumim, The Talmud Babli and Yerushalami, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press, 1996), 791.

the root ניר *or* נור and a *qatil* nominal pattern, as is often the case, the expected

phonological contraction is a sere ("e") not a hireq ("i").[8] Consequently, these issues

rightly raise serious questions about the interpretive trend amongst English translations.

In 1968, Paul Hanson addressed this issue in his article "The Song of Heshbon

and David's *NÎR*."[9] Therein, he argued that נִיר in Kings is not a bi-form of נֵר and should

be metaphorically translated as "dominion" from a literal meaning of "yoke." Observing

the distinction amongst cognate languages between the נור family of words connected

with "light" and a nominal form of *nīr* exhibiting a historically long "i" associated with

"yoke," the use of the nominal form *nīru* in Akkadian royal literature as a *terminus*

technicus, and other comparative issues,[10] Hanson offered a quality critique and

alternative. Ehud Ben Zvi also questioned the interpretation of נִיר as "light" or "lamp" in

Kings but from a philological angle. Proceeding from a method heavily influenced by

James Barr, Ben Zvi argues that a semantic study should proceed initially from a Hebrew

context versus a comparative one.[11] He asserts a relationship between נִיר in Kings and

other forms of the root ניר in the Old Testament,[12] ultimately offering a translation of

"territorial dominion," very similar to Hanson.[13]

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[8] Ehud Ben Zvi, "Once The Lamp Has Been Kindled . . ." *ABR* 39 (1991): 23-25.

[9] Paul D. Hanson, "The Song of Heshbon and David's NÎR," *HTR* 61 (1968): 297-320.

[10] Hanson, "Song of Heshbon," 311-13.

[11] According to Ben Zvi, cognate languages should function merely as guidelines. Zvi, "Once the Lamp," 22.

[12] Other occurrences of the root ניר demonstrate the idea of "soil." *HALOT*, 1:696-97.

Some scholars continue to assert that נִיר in Kings should be rendered "light" or

"lamp." For example, Wiseman states unequivocally, "There is no need to equate this

with dominion (Akkadian *nīr*, yoke)."[14] Referencing Ugaritic, Cogan and Tadmor also

prefer "lamp."[15] However, I am persuaded by the work of Hanson, Ben Zvi, and other

scholars.[16] The noun נִיר in Kings should not be translated as "light" or "lamp." Rather, it

refers to a territory parceled in accord with a covenant.

4.2 The Function of the Davidic נִיר Passages

However, the functional question remains inadequately answered. Simply put, why did

the writer employ this rare word, נִיר, in the manner that it appears? R. Polzin begins to

offer a solution when he suggests wordplay between these passages in Kings and the נֵר

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[13] Zvi, "Once the Lamp," 30.

[14] Donald J. Wiseman, *1 and 2 Kings* (TOTC 9; Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2008), 149.
Unfortunately, Wiseman fails to discuss the philological issues raised by Hanson and Ben Zvi.

[15] Cogan and Tadmor refer to the negative connotations often associated with *nīru* in Akkadian
royal literature and offer Ugaritic evidence for retaining the נִיר/נֵר bi-form. Mordechai Cogan and Hayim
Tadmor, *2 Kings* (AB 11; New York: Doubleday, 1988), 95.

[16] Ben Zvi's philological argument, which questions the automatic correlation between Ugaritic
and Hebrew, is convincing. Also, נִיר may exhibit a satirical function, which could explain its use despite its
typical negative connotation (see below). Also see, Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 274-89;
Halpern, *The First Historians*, 144-80; Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 158.

passages of Samuel (1 Sam 3:3; 2 Sam 21:17; 22:29).[17] This proposal is intriguing.

Unfortunately, Polzin's brief comments, which appear in little more than a footnote, do

not constitute a full treatment, particularly in light of the methodological issues involved

with wordplay. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss some methodological issues in order

to determine whether wordplay was intended.[18]

4.2.1 Methodological Considerations

Wordplay is a rhetorical device that implements sound and meaning, audible and

intellectual stimulation.[19] It is "intended to excite curiosity to invite a search for meanings

that were not readily apparent."[20] Put simply, wordplay imports unforeseen meaning into

a context, adding another semantic layer. Specific to the present task is the sub-category

metaphonic wordplay, stimulation through vowel mutilation.[21] Therefore recalling

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[17] Robert Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1989), 234, n.34. While emphasizing 1 Sam 3:3a, Polzin's larger discussion, which will be discussed below, incorporates 2 Sam 21:17 and 22:29, linking all the occurrences of נֵר in Samuel to this relationship. Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*, 52-54.

[18] That wordplay is a rhetorical device establishes the need to demonstrate the probability of intentionality. "To fall under the definition of paronomasia as an artifice of style, the similarity of sound must be manifestly designed by the author, not the result of an unavoidable coincidence." Immanuel M. Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Old Testament* (Boston: Nortwood Press, 1894), 26. Yet, I acknowledge the murky intellectual water that is the concept of "intent," particularly in light of the never ceasing and intense hermeneutical debates. For this reason, this essay will emphasize the *reasonableness* or *probability* of Polzin's proposal.

[19] Casanowicz, *Paronomasia*, 12.

[20] Jack Sasson, "Wordplay in the OT," *IDBSup*, 968.

[21] Sasson, "Wordplay in the OT," 969.

Polzin's proposal, does the "e"/"i" distinction trigger the importation of ideas? In answering this, one must first consider Casanowicz's caution, "The nature of Semitic languages favors the occurrence of similar sounds."[22] Thus, in light of the morphological and phonological patterns exhibited in Semitic languages, one must distinguish between coincidental similarities and those that were probably intended. So specific to this task, does the monosyllabic nature of נֵר and נִיר disqualify Polzin's proposal? Indeed this is a significant obstacle.

Perhaps the most significant methodological issue is distance; the נֵר passages of Samuel and the נִיר passages of Kings do not occur in the immediate context of each other. Therefore, does the distance between terms disqualify Polzin's proposal? Certainly, wordplay is most obvious when the associated passages occur in close proximity. However, more important than proximity is the ability of the audience to make the cognitive connection; close proximity merely increases this likelihood.[23] Thus, for Polzin's proposal to defy the obstacle of distance, one must demonstrate the probability

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[22] Casanowicz, *Paronomasia*, 21.

[23] Edward Greenstein states that wordplay occurs in the "*proximity* of words that display similarity of sound with dissimilarity of meaning." E. L. Greenstein, "Hebrew Wordplay," *ABD*, 6:968, emphasis mine. Yet, that Greenstein later states that wordplay can trigger an association with another word separated by a substantial distance suggests that "proximity" requires further modification. Greenstein, "Hebrew Wordplay," 6:970. Moreover, Gary Rendsburg asserts the presence of bilingual wordplay in the Old Testament, where the sound of the Hebrew plays off of a non-Hebrew word. Gary A. Rendsburg, "Bilingual Wordplay in the Bible," *VT* 38 (1988): 354-57. Thus, "proximity" in these cases transcends the confines of the Old Testament and moves into the realm of cross-cultural linguistics.

that this cognitive connection would have been possible. There are at least three

considerations to assessing this probability: the rarity of נִיר, the logical correlation

between the semantics of the נֵר and נִיר passages, and the literary relationship between

passages.[24] The following section will examine the נִיר passages of Kings in such a way

that will address these considerations.

4.2.2 An Examination of the נִיר Passages in Kings

Rare or unusual words that display a similar sound to another word may signal an

intended connection.[25] The noun נִיר certainly fits the description of "unusual." If one

follows Ben Zvi in maintaining that נִיר in Kings is related to the other forms of the root

ניר, there are only ten occurrences of this root in the Old Testament.[26] If one follows

Hanson, who suggests that נִיר in Kings is a homonym to the other forms of the root ניר in

the Old Testament, the number of occurrences is reduced to four.[27]

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[24] Upon considering the literary relationship between passages, it will become clear that a synchronic stance, which Polzin assumes, is deficient for discussing a wordplay that spans the books of Samuel and Kings. In other words, diachronic issues must be considered.

[25] "There can be no doubt that the congruence of sound is intended in those combinations…in which unusual words or forms are employed in order to produce similarity of sound." Casanowicz, *Paronomasia*, 27. However, Casanowicz's confidence that such a phenomenon is *undoubtedly* a sign of paronomasia should be tempered.

[26] *HALOT*, 1:696-97.

[27] Ben Zvi recognizes this possibility. Zvi, "Once the Lamp," 28.

Furthermore, when one considers נִיר in relation to the preferred terms of "dominion" or "kingdom" in the books of Deuteronomy-2 Kings. Undoubtedly, the preferred root to communicate such ideas within this literary corpus is מלך.[28] The nouns מַמְלָכָה, מְלוּכָה, מַמְלָכוּת, and מַלְכוּת combine to occur 241 times in the Old Testament with nearly twenty-five percent of their occurrences in Deuteronomy-2 Kings. Forty-six times they appear in Samuel and Kings, about twenty percent of all occurrences. Furthermore, both מַמְלָכָה and מְלוּכָה appear in the immediate context of 1 Kgs 11:36.[29] Thus, the author was clearly familiar with these popular terms but instead chose to employ נִיר in 1 Kgs 11:36, 15:4 and 2 Kgs 8:19.

The first occurrence of נִיר appears in the context that recounts the prophet Ahijah's encounter with Jeroboam (1 Kgs 11:29-39). More specifically, it appears in a subordinate clause that substantiates the preservation of one tribe to the Davidic ruler. "But I will not take the whole kingdom from his hand…But to his son I will give one tribe in order that territorial dominion may perpetually belong to David, my servant,

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[28] מַמְלָכָה occurs 117 times in the Old Testament, with thirty-seven occurrences in Deut-2 Kgs, twelve in Samuel, and sixteen in Kings. מְלוּכָה appears twenty-four times in the Old Testament and seven times in both Samuel and Kings. מַמְלָכוּת has seven of its nine occurrences in Deut-2 Kgs, with two in Samuel. מַלְכוּת, a recognized late form, only has two occurrences in Deut-2 Kgs, with one occurrence in both Samuel and Kings, but it occurs ninety-one times throughout the Old Testament.

[29] מַמְלָכָה in 11:31 and 11:34; מְלוּכָה in 11:35.

before me in Jerusalem, the city where I chose for myself to put my name" (1 Kgs 11:34-36). Here, נִיר is associated with David's piety, a geographic delineation, and the preservation of David's dynasty in spite of apostasy. More specifically, David's piety secures the endurance of dynastic leadership. Furthermore, the נִיר will be located in Jerusalem. In fact, these three issues recur alongside נִיר in 1 Kgs 15:4 and 2 Kgs 8:19.

First Kings 15:4-5a reads, "Yet for the sake of David, the Lord his God gave to him territorial dominion in Jerusalem by establishing[30] his son after him and solidifying Jerusalem because David did right in the eyes of the Lord." Second Kings 8:18-19 reads, "He walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, just as the house of Ahab did, for the daughter of Ahab was his wife. He did evil in the eyes of the Lord. But the Lord was not willing to destroy Judah for the sake of David his servant because he promised to give him territorial dominion for his sons perpetually."

Thus, the נִיר passages of Kings exhibit notable uniformity, suggesting composition by the same hand.[31] First, each passage employs נִיר in a context that

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[30] I am reading the two infinitive constructs, לְהָקִים and לְעֲמִיד, and their respective clauses as explanatory clauses. §36.2.3e.

[31] The interchange of "Judah" with "Jerusalem" in 2 Kgs 8:19 may support the possibility that a later scribe(s) copied the נִיר passages, giving the impression of uniformity. However, contextual consideration may explain the interchange. In the context of 2 Kgs 8:19, the revolts of Edom and Libnah are highlighted (see below), and the passage's immediate context discusses the surge of the Arameans. Thus, in a context of regional turmoil, where fledgling nation-groups were vying for prominence, a focus on "Judah" would be more appropriate.

negatively evaluates a Judean king (Solomon; Abijam; Jehoram), particularly in light of David's piety. Second, each occurrence appears in a subordinate clause that substantiates the Lord's preservation of Judah. Third, נִיר is the manifestation of a promise given by the Lord to David.[32] Fourth, each passage associates the נִיר with a geographic notation. Fifth, the immediate context of each verse acknowledges the dwindling boundaries of the Judean kingdom by war and/or revolt.[33] Thus, through these three passages the narrator propounds the ideology that in spite of the occasional evil king and its dwindling sphere of influence, David's dynasty endures in part because territorial dominion, located in the vicinity of Jerusalem or Judah, was promised to David.

In contrast, the נֵר passages of Samuel are not uniform. The first occurrence of the noun appears in 1 Sam 3:3a, and this occurrence is the most intricate of the three. The clause in question, וְנֵר אֱלֹהִים טֶרֶם יִכְבֶּה, is circumstantial, functioning alongside similar clauses in verses 2-3 to introduce the narrative of Samuel's call. First Sam 3:2-4a can be translated as follows. "And it came to pass when Eli was sleeping in his place, when his eyes had begun to dull, not able to see, when the lamp of God had not yet gone out, when Samuel was sleeping in the temple of the Lord where the Ark of God was that the Lord called to Samuel…" In clarifying the nature of the introduction, issues of verbal

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[32] In 1 Kgs 11:36, נִיר is the subject of a possessive construction (הֱיוֹת־נִיר לְדָוִיד־עַבְדִּי). In 1 Kgs 15:4 and 2 Kgs 8:19, נִיר is the object of the Lord's action.

[33] In the immediate context of 1 Kgs 11:36, Ahijah declares that 10 tribes will secede, and the fulfillment of this secession is emphasized in 1 Kgs 15:6 where the text states that there was continuous warfare between Abijam and Jeroboam. In 2 Kgs 8:20-22, the revolts of Edom and Libnah are highlighted.

pragmatics are noteworthy. The clause וְנֵר אֱלֹהִים טֶרֶם יִכְבֶּה stands as a component of the

necessary background information for the more salient component "And it came to pass

on that day…that the Lord called to Samuel."[34] As to the necessity of such background

information, McCarter is certainly correct when he emphasizes the temporal character of

this clause.[35] Yet, the juxtaposition of this clause with statements pertaining to Eli's

failing eyesight and the Ark's close proximity may suggest a more elaborate purpose.[36]

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[34] "[D]ivision of events into foreground and background appears to be a natural part of the way in

which we process discourse…[F]oregrounding is a discourse pragmatic feature of the *wayyiqtol*; the form

is the narrative verb in Biblical Hebrew, used regularly to express foregrounded events in narrative

discourse." Cook, "Semantics of Verbal Pragmatics," 254-64. More specifically, this clause can be

classified as an evaluative device, an observable deviation from normal discourse structure that functions to

"reflect the author's personal view of the relative importance of an event being narrated." Deviations are

often marked by "specialized structures such as negation, subordination, inverted word order, passivization,

tense and mood shifts, modals, loaded adjectives, comparatives, and parallelisms." Peter J. MacDonald,

"Discourse Analysis and Biblical Interpretation," in *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, IN:

Eisenbrauns, 1992), 172. Here, the clause doubly marked, subordinate and qualified by means the adverb

טֶרֶם. For "qualifying adverbs," see MacDonald, "Discourse Analysis and Biblical Interpretation," 174.

[35] P. Kyle McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel* (AB; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1980-84), 1:98.

[36] McCarter's struggle with these clauses exemplifies the problems with merely interpreting

וְנֵר אֱלֹהִים טֶרֶם יִכְבֶּה temporally. "The allusion to Eli's failing eyesight seems extraneous, unless it is to

indicate that the old priest will be unable to witness the coming apparition; but Eli is "in his place" in the

vestibule while Samuel is in the nave with the doors closed." McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 1:98.

Given that the statements of Eli's failing eyesight and the proximity of the Ark function to foreshadow elements of the larger narrative,[37] it stands to reason that וְנֵר אֱלֹהִים טֶרֶם יִכְבֶּה could also serve a similar purpose.

The most logical place for fulfillment appears with 2 Sam 21:17, for it and 1 Sam 3:3a share key terms: נֵר and כבה. However, there are significant differences between these two passages. The noun נֵר occurs in 1 Sam 3:3a in construct with אֱלֹהִים and is the subject of כבה, which appears in the *Qal* stem and manifests a stative nuance with no explicit agency. In 2 Sam 21:17b, נֵר appears in construct with יִשְׂרָאֵל, but this chain is the object of the verb כבה, which appears in the *Piel* stem with David as the subject. These observed differences are significant. Thus, on the one hand, the connection between 1 Sam 3:3a and 2 Sam 21:17b could be coincidental. If so, 1 Sam 3:3a merely serves a temporal function. However, on the other hand, these dissimilarities could inform a more subtle function. More on this below.

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[37] First mentioned in 1 Sam 3:3, the Ark becomes a major character in chapters 4-6. Similarly, reference to Eli's eyesight foreshadows 1 Sam 4:15, which testifies to Eli's complete blindness. For a more elaborate explanation regarding the symbolic nature of these clauses and other clauses in the immediate context, see McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 1:98; Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*, 18-54. McCarter omits 1 Sam 4:15, deemed to be a remnant of a conflated reading left over from a lengthy haplography. McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 1:111-12. He believes that Eli's blindness contradicts v. 13 which states that Eli was "watching" the road. However, this "contradiction" should be understood as further evidence of Eli's tragic deterioration. One of the last images of Eli offered by the narrative is that of a blind man sitting by the road "on the lookout" for news regarding the Ark's fate.

The second and third occurrences of נֵר in Samuel are less intricate. The second occurrence, 2 Sam 21:17, belongs to the etiological episode of 2 Sam 21:15-17, explaining why David ceased accompanying his men to war. According to the narrative, on one occasion David grew weary during battle and was mortally threatened by a formidable Philistine warrior. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether this fatigue was due to David's age or the length of the battle. If one considers the implications of Veijola's suggestion, "Die Aussage ist höchste sinnvoll in einer Situation, da die Throngfolge noch nicht geregelt ist,"[38] then the latter explanation could be in order. What is clear is that Abishai rescued David by striking down the Philistine. In response to these events, David's men swear an oath never again to allow David to enter with them into battle. "You shall never again go out with us to war lest you extinguish the lamp of Israel." In this context, נֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל is a metaphor for Israel's enduring vitality, substantiating the fear that David's premature death would cripple Israel's existence.[39] In the words of P. R. Ackroyd, "The life of the people is tied up with the life of the king."[40]

As to other nuances of this metaphor, the Targum's translation of 2 Sam 21:17b is informative. It reads:

בכין קיימו גברי דויד ליה למימר לא תפוק עוד עמנא לקרבא ולא תטפי ית מלכותא דישראל

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[38] Timo Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1975), 118.

[39] A. Baumen, "כבה," 7:38-39; D. Kellermann, "נֵר," *TDOT*, 10:19-20. For other examples of נֵר being a metaphor for life/vitality: Job 18:6; 21:17; Prov 13:9; 20:20; 24:20.

[40] Peter R. Ackroyd, *The Second Book of Samuel* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1977; repr., 1988), 202.

This translation clarifies ambiguity surrounding the use of the *Piel* stem in the Masoretic Text. In the Masoretic Text, it is unclear whether David himself or the royal institution is the "lamp of Israel." The use of the *Piel* stem, which does not contain a reflexive nuance, suggests that the institution is in view, but the narrative's literary context, toward the conclusion of the books of Samuel and thus after the allocation of the dynastic covenant, undermines this.[41] However, the targumic rendering demonstrates that some of the first century C.E. interpreters of the Old Testament understood the concern to be the fragmentation of the kingdom of Israel via David's death, supporting the suspicion that the institution is in view. Furthermore, the targumic understanding demonstrates an ideological connection between this passage and the נִיר passages of Kings, the

preservation of the kingdom/community through the preservation of the monarchy.[42] Initially, this appears to lend credence for wordplay. However, the best conclusion is that the targumic writer read these passages in light of each other. One must determine if there is reason to believe that the targumic writer made explicit what was implicit in the Hebrew, which requires a discussion of the literary relationship between passages.

The third occurrence appears in 2 Sam 22:29, amidst a psalm commemorating David's salvation from his enemies (2 Sam 22:1b). Verse 29 proclaims, "Surely you are my lamp O Lord, for the Lord brightens my darkness." Here, the Lord is the lamp, כִּי אַתָּה

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[41] The structure of 1 and 2 Samuel precludes divorcing the Davidic dynasty from the royal institution after the dynastic promise has been given.

[42] Hanson also understands such a connection. However, his reason is based on a conviction that the Masoretes failed to add the necessary *matres lectionis*. He believes that 2 Sam 21:17 should read with a hireq opposed to a sere; *nīr* instead of *nēr*. Hanson, "Song of Heshbon," 318-19, n. 29.

נֵירִי. He is the divine agent of salvation who helps the psalmist navigate the enemies of life.[43]

In sum, the נִיר passages of the books of Kings exhibit significant uniformity, which differs from the נֵר passages of the books of Samuel. Among the passages of Samuel, there are syntactical and grammatical variations. Between 1 Sam 3:3a and 2 Sam 21:17b, there is a notable connection via the recurrence of the noun נֵר and the verb כבה, but the different nuances between passages are also noteworthy. Second Sam 22:29 is unique as the Lord is equated with נֵר. While the targumic reading of 2 Sam 21:17 testifies to a ideological connection between 2 Sam 21:17 and the נִיר passages of Kings, such a connection does not necessarily substantiate wordplay between these passages. To substantiate wordplay, one must demonstrate the likelihood that the נִיר passages of Kings and 2 Sam 21:17 were composed in light of each other.

It is prudent to begin by noting that two of the three occurrences of the noun נֵר in Samuel occur in the so-called Appendix, 2 Sam 21-24. The Appendix traditionally has been understood as a later insertion.[44] Assuming for the moment the traditional critical viewpoint, the occurrence of נֵר in 2 Sam 21:17 would not have been included in the original Samuel narrative nor the larger historical narrative. By implication, assuming

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[43] For other instances of lamp as a metaphor for guidance through life: Job 29:3; Ps 119:105; Prov 6:23.

[44] While not the original proponent of this position, see McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 2:16-19.

that the נִיר passages belonged to an early, if not the earliest edition of the books of

Kings,[45] they would have antedated 2 Sam 21:17. In other words, the traditional critical

view with respect to the Appendix of Samuel implies a direction of influence between 2

Sam 21:17 and the נִיר passages that moves toward 2 Sam 21:17.

Aspects of this traditional position, however, are open to criticism. In particular,

there is reason to believe that some elements of the Appendix, namely 2 Sam 21:15-22,

constitute some of the oldest elements of the Davidic tradition. Scholars have long noted

the thematic and lexical points of contact between 2 Sam 5:17-25 and 2 Sam 21:15-22,[46]

and, according to Na'aman, both pericopes probably existed within a text composed by

court scribes to preserve (previously oral) traditions that recounted the exploits of David

and Solomon. Na'aman calls this "The Chronicle of Early Israelite Kings."[47]

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[45] For a cogent argument for the pre-exilic provenance of these passages, see Provan, *Hezekiah*, 94-98.

[46] For example, R. A. Carlson, *David, the Chosen King* (trans. Eric J. Sharpe and Stanley Rudman; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964), 225-26; Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2001), 135-36; McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 2:451. Whether these episodes ever existed juxtaposed in a pre-canonical form of the Samuel narrative is debatable.

[47] Nadav Na'aman, "Sources and Composition in the History of David," in *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite States* (JSOTSupp 228; Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1996), 170-86; Nadav Na'aman, "In Search of Reality Behind the Account of David's Wars with Israel's Neighbours," *IEJ* 52 (2003): 200-24; Nadav Na'aman, "In Search of the Ancient Name of Khirbet Qeiyafa," *JHS* 8.21 (2008): 5-6.

Hypothesizing the text's date of composition to the ninth century,[48] Na'aman believes that this chronicle was "the major source from which the historian extracted details for his reconstruction of the chain of events in the time of the United Monarchy."[49]

The ideology of 2 Sam 21:17 supports such a chronological association. As already discussed, the issue in 2 Sam 21:17 is that David's death would extinguish the "lamp of Israel." According to the passage, David's premature death would compromise the royal institution to the point of its demise. If the institution dissolves, so too does the country. This differs from the נִיר passages of Kings, which assume the nation's endurance after the death of David. In other words, the נִיר passages of Kings assume the existence and implications of the Davidic covenant whereas 2 Sam 21:17 does not appear to be aware of it. Given the pervasiveness and centrality of the Davidic covenant not only throughout the Old Testament but also within literature of the Davidic tradition, it is therefore likely that this episode bears witness to an ideology within the Davidic tradition that predated an emphasis upon the covenant.[50] Consequently, in light of these considerations, one can reasonably postulate that the writer of the נִיר passages was aware

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[48] Na'aman first suggested a date of composition in the beginning of the eighth century. However, in light of the Khirbet Qeiyafa data, Na'aman in 2008 adjusted his suggestion to the ninth century.

[49] Na'aman, "Sources and Composition," 182.

[50] Indeed, it is possible that 2 Sam 21:17 ignores the implications of the dynastic covenant or that 2 Sam 21:17b is aware of the covenant but believes that its implications are no longer valid. However, these possibilities are unlikely.

of and drew upon these traditions. Thus, one can further suggest that the noun נִיר was

utilized because of its audible similarity with נֵר.

If one does not accept this suggestion, instead arguing that the נִיר passages were

not composed with 2 Sam 21:17 in view, he or she must still explain the use of this very

rare noun. Quite simply, if not in view of the ideology of 2 Sam 21:17, why use נִיר? One

could explain it as stylistic preference, thereby rendering the audible similarity as

coincidental. However, as mentioned above, the author of the נִיר passages of Kings was

well aware of the more common terms that convey dominion but instead implemented

נִיר. Thus, the author's stylistic *modus operandi* would suggest the use of a noun derived

from the root מלך. A coincidental audible similarity is unlikely.

Hanson's work offers another explanation for the use of נִיר. As mentioned above,

he proposed that נִיר in Kings recalls the Akkadian *nīru*, a *terminus technicus* of royal

monumental literature. As such, the use of נִיר in Kings could stem from a Judean attempt

to play off this convention in a way that simultaneously offers hope for the community

while offering a satirical expression against the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Such satire would

have served quite well the policies and literary endeavors of Hezekiah and Josiah that

sought to assert Judah in the face of Neo-Assyria. Yet, the criticism most often leveled

against Hanson's proposal- that the idea of "yoke" often carries a negative, imperialistic

connotation- cannot be ignored. Indeed, the use of *nīru* in the sense of "dominion" may

not always possess a negative connotation, but the fact remains that it is the prevailing

connotation. Furthermore, other nuances of the נִיר passages of Kings work against

Hanson's position. The people over whom the Davidic king rules are fellow Israelites,

and the issue of concern in these passages has a covenantal nuance, the preservation of

land for the Davidic king to rule. This covenantal sense differs from the imperialistic

sense often assumed by the use of *nīru* in royal Akkadian literature. Even a Babylonian

hymn to Ishtar, which incidentally exhibits some interesting parallels with the נִיר

passages of Kings,[51] conveys imperialistic connotations. Therefore, the relationship

between the נִיר passages of Kings and the Akkadian *nīru* appears to be one of

homonymic roots.

Regarding the literary relationship 1 Sam 3:3a, as mentioned above, there is both

a definite temporal function for 1 Sam 3:3a and a definite lexical connection with 2 Sam

21:17b. There are also grammatical differences between 1 Sam 3:3a and 2 Sam 21:17b.

In light of these observations, a conclusion on the literary relationship between these two

נֵר passages was left open. It is now necessary to note a few other phenomena.

First, the clause וְנֵר אֱלֹהִים טֶרֶם יִכְבֶּה interrupts the otherwise balanced syntax of

two clauses in 1 Sam 3:2-3 (PN + שֹׁכֵב + בְּ + location + modifying clause). Second, the

subtleties of 1 Sam 3:3a–"now the lamp of God *had not yet gone out*"–implies that the

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[51] F. Thureau-Dangin, "Un Hymne À Ištar de la Haute Époque Babylonienne," *RA* 25 (1925): 167-77. This hymn celebrates King Ammiditana's piety, which ostensibly influences Ishtar's intercession on his behalf for long life (ll. 41-48). This hymn also testifies to the divine role in establishing the king's *nīru* (ll. 51-52). However, the immediately preceding clause (ll. 49-50), which speaks of the world's geographic regions been placed under the king's feet, clearly demonstrates that the imagery is imperialistic.

lamp's extinguishment is inevitable. Third, the image of an extinguished lamp as a

metaphor for judgment occurs in post-exilic literature.[52] Therefore, it is reasonable to

interpret 1 Sam 3:3a as a deft redactional insertion that occurred in accord with a

exilic/post-exilic recension of Israel's history. Such an insertion would function on two

levels. On the one hand, it has an obvious temporal function. On the other hand, it would

foreshadow the demise of the Davidic line and the exile of God's people.[53] With the

sacking of Jerusalem, the looting and destruction of the temple, and the exile of the

Davidic line, the "lamp of Israel" was extinguished and Davidic dominion forfeited. The

lamp of God "had now gone out." It would also have had significant hermeneutical

implications for understanding the נִיר passages of Kings, which were present in a pre-

exilic edition of Israel's history. With the maturation of 1 Sam 3:3a at the conclusion of 2

Kings, a sense of irony appears. The perception that the Davidic line was the unassailable

foundation for the Judean community due to its divine sanction was misguided. The

Davidic line was not beyond reproach. When 2 Kings concludes with a provocative

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[52] See 2 Chr 29:7, where both נֵר and כבה occur together to speak of national judgment. Also, the

Targumic translation of Ps 18:29: מטול דאנת תנהר שרגא דישראל דמיטפיא בגלותא דאנת הוא מריה דינהורא

דישראל, "For you light the lamp of Israel that is extinguished in the exile; for you are the lord of the lamp

of Israel."

[53] The ambiguity of agency in 1 Sam 3:3a supports the clauses larger symbolic function while

simultaneously allowing a role in its immediate context. Also, that יִשְׂרָאֵל would be anachronistic for 1 Sam

3:3a helps to explain why אֱלֹהִים is used.

image of a Davidic descendant in exile, the audience is forced to ponder whether the Davidic line will ever play a role again.[54]

One may counter this suggestion by pointing to the reality that the clause וְנֵר אֱלֹהִים טֶרֶם יִכְבֶּה makes sense in its present context. However, redactional insertions that make sense in their context should not be alarming. Furthermore, the three phenomena of this clause noted in the previous paragraph remain. One may also contend that a Shiloh context for 1 Sam 3 militates against perceiving 1 Sam 3:3a as secondary. If 1 Sam 3:3a foreshadows the fall of Jerusalem and its dynastic family, why does this appear in conjunction with Shiloh? Rather, one may expect a context associated with Jerusalem. However, I contend that a Shiloh context is optimal for such a purpose. If a redactor sought to reevaluate an ideology that asserted the Davidic line as the unassailable foundation for the Judean community, placing the seed of that reevaluation in a context that documented the initial steps of the socio-political transition that would mature with the Davidic monarchy is impressive rhetoric. Consequently, when all these issues are considered cumulatively, I am inclined to see וְנֵר אֱלֹהִים טֶרֶם יִכְבֶּה as secondary.

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[54] G. von Rad links 2 Kgs 25:27-30 with the נִיר passages and interprets the pericope positively. The historian concludes his history with the house arrest of Jehoiachin, leaving open the possibility that Yahweh would continue his work through the Davidic line. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:343. For a negative interpretation of 2 Kgs 25:27-30, see Sweeney, *1 and 2 Kings*, 469-70. Assuming the prominence of the exiled Judean royal family with respect to literary developments during the exilic period, I agree with von Rad that there is an element of hope to this final pericope, albeit an uncertain hope. See Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, 149-64..

In sum, there is reason to believe that the נִיר passages in Kings drew upon the old

tradition behind 2 Sam 21:17, hence the utilization of the rare noun נִיר. There is also

reason to believe that 1 Sam 3:3a is secondary to its present context, functioning to

anticipate the demise of Jerusalem with the Davidic monarchy. Thus, the נִיר passages of

Kings could very well have depended on נֵר in 2 Sam 21:17, at least orally and possibly

textually. As such, 1 Sam 3:3a depended on these four passages. As for 2 Sam 22:29, its

relationship to the other passages appears to rest merely on the recurrence of נֵר.

4.3 Final Assessment of Polzin's Proposal and Conclusions

One can now come to a conclusion on the likelihood of Polzin's proposed wordplay.

Wordplay is a reasonable explanation. One can further describe such rhetoric as an

inferencing-allusion triggered by metaphonic wordplay.[55] As such, with each occurrence

of נִיר, which explicitly expounds the ideology that the Davidic line will continue in spite

of political and spiritual obstacles, wordplay encourages the audience to recall the role for

the royal institution articulated in 2 Sam 21:17, adding another dimension to the

semantics of these passages. Due in large part to David, his covenant, and the promise of

perpetual territorial dominion offered to him, the Davidic line, which enjoys divine

sanction and guidance, will endure in spite of its dwindling influence and occasional

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[55] "Inferencing" is used in discourse analysis and refers to the "continued mental activity" by
which a reader encounters successive elements within a discourse that function to establish overall
coherence. The sophisticated definition offered here considers Greenstein, "Hebrew Wordplay," 6:970;
MacDonald, "Discourse Analysis and Biblical Interpretation," 166-67; Sasson, "Wordplay in the OT," 969.

apostasy because it is God's chosen instrument to secure the endurance and vitality of the

community. As to 1 Sam 3:3a, its secondary status altered the original rhetoric. What

began as very positive and pro-Davidic rhetoric became ironic and skeptical with the

conclusion of 2 Kings. As for 2 Sam 22:29, its association with the other passages

probably stems from later redaction of the Samuel tradition.[56] In short, I agree with

Polzin insofar as there appears to be a paranomastic purpose behind the נִיר passages of

Kings. I disagree with his synchronic assessment of the נִיר passages of Kings and the נֵר

passages of 1 and 2 Samuel. The figure below visualizes this proposal.

Addition of and 1 Sam
3:3a

Original Rhetoric:
Traiditon of 2 Sam
21:17 and the נִיר
passages of Kings
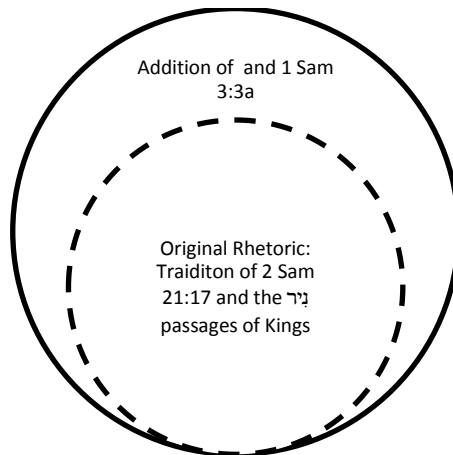
The Development of נִיר/נֵר Rhetoric

As for the importance of the נִיר ideology for understanding the theme of the

Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, recall a couple points from the previous chapter: 1) נִיר

in 1 Kgs 11:36 is syntactically related to one occurrence of the theme of the Lord's

choice of Jerusalem and 2) the נִיר ideology originated in a Hezekian edition of 1 Kgs

11:29-39. Also consider the following points. First, Provan has demonstrated that the נִיר

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[56] McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 1:19.

passages inform what he has coined the "David Theme," which is virtually the same as one of the constituent principles of the ideology of the נִיר passages, David's piety. According to Provan, this theme finds its climax in the evaluation of Hezekiah's reign.[57] Second, the geographic emphasis inherent in the נִיר passages, that Jerusalem/Judah would not be destroyed in spite of the dynasty's sinfulness, functions antithetically to aspects of 2 Kgs 17, namely the fall of Samaria. Whereas Samaria fell in light of its sin, Jerusalem and Judah did not. Moreover, such an emphasis informs the climactic episode of the Hezekian history, the salvation of Jerusalem from Sennacherib's siege (§7.1). Third, Josiah's regal evaluations focus upon his reforms, which have no influence on understanding the semantics and function of the נִיר passages.[58] Therefore, the נִיר ideology, as well as the "tearing with the intent to give" motif, was critical to communicating the Hezekian historian's belief in the superiority of Judah/Jerusalem and its dynasty.[59] Thus, the earliest uses of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem

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[57] Provan, *Hezekiah*, 131.

[58] Consequently, I disagree with Halpern and Nelson who attribute the נִיר passages to the Josianic historian. Halpern, *The First Historians*, 144-80; Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 116-18.

[59] Thus, I agree with Schniedewind insofar as one can speak of the Hezekian and Josianic history as identifiable literary entities. "There seems to have been a pre-exilic historical composition written during the period of Hezekiah which probably reflected upon the fall of Samaria and the survival of Jerusalem. This historical work served as a source for later authors/redactors and has been so completely rewritten by Josianic and exilic redactors that it is no longer recoverable." William M. Schniedewind, "The Problem with Kings: Recent Study of the Deuteronomistic History," *RelSRev* 22.1 (1996): 26. However, as I discuss in chapter 7, I am not as negative in my assessment regarding the reconstruction of the Hezekian history.

appear to have informed a more salient pro-Davidic agenda. In fact, such a phenomenon is similar to the nuances of the theme in Ps 78, whose composition appears to be from the same milieu (ch. 8). Thus, does a distinct method of use appear at the end of the eighth century B.C.E.?

Conclusion to Part 1

Part 1 of this study focused upon the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. This thematic thread constitutes a distinct strand within the larger theme of the election of Zion/Jerusalem. To speak of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem conjures up specific connotations. The theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem predominately functions within two spheres. One is associated with the ideology and literature of the Davidic tradition. For example, in certain contexts the theme is associated with the ideology that the Davidic dynasty enjoyed a position of overwhelming prestige and divine sanction, which is most clearly communicate by the נִיר passages of Kings and the "tearing with the intent to give" theme. The other sphere is the Deuteronomic ideology of centralization. Jerusalem was chosen to be the central cult site. However, Zechariah's use is peculiar. There, the theme speaks of the (re)choice of Jerusalem in vague terms. The syntax of Zech 1:17 and 2:16 communicates that the full implications of the Lord's choice in Zechariah are yet to be realized as they are contingent upon other realities.

Uniquely important is 1 Kgs 11:29-39, the only location where the Davidic and Deuteronomic spheres collide. Through a redaction-critical study, I proposed two compositional phases for this passage that included the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem while pondering the secession of the northern tribes. The earlier phase was attributed to a Hezekian historical work, and the second to a Josianic phase. Moreover, the Hezekian phase exhibited usage of the theme of the Lord's choice in a way that can be placed within the sphere of the Davidic tradition. The theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem informed the נִיר ideology, which conveys the concepts of the superiority of

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Judah/Jerusalem and its dynastic family. The Josianic phase utilized the theme in order to emphasize the Deuteronomic ideology of centralization.

Part 2

Socio-historical and Literary Critical Issues Informing the Theme of the Lord's Choice of Zion/Jerusalem

In Part 2, this study will discuss the socio-historical and literary-critical issues that inform the observations offered in Part 1. Indeed, some of these issues have already been mentioned, but they are discussed in greater detail in the subsequent chapters. Chapter 5 will discuss, in general fashion, the socio-historical issues of Judah from the end of the eighth century B.C.E. to the end of the sixth century B.C.E. There is reason to believe that virtually every occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem was composed during this period. Particular focus will fall upon Zerubbabel as his role may provide the clue to Zechariah's peculiar usage of the theme of the Lord's choice. In chapter 6, Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula will be discussed, for, as demonstrated in Part 1, a large number of the occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem appear in conjunction with this formula. A developmental framework for the formula will be proposed, which will have implications for dating the composition of the occurrences of the theme that appear throughout the books of Kings. In chapter 7, the larger literary context of the books of Kings will be discussed, including a general overview of that corpus' major phases of development. Chapter 8 will take up the probable dating of Pss 78 and 132.

Chapter 5

A Historical Sketch

This chapter sketches the events that bore upon Judean community from the end of the

eighth century to the end of the sixth century B.C.E., for there is reason to believe that the

use of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem occurred during this time-frame.

In addition, focus will fall upon Zerubbabel, for understanding his socio-political role for

the Second Temple community is significant for understanding the peculiarities of

Zechariah's use of this theme.

A. Kuhrt comments, "The history of the Levant from the ninth century onwards

stands in the shadow of Assyria's expansion."[1] More specifically, the strategic and

philosophical adjustments to Neo-Assyrian imperial policy, which were embodied by

Tiglath-Pilesear III and assumed by his heirs, renewed global ambitions within the Neo-

Assyrian Empire, setting it on a collision course with Israel and Judah. During Tiglath-

Pileser's rule, the Neo-Assyrian Empire "acquired its definitive shape and structure,"[2]

embracing much of Syria with Israel and Judah probably existing as "tightly controlled"

border states.[3] The biblical witness corroborates such a reality. For example, according to

2 Kgs 15:19, "Pul, King of Assyria, came upon the land and Menahem gave to Pul one

thousand talents of silver so that Pul's hand would be with him when he seized the

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[1] Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East: c. 3000-330 BC* (2vols.; New York: Routledge, 1995), 2:458.

[2] Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 2:493.

[3] Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 2:496.

kingdom." Second Kings 16 testifies that Ahaz sought support from Assyria, going so far as to meet Tiglath-Pileser in Damascus to seal the coalition.

Shalmaneser V assumed the throne from Tiglath-Pileser III, but unfortunately his reign lacks significant documentation. In fact, the Bible is ambiguous as to his role in the sacking of Samaria. Second Kings 17:1-5 speaks of Shalmaneser's initiation of the siege (v. 3), but it does not explicitly credit him with the siege's culmination. According to a Neo-Assyrian document, Sargon II conquered Samaria and Israel, incorporating it into the Assyrian provincial system.

> […] [the Samar]ians, [who has agreed with a hostile king] […] […] [...who c]ause my victory. [I fought with them and decisively defeated them]. […] […] carried off as spoil. 50 chariots for my royal force [I…] [the rest of them I settled in the midst of Assyria] […I re]settled and I made it greater than before. People of lands conquer[ed…] […] tax I imposed upon them as Assyrians. [I opened the sealed] har[bor of Egypt.] [The Assyrians and the Egyptians] I mingled [t]ogether and made them trade with each other...[4]

Sargon, who may have assumed the throne through a coup d'état, had to deal first with wide spread rebellion throughout his empire. In fact, it appears that he "scarcely stopped fighting during his reign."[5] However, despite the turmoil through his reign, it appears that Sargon II was successful in his efforts to consolidate the empire, particularly on the frontiers. If Kuhrt's assessment is correct, "By the end of [Sargon's] reign, the

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[4] *COS*, 2:293

[5] Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 2:498.

western area from central Anatolia…as far as Judah and Philistia formed virtually a solid

block of Assyrian provinces, ringed by dependent subject states under local rulers."[6]

By the time Hezekiah assumed the throne in Judah, his country was firmly in the

grasp of Neo-Assyrian control. Initially Hezekiah adopted the pro-Assyrian policies of

his father Ahaz, but it seems that Hezekiah was never fully committed to them.

According to 2 Chr 29, Hezekiah very early in his reign took steps to begin to assert the

socio-political prominence of Jerusalem, including widespread cultic reforms. Such

endeavors should be interpreted as preparation for the rebellion that was initiated with the

death of Sargon II.[7] According to the Chronicler, Sennacherib also interpreted these

actions as overt rebellion. "After these matters and these faithful actions,[8] Sennacherib,

King of Assyria, came. He came against Judah and he camped against the fortified cities.

He intended to force them to himself" (2 Chr 32:1). Yet, Hezekiah's rebellion was a

symptom of a larger, empire-wide problem for Sennacherib. Thus, the first years of his

reign were devoted to squashing rebellions that had sprouted throughout his empire in the

wake of Sargon's death.

Sennacherib set his sights on Judah and its neighbors during his third military

campaign. It appears that Egypt encouraged the formulation of a coalition of small

nations, but in the end, this coalition failed miserably. First subduing revolutionaries in

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[6] Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 2:499.

[7] For a discussion of the biblical and archeological evidence that suggests Hezekiah's preparation
for rebellion, see J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (2d ed.;
Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 411-16.

[8] The opening clause of 32:1, אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים וְהָאֱמֶת הָאֵלֶּה, has Hezekiah's actions narrated in the
previous chapters as its antecedent.

Phoenicia and Philistia, Sennacherib proceeded to systematically ravage Judah. Sennacherib claims to have conquered forty-six of Judah's fortified cities and taken incalculable people, animals, and other goods as spoil. Famously, he claims to have locked Hezekiah up "like a caged bird." However, the city of Jerusalem, miraculously, remained intact. Indeed, the process by which the city was saved is ambiguous, particularly as the Old Testament itself speaks to both Hezekiah's surrender and a miraculous annihilation of Neo-Assyrian troops. Regardless of the exact process, "the admission [by Sennacherib] that Jerusalem was not forcibly entered shows that something extraordinary did in fact occur."[9] Beyond dispute is the status of Judah after Sennacherib's campaign. Judah was decimated. According to E. Stern, "It became apparent that the Assyrian army destroyed all the Judean settlements in the Negev, all those of the Shephelah, and even some of the settlements on the crest of the Judean hills, such as Beth-Zur and probably even Ramat-Rahel, situated on the immediate outskirts of Jerusalem."[10] This reality is critical to understanding the apologetic function of the Hezekiah history.

After Sennacherib, Esarhaddon solidified himself as the next Neo-Assyrian king. One of his main achievements as king was the taking of Memphis, which secured Neo-Assyrian dominance over Egypt. Ashurbanipal succeeded Esarhaddon, and during his reign Assyria and Egypt remained on quasi-congenial terms.[11] Such a relationship allowed Ashurbanipal to focus his efforts upon the turmoil in Babylon and Elam, which

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[9] Anson Rainey and R. Steven Notley, *The Sacred Bridge* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2006), 244.

[10] Ephriam Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods 732-332 B.C.E.* (New York: DoubleDay, 2001), 130.

[11] Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 423.

Ashurbanipal ultimately crushed. After Ashurbanipal, the Assyrian empire quickly declined, undoubtedly due to the combination of inadequate leadership and the increase of external pressure on multiple fronts. In 612 B.C.E. Nineveh was sacked by the joint efforts of the Babylonians and the Medes, and when Nebuchadnezzar prevailed at Carchemish, the Neo-Assyrian Empire essentially ceased to exist as a world power.

Consequently, the eighth through the seventh centuries B.C.E. saw the rise and fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. It was a turbulent era to say the least, impressing upon smaller nations a need to recognize their role within the ebb and flow of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Yet, there were opportunities. As summed up by Kuhrt, "In spite of the problems of control, particularly in the frontier areas…the Assyrian kings in the period between c. 700 and c. 630 exercised control over a very large territory with singular success and relative ease: it is not totally inappropriate to describe this period as the *Pax Assyriaca*."[12] Thus, even after the devastation of Judah at the hands of Sennacherib, the general historical milieu was conducive for Judah to rebuild itself, just not as an independent entity. Stern concurs. Speaking of Judah's reconstruction efforts,

> The results, as reflected by archeological evidence, were nonetheless immediately successful and the rebuilding process appears to have been rapid, starting perhaps as early as the last days of Hezekiah and certainly during the reign of Manasseh. This enormous effort was definitively initiated and carried under direct royal supervision. In a relatively short time, most of the southern region was rebuilt, probably with the assistance of the refugees who survived the Assyrian campaign, or even by others who had come from the north, from territories held previously

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[12] Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, 2:501.

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by the kingdom of Israel. Either way, the results of this effort was a new, dense network of settlements, many more than before the Assyrian conquest, while Jerusalem became a relatively large city, probably also much larger than before, and served as its capital.[13]

The reconstruction of Judah's infrastructure would be critical for the ambitions of Josiah. By the time Josiah came into his own as king, the Neo-Assyrian Empire was rapidly losing ground. Thus, he perceived an opportunity to reposition Judah in the politics of Syria-Palestine, despite of the apparent Egyptian domination that arose in the wake of Neo-Assyrian retreat.[14] To accomplish this, he reformed the Jerusalem cult, emphasizing Jerusalem's religious centrality. Josiah also expanded the borders of Judah. However, the socio-political context was extremely delicate. As demonstrated by Malamat, the political landscape after the fall of Nineveh quickly became fluid, thereby requiring smaller states to choose between powers and hope their gamble would prove correct.[15] Unfortunately, for Judah and Josiah, his gambled proved tragic. Mortally wounded at the Megiddo Pass (2 Kgs 23:29-30; 2 Chr 35:20-25), Josiah's ambitions died with him. What began with a glimmer of hope would be extinguished at the end of the seventh century by imminent Neo-Babylonian hegemony. By the beginning of the sixth century, Babylon would be the undisputed imperial force in Syria-Palestine.

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[13] Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 501.

[14] Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 450-53; Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1992), 441.

[15] Abraham Malamat, "Caught Between the Great Powers: Judah Picks a Side...and Loses," *BAR* 25.4 (1999): 34-41, 64.

In short, the socio-political potential for Judah during the eighth through the seventh centuries B.C.E. was indirectly related to the rise and fall of the imperial powers of the ancient Near East, namely the Neo-Assyrian Empire. As these powers waned in their dominance, Judah perceived opportunities to assert itself and the endeavors of Hezekiah and Josiah correspond to two moments of power transfer. For Hezekiah, it was during the transition between Sargon and Sennacherib. For Josiah, it was during the twilight of the Neo-Assyrian Empire just before the rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. However, both efforts ultimately failed, and with disastrous consequences. The failed assertions of Hezekiah left Judah virtually desolate. Jerusalem with its ruling dynastic line was all that remained. Josiah's efforts to head off Pharaoh Neco on his way to Carchemish resulted in his premature death, effectively dissolving all hope for Judean political prominence. Worse, Josiah's death inaugurated a cycle of inept Judean kings who would lead Jerusalem and Judah into destruction and exile at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar.

When Cyrus the Great assumed control of Babylon, a new dispensation for the ancient Near East began. Cyrus championed himself as the great liberator and the one who enjoyed divine favor. The Cyrus Cylinder best testifies to this perception.[16] There, Cyrus goes so far as to claim Marduk's election in defeating Nabonidus, the incompetent Babylonian king who defied Babylon's patron deity. A similar perception toward Cyrus appears in the Old Testament, which undoubtedly stems from his support in the temple's reconstruction. In three locations, 2 Chronicles and Ezra record the edict of Cyrus that

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[16] *COS*, 2:314-16.

sanctioned the reconstruction of the temple: 2 Chr 36:22-23; Ez 1:2-4; 6:3-5. Second

Isaiah goes so far to label Cyrus as the Lord's messiah (Is 45:1).

The chronological issues of Ezra 1-6 notwithstanding, it is clear that the phases of

the temple's reconstruction can be described broadly in terms of a pre-Zerubbabel-phase

and a Zerubbabel-phase. Whether or not the initial reconstruction efforts should be

classified as a complete failure, it can be asserted with some certainty that the pace of

reconstruction did not pick up significantly until 520 B.C.E. with the ministries of Haggai

and Zechariah and the leadership of Zerubbabel as governor and Joshua as High Priest.

By 515 B.C.E., the temple's reconstruction was complete, establishing for the community

a rallying point for a sense of identity. "[The temple] provided faith with a rallying point

and gave this remnant of Israel identity as the community of the Jerusalem Temple."[17]

The temple's reconstruction was also important for Persian imperial policy. According to

Meyers and Meyers, the Persians adopted and implemented policies of local autonomy,

which encouraged those groups to "cultivate their own national traditions" in order to

secure a sense of loyalty to Persia.[18] In the case of Judah, the temple's reconstruction was

the most efficient way to accomplish these goals. In short, the temple's reconstruction

was both ethnically and politically important for the Second Temple community.

With respect to understanding Zerubbabel's role for the Second Temple

community, Hag 2:20-23 is critical, and this passage has not suffered from a dearth of

commentary. Generally, there those who view this oracle as a call for insurrection against

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[17] John Bright, *A History of Israel* (4h ed.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 372;
2:314-16.

[18] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, xxxvii.

Persia.[19] On the other hand, there are those who interpret this oracle eschatologically.[20] In the case of the former interpretive category, the political implications of Zerubbabel's role are emphasized as the prophet foresees and encourages an independent Davidic monarch on the throne. Yet, this interpretive category garners most of its corroboration from questionable textual emendations and dubious historical assumptions.[21] In the case of the latter category, the theological implications of Zerubbabel's role are emphasized as the prophet sees salvation in conjunction with global judgment at some undisclosed future point in time. This category however fails to consider the Persian imperial *modus*

[19] Examples include, Rainer Albertz, *Israel In Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (trans. David Green; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 119-32; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Rev. and el. ed.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 202-03; Leroy Waterman, "The Camouflaged Purge of Three Messianic Conspirators," *JNES* 13.2 (1954): 73-78.

[20] For example, Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 66-68, 82-84; David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8* (OTL; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984), 97-106; Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1987), 138-40.

[21] With respect to the historical assumptions, scholars who adhere to this interpretive trend assume that Judah must have exhibited the same political upheaval as that in other regions during Darius I's transition into power. However, Japhet's comment is appropriate. "The data available to us at this stage do not enable us to reconstruct such a rebellion in Israel's history." Sara Japhet, "Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel-Against the Background of the Historical and Religious Tendencies of Ezra-Nehemiah," *ZAW* 94 (1982): 78. With respect to the textual emendations, the editors suggest to read "Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel" in place of "Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, the High Priest" in Zech 6:11. This suggestion can be traced back to J. Wellhausen. Julius Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Propheten* (4h ed.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1963), 185. However, this suggestion has no textual support, and as Meyers and Meyers have pointed out, it potentially causes more problems than it solves. Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 350.

operandi of employing indigenous dynasties to fulfill high-ranking administrative roles.[22] As an alternative to these competing interpretive categories, J. Kessler has argued that Haggai's final oracle encourages the Second Temple community to embrace its current Persian context, particularly as a Davidic scion functioning within this context will be the mechanism for future glories.[23]

According to Kessler, understanding Hag 2:20-23 oracle requires a consideration of Persian methods of administration, the nature of the region of Yehud during the early Persian period, Haggai's hermeneutical philosophy, and the textual relationships between Hag 2:20-23, Hag 2:6-9, and Jer 22:24. In my opinion, Kessler's proposal is useful. This final oracle to Zerubbabel is one that encourages the community *and* the Davidic line to accept their present milieu as the situation is in accord with divine providence. Most importantly, it implies that the promise to David is not forfeit.

> [This oracle] is meant to function rhetorically as a call to accept the then-present realities of a small Persian province, presided over by a governor who was appointed by and subject to the imperial crown … Thus the presence of the Davidic governor as a political head of the province of Yehud served to attest that Yahweh's promises to the nation and to its royal house were not defunct.[24]

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[22] André Lemaire, "Zorobabel Et La Judée À La Lumière De L'Épigraphie (Fin Du VIe S. AV. J.-C.)," *RB* 103.1 (1996): 48-57.

[23] John Kessler, "Haggai, Zerubbabel, and the Political Status of Yehud: The Signet Ring in Haggai 2:23," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (LBHOTS 427; New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 102-19.

[24] Kessler, "Haggai, Zerubbabel, and Yehud," 117.

In my estimation, Kessler's proposal needs only slight modification. With respect to the often identified hermeneutical connection between Hag 2:23 and Jer 22:24, Kessler states, "The use of the signet imagery was not one option chosen out of a vast range of possibilities. Rather it was taken up specifically because of its presence in the Jeremianic tradition."[25] Kessler then proceeds to argue that the purpose of this imagery was to testify to the faithful character of the Lord. "The real trope consists of the personification of Yahweh, who is likened to the owner of a signet who, in one case, in utter anger and disgust, despite its preciousness to him, removes his signet and throws it away, and who, in the other, due to the changed circumstances, picks up that which was formerly discarded and puts it on again."[26] In other words, Kessler emphasizes that the signet ring imagery in this context is overwhelmingly figurative, about which he finds corroboration in the strategic use of כְּ.

However, as demonstrated by Fishbane, the use of כְּ can indicate typological exegesis.[27] Consequently, when Haggai proclaims to Zerubbabel that the Lord intends to make him *as the signet ring*, he is declaring through a biographical typology that his role for the Second Temple community as a Davidic descendent can be correlated with his grandfather's role. By implication, this pronouncement would have answered questions that would have inevitably been raised by the community when the Persians reinstated

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[25] Kessler, "Haggai, Zerubbabel, and Yehud," 112.

[26] Kessler, "Haggai, Zerubbabel, and Yehud," 113.

[27] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 352.

Zerubbabel. Whether or not the oath in Jer 22:24 is hypothetical or real,[28] Jer 22:24-27 unequivocally communicates the belief that the banishment of the Davidic line into exile signaled said line's rejection. It is quite reasonable therefore to suppose that the Second Temple community would have been hesitant to follow Zerubbabel. Haggai 2:20-23, at least in part, sought to mitigate that hesitancy.

In terms of inner-biblical exegesis, Haggai's final oracle constitutes a manto-typological exegesis of the Jeremianic tradition. It clarifies the dissonance created by the Jeremianic tradition by communicating that the Davidic line is not completely rejected and that it still possesses a role for the community.[29] Moreover, it communicates that the family's post-exilic role exhibits a correlation with its previous role as monarch.[30] However, given the Persian context and Haggai's message overall, the prophet was disclosing that his role was not as an independent monarch. Zerubbabel's role as a governor would resemble the family's previous role as king but not be tantamount to it. Thus, the final oracle of Haggai communicates that the Davidic line was still a viable option for the community. It may not have been as a king, but it was an option.

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[28] For example, see William McKane, *Jeremiah* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), 1:541; Wolter H. Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel: Messianic Expectations in the Early Postexilic Period* (JSOTSup 304; Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 244-47.

[29] For the role of cognitive dissonance for inner-biblical exegesis, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 443-46. For the articulation of this system upon biblical studies, see Robert P. Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed: Cognitive Dissonance in the Prophetic Traditions of the Old Testament* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1979); Robert P. Carroll, "Ancient Israelite Prophecy and Dissonance Theory," in *The Place is Too Small for Us: The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 377-91.

[30] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 362, 372-79.

Interesting about the temple's rededication ceremony is the absence of Zerubbabel, which has been noted by Miller and Hayes.[31] Zerubbabel, who lead the second group of returnees from Babylon, was the governor of Judah. Moreover, he was a Davidic descendant. Thus, one would expect him to be a focal point of the rededication ceremony, and so his absence raises questions. T. Lewis tackles this question in his article "The Mysterious Disappearance of Zerubbabel."[32] He entertains three options of explanation: 1) death or removal from office due to natural causes, 2) death or removal from office by the Persians due to seditious activity, and 3) death or removal from office by the Judean priesthood. While Lewis prefers the third explanation, based on the investigative principle of "who would gain the most by the victim's disappearance,"[33] Lewis admits that any explanation inevitably must remain speculative. "Ultimately this mystery we cannot solve."[34]

In spite of all the ambiguity with respect to Zerubbabel, a few historical realities are clear enough, realities that have important implications for this study. It was mentioned above that the Persians employed indigenous dynasties as high-ranking

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[31] Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 527.

[32] Theodore J. Lewis, "The Mysterious Disappearance of Zerubbabel," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Ocassion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 301-14.

[33] In particular, Lewis focuses upon Zech 6:9-14, namely by highlighting four clues within this pericope that suggests that it was altered in light of the events of history. See Lewis, "The Mysterious Disappearance of Zerubbabel," 309-14.

[34] Lewis, "The Mysterious Disappearance of Zerubbabel," 305. Miller and Hayes echo this sentiment. "Any theory about what happened to Zerubbabel is, of course, purely speculative." Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 522.

political officials as a way to encourage fidelity to the empire. Zerubbabel's position as the governor of Judah is undoubtedly an example of this method of governance. Yet, by the time of Nehemiah, the Davidic line no longer fed the governorship. Nehemiah, who was also a governor of Judah, was not a Davidic descendent. As for the cause of this development, it is noteworthy that the non-Davidide Elnatan married Zerrubbabel's daughter, and by approximately 510 B.C.E. he had assumed Judah's gubernatorial role.[35] Could it be then that this marriage was the product of political ambition that severed the Davidic line from the gubernatorial institution?[36] While intriguing, a definitive cause remains elusive. Yet, what is not elusive is the historical reality that Zerubbabel abruptly disappears from the scene and within a decade, the Davidic line no longer appears to be a viable political option for the community. Instead, the priesthood became the Second Temple community's most prominent socio-political institution.

In sum, from this selective survey the following points are of particular concern for this study and therefore deserve reiteration. First, Hezekiah's administration promised great things but failed to fulfill those promises. Ruling during the height of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Hezekiah thoughtfully planned his rebellion. Perceiving the transition between Sargon and Sennacherib to be the opportune moment, Hezekiah led an organized rebellion. Tragically, his efforts failed, and the latter years of his rule were devoted to reconstructing his devastated country. In light of these historical realities, the apologetic nature of the Hezekian history is clarified. This is not to say that this historical work was disingenuous. Rather, its historiographic intent sought to offer a history in such a manner

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[35] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, 14.

[36] Also, see the discussion in Lewis, "The Mysterious Disappearance of Zerubbabel," 313, n. 30.

that simultaneously gave an account of Israel's origins, history, and need for the Davidic dynasty.

Second, Josiah's reign spanned the twilight of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Thus, Judah undoubtedly perceived there to be a window of hope, a window that could allow the reassertion of Judah despite the political superiority of Egypt. To accomplish this goal, Josiah had to delicately navigate the fluid political situation. Part of his preparation was the reallocation of the region's resources to Jerusalem, hence his intense efforts toward centralization.[37] Given these realities, the Josianic history would have assumed the Hezekian history, but it would have updated aspects of it in light of the current context. For the Josianic historian, the issue was not so much the preservation of Jerusalem with its dynasty. Rather, the major issue was Jerusalem as the community's socio-political and religious focal point.

Third, the first years of the reign of Darius I were particularly important for Judah. On the one hand, it saw the reconstruction and dedication of the Second Temple. It also saw the Davidic line return to political prominence through the appointment of Zerubbabel as governor. Such a turn of events would have undoubtedly rekindled nationalistic feelings within certain factions of the community. In fact, the interpretation of these events was of particular concern for the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. However, Zerubbabel's role did not last long, and with his demise, the political prominence of his family line survived only in veiled hopes for the future.

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[37] For a discussion on the economic aspects of Josiah's reforms, W. Eugene Claburn, "The Fiscal Basis of Josiah's Reforms," *JBL* 92 (1973): 11-22.

These socio-historical contexts provide background for the results of this investigation. The eras of Hezekiah, Josiah, and Zerubbabel were pivotal contexts. They were crossroads for the community, and at stake was the prestige of the Davidic line. During the era of Hezekiah, the prestige of the Davidic line teetered on the brink of evaporation. For Josiah, there was renewed life. For Zerubbabel, there was skepticism and confusion. In each case, literature, whether in the form of history, poetry, or an oracle, played a critical role, functioning to sway opinion in favor of the Davidic line, and the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem was a critical part to these literary endeavors.

Chapter 6

Deuteronomy's Ideology of Centralization

In Part 1 I observed that the occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem in 1 Kgs 11:32, 11:36, 14:21, 2 Kgs 21:7 23:27, 2 Chr 6:6, 12:13, and 33:7 appear in conjunction with Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula. Thus, it goes without saying that it has implications for understanding the occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem in the books of Kings. Building upon the work of S. Richter and B. Levinson, this chapter will construct a framework built upon linguistic-hermeneutical considerations to 1) aide in understanding the developments of Deuteronomy's ideology of centralization and 2) provide a dating scheme for the occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem throughout Kings. This chapter further corroborates the proposal that the pre-canonical form of 1 Kgs 11:36 is Hezekian, the occurrences of the theme in 1 Kgs 11:13, 11:32, the canonical form of 11:36, 14:21, and 2 Kgs 21:7 are Josianic, and the occurrences of the theme in 2 Kgs 23:27 is exilic.

This study has already discussed the close association between the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem and particular manifestations of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula (chs. 2-3). Consequently, many conclude that theme of the Lord's choice and the Centralization Formula are essentially two halves of the same coin. Indeed, there are significant points of lemmatic and thematic overlap, and a large number of occurrences of the theme under investigation appear with a form of the Deuteronomy's

Centralization Formula, לָשׂוּם שְׁמִי שָׁם. However, I question this position for the following

reasons. First, there is considerable evidence to suggest that specific articulations of

Deuteronomy's centralization ideology significantly antedate those expressed in Kings

(see below). Second, Deuteronomy never mentions Jerusalem or Zion as the referent to

its centralization ideology. Third, of the occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of

Zion/Jerusalem, certain passages have no clear connection to Deuteronomy's

centralization ideology (egs. pre-canonical form of 1 Kgs 11:36; Ps 78:68; 132:13; Zech

1:17; 2:16; 3:2). Consequently, it is prudent to ask whether the relationship between the

theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem and Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula

is the result of a traditio-historical process. This study has already alluded to such a

possibility, and so the time has come to investigate this further. However, before any

discussion of potential developments within Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula,

centralization ideology, or compositional history can commence, a few issues must be

considered.

6.1 Methodological Considerations

N. Lohfink cautions any endeavor to formulate redactional layers within Deuteronomy's

Centralization Formula. Based upon Deuteronomy's text-critical situation and individual

occurrences of the Centralization Formula, he believes that the situation is not conducive

to definitive conclusions, but he does admit that the Masoretic Tradition is the best

tradition for any diachronic reconstruction.[1] E. Reuter is receptive to this word of caution,

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[1] For his important discussion, see Lohfink, "Zentralisationsformel," 303-14, esp. 314.

but she is less pessimistic toward diachronic reconstructions. For Reuter, the key is a contextual consideration of each occurrence.

> Bei der Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Langform und Kurzform zueinander kann es nicht darum über die Arbeitsweise dtr Redaktoren bekannt ist, dürften dieses für das Aufgreifen bereits vorhandener Terminologie ebenso wie für Neuformulienungen nicht als literarkritisches Kriterium herangezogen warden, sondern nur selbst auf ihr Alter hin untersucht warden. Durch den Kontext soll überprüft werden, welche Belege der Erwählungsformel sich als älter erweisen und ob diese die gleiche Formulierung aufweisen.[2]

This study accepts these words of caution. It does not reconstruct the development of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula merely based on superficial observations, such as different formulizations. Rather, this study considers the occurrence of this formula in its respective contexts while pondering a specific linguistic-hermeneutical considerations.

With respect to the compositional history of Deuteronomy, B. Arnold's "Deuteronomy as the Ipsissima Vox of Moses" assesses the debate and offers important critiques to those who argue for Deuteronomy, or any portion of Deuteronomy, as the very words of Moses.[3] According to Arnold, there are problems with any theory that attempts to isolate a kernel of Deuteronomy and situate its composition in the Mosaic era, or even shortly thereafter. Such efforts are largely "theoretical" and contradictory to what is known about the developmental methods of ancient literature.[4] According to Arnold,

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[2] Eleonore Reuter, *Kultzentralisation: Entstehung und Theologie von Dtn 12* (BBB 87; Frankfurt: Anton Hain, 1993), 134.

[3] Bill T. Arnold, "Deuteronomy as the Ipsissima Vox of Moses," *JTI* 4.1 (2010): 53-74.

[4] Arnold, "Ipsissima Vox," 61-68.

Deuteronomy is, in part, an exegetical imitation of authoritative legal texts, namely the Covenant Code, in response to Judah's changing socio-political and religious landscape, to which subsequent redaction was applied and attributed to the authoritative figure of Moses. Thus, Arnold believes that any attempt to attribute any portion of Deuteronomy as the *ipsissima verba* of Moses is not only unhelpful but conflicts with Deuteronomy's compositional intention.

Arnold comments on other issues that bear upon this study. First, Arnold discusses a proposal by Richter, who argues that the "place of the name" for the Deuteronomic tradition was originally Mt. Ebal.[5] Acknowledging the coherence of her argument, Arnold ultimately considers it unsatisfying.[6] Arnold is convinced that the centralization law cannot be severed from the Josianic reforms: "I also believe that the argument that Deuteronomy is devoted to a cult-centralizing agenda is incontrovertible and that its agenda is rightly associated with Josiah's reforms of the 7th century B.C.E."[7] Also, Arnold addresses the implications of the strategic use of the name מֹשֶׁה for reconstructing the compositional history of Deuteronomy. In short, the lack of מֹשֶׁה, particularly within Deut 12-26, strongly suggests that Moses was directly linked to the content of Deuteronomy *secondarily* as a way of bolstering its authority. Most importantly, Arnold emphasizes the work of M. Fishbane and B. Levinson, who recognize the exegetical relationship between the Covenant Code and Deuteronomy's legal code.

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[5] Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 342-66.

[6] Arnold, "Ipsissima Vox," 63-64.

[7] Arnold, "Ipsissima Vox," 64.

In response, Arnold is correct to recognize that the history of scholarship offers problematic theories with respect to the compositional history of Deuteronomy. Thus, I concur with Arnold insofar as any theory of composition for Deuteronomy, or any portion of Deuteronomy, must consider the socio-political requisites for large-scale literary development in antiquity and ancient literary conventions. Also, the strategic use of מֹשֶׁה throughout Deuteronomy is significant.[8] Therefore, any theory of Deuteronomy's composition must also consider this feature. Finally, Arnold rightly emphasizes the implications of the work of Fishbane and Levinson. The Deuteronomic legal code exists in an exegetical relationship with the Covenant Code. Therefore, any discussion of the compositional history of Deuteronomy must consider when and how this relationship was established. More specific to this study, any diachronic reconstruction of the Deuteronomic concept of centralization or its Centralization Formula must consider how it relates to the altar law of the Covenant Code (Ex 20:24-26).

6.2 An Analysis

The Centralization Formula, with occurrences appearing within Deuteronomy through 2 Kings, exists in both a short-form (*Kurzform*) and a long-form (*Langform*),[9] and in each case, the formula refers to a particular location that represents the socio-religious focal point of the community. The short-form is demonstrated by יהוה + (הַ)מָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר as the

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[8] However, I concur with van der Toorn, who notes the difficulty of reconstruction the earliest form of Deuteronomy without the name מֹשֶׁה. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 168.

[9] See Lohfink, "Zentralisationsformel," 297.

subject + (בְּ) בחר.[10] The long-form is demonstrated by two manifestations: 1) the short-

form plus a notation of Israel's tribes and 2) the short form plus the attachment of either

לָשׂוּם (אֶת) שְׁמוֹ שָׁם or לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם.[11]

Whether via short or long-form, the consensus considers the original referent of

the Centralization Formula to have been Jerusalem, even when it is not stated. For

example,

> The policy of centralization, which is central to [Deuteronomy], was Josiah's
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> policy, and the book seems to have been either composed or edited to support
>
> it…Despite the fact that the place the Lord has chosen to centralize the cult is
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> certainly Jerusalem, there are no allusions in Deuteronomy to Mount Zion or to
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> the traditions that can be associated with Jerusalem.[12]

Or, "For nearly a century it has been almost axiomatic to hold that Deuteronomy

demands centralization of all worship at a single sanctuary, and therefore that its

composition must be associated with Josiah's attempt to limit all worship to Jerusalem."[13]

But if the centralization formula has always referred to Jerusalem, why is Jerusalem

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[10] This is virtually identical to the syntax that communicates the theme of the Lord's choice of
Zion/Jerusalem. Hence the tendency amongst scholars to consider Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula
and the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem as two halves of the same coin.

[11] While the first long-form will not factor into the discussion of this chapter, this study will refer
to the "referent of the centralization formula" and "the place of the name" interchangeably as the phrases
לָשׂוּם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם and לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם should both be translated as "to place/put his name" (see below).

[12] John J. Collins, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 170.

[13] G. J. Wenham, "Deuteronomy and the Central Sanctuary," *TynBul* 22 (1971): 103.

never mentioned in Deuteronomy? This question is often explained anachronistically.

"While Deuteronomy could not speak directly about Jerusalem, more because it was formulated as speeches of Moses and less because it originated in the Northern Kingdom, its demand for cultic purity by means of cultic unity was still directed first to this city."[14] In other words, while the Centralization Formula must have had Jerusalem in view, logically one should not expect a blatant reference to Jerusalem as that anachronism would have undermined the credibility of Josiah's reforms. However, one should heed the words of J. G. McConville, "It is a fallacy to argue that Deuteronomy *must have* centralization in Jerusalem in mind on the grounds that the law is *obviously* taken to refer to Jerusalem in the books of Kings."[15] Moreover, there is linguistic evidence within the Centralization Formula itself that causes one to begin to question the consensus position. S. Richter has shed light on such evidence.

In *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, Richter examines in detail the occurrences of the deuteronomic idioms לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם and לָשׂוּם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם, two manifestations of the so-called long-form.[16] She ultimately concludes that both of these

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[14] Preuss, *Old Testament Theology*, 2:45.

[15] J. G. McConnville, *Deuteronomy* (AOTC 5; Leicester: Apollos, 2002), 217, emphasis mine. As will become clear, Jerusalem does become the "place of the name," but there is reason to believe that this maturation was more nuanced than what the consensus implies. Thus, it is a fallacy *to assume* that Jerusalem is the only legitimate referent.

[16] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology* . As alluded to by the title of her work, Richter's goal is to examine these idioms in order to assess the so-called "Name Theology." However, the overlap between her work and the centralization formula makes her work a valuable resource for the purposes of this study.

related idioms should be translated "to place his name there" as they are related to the

Old Akkadian monumental phrase *šuma šakānu*, which essentially designates ownership.

The idiom לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם "is best explained by a [Biblical Hebrew] loan adaptation of Akk

šuma šakānu," and לָשׂוּם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם "is best explained as a [Biblical Hebrew] calque of the

same [Akkadian] idiom."[17] Thus, in the appropriate contexts these phrases communicate

that "[the Lord] has claimed [the Promised Land] as his own. Let the people be subject,

let them bring tribute, and let them always remember that it is he who has defeated their

foes and it is he to whom allegiance is due."[18]

Of the occurrences of לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם, there are five unambiguous occurrences[19] and

all are isolated to Deut 12-26, traditionally known as the old legal core. In each

occurrence, the central cult site and the actions preformed there are the topic of

discussion. While Deut 12:11 is the most general, merely stating that

עוֹלֹתֵיכֶם וְזִבְחֵיכֶם מַעְשְׂרֹתֵיכֶם וּתְרֻמַת יֶדְכֶם וְכֹל מִבְחַר נִדְרֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר תִּדְּרוּ לַיהוָה are to be brought

there, the other occurrences are more specific. Deuteronomy 14:23 refers to the annual

tithe, and 16:2, 6 and 16:11 regulate the Passover and Festival of Weeks respectively.

Deut 26:2 mentions the First Fruits. Of these five occurrences, the final four also attest to

a didactic function. In 14:23, tithes are offered לְמַעַן תִּלְמַד לְיִרְאָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כָּל־הַיָּמִים.

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[17] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 209. For Richter's discussion of the Mesopotamian monumental corpus, see pp. 153-84.

[18] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 217.

[19] There is potentially a sixth, in Deut 12:5. However, there is a text-critical debate with respect to the exact pointing and the nature of its relationship with לָשׂוּם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם. See *Excursus* below.

The rituals spoken of in Deut 16:2, 6, 11, and 26:2 function to recall the exodus, in some form or fashion. The two unambiguous occurrences of לָשׂוּם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם in Deuteronomy both appear in contexts that deal with the implications of the central cult site being "too far away." Thus, these passages presuppose those that use the שׁכן idiom.[20] Deuteronomy 12:21 states that if the central site is too far away, secular slaughter is permitted. Similarly, Deut 14:24 mentions that one is permitted to purchase the appropriate sacrifice if one's journey to the central cult site is too far. Thus, each occurrence of these two phrases within Deuteronomy can be nicely categorized two-fold: passages that deal with festivals and tithes and those that deal with the implications of geographic complications.

Many of the passages that employ the short-form further expand the function of the central cult site. For example, generic tithes are to be consumed at that place (12:18). Consecrated things are to be taken there (12:26). The sacrifice of the first-born is to be eaten there (15:20). Judicial action is to be preformed there (17:8, 10). Thus, when all the occurrences of the centralization formula within Deuteronomy are considered synchronically, the central cult is not merely a cultic center. It is the socio-political center of the community.

However, it is important to recognize the functional expectations of the central site associated with each type of reference of the central cult site. That is, one can ascertain a perceptual development with respect to the function of the cult site upon considering the content of the שׁכן, שׂום, and short-form references. In addition to

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[20] That is, Deut 12:21 and 14:24 would make little sense without the passages that employ the שׁכן idiom.

presupposing the content of the שכן passages, the ideas communicated by the שׂום

passages appear to amend those communicated by the שכן passages.[21] So too do the ideas

communicated by the short-form. In other words, via the שׂום passages and many of the

short-form passages, the function of the central cult site is significantly expanded.[22] What

begins as the place where people embark upon pilgrimages for religious and theological

purposes becomes the all-encompassing, socio-economic focal point for the community.

It is where one seeks adjudication and offers the appropriate tithes in addition to fulfilling

the necessary religious requirements.

Returning to the idiom לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם, through a cogent examination Richter

determines that the D stem of *škn* in these contexts indicates a transitive sense borrowed

from East Semitic, "to place" or "to put."[23] Richter then proceeds to examine the root *škn*

in light of the epigraphic evidence of the Levant, namely Phoenician, Byblian, and

Aramaic inscriptions.[24] Of particular interest is the witness of Tell Fakhariyeh. This ninth

century bilingual inscription unequivocally demonstrates that the Northwest Semitic

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[21] I concur with Halpern, who attributes the occurrences of the שׂום idiom to a different literary

stratum than the occurrences of the שכן idiom. Baruch Halpern, "The Centralization Formula in

Deuteronomy," *VT* 31.1 (1981): 25-26.

[22] The long-forms are not necessarily developmentally dependent on the short-form. See Lohfink,

"Zentralisationsformel," 316-24. Contrary to E. Otto and Reuter. Eckart Otto, "Altorientalische Kontexte

der deuteronomischen Namestheologic," *ZAR* 13 (2007): 239; Reuter, *Kultzentralisation*, 134-38.

[23] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 96-126.

[24] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 199-203.

idiom *śym šm* is the first-millennium B.C.E. dialectical calque of the Akkadian

šuma šakānu.[25] When this epigraphic data is considered with the observations that the rest

of the Deuteronomistic History overwhelmingly prefers the שׂוֹם reflex, Richter concludes

that the occurrences of לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם לָשׂוֹם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם postdate .לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם[26]

An important and unique element to Richter's study is the relevance of the syntax

שָׁם + שֵׁם + היה to the Centralization Formula. Richter maintains that such syntax

represents a "periphrastic reflex" of the לְשַׁכֵּן and לָשׂוֹם idioms.[27] Noting that this reflex is

isolated to 1 Kgs 8 and other post-exilic texts (1 Kgs 8:16, 29; 2 Kgs 23:27; 2 Chr 6:5-6;

7:16; 2 Chr 33:7) and that with certain occurrences of the היה reflex the ideology of

"Name Theology" seems to appear,[28] Richter argues that the היה reflex is the youngest of

the three forms.

Richter's linguistic analysis is impressive. Even those who disagree with other

aspects of her work, sometimes vehemently, are inclined to acknowledge the cogency of

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[25] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 203.

[26] Further supporting this chronological distinction is Richter's conclusion of the difficult phrase

לָשׂוֹם אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שָׁם לְשַׁכְנוֹ in Deut 12:5. In short, Richter concludes that לָשׂוֹם אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שָׁם was an interlinear

gloss that functioned to clarify "the translation (and meaning) of an unusual idiom." Later, the gloss was

inappropriately incorporated into the text and corrupted the syntax in the process. Richter, *Deuteronomistic

History and the Name Theology*, 62-63.

[27] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 95.

[28] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 215-17.

her linguistic analysis.[29] Thus, when this framework is considered with the content of each occurrence of the Centralization Formula, particularly within Deuteronomy, there is warrant to perceive a three-tiered historical development (היה→שׂום→שכן). In other words, the three distinct but linguistically related forms testify to a three-tiered redactional layering within the Centralization Formula whereby the central cult site is transformed from the socio-religious center to an all-encompassing socio-political and religious center. However, as mentioned above, any redactional scheme of the

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[29] For example, John Van Seters, who takes serious issue with Richter's "application of the comparative data to the biblical text" and her "narrow and ill-informed" scholarship on Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, lauds her for her handling of the linguistic data. John Van Seters, A Review of Sandra L. Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, *JAOS* 123.4 (2003): 871-72. Also, T. Mettinger is receptive to Richter's linguistic analysis but takes issue with Richter's conclusions regarding the classical articulation of the Name Theology. Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, A Review of Sandra L. Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, *JBL* 122.4 (2003): 753-55. Similar to Mettinger is M. Hundley. Michael Hundley, "To Be or Not To Be: A Reexamination of Name Language in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History," *VT* 59 (2009): 871-72. In a particularly negative critique, Otto takes issue with virtually all of Richter's study. See Otto, "Namestheologic," 237-48. In short, Otto adheres to a Göttingen redactional model for Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, which is fundamentally incompatible with Richter's work (§7.2). In a paper delivered at the 2010 annual Society of Biblical Literature meeting, Sandra Richter, "Placing the Name, Pushing the Paradigm: A Decade with the Deuteronomistic Name Formula" (Paper presented at the annual Society of Biblical Literature Conferance, Atlanta, GA, November, 2010), Richter addressed the criticisms of Otto, arguing that her investigation did not approach the linguistic data with an *a apriori* redactional model. I agree with Richter, particularly as her work is conducive with the inductive intentions of this study. In fact, this the predominant reason why I do not side with the Göttingen school.

Centralization Formula, or Deuteronomy for that matter, must consider the exegetical

relationship between the Deuteronomic legal code and the Covenant Code.

Levinson has done extensive work on the relationship between the deuteronomic

legal code and the Covenant Code. In his work *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of*

Legal Innovation, Levinson correctly identifies and exhaustively examines the exegetical

relationship between the two codes.[30] Focusing upon the nexuses between the respective

altar laws, the Passover and Unleavened Bread festivals in Deuteronomy and Exodus, and

the implications of Deuteronomic judicial legislation, Levinson states that "Deuteronomy

represents a radical revision of the Covenant Code."[31] Thus, the question that arises is

whether or not the three-tiered redactional layering within the Centralization Formula can

be aligned with Levinson's framework. It can, and the שׂום reflex is critically important.

Levinson's scheme is built upon passages that employ either the שׂום reflex or the

short-form. In other words, Levinson's scheme is not fundamentally compromised if one

considers the שכן passages to antedate the שׂום and short-form passages. With respect to

Deut 16, the exegetical issue is the *adjustment* of the religious calendar, integrating the

Passover festival with the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Such realignment does not

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[30] Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford: Oxford
University, 1998).

[31] Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 3. In response to Levinson's
rhetoric, I agree with Arnold who adopts Levinson's proposal while advocating a softening of his rhetoric.
Arnold, "Ipsissima Vox," 70.

hinge upon the occurrences of the phrase לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם.[32] Regarding chapter twelve and

the centralization law, Levinson predominately focuses upon vv. 13-19 as the crucial

evidence for the deuteronomic writer interpreting Ex 20:24b.[33] In these verses,

לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם does not appear. Where לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם appears in chapter twelve (12:11),

Levinson, in light of the work of Georg Braulik, attributes it to a Josianic redactor by

linking it to the larger Deuteronomistic theme of rest.[34] While Braulik may be correct to

link 12:9-10 to the Deuteronomistic theme of peace, it is possible to view vv. 9-10 as a

redactional insertion into a pre-Josianic centralization law.[35] Deuteronomy's judicial

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[32] Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 53-97.

[33] Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 23-52.

[34] Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 44-46. See Georg Braulik,
"Zur Deuteronomistischen Konzeption von Freiheit und Frieden," in *Congress Volume Salamanca 1983*
(VTSupp 36; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 29-39.

[35] Verse eleven opens with וְהָיָה הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם בּוֹ לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם שָׁמָּה תָבִיאוּ.

Important is the observation that וְהָיָה is syntactically linked more with the previous clauses than the

succeeding nominal absolute הַמָּקוֹם; וְהָיָה continues the *weqatal* sequence and provides a future temporal

context for v. 11. Reuter also recognizes the uniqueness of this syntax. Reuter, *Kultzentralisation*, 131.

Moreover, v. 8 would flow quite nicely into the nominal absolute of v. 11. Thus, I propose that the

beginning of chapter twelve, in its pre-Josianic form, be reconstructed as follows: 12:1-8,11f. Levinson

considers vv. 2-7 to be from the same hand as vv.9-10, for vv. 2-7 is the command and vv.9-10 is the

reflection upon those commands. But vv. 2-7 and vv. 8-10 need not be attributed to the same hand. In

addition to the syntactical problems just mentioned, Richter's discussion of the conflation of terms in 12:5

demonstrates that vv. 2-7 are linked to the earliest layer of the Centralization Formula. Also, Levinson's

argument that the rhetoric of 12:2-12 attests to a single writer is unpersuasive.

transformation in light of centralization does not consider any occurrence of the שכן

idiom.[36]

Therefore, it is possible to theorize an early centralization law, which employed

the idiom לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם, within the earliest form of the deuteronomic tradition. As such, a

Josianic redactor amended it according to his agenda. During the process, the redactor

translated the older idiom with the more familiar שׂום reflex and employed the short-form

in other locations throughout the deuteronomic legal code. By implication, the

subsequent occurrences of the שׂום reflex throughout 1 and 2 Kings also should be

attributed to a Josianic redactor.

In sum, Richter's three-tiered linguistic analysis is compatible with Levinson's

exegetical framework. In its earliest stage, the Centralization Formula consisted only of

לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם in order to communicate a centralization ideal that emphasized the Passover

and annual tithes at festivals that served a didactic purpose. More specifically, these

festivals functioned to recall the implications of the exodus. This, therefore, implies that

both the centralization ideology and the deuteronomic legal code, in its nascent stages,

were less substantial than what appears in the canonical form. In light of the socio-

political developments of the Josianic period, the Centralization Formula and its ideals

were amended. The linguistic formula was updated and the function of the central cult

site was expanded. Moreover, to prevent any confusion, the the שׂום reflex was carried

forward into larger historical narrative, of which Deuteronomy was a part and explicitly

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[36] Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 98-143.

equated with Jerusalem. The final development within the Centralization Formula

occurred with the היה reflex. Again, the language shifted, but its concern was not to

expand upon the functions of the central cult site. Rather, its function was to articulate a

new theological perception as the divine presence was associated with "the place of the

name."

6.3 Conclusions

The implications of this framework augment previous conclusions (§3.3.2). The

occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem in Kings that employ the

phrase לָשׂוּם שְׁמִי שָׁם, or some derivation, should be attributed to the Josianic redactor:1

Kgs 11:32, (the canonical form of) 36, 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7. The occurrence of the theme

that employs the היה reflex should be attributed to the exilic historian: 2 Kgs 23:27. In

other words, the occurrences of the theme found in 1 Kgs 11:13, 32, 36, 14:21, 2 Kgs

21:7, 23:27, 2 Chr 6:6, 12:13, and 33:7 should be dated to and after the seventh century

B.C.E. With respect to the pre-canonical form of 1 Kgs 11:36, this has already been

attributed to the Hezekian historian (ch. 3).

Consequently, a chronological framework for the usage and development of the

theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem is becoming increasingly clarified. The

theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem was a significant ideological element for

approximately two hundred years, from a Hezekian milieu through the sixth century

B.C.E.[37] Furthermore, it appears that in the Josianic milieu the theme underwent a

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[37] Regarding the date of composition for 1 and 2 Chronicles, the issues are complicated. For a

discussion, see Rodney K. Duke, "Books of Chronicles," *DOTHB*, 164-71. I assume a context of

noticeable development in its content and communicative intent. What remains to be seen is how Pss 78 and 132 interact with this tentative chronological framework. This will be discussed in chapter 8, after the literary context of 1 and 2 Kings is addressed in chapter 7.

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composition for the earliest form of Chronicles in the early Persian period. For a cogent argument, see Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 125-28. This argument assumes the work of F. M. Cross. Frank Moore Cross, *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 2000), 151-72. Admittedly, the term "early Persian period" is vague. However, it adequately demonstrates that the earliest edition of Chronicles was composed during a time when Davidic ambitions were still a reasonable political option.

Chapter 7

The Literary Context of 1 and 2 Kings

This chapter investigates the literary context of the books of Kings as well as discussing

the general developments of that context in light of the results of this study so far. The

need to establish the literary context of 1 and 2 Kings arises from the reality that a large

number of occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem appear in 1

and 2 Kings. Thus, by understanding the extent and general development of the extended

literary context, one may further understand and assess any developments within the

usage of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. Assuming two pre-exilic

editions of the books of Kings, each of which climaxed with the reigns of Hezekiah and

Josiah respectively (see *Prologue*), I begin with determining the boundaries of the

Hezekian history.[1]

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[1] Sweeney correctly argues that the Josianic historian assumes and develops a Hezekian history accordingly. Marvin A. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2001), 173-77. Therefore, ascertaining the literary confines of the Hezekian history is a critical first step. However, the nature of this study precludes a comprehensive reconstruction. Instead, focus will fall upon those issues that bear upon understanding the usage and development of the ideology of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem. A more detailed reconstruction remains for another time.

7.1 Finding the Boundaries of the Hezekian History

In attempting to determine the nature and boundaries of a work's literary context, one can

begin with an examination of the work's climax.[2] Thus, in trying to determine the nature

and extent of the Hezekian historical work, one can begin with an examination of the

work's climax. Elements of 2 Kgs 18:1-20:21 constitute that climax. Not only is

Hezekiah's regal evaluation disclosed in these verses, but so too is the miraculous

deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib. Yet, certain literary-critical issues must be

discussed before an examination of the content can progress.

With respect to this literary-critical debate, it centers on the narrative of

Jerusalem's salvation from the Assyrian siege, and there are two basic camps. On the one

hand, scholars perceive chapters 18-19 as a fusion of separate sources.[3] On the other

hand, scholars interpret chapters 18-19 as a delicately crafted episode. For example,

through its characterization and literary flow, Sweeney believes the episode is the product

of one hand, portraying "YHWH as protector of Jerusalem and the house of David."[4] As

for 2 Kgs 18:13-16 within such a scheme, which is often characterized as an alternative

account, "its placement at the outset of the narrative highlights Sennacherib's despicable

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[2] Because a climax is the culmination of a progression within the narrative, one can logically look
to elements of that climax in order to ascertain corresponding elements within the narrative. While this does
not guarantee ascertaining an exact starting point, it does permit the discovery of critical elements within
the narrative.

[3] For example, see Brevard Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* (SBT; London: SCM, 1967).
One source is found in 2 Kgs 18:13-16. A second source appears in 2 Kgs 18:17-19:37, which is comprised
of two legendary accounts.

[4] Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 413.

character as an arrogant and unjust enemy of YHWH by portraying his demands for

Hezekiah's surrender and the deportation of the population even after Hezekiah had

already submitted to his authority."[5]

The latter option is preferred, at least when speaking of a Hezekian history.[6] The

conclusion of this history included chapters 18-19 in their totality. These chapters

systematically interpret the events of Sennacherib's siege with an antiquarian interest.

They recount the failure of Hezekiah's revolt and the fact that Sennacherib failed to

destroy Jerusalem all the while communicating the point that these events prove

unequivocally that the Davidic line, Jerusalem, and God's people enjoy the Lord's

blessing.[7]

One final comment on the ending of the Hezekian history is necessary. Based on

the following considerations, Sweeney believes that the account of Hezekiah's illness (2

Kgs 20:1-11) would have concluded this history.[8] The introductory formula of 2 Kgs

20:1-11, בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם, correlates this pericope to the previous verses. Also, Hezekiah's

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[5] Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 412.

[6] Literary-critical studies that seek to determine separate accounts of the event that eventually
came to comprise the biblical text are worthwhile. However, for the context of a Hezekian history, which
sought to compile extant traditions in order to provide a systematic account of Israel's history, by my
estimation there is not sufficient warrant in this instance to abandon the synchronic posture of the
narrative's frame of reference.

[7] Sweeney believes these chapters communicate the view that YHWH protects Jerusalem and the
house of David unconditionally." Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 419. While the idea of "unconditional"
protection is debatable, this event, perhaps more than any other, undoubtedly reinforced the idea of divine
protection.

[8] Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 25-26.

deliverance from illness, which is substantiated by his piety, parallels the deliverance of

Jerusalem. Moreover, 2 Kgs 20:6 recalls the events of chapters 18-19 and 2 Kgs 19:34 in

particular.[9] This is reasonable. However, such a reconstruction nevertheless requires a

proper ending; 2 Kgs 20:11 is too abrupt. Therefore, assuming that 2 Kgs 20:12-19 is the

product of a later hand that sought to negatively interpret Hezekiah's legacy, 2 Kgs 20:11

was probably followed by 20:20-21 to conclude the Hezekian history.

Thus, the historical work's climax is identified: 1 Kgs 18:1-20:11; 20:20-21.

Now, the content of the history can be examined. Consider the following phenomena.

First, in the regal evaluation of Hezekiah, mention is made of his destruction of

Nehushtan (2 Kgs 18:4). The narratival antecedent for this statement appears in Numb

21:4-9. Second, a narratological nexus exists between the accounts of the annihilation of

the Egyptian and Assyrian armies (Ex 14:1-31; 2 Kgs 18:9-19:37). Third, Jerusalem's

salvation from the clutches of Sennacherib is recounted in a way that alludes to

Jerusalem's status as the cosmic center of the universe. Each of these points have

important implications for determining the boundaries of the King's literary context.

Each will be discussed below, but the relationship between Exodus 14 and 2 Kings 18-19

is first.

There are at least six points of comparison between the two narratives. First, in

both narratives, God's people faced off against the world's greatest military and imperial

forces of their day. During the Late Bronze Age, the historical era against which the

Exodus account is to be read, Egypt was arguably the greatest imperial force of the

Levant. Only the Hittite Empire was its rival. At the end of the eighth century B.C.E.,

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[9] Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 420-21.

Assyria was unquestionably the most dominate military and imperial force in the Fertile Crescent. Their superb organization allowed the Assyrian army at that time to operate at unprecedented levels of efficiency, power, and intimidation. One battle tactic that embodied the military prowess of the Assyrian's was siege warfare. Assyrian siege tactics were so efficient that by the eighth century B.C.E. victory was obtain more often by breeching a wall rather than famine.[10]

An awareness of Assyrian siege efficiency may point to another facet of this connection between narratives. In each narrative, the confrontation between the Lord's people and their enemy occurs in a battlefield context that plays to the strengths of the enemy's military. In 2 Kings, Assyria sieges Jerusalem, and in Exodus the Egyptians engage Israel in open-field warfare. According to Drews, Late Bronze Egypt valued very highly their chariot corps, particularly since chariot warfare was the method of combat between kingdoms.[11] In fact, from the Battle of Qadesh, which offers a glimpse into the strategy of Egyptian warfare during the Late Bronze Age, it is clear that the chariot corps represented a prominent offensive weapon of the Egyptian army. Thus, in the case of the Exodus narrative, the Egyptian army rallied its chief offensive division against the Hebrews in order to bring about a decisive and quick victory.

Second, each confrontation occurred at a critical juncture in the history of the Lord's relationship with his people. A defeat in either context would have severely

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[10] Israel Eph'al, "On Warfare and Military Control in the Ancient Near Eastern Empires: A Research Outline," in *History, Historiography, and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1983), 92-93.

[11] For a worthy discussion of chariot warfare, see Robert Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1993), 104-34..

compromised the future existence of the Lord's people. The confrontation in Exodus

comes immediately on the heels of their release from Egyptian bondage, and if Pharaoh

had succeeded in his intention to forcibly re-enslave Israel (Ex 14:5), at the very least, the

occupation of the Promised Land would have been delayed. The confrontation in 2 Kings

occurs after the fall of the Northern Kingdom, historically and literarily. Thus, the

impression is created that the sacking and destruction of Jerusalem would have resulted

in the forced exile of Judah and, essentially, the extinction of the Lord's people. In other

words, if Jerusalem would have fallen, Judah would have been destroyed just like Israel.

Third, not only is the enemy vastly superior militarily, but God's people recognize

their inferiority, adding to the desperate atmosphere of each episode. In the Exodus

account, the people are very vocal and negative in their assessment of their situation.

They cry out in fear, accuse Moses of duping them, and essentially resign themselves to

re-enslavement (Ex 14:11-12). In 2 Kings, Israel's recognition of inferiority is discerned

through their actions. By taking their position behind the walls of Jerusalem, the

inhabitants of Jerusalem and its immediate environs admit their military inferiority.

Fourth, a divine being plays a pivotal role in both encounters. In Ex 14:19,

מַלְאַךְ אֱלֹהִים, along with the pillar of cloud, runs interference with the Egyptian army long

enough for Israel to cross miraculously their aquatic obstacle. In 2 Kings, מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה plays

a much more violent role. The divine agent moves through the Assyrian camp under the

cloak of darkness in order to slay the Assyrian army (2 Kgs 19:35). While the angel of

the Lord/God is not absent is other contexts within Exodus-2 Kings, it is noteworthy that

only a few contexts allude to or mention the angel's hostile role.[12] Moreover, only in Ex 14 and 2 Kgs 19 is the being's aggressive military action for the immediate salvation of the Lord's people.[13]

Fifth, in each episode, victory is decisive, and the notation of corpses that occurs toward the culmination of each episode best demonstrates this. According to Ex 14:30b, "Israel saw the Egyptians dead on the seashore." Second Kgs 19:35b states, "[The people] arose in the morning, and they were all dead corpses!" In fact, these defeats, according to the narrative flow of the Pentateuch through 2 Kings, are so decisive that they usher in a new dispensation for each empire. Subsequent to 2 Kgs 19, Assyria essentially disappears. Only in 2 Kgs 23:29 are they mentioned in a politically significant context. Yet, even here they are mentioned in passing. With respect to Egypt, when the nation is mentioned subsequent to Ex 14, it is never mentioned with the same imperial reverence. In other words, both battles are recounted in a manner that when considered against the flow of the literary context these decisive defeats initiate a reversal of political prestige for both nations.

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[12] The contexts where the angel engages in aggressive and hostile activity include: Ex 14:9, Numb 22, 2 Sam 24, and 2 Kgs 19:35. In Ex 3:2, Jdgs 2:1-4, Jdgs 6:11-12, 20-22, Judges 13, 1 Kgs 19:5-7, and 2 Kgs 1:15 the angel of the Lord/God functions to encourage the Lord people or to reveal aspects of the divine economy. In Jdgs 5:23, the angel of the Lord curses Meroz for its lack of participation in the battle against Sisera. There may be a military presence implicit to Ex 32:34 and 33:1, but it is unclear.

[13] In Numb 22, Balaam is opposed by the Angel of the Lord, preventing him from cursing Israel. Thus, one can interpret this as an aggressive action for the sake of the salvation of the Lord's people. However, this indirect salvation is distinct from that communicated in Ex 14 and 2 Kgs 19.

Sixth, the result of both confrontations is the same, the recognition of the Lord

with his omnipotence and salvation for his people. Moreover, both narratives convey this

result by similar syntax. The Exodus account conveys this in vv. 4 and 17. The important

clauses of v. 4 read, וְאִכָּבְדָה בְּפַרְעֹה וּבְכָל־חֵילוֹ וְיָדְעוּ מִצְרַיִם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה. These clauses are

repeated almost verbatim in v. 17. Here, only the phrases בְּרִכְבּוֹ וּבְפָרָשָׁיו, "through his

chariots and through his horsesmen," are added. With respect to 2 Kgs 19, the result of

the encounter is anticipated in 19:19. Exhorting the Lord in response to Sennacherib's

arrogance, Hezekiah exclaims, "So now, O Lord our God, save us from his hand so that

every kingdom of the Earth will know that you alone O Lord are God;"

וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ הוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ נָא מִיָּדוֹ וְיֵדְעוּ כָּל־מַמְלְכוֹת הָאָרֶץ כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לְבַדֶּךָ.

In each case, the purpose of this confrontation–to reveal the Lord's omnipotence

and salvific power on behalf of his people–is communicated through telic verbal syntax

and a constituent noun clause, signified by the conjunction כִּי.[14] In the Exodus account,

this is communicated through a contingent *weqatal* of purpose, וְיָדְעוּ. The Lord will gain

glory through Pharaoh's army so that they may know that the God of Israel is the Lord. In

the 2 Kings account, this same purpose is communicated but by slightly different syntax.

Here, the jussive form of וְיֵדְעוּ that follows the imperative הוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ communicates the telic

syntax.[15] "Save us…so that all the kingdoms of the world will know that you alone O

Lord are God. Thus, while the verbal syntax differs, the semantics are the same.

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[14] *IBHS*, §38.8.

[15] *IBHS*, §34.6.

Also noteworthy is the realization that outside of Exodus, this idea–mighty salvation so that people will know–appears sparsely throughout Exodus-2 Kings. Only in two other contexts does this ideology appear: 1 Kgs 18 and 20. Yet, even in these instances, the recipients of the lesson are the people of the Lord. Only in Exodus and 2 Kings 19 are the recipients of this divinely inspired lesson non-Israelites.

Individually, these points do not constitute sufficient warrant for establishing a literary connection between the two episodes. Rather, *the cooperation* of these points of comparison establishes the narratological connection between the accounts of the annihilation of the Egyptian and Neo-Assyrian armies. Thus, I do not accept the notion that these points of comparison are merely fortuitous. As to the nature of this connection, it is typological. The Hezekian historian perceived a typological relationship between these thirteenth and eighth century events whereby the former events helps to understand the nature and significance of the latter. M. Fishbane provides clarification.

Fishbane characterizes inner-biblical typology as "a literary-historical phenomenon which isolates perceived correlations between specific events, person, or places early in time with their later correspondents."[16] Such a relationship "celebrates new historical events insofar as they can be correlated with older ones as a disclosure of the plentitude and mysterious workings of divine activity in history."[17] According to Fishbane, syntactical and lexical features most clearly set off such a connection, but ultimately the content of the relationship most appropriately signals and defines the

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[16] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 351.

[17] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 352.

typology.[18] In example offered here, the typology is historical as it correlates the events of the annihilation of the Egyptian and Assyrian armies. More specifically, it is a retrojective historical typology.[19] According to this scheme, the prototype event provides the framework for the antitype's presentation. So, the Exodus narrative, the prototype, provides the intellectual and theological framework within which the Kings narrative, the antitype, is presented. This explains the numerous points of connection observed between the two narratives, particularly the distinct usage of the verb ידע that is relatively foreign to the books of Kings. Consequently, the annihilation of the Neo-Assyrian army is more than just a salvific event along the historical continuum of the Lord's people. Rather, Jerusalem's salvation becomes another foundational moment for Israelite history whereby the Lord displays his mighty protection of his people.

Yet, the nuances of this correlation go deeper. As already mentioned, in the Exodus narrative the substantiation for salvation is rooted in the self-glorification of the Lord (Ex 14:4, 7). In the Kings narrative, the salvation is also rooted in the glorification of the Lord (2 Kgs 19:19). However, in the case of the Kings narrative the substantiation for Jerusalem's salvation is also rooted in David's legacy. According to 2 Kgs 19:34, which is contextualized in an oracle that is given in response to Hezekiah's prayer (2 Kings 19:14-19), the Lord declares that he will protect the city for his sake and "for the sake of David" his servant. Hezekiah anchors his appeal for salvation in the character of the Lord, and the Lord vows to oblige his request. Yet, the Lord acknowledges that the

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[18] Thus, Fishbane offers a four-fold categorization: cosmological-historical, historical, spatial, and biographical. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 353.

[19] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 358.

salvation of Jerusalem is equally substantiated by the legacy of David. Thus, the correlation between narratives testifies to continuity *and* development. The God who protected their ancestors still protects them, even from the world's most formidable military powers. Yet, the community has evolved, and the Davidic dynasty has become a foundational component that defines their relationship with the Lord.

Returning to the clues in the climax of the Hezekian history that help determine the boundaries of the Hezekian history, 2 Kgs 19:32-34 is important. These verses characterize Jerusalem's salvation in such a way that it alludes to its status as the cosmic center of the universe.[20] "Therefore, says the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, he will not enter this city, nor will he fire an arrow there, nor will he confront it with a shield, nor will he build a siege mound against it. By the way which he comes he will return, but this city he will not enter says the Lord. I shall protect this city, saving it for my sake and the sake of David my servant." Particularly important is the *weqatal* וְגַנּוֹתִי and the phrase לְמַעֲנִי, for they recall a central tenet of the principle of the cosmic mountain of divine protection from the hostile forces of the world. Such an emphasis of Jerusalem is echoed in 1 Kgs 8:12-13, which also alludes to the belief in Jerusalem as the cosmic center.[21] In

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[20] Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 419.

[21] Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 132-33. Sweeney argues that specific imagery and terminology in 1 Kgs 8 recalls acts of creation and the holiness of the Lord's abode. Thus, the Lord who is responsible for the creation of the cosmos now resides in Jerusalem's temple. On the complexity of this chapter's literary history, see E. Talstra, *Solomon's Prayer: Synchrony and Diachrony in the Composition of 1 Kings 8, 14-61* (trans. G. Runia-Deenick; CBET 3; Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1993). Regarding the antiquity of vv. 12-13, see O. Loretz, "Der Torso Eines Kanaanäisch-Israelitischen TempelWeihspruches in 1 Kg 8,12-13," *UF* 6 (1974): 478-80; Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 95-96; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*

particular, the clause יְהוָה אָמַר לִשְׁכֹּן בָּעֲרָפֶל appears. This imagery recalls Ex 20:21. "The

people stood from a far, but Moses approached the dark cloud (הָעֲרָפֶל) where God was."

In fact, other descriptions given in Ex 19-20 of Mt. Sinai constitute those of a cosmic

mountain. The Lord comes upon Sinai in a dense cloud (עָנָן; Ex 19:9, 16). There was

lightning and thunder (Ex 19:16), and the mountain quaked while it smoked (Ex 19:18).

In response, the people were to consecrate themselves (Ex 19:10), but they were not

willing to approach the mountain (Ex 20:19-20). Thus, 1 Kgs 8:12-13 not only discusses

Jerusalem in terms that equate it with the cosmic center of the universe, but it also creates

a connection between Zion and Sinai in the sense that both were perceived to be a cosmic

mountain. As such, Jerusalem represents the climax of a course of events within Israel's

history that saw the Lord move his presence from Sinai to Zion. In other words, Zion is

perceived to have replaced Sinai as the dwelling place of the Lord.[22] Perhaps this is

another reason why 1 Kgs 8:12-13 preserves an ancient poem recited during Solomon's

temple dedication ceremony.

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and the Deuteronomic School, 35. Schniedewind believes that these verses were preserved because they

allude to 2 Sam 7. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 43-44. Thus, the preservation of these verses

appears to be linked to the fact that they bear witness to the temple's association with the Davidic line and

its perceived cosmic status.

[22] This perception is not isolated to Kings, as it is attested elsewhere in the Old Testament.

Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, 154-58; John S. Kselman, "Sinai and

Zion in Psalm 93," in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts* (Winona Lake, IN:

Eisenbrauns, 2004), 73-74; Levenson, *Sinai & Zion*, 187-217.

In sum, the content of the climactic episode of the Hezekian history points to Numb 21:4-9 via the reference of Nehushtan, the narrative of the annihilation of the Egyptian army, portions of 1 Kgs 8, and Ex 19-20 as necessary components to the Hezekian history. Incidentally, these phenomena suggest that the Hezekian history was composed with the inclusion of an account of the wilderness wandering.[23] In addition, 2 Sam 7 was also a component to this history, which is suggested by the thematic and lexical connection between 1 Kgs 8:12-13 and 2 Sam 7. It is therefore prudent to examine this passage.

Second Samuel 7 speaks to the critical importance of the monarchy, and, in particular, the Davidic dynasty. Looking backward in order to look forward,[24] 2 Sam 7 is also particularly important for understanding the implications of the immediate context of 2 Sam 5-8, as emphasized by McCarter.[25] However, I would like to reconsider the popular position that the temple is a major point of emphasis within this chapter. In chapter one, Schniedewind's position with respect to the secondary status of 2 Sam

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[23] This implies that the literary boundaries for the Hezekian history were rather extensive, and as will be discussed shortly (§7.2), I am receptive to the idea that the Hezekian edition of Kings constitutes an element to a substantial narrative, which included elements of what has traditionally been called the J/E traditions.

[24] See Dennis McCarthy, "II Samuel 7 and the Structure of the Deuteronomic History," *JBL* 84 (1965): 131-38. McCarthy argues cogently that this chapter is structurally and thematically integral, going so far to described it as "the climax of the narrative which precedes it and the program for what follows." McCarter echoes this sentiment when he asserts that this chapter is both "retrospective" and "prospective." McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 2:218.

[25] McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 2:241.

17:13a, "He will build a house for my name," was mentioned (§1.1.1).[26] On the one hand, v. 13a is enclosed by a *Wiederaufnahme*. On the other hand, this clause is set off by the personal pronoun הוא, a well-known redactional marker. Thus, Schniedewind is correct to describe v. 13a as a "doubly marked" exegetical comment.[27]

The intricacies of 2 Sam 7:13a are deepened upon the consideration of the accounts of this episode in the LXX and 1 Chronicles. The LXX reads αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσει μοι οἶκον τῷ ὀνόματί μου. 1 Chronicles 17:12 reads הוּא יִבְנֶה־לִּי בָיִת. Consequently, some scholars have postulated that the phrase לִשְׁמִי in 2 Sam 7:13a is an adjustment by the Deuteronomistic Historian upon the original reading of לִי.[28] Thus, 2 Sam 7:13a would have originally read, "He will build a house for me." Schniedewind concurs insofar as the phrase לִשְׁמִי is secondary. According to Schniedewind, this exegetical alteration should be attributed to the Josianic historian when he incorporated the dynastic promise into the larger historical narrative. "Then[the Josianic historian] added verse 13a to the ancient prophetic text when it was incorporated into [Deuteronomistic History]."[29] The purpose of this exegetical comment was "to underscore the legitimacy of the one centralized temple."[30]

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[26] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 35-36.

[27] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 35.

[28] For example, Hartmut Gese, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung," *ZTK* 61 (1964): 22-23.

[29] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 36.

[30] Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 36.

However, Schniedweind believes that those who argue for the primacy of Chronicles with its reading of לִי (e.g. Gese) are incorrect. Schniedewind correctly emphasizes the tenuousness of relying upon Chronicles and the LXX in this debate.[31] Specific to Chronicles, its account of the dynastic oracle is a "rewriting and recontextualization" that was influenced by the rising prestige of the temple and falling prestige of the Davidic dynasty in the Persian period.[32] Where Schniedewind is open for criticism is in his insistence that לִשְׁמִי must be Josianic. Richter's work (ch. 6) has demonstrated that the שכן idiom of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula antedates the שׂום reflex, implying the presence of centralization ideology before the Josianic milieu. Therefore, if לִשְׁמִי alludes to a centralization ideology associated with the Jerusalem temple, 2 Sam 7:13a could have been inserted before the Josianic historian inherited the account. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the Josianic historian inherited such a text.

Returning to McCarter, his position that the temple constitutes one of the two "principle themes" of the dynastic oracle should be nuanced.[33] Indeed, the temple is

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[31] William M. Schniedewind, *Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup 197; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 147-49.

[32] Schniedewind, *Word of God*, 162.

[33] The implication of McCarter's statement is that the temple and the dynasty share equal standing. However, his position is heavily influenced by his insistence that מָקוֹם in v. 10 refers to a place of worship. This stance stems from the consideration of two issues. First, McCarter emphasizes that וְשַׂמְתִּי communicates a future tense. Second, the idea of "rest" that recurs in these verses is definitively deuteronomistic, alluding to the ideology of centralization. Both of these positions are open to criticism.

important, for its existence is inextricably linked to the existence of the Davidic dynasty.

This relationship is demonstrated rather pointedly by the בַּיִת wordplay throughout 2 Sam

7. Rather, I am suggesting that the temple informs the more salient dynastic issue of 2

Sam 7, which discusses how the Lord graciously ensured the success of David's

endeavors in order to establish his dynastic "name" and a place for his people.[34] Thus,

First, the immediate context suggests that "rest" is not indicative of centralization ideology, rather

successful conquests and the establishment of the nation of Israel. Second, וְשָׂמְתִּי signifies a particular

purpose of the Lord's actions, not future action. This becomes clear upon the consideration of the verbal

syntax of vv. 8-11. McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 2:217.

[34] The first oracle (vv. 4-7) cleverly rebukes David through the rhetorical question of v. 4, "Will

you build for me a house for my dwelling?" In the words that follow in vv. 6-7, the Lord rebukes the king,

whose request to tend to the temple coincides the ANE *modus operandi* of a newly crowned king. Thus,

David believes that his intentions are laudable. However, by drawing the king's intention to the divine

modus operandi, the Lord essentially states, "I know the royal *modus operandi*, but have you stopped to

consider my *modus operandi*?" For a quality discussion of the royal tendency to tend to a temple, see

Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 69-75. In vv. 8-17, the Lord articulates the

dynastic promise. It is a gracious gift, particularly since the Lord selected David, walked with him, and

struck down his enemies. "I took you from the grazing land, from behind the flock, to be a leader over my

people, over Israel. I was with you in every place that you went. I cut down all your enemies before you"

(vv. 8-9). These actions have particular purposes in mind. The perfect form of לקח and the *wayyiqtol* forms

of היה and כרת and their respective clauses are followed by a string of *weqatals* that communicate

contingent modality, namely purpose or result. The Lord has done these actions *so that* he could 1) make a

"great name" for David and 2) establish a place for Israel

(וְעָשִׂיתִי לְךָ שֵׁם גָּדוֹל כְּשֵׁם הַגְּדֹלִים אֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ וְשַׂמְתִּי מָקוֹם לְעַמִּי לְיִשְׂרָאֵל). Furthermore, the purpose of

establishing a place for Israel is so they would may settle, live, and never again cower in the face of

David's "name" will live on through a divinely ordained dynasty whose purpose is to govern Israel.[35] In fact, the continuity of the dynastic line will directly bear upon the "name" of the Lord; as the Davidic line continues, so too does the mighty reputation of the Lord.[36] Consequently, Schniedewind is correct when he suggests that the dynastic

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affliction (v. 10). The antecedent of the third person masculine suffix on וּנְטַעְתִּיו is יִשְׂרָאֵל. The subject of וְשָׁכַן is יִשְׂרָאֵל, and the antecedent of the third person masculine suffix on תַּחְתָּיו is מָקוֹם. As with וְעָשִׂתִי and וְשַׂמְתִּי in v. 9, וּנְטַעְתִּיו and וְשָׁכַן in v. 10 constitute contingent *weqatals* that signify purpose or result. The "place" (i.e. country) is the location where the Lord "plants" Israel so that it can "dwell."

[35] In vv. 12 and following, the focus of the oracle centers on the nature of this "house." David will sire an heir who will enjoy the benefit of the Lord's support. "When you days are full, you will sleep with your fathers and I will establish your seed after you, who will come after you, and I will establish his kingdom." Moreover, the Lord will be to him as a father, and David's descendent will be as a son. Perhaps most important to this promise however is the expressed reality that David's dynasty will be different his predecessor's. The Lord states that the iniquity of David's descendents will not result in the forfeiture of the Lord's faithfulness, as was the case with Saul (vv. 14-15). Rather, his line will endure divinely sanctioned chastisement offered through the "rod of humanity and the blows of the sons of man" (v. 14b). David's house and his kingdom will be established forever. The importance of David's line is also conveyed through the comparison of David with Moses via the עֶבֶד motif and the reality that he represented the true successors of the Judges. Thus, according to 2 Samuel 7, through David the promises given to the wilderness generation are fulfilled. McCarthy, "II Samuel 7," 132-33.

[36] After humbly praising the Lord for the uniqueness of his situation along with confessing the incomparability of the Lord and Israel (2 Sam 7:18-24), the king boldly calls the Lord to account. In v. 25, this boldness appears in full force. "So now, O Lord God, the matter that you spoke concerning your servant and concerning his house, establish it forever, and do just as you said so that your name may be great forever." The telic relationship between the imperfect verb וְיִגְדַּל and the previous imperatives הָקֵם and

promise is fundamentally concerned with communicating the legitimacy and importance of the Davidic line over Israel. The prestige of the temple is merely a contributing factor, at least early on in the covenant's perceptual history. The insertion of 2 Sam 7:13a signals a perceptual development, the rise of the temple's prestige in understanding the implications of the dynastic promise.

In light of these conclusions, the ideological nexus between 2 Sam 7 and 1 Kgs 11:29-39. First, the status of the temple is a contributing factor to a more salient message of the prestige of the Davidic dynasty. In both contexts, the historian acknowledges the temple's presence and significance, but clearly, it is not the historian's primary focus. Rather, the historian grounds a majority of his argument in other issues. Second, both pericopes acknowledge an association between the continuity of the Davidic line and a corresponding realm over which it governs. With respect to 2 Sam 7, this becomes clearer upon the consideration of its immediate context of chapters 5-8, particularly chapter eight. As stated by Halpern, 2 Sam 8 is the "capstone of the narrative of David's career," which "responds to (or is anticipated by) the "dynastic charter" of 2 Sam 7."[37] Thus, the establishment of Israel is intimately associated with the establishment of David's "name." The difference between the two pericopes is the extent of that territory. For 2 Sam 7, it is Israel; for 1 Kgs 11, it is only "one tribe." Third, both texts recognize that the continuity of the Davidic line inevitably bears upon the reputation of the Lord. Admittedly, in 2 Sam

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עֶשֶׂה communicate that the reputation of the Lord and the Davidic line are directly related. The name of the Lord is tied up with the name of the Davidides.

[37] Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*, 134. A corresponding territory is fundamental to a dynastic promise. Halpern, *The First Historians*, 167.

7 the connection is explicit whereas in 1 Kgs 11 it is implicit. Yet, when 1 Kgs 11:36 states that Jerusalem is the place that the Lord chose for himself and the location of the dominion promised to his servant David, the Lord is essentially admitting that the seizure and reallocation of that place would compromise his credibility. Not only has Jerusalem been chosen by the Lord (אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְתִּי), but it is the location of the territorial dominion fundamental to the dynastic promise. Given that David's "name" is tied up with the Lord's (cf. 2 Sam 7:25), to take away that dominion would result in a dynasty with no territory, fundamentally undermining the promise of a perpetual dynasty and thereby effectively undermining the Lord's reputation.

In sum, the content of the climactic episode of the Hezekian history has a few important literary implications. First, the regal evaluation, through its mention of Nehushtan, has a particular point of contact with the literary tradition of Numbers. Second, the account of the annihilation of the Neo-Assyrian army outside of Jerusalem exists in a literary-typological relationship with the account of the annihilation of the Egyptian army documented in Ex 14. Third, the substantiation for the salvation of Jerusalem alludes to the belief that Jerusalem was the cosmic center of the universe. This belief recalls 1 Kgs 8, particularly vv. 12-13, which in turn recalls descriptions of Sinai in Ex 19-20. Thus, a nexus is created whereby the cosmic center of the universe shifts from Sinai to Jerusalem in light of the temple's construction. Furthermore, 2 Sam 7 is recalled in 1 Kgs 8:12-13, and 2 Sam 7 is ideologically similar to 1 Kgs 11:29-39, particularly the Hezekian form of 1 Kgs 11:29-39.

These passages constitute strategic accounts within a rather extensive literary account. Thus, there is reason to believe that the Hezekian history was composed in order

to address the earliest stages of Israel's existence, including their exodus from Egypt, wilderness wandering, and this history appears to have documented the community's transition into the monarchal era. More importantly, these observations suggest the boundaries of the so-called Deuteronomistic History will not suffice in defining the literary confines of the Hezekian history. Rather, K. Schmid's Moses Story seems more in line with the observations offered in this study.[38] However, as will be discussed, Schmid's proposal should be nuanced.

7.2 A Critique of Schmid's Moses Story

Schmid has argued that a large portion of Exodus-2 Kings, particularly the non-P portions, constitutes a large, once-independent literary complex that discussed the origins of Israel. Accordingly, the Deuteronomistic History is essentially an extensive thematic thread within the larger Moses Story. Schmid states, "The delineation of Deuteronomy-2 Kings is not the boundary of a once independent history but results from an internal thematic thread that was perhaps introduced at the time of the incorporation of the Deuteronomic law[39] into the flow of the historical books."[40] Schmid's rejection of the

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[38] Konrad Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible* (trans. James D. Nogalski; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010). Schmid essentially argues that the Moses Story spans Exodus-2 Kings minus the P-passages and linking passages in Exodus 1 and 4, and Joshua 24. See below.

[39] Schmid posits that Deut 6-28 was incorporated into the Moses Story "by means of Deut 1-3 and/or 5 and Deut 28:45ff. and 30:1ff." Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 151. For a discussion of this, see below.

[40] Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 346.

classical idea of a Deuteronomistic History is based upon at least five considerations that, when considered cumulatively, are quite significant.[41]

First, asserting a break between Deuteronomy and Numbers is somewhat problematic since the end of Numbers leaves an open narrative. Second, any type of "preface theory," which has become increasingly popular (i.e. that Genesis-Numbers constitutes a type of "preface" composed after Deuteronomy) renders Deut 1-3 as an introduction with no point of reference. Third, according to Schmid, attempts to explain D-insertions in Genesis-Numbers spiral into a slavish commitment to critical theory. Fourth, Schmid believes that "forefathers" in Deut 1-3 and beyond originally referred to the exodus generation and not the Patriarchs. Fifth, the large textual block classically called the "Deuteronomistic History" is the result of a redactional layering within the Moses Story in conjunction with the Deuteronomic law.

Unfortunately, Schmid does not offer any quality alternative to his denunciation of the classical theory. Instead, he merely acknowledges that the classical boundary of the Deuteronomistic History is still a large block of unified material that underwent several stages of growth. Schmid also admits that within this sizable textual block there are tradition complexes that once existed independently, were employed by the composer of the Moses Story, and were subsequently redacted. In short, Schmid leaves the discussion with more questions than answers. To his credit however, he recognizes this and issues a challenge to determine how "the transmission complex of *Ex-2 Kgs fits into the

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[41] For what is summarized here, see Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, esp. 29-35, 149-51, 345-46.

multifaceted debate about the development and background of the Deuteronomistic History."[42]

As I have stated elsewhere, this challenge should be accepted.[43] That Schmid admits the existence of previously extant independent complexes that were incorporated into the larger Moses Story suggests that the critical theories regarding the development of a grand, pre-exilic Israelite historical work popularized within Deuteronomistic Studies need not be abandoned. That is, theories that hypothesize a pre-Hezekian, Hezekian, or Josianic history (or any combination thereof) are still applicable. A more prudent way forward is recognizing the deficiencies of the classically articulated theory of the Deuteronomistic History while balancing the idea of evolving pre-exilic historical complexes that ultimately transcended the boundaries of Deuteronomy-2 Kings.

Yet before a reconstruction of the basic literary framework can occur, a significant literary-critical obstacle must be navigated. Schmid's theory assumes a Göttingen redactional model[44] in his discussion of the Deuteronomistic material. As

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[42] Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 349.

[43] David B. Schreiner, A Review of Konrad Schmid, *Genesis and The Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible*, *BBR* 21.1 (2011): 103-05.

[44] Such a model contextualizes the composition and redaction of Deuteronomy and its larger historical narratival context, the Deuteronomistic History, exclusively in the exilic/post-exilic period. Unfortunately, the Göttingen model fails to properly deal with the presence of royal ideology that permeates 1 Sam-2 Kgs (see chs. 4-5 above). For these and other critiques, see Thomas Römer, *The So-called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical, and Literary Introduction* (New York: T & T Clark, 2005), 41-43. Also, Schniedewind has argued that the nascent stages of widespread literary development began with Hezekiah, demonstrating that the larege-scale literary complexes need not be exilic or post-exilic. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, 64-90.

mentioned in chapter 6, this is fundamentally at odds with the implications of the

development of the Centralization Formula reconstructed in this study.[45] Thus, a major

obstacle for adopting Schmid's proposed Moses Story appears. Can Schmid's theory,

which assumes a Göttingen model, function with a Crossian model? That is, can

Schmid's theory support a *pre-exilic* "Deuteronomistic thread"? I believe it can, and so

this study now turns to understanding why Schmid believes that the insertion of the

Deuteronomic law code is post-exilic.

Schmid's insistence on a post-exilic Deuteronomistic thread within the Moses

Story hinges upon his understanding of Deut 5, namely that it assumes a Diaspora

context. He states, "The Decalogue appears in place of the law for the diaspora, for their

situation in Exile."[46] According to Schmid, Deuteronomy 5 originated "simultaneously

with Deut 28:45ff. and 30:1ff.," and "takes into consideration the diaspora concept of

Deut 30" because "the Decalogue was transmitted directly to all Israel while the law was

only communicated to Moses."[47] In other words, Deut 5 was composed to frame the

deuteronomic law for those in the Diaspora, for they could not observe the Deuteronomic

law in accord with its internal standards. The Decalogue substituted the Deuteronomic

legal code and became the means by which those in the Diaspora demonstrated proper

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[45] Recall that there are two reflexes of the idiom לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם, first לָשׂוּם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם and then שָׁם +

היה + שֵׁם. The Centralization Formula manifests at least three layers of development, and the first two are

pre-exilic. Thus, this reconstruction aligns itself with a Crossian model, which was pioneered in Cross,

Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, 274-89.

[46] Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 151.

[47] Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 151.

covenantal obedience. For Schmid, this whole reorientation is ostensibly triggered by the observation in Deut 5:22 that the Decalogue was given to the totality of Israel and the deuteronomic legislation solely to Moses.

However, Levinson has argued that this tension observed in Deuteronomy 5 demonstrates the reality that the deuteronomic legal code serves as the "authentic" and "exclusive" supplement to the Decalogue given at Sinai.[48] For Levinson the tension (observed by Schmid) is not indicative of a Diaspora context, but rather a rhetorical purpose. The Exodus account of Sinai was originally concerned with disclosing that Moses revealed only the Decalogue and that the people watched from a distance.[49] Therefore, the emphasis in Deuteronomy that Moses added nothing more after the Decalogue (וְלֹא יָסָף; 5:22), which appears immediately on the heels of Deuteronomy's recitation of the Decalogue, establishes a nexus between the Exodus and Deuteronomy narratives. By recalling the Exodus narrative through the recitation of the Decalogue and the statement that Moses added nothing more, the text of Deuteronomy emphasizes that its code was the legitimate supplement, albeit narratively displaced.[50]

Such an association is possible largely because, according to Levinson, the Covenant Code is a later insertion into the Sinai pericope. Focusing upon the juxtaposition of the phrases אֵת כָּל־דִּבְרֵי יְהוָה וְאֵת כָּל־הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים in Ex 24:3a, Levinson emphasizes the narratival and syntactical problems with its larger context and concludes

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[48] Bernard M. Levinson, "Is the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition?: A Response to John Van Seters," in *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel* (London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 284.

[49] Thus, Ex 20:18-21 would have flowed directly into Ex 24. See below.

[50] Levinson, "Covenant Code," 284.

that these realities reflect "an *ex post facto* attempt to integrate an originally independent Covenant Code into the Sinai pericope as a supplement to the Decalogue."[51] Schniedewind concurs insofar as there are important diachronic issues in this Exodus context. According to Schniedewind, Ex 24:4-8 represents a "secondary digression within verses 2-8" that not only presents the textualization of an oral ceremony but also is linked to the Josianic redactor via the phrase סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית.[52] Combining the proposals of Schniedewind and Levinson, Ex 24:2-8 would have originally read 24:2-3, minus וְאֵת כָּל־הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים, and would have appeared directly on the heels of Ex 20:18-21. Subsequently, a Josianic redactor supplemented the original reading via Ex 24:4-8. Finally, the phrase וְאֵת כָּל־הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים was added later in accord with the insertion of the Covenant Code.

In my assessment, through the combination of the proposals of Levinson and Schniedewind, with only minor variation, perhaps the most significant obstacle to providing the grounds necessary to speak of the presence of a pre-exilic Deuteronomic legal code within the confines of Schmid's Moses Story is overcome. Deuteronomy 5:22-27 therefore becomes a strategic passage whereby the statement that Moses only announced the Decalogue at Sinai and that the people were fearful recalls the Sinai event in order to prepare the foundation for the Deuteronomic code that will commence in the subsequent chapters. Deuteronomy 5:22 is not a trigger to read Deuteronomy's

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[51] Levinson, "Covenant Code," 283.

[52] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, 125. With respect to סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית, this is a correct assessment. This phrase is found only in three other locations: 2 Kgs 23:2, 21; 2 Chr 34:30.

Decalogue as a Diaspora law code and Deuteronomy's legal code as a post-exilic

insertion. Thus, I see insufficient reason to insist that Schmid's "Deuteronomistic thread"

is a post-exilic insertion. Furthermore, the term "Deuteronomistic thread" seems

deficient, a Deuteronomistic segment is more appropriate.

With respect to the compositional history of Ex 24:2-8, I propose that its

development occurred as follows. Phase one consisted of vv. 2-8 minus v. 7 and the

phrase וְאֵת כָּל־הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים. Phase two, which is definitively linked to the Josianic redactor,

inserted v. 7.[53] Phase three saw the insertion of וְאֵת כָּל־הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים in light of the

interpolation of the Covenant Code. Furthermore, this three-phase compositional history

of Exodus 24:2-8 has a particular point of contact with the (three) major phases of

development of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula, namely a Josianic phase. The

Josianic phase of Ex 24:2-8 corresponds to a Josianic redaction of Deuteronomy's

Centralization Formula and thus a Josianic history. This in turn raises some intriguing

possibilities for connecting the developments of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula

and Israel's national history with the developments of Ex 24:2-8. Could Phase one of Ex

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[53] I deviate from Schniedewind. As mentioned by Schniedewind, v. 7 parallels 2 Kgs 23:2 by the

phrase סֵפֶר בְּרִית. Also, both context states that the "scroll of the covenant" was proclaimed (קרא) in the

ears of the people (בְּאָזְנֵי). However, only v. 7 is an interpolation to vv. 2-8. This is based on the cooperation

of three phenomena. First, the "scroll of the covenant" is intrusive as the recital of the scroll disrupts the

ritual of blood. Second, the phrase וַיִּכְתֹּב מֹשֶׁה that occurs in v. 4 is not Josianic (see n. 74). Third, the

people's commitment, expressed through the form נַעֲשֶׂה, is redundant in v. 7, which suggests a secondary

status for v. 7.

24:2-8, the pre-Josianic phase, be a Hezekian phase? I have already mentioned that the Hezekian history incorporated elements of the exodus and wilderness traditions. Furthermore, chapter 6 concluded that there was a centralization ideology within the pre-Josianic, Deuteronomic legal code. Could Phase two be an exilic phase, which may align with the exilic history and the exilic developments of Deuteronomy's centralization ideology? That is, could the three-phase development of Ex 24:2-8 coincide with the development of Israel's national history and its centralization ideology? If so, for every "new" history, there was a "new" authoritative legal exposition to the Sinaitic covenant that was to formulate the community's ethos while occupying the Promised Land.[54] Nevertheless, these ideas are speculative. More research is needed.

In sum, because of the content of the climactic scene of the Hezekian history, this chapter hitherto has determined that the larger literary context for Kings extends into

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[54] This chart illustrates this idea:

Compositional phase for Ex 24:2-8	Form of Centralization Formula	Edition of Israel's History
Phase 1	שכן Idiom	Hezekian
Phase 2	שׂום Reflex	Josianic
Phase 3	היה Reflex	Exilic

A Hezekian history within the centralization law would provide a remedy for one of the more confusing aspects of Provan's theory for a Hezekian edition of Kings. In short, Provan maintains that one of the themes that climaxes with the regal evaluation of Hezekiah is what he refers to as the במות theme, which not only targets unorthodox places of worship but also assumes an idea of centralization. Yet, Provan states that "an early version of the law of centralization in Deuteronomy 12 provided the foundation" for this theme within the first edition of Kings while not being associated with the book of Deuteronomy. Provan, *Hezekiah*, 169-70.

Exodus. Thus, the proposal of Schmid is more fruitful than the traditional boundaries of the Deuteronomistic History. However, Schmid's theory is open to criticism, as it can support a pre-exilic Deuteronomistic segment. The literary connection between Deut 5:22-7 and Ex 24:2-8 is critical, particularly since it manifests evidence of a three-phase development. This three phase development may coincide with the three-phase development of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula, which in turn may be associated with the major development of the Hezekian, Josianic, and exilic histories. However, before this chapter discusses exactly how the theme of the Lord's choice fit into this scheme, it is first prudent to discuss other issues that inform the nature and development of the literary context for the books of Kings.[55] These include the role of the book of Judges, Deut 27, and the overall point of communication for Israel's historical work.

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[55] As mentioned in the Prologue of this study, the socio-political requisites for large-scale literary development did not occur in Judah until the Hezekian period. So, while I suggest that the Hezekian court was responsible for the initial composition of this historical work that has been identified by Schmid as "the Moses Story," I am not arguing that literary composition was absent before the end of the eighth century B.C.E. In fact, I see no reason to deny the possibility of a "rolling corpus" dating back at least to the Solomonic period. See Baruch Halpern and Andre Lemaire, "The Composition of Kings," in *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography, and Reception* (VTSupp 129; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 123-53; Andre Lemaire, "Toward a Redactional History of the Book of Kings," in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History* (trans. Samuel W. Heldenbrand; SBTS 8; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 446-61. The importance of the Hezekian period was that this was the first period in which many individual tradition complexes were compiled into a coherent and lengthy historical narrative. Interestingly, Schmid suggests a pre-exilic time of composition for the Moses Story, and he links its development to the historical events at the end of the eighth century B.C.E. While suggesting that the Moses Story originated in the north, even suggesting that a large portion of it may have been a piece of

Regarding Judges, Schmid is hesitant to include its in his demarcations of the

Moses Story, for its "schema" assumes knowledge of Josh 24, a critical pericope for his

assessment of the integration of the Moses Story with what he characterizes as the

Ancestor Story.[56] In response, it should be noted that the message of Jdgs 17-21

sympathizes with pro-monarchal sentiments. In these chapters, "The author shows how

the monarchy is superior to the 'charismatic' leaders, but does so without directly

attacking the validity of the earlier institution. Rather, the book allows the weakness of

charismatic leadership to emerge naturally in the way the stories are arranged."[57] The

historian is demonstrating that the old order had its time, but the socio-historical context

precipitated a necessary change. "The resultant social implosion of Israel seen most

clearly in Jdgs 17-21 provided a basis for arguing the need for a new social and political

order, namely, the monarchy."[58] In other words, these narratives, which are pro-

monarchic, would establish a trajectory that will mature in the establishment of the

Davidic line. Thus, one should include at least Jdgs 17-21 in the general outline of the

Hezekian history.[59]

propaganda for Jeroboam I, Schmid admits that the tradents of this Moses Story "belong to the intellectual

framework of what is commonly characterized as 'Deuteronomistic.' " Furthermore, he believes that these

traditions were transferred into Judah and reinterpreted in light of the fall of the Samaria in 722. Schmid,

Genesis and the Moses Story, 144-48.

[56] Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*, 202-03.

[57] Lawson G. Stone, *Judges* (CBC; Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, forthcoming).
Also Lawson G. Stone, "Book of Judges," *DOTHB*, 592-606.

[58] Stone, *Judges*, forthcoming.

[59] Stone argues that Judg 17-21 was incorporated into the Judges tradition during its final

redactional stages, which would suggest for the purposes of this study that virtually the entire book of

With respect to the role of Deut 27, the conversation is more complicated. Many scholars view Deut 27 as a late insertion into the earliest forms of Deuteronomy. Nicholson exemplifies this position.[60] However, this position is vulnerable in light of archeological data, linguistic data, structural data, and the logical problems with perceiving Deut 27 as secondary. Richter has synthesized this data to provide a formidable critique.[61]

Judges would have been included in the Hezekian history. Stone, "Judges," 601-02. Consequently, like the "rolling corpus of Kings" just mentioned, the Judges traditions were probably extant traditions that were incorporated into the Hezekian history as it sought to provide a systematic account of Israel's history.

[60] First, chapter twenty-seven "breaks the connection" between Deut 26:19 and 28:1. Second, the shift to third person disrupts the characteristic second person form of address in Deuteronomy. Third, chapter twenty-seven's composite nature demonstrates affinities with the Deuteronomistic text of Josh 8:30-35. Fourth, the law of centralization has Jerusalem in view, and so the locations mentioned in chapter twenty-seven are intrusive to the ideology of Deuteronomy. Ernest Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 18-36, 100.

[61] Addressing the literary-critical, archeological, and linguistic issues, Richter concludes not only that chapter twenty-seven was in the oldest form of Deuteronomy but also that the content of said chapter is critical to understanding the message of that corpus. "It seems that the book does indeed answer the question it poses: the 'place of the name' within the Book of Deuteronomy is Mt. Ebal…And in light of the unifying literary and narrative role that this tradition plays within the Book of Deuteronomy, as demonstrated in this article, Ebal now moves from the periphery to the center." Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 365. Indeed, Richter's argument against the omission of Deut 27 is not unique. For the logical problems, see Wenham, "Deuteronomy and the Central Sanctuary," 103-18. For a literary argument, see McConnville, *Deuteronomy*, 387. The uniqueness of Richter's argument exists in her conclusion that Mt. Ebal was the original "place of the name." However, an awareness of the Ebal framework is not unique. Alexander Rofé, "The Strata of the Law about the Centralization of Worship in

Richter's argument builds upon the results of her previous work, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, which has already been discussed above. According to Richter, the Deuteronomic idioms לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם and לָשׂוּם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם together constitute a crucial structural and semantic feature when pondering the message of the earliest form of Deuteronomy. However, Richter does not ignore the literary-critical complications of including Deut 27. Rather, she asserts that these complications can be pacified. First, the ostensibly composite nature of Deut 27 finds some resolution if one considers the conflation of geographic terms in Deut 11:29-32 and 27:1-8 as directions and understands the phrase וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר תַּעַבְרוּ in a generic sense.[62] Second, the supposed composite nature of Deut 27 finds further explanation when one realizes the archeological precedent for juxtaposing altars and steles at a singular locale.[63]

Deuteronomy and the History of the Deuteronomic Development," in *Congressional Volume of Uppsala* (VTSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 221-26.

[62] Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 151-58. However, against Richter, J. Tigay argues that the specific syntax, אֲשֶׁר + הַ + יוֹם, "commonly refers to a specific day, and in the context of a law it is not likely to refer to an undefined future." Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 486. However, while I agree that this syntax can refer to a specific day, it also seems to be able to convey a punctilliar nuance (cf. Num 15:23; 2 Sam 7:11; Jer 32:31). Furthermore, Tigay's reference to a "context of a law" is ambiguous. Of all the passages he lists, only Num 15:23 appears in a context where exhortations are being offered. Finally, the phrase בַּיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר appears in Mal 3:21 and refers to an undefined future.

[63] Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 358-61.

Consequently, Richter concludes that the exclusion of Deut 27 from the earliest form of Deuteronomy is unwarranted.

As further support, Richter considers six realities that substantiate Mt. Ebal as a legitimate option for "the place of the name." These include: 1) Ebal's location in the territory of Manasseh establishes its centrality for early Israelite population, 2) Ebal is close to Shechem, 3) Shechem's early political importance is unequivocal, 4) the topography and general geography of Ebal foster conceptual significance; "no better place could have been chosen than Mt. Ebal–the highest peak in the most densely populated region of Israel's earliest settlement," 5) Ebal's vicinity is linked to the Abrahamic tradition, and 6) the material evidence is conducive to cultic activity in the early Iron Age.[64]

Overall, the force of Richter's arguments is quite substantial, particularly as she offers empirical evidence, linguistic and archeological, as a complement to literary critical observations that are particularly susceptible to conflicting interpretations.[65] Thus,

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[64] Richter, "The Place of the Name in Deuteronomy," 361-64. According to Josephus, Mt. Ebal was recognized as a place of cultic celebration, but it was a onetime event (*Ant*. 4.308). Tigay holds to this position. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 249. Interesting is the phrase μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, often translated as "after that day." However, though uncommon, ἡμέρα, like יוֹם, can generically refer to a period of time. *BDAG*, 438. Thus, it is possible to translate the Greek as "after that time," which could suggest a period of usage for Mt. Ebal that was longer than a day.

[65] This is not to say that archeological and linguistic data are immune to such conflicts. For example, Zertal's interpretation of the large monumental structure on Ebal has attracted vehement critique, particularly from A. Kempinski who interprets the structure as a watchtower. See the rejoinder Aharon Kempinski, "Joshua's Altar- An Iron Age Watchtower," *BAR* January/February (1986): 42-53; Adam

I echo that it is preferable to conclude that chapter twenty-seven enjoyed a presence in the earliest material of Deuteronomy, implying that it would have also been a component to the Hezekian historical work. Consequently, further implications arise. If one accepts that Deut 27 was a component to the earliest forms of the Deuteronomic tradition and thus the Hezekian history, one must assume that Josh 8 was also a component (see *Excursus* below). More importantly, if Mt. Ebal was understood as the original "place of the name" within the Hezekian history, how does this perception align with the perceptions centering on Jerusalem within that same history? Was the Hezekian history akin to the Josianic history in the sense that Jerusalem was understood as the "place of the name?"

There is reason to believe that the Hezekian history did understand Jerusalem as "the place of the name" while recognizing the same status for Mt. Ebal. However, this juxtaposition would not have been contradictory. Rather, the Hezekian history understood Jerusalem's status to have been the result of a historical process. Jerusalem merely assumed its place in a line of previous central cult sites. Such a conviction arises in light of at least two considerations. First, the Hezekian history ultimately sought to

Zertal, "How Can Kempinksi Be So Wrong!," *BAR* January/February (1986): 43-53. However, if numerous spheres of data converge to bolster a specific conclusion, it is methodologically prudent to at least seriously consider it, if not accepted it. This seems to be the case with respect to Mt. Ebal; I am unconvinced by Kempinski's argument. On a different level, any opponent of Richter's suggestion *must* address the archeological and linguistic evidence before he or she can sufficiently deconstruct her argument. For example, M. Hundley states with no further explanation, "Her 2007 claim that placing the name in Deuteronomy means setting up a monument on Mt. Ebal is especially tenuous." Hundley, "To Be or Not To Be," 543. This is an out-of-hand dismissal, which is unfortunate.

communicate a specific socio-political point.[66] Second, Hezekiah's ambitions envisioned a type of Judah/Israel reunification.[67] Thus, the recognition of Mt. Ebal as a previous "place of the name" would have attested to the superiority of Jerusalem/Judah in a way that was simultaneous respectful to northern and Judean sentiments.

The place where Jerusalem appears to be recognized as "the place of the name" within the Hezekian history is 1 Kgs 11. Recall that in chapter 3 this study proposed that the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem appeared twice in 1 Kgs 11, each time in a relative clause modifying הָעִיר. Previous to this context, the only other occurrences of the Lord *choosing* (בחר) a geographic location in the Hezekian history refers to "the place of the name."[68] Second, at this point in the narrative, Jerusalem is not only the capital city, but it is the home of the temple constructed by Solomon (1 Kgs 8). As such, the temple in Jerusalem is now the resting place of the Ark of the Covenant, which manifests a point of continuity with previous places of the name (see *Excursus* below). Therefore, when the Lord confesses that he chose Jerusalem, the location of the temple, a lemmatic and symbolic linkage between Jerusalem and previous central cult sites is created. Furthermore, the historian subtly links the city of Jerusalem with the Deuteronomic concept of centralization, offering the legal support for Hezekiah's centralization efforts

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[66] Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, 80.

[67] Bright, *A History of Israel*, 283.

[68] In 1 Kgs 8:44, 8:48, and 11:13 the location chosen is Jerusalem, but these passages were not a part of the Hezekian edition. Verses 44 and 48 are widely accepted as later insertions, and this study has already attributed 11:13 to the Josianic historian (§3.4). In 1 Kgs 9:3, the temple is referred to as the "place of the name." However, this was not a part of the Hezekian history, for it exhibits the לָשׂוּם reflex.

(2 Kgs 18:4). Indeed, one may counter by noting the absence of the idiom in full, or any explicit reference for that matter. This is legitimate. However, the partial nature of the historical work—as an apology for the Davidic line (see below)—offers further explanation. If the Hezekian history aimed to communicate and emphasize the importance and privileged status of the Davidic line ruling from Jerusalem versus the troubled dynasties of Israel ruling from Samaria, one should not necessarily expect a great emphasis on the cultic centrality of Jerusalem. For the Hezekian historian, the cultic centrality of Jerusalem augments the socio-historical and political importance of the Davidic dynasty.

Excursus: The Ark and Its Role within the Moses Story

Within the non-Priestly texts of Ex-2 Kgs, the Ark appears periodically, and its importance falls generally into two categories.[69] On the one hand, the Ark serves a militaristic purpose. It leads the Israelites into battle. This is first disclosed in Numb 10:35-36, the so-called Song of the Ark. It is widely accepted that these verses constitute a ritualistic pronouncement that was uttered upon the Ark's entrance into battle in anticipation of victory. "It will come to pass when the Ark breaks camp that Moses will say, 'Arise O Lord so that your enemies may be scattered and those who hate you may flee before you.' And when it rests, he will say, 'Return O Lord to the myriads of the clans of Israel.' " In Numb 14:44, the narrative recounts how the Ark and Moses stayed in the camp while the Canaanites and the Amalakites routed the Israelites. In the opening chapters of Joshua, the Ark leads the people across the Jordan River to begin Israel's conquest of the Promised Land, even leading the procession around Jericho. In 1 Sam 4, the people of Israel insist that the Ark go with them into battle against the Philistines, and 1 Sam 14:18 recounts how Saul

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[69] For an overview of the Ark, see C. L. Seow, "Ark of the Covenant," *ABD*, ; Kenton Sparks, "Ark of the Covenant," *DOTHB*, 88-92.

sought out its presence when he was fighting the Philistines in order to determine the proper course of action.

On the other hand, the Ark serves a religious/cultic function. In Deut 10, the Ark is mentioned as a repository for the two stone tablets given to Moses upon Mt. Sinai. "And [the Lord] wrote upon the tablets in according with the previous writing, the Ten Words … and he gave them to me. And so I turned and came down from the mountain and I put the tablets in the Ark which I made" (Deut 10:1-4). The Ark appears again in Deut 31. Here, Moses tells the Levitical priests to take סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה and place it beside (מִצַּד) the Ark. In Josh 8:30-35, the Ark is a focal piece of the covenantal ceremony on Mt. Ebal. "All Israel, with its elders, officers, and its judges, were standing on opposite sides of the Ark in front of the priests, the Levites who bore the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord–the sojourner as well as the citizen–half in front of Mt. Gerizim and half in front of Mt. Ebal" (Josh 8:33). In Jdgs 20:27, the people of Israel go to Bethel to inquire of the Lord. First Samuel 3:3 discloses that the Ark resided at Shiloh, a central cult site. Solomon returns to Jerusalem to stand before the Ark as he offers thanksgiving in response to his encounter with the Lord (1 Kgs 3:15). Most importantly, 2 Sam 6 recounts how David brought the Ark into Jerusalem in order to establish the national cult, and with 1 Kings 8 the Ark resides in the temple.

It is interesting that a gradual transition from a militaristic function to a religious or cultic function can be ascertained throughout these contexts. That is, the religious or cultic function of the Ark gradually drowns out the militaristic function. Critical for this transition is the witness of Deuteronomy and Joshua, for within these contexts both functions converge and the process whereby the Ark's importance becomes solely cultic is initiated.

Much has been said of the Ark's role in Deuteronomy. The consensus understands the nature of the Ark in Deuteronomy as "demythologized," functioning merely as a receptacle. While T. Fretheim is not the original proponent of this view, he should be credited with

systematically articulating this view and its implications.[70] In short, Fretheim argues that the nature of the Ark in Deuteronomy represents the polemic of the deuteronomic reforms carried out against the Jerusalem cult. That is, the Ark's mundane function is a reinterpretation of and backlash against the prevailing view of the Jerusalem cult that used the Ark and its significance as a means to bolster its claims of divine election for the court. According to Fretheim, "[The Ark] was to be used as a container of the covenant law to which the monarchy had to submit itself."[71]

In the process of his argument, Fretheim attributes the composition of the passages in Deuteronomy that mention the Ark (Deut 10 and 31) to the same hand. Yet, given that the well-known and complicated literary critical issues of Deuteronomy, and in particular Deut 31,[72] Fretheim's argument is open to criticism. Fretheim concludes that Deut 31:9-13 and 31:24-29 are of the same hand, presumably in light of the reality that these verses recall Moses writing down הַתּוֹרָה. However, verse 9 states that Moses "wrote this law" (וַיִּכְתֹּב מֹשֶׁה אֶת־הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת) and gave it to the priests.[73] Verses 24-26 state that Moses gave "this book of the law" (סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה) that was written "upon a scroll" (עַל־סֵפֶר) "*when* he finished writing" (וַיְהִי כְּכַלּוֹת מֹשֶׁה לִכְתֹּב). Not only does vv. 24-29 create a sense of repetitiveness, but it also speaks to the writing of the law in a different manner. The latter manner of writing—writing upon a scroll—displays affinities with

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[70] For example, Terence Fretheim, "The Ark in Deuteronomy," *CBQ* 30 (1968): 1-14; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:238; Gerhard von Rad, "The Tent and the Ark," in *From Exodus to Chronicles* (trans. E. W. Trueman Dicken; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 102.

[71] Fretheim, "Ark," 12.

[72] "More than any other chapter in Deuteronomy, [chapter thirty-one] is characterized by doublets, inconsistencies, interruptions, and variations in vocabulary and concepts that scholars take as evidence of different literary sources." Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 502.

[73] Also see Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 504.

other passages that should be attributed to the Josianic redactor.[74] Moreover, the atmosphere of vv. 24-29 is profoundly negative, accusing the assembly of inevitable apostasy. Such an atmosphere contrasts with vv. 9-13. Thus, vv. 9-13 are of a different literary stratum, and given its positive tone it is most probably from an earlier period. Furthermore, I see no reason to divorce vv. 1-8 from vv. 9-13. Consequently, assuming that vv. 24-29 are Josianic and that they post-date vv. 1-13, Deut 31:1-13 constitutes an earlier from of the narrative's account of the initial stages of the transition from Moses' leadership to Joshua's that could very well have been a part of a Hezekian edition of the Moses Story.

In Deut 31:1-13, Moses reiterates to the community that he would not cross over the Jordan, rather Joshua and the Lord would be the ones "crossing over before" the community. However, the community is encouraged not to fear because the Lord will do to the inhabitants of Canaan as he did to Sihon and Og. In fact, Moses exhorts the community and Joshua to "be strong and courageous," which is echoed in opening chapter of Joshua. Nestled among these

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[74] Regarding the medium on which תּוֹרָה is written, the majority of the time it is "on a scroll," which is expressed by means of either preposition עַל or בְּ with סֵפֶר as the object (עַל: Deut 17:18; 31:24; 2 Kgs 23:24; בְּ: Deut 28:58, 61; 29:20; 30:10; Josh 1:8; 8:31, 34; 23:6; 24:26; 2 Kgs 14:6). Such passages should be attributed to the Josianic historian as 2 Kings 22-23, which is undoubtedly Josianic, provides the base line. In contrast, there are certain passages that speak of stones as the medium upon which תּוֹרָה is written. Those passages include Ex 24:12; Deut 27:3, 8; Josh 8:32 (For a discussion on the textual critical issue of Josh 8:30-35, see below). In Deut 31:9, the medium is not specified, but it is significant that סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה is not mentioned. I propose that those passages that speak of תּוֹרָה written on something other than a "scroll" should be attributed to a non-Josianic writer. More specifically, I propose that such passages could be the product of a Hezekian milieu, which saw the nascent stages of literacy and literary development within ancient Judah. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book*, esp. 73-90.

exhortations in Deut 31:1-13 are a couple noteworthy observations. First, the Ark of the Covenant

is mentioned, albeit indirectly. The levitical priests are described as הַנֹּשְׂאִים אֶת־אֲרוֹן בְּרִית יְהוָה.

Second, v. 9 states that Moses wrote "this law" (הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה) for the priests. In addition, the priests

are given instructions with respect to its periodic recitation as a memorial of Israel's relationship

with their God. This term, הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה, recalls Deut 27:8 with its הַתּוֹרָה. Thus, according to these

verses, the priests who bear the Ark of the Covenant also bear the responsibility of הַתּוֹרָה, whose

written form is to punctuate the "place of the name." In other words, according to Deuteronomy

31:1-13 the Ark of the Covenant's association with the "place of the name" is introduced.

The Ark does not appear again until Josh 3-6, but in these chapters, the Ark resumes its

militaristic role, which includes crossing before the community, leading the way into Canaan, and

leading the military procession around Jericho. Yet, by Josh 8 its military function ultimately has

given way to its religious/cultic function. Joshua 8:30-35, which has enjoyed no shortage of

commentary,[75] constitutes the fulfillment of the Mosaic commands given in Deuteronomy 27.

Joshua erects an altar out of unhewn stones, writes the "law of Moses,"[76] and, along with Israel,

proclaims the corresponding blessings and curses from Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim. However, the

Ark's association with the "place of the name" is not restricted to Mt. Ebal. Jerusalem and

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[75] For a concise discussion, Richard Hess, *Joshua* (TOTC; Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 1996; repr., 2008), 19-21.

[76] The Masoretic Text reads בְּסֵפֶר תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה, but the LXX reflects בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה. The LXX preserves the original reading, which was adjusted by the Josianic historian in order to align this passage with his *Tendenz*. As such, the original reading would recall Deut 31:9, which states that Moses wrote תּוֹרָה and gave it to the Levites so that they could initiate a period public renewal ceremony at the "place of the name." Given that Deut 31:1-13 probably existed in the Hezekian edition of the Moses Story, so too did Josh 8:30-35 in its original form.

Shiloh,[77] each of which is a "place of the name," display a geo-spatial association with the Ark. Therefore, within the non-Priestly passages of Ex-2 Kgs three locations display this association.

Yet, the Ark's association with the place of the name transcends a geo-spatial relationship. There is evidence to suggest that the Ark itself represents the ideology of the place of the name. In 2 Sam 6:2, אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים is modified by a complicated relative clause:

אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שֵׁם שֵׁם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים עָלָיו. Often scholars posit some type of textual corruption within this clause, namely a dittography of שֵׁם.[78] However, I propose that the Masoretic Tradition preserves the original reading; there is no dittography. The idiom + שֵׁם + עַל

נקרא is well known.[79] The third person masculine singular suffix attached to עַל is the idiom's expected resumptive element, which encloses the content of the name. Thus, 2 Sam 6:2 should (literally) read, "David and all the people who were with him arose and went from Baaleh of Judah to bring up from there the Ark of God, on which the name—'The Name of the Lord of Hosts Sitting on the Cherubim'—is called. Understanding יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים as a subjective genitive of agency and recognizing the ancient connotations of a "name," 2 Sam 6:2b can be nuanced as follows: "…on which the name— 'Owned by the Lord of Hosts Sitting on the Cherubim'—is

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[77] According to 1 Samuel, the Ark resides there and the place to where people pilgrimage. Moreover, according to the Jeremianic tradition, Shiloh was a place where the Lord "put his name." "Go to my place which was in Shiloh, where I previously put my name (שִׁכַּנְתִּי שְׁמִי) and see that which I have done to it because of the evil of my people Israel" (Jer 7:12)! For this connection, see Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 91-92.

[78] E.g. McCarter, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 2:163.

[79] *HALOT*, 2:1130.

called." In other words, the Ark of God symbolizes the reality that the Lord is the lord of Israel and lays claim over it.

7.3 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the literary context of Kings, which has given rise to many ideas. Indeed, some have been more speculative than others. First, the content of the climax of the Hezekian history alludes to the incorporation of elements in the Exodus and wilderness traditions. The major conclusion of this observation is that the traditional boundaries of the Deuteronomistic History will not suffice for a Hezekian history. Rather, a modification of Schmid's Moses Story is a preferable option. Israel's nation history documented their exodus, wilderness wandering, settlement, and occupation of the Promised Land. However, in light of certain conclusions of this study, particularly those of chapter 6 and Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula, Schmid's ideas were adjusted. As such, the tension between Deut 5 and Ex 24:2-8 noted by Schmid is not a signal for a post-exilic deuteronomic thread. Rather, it recalls the Sinai event to signal a new dispensation for the community. It emphasizes that the Deuteronomic legal code articulates the social ethos for the community as it enters the Promised Land.

The three-phase development for Ex 24:2-8 was also noted. Phase two was identified as Josianic, which in turn led to speculation whether the three phase development of Ex 24:2-8 corresponds to the three phases of development for Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula and Israel's national history. Further research is needed, but the possibility is intriguing.

This chapter also discussed in some detail important passages throughout the Hezekian history, including Ex 14, Deut 27, the Ex 24/Deut 5 nexus, Josh 8, Judg 17-21,

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2 Sam 7, 1 Kgs 11:29-39, and 2 Kgs 18-20. In each case, these passages compliment the

נִיר passages of Kings and the "tearing with the intent to give" passages attributed to the

Hezekian historian (chs. 3 and 4). Thus, the Hezekian history was very pro-Davidic.

Furthermore, when this is considered in light of the archeological footprint of Judah

shortly after Sennacherib's third military campaign (ch. 8), it is possible to characterize

the Hezekian history as a historical apology. It was historical in the sense that it sought to

give a systematic and accurate account of the events of Israel's past, from its exodus and

wandering to its settlement and occupation of Canaan. It was apologetic in the sense that

it sought to communicate the necessary issues in a way that demonstrated the conviction

that the Davidic dynasty had become a pillar of the community.[80]

This characterization is important for understanding the incorporation of the idea

that the Lord chose Jerusalem. It appeared twice, and in 1 Kgs 11:36 it informed the נִיר

ideology. It was utilized in a distinctly pro-Davidic, or socio-political, manner. Yet this is

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[80] I have intentionally avoided characterizing the Hezekian history as "deuteronomistic" for at

least two reasons. First, this study has adapted the basic premise of Schmid's Moses Story, which considers

elements traditionally associated with the J/E traditions. Second, it is beyond the scope of this study to

examine exhaustively the content of the Hezekian history in light of themes and ideology that constitute

"deuteronomistic ideology." Indeed, this study has argued that the Hezekian history views centralized

worship and Jerusalem to be important to the cultic life of God's people. This study has also demonstrated

the history's high view of the Davidic dynasty and the covenantal standards in evaluating the Judean and

Israelite kings. However, with respect to the other issues often associated with deuteronomistic thought,

namely its view of the priesthood, this study is not prepared to offer any definitive statement. These issues

must remain for another study at another time. In short, to characterize the Hezekian history as

"deuteronomistic" would conjure up unwanted connotations.

not to say that the religious connotation of the idea was abandoned. Rather, the Hezekian history understood the divine choice of Jerusalem to be the culmination of a historical process. When Solomon dedicated the temple with the Ark of the Covenant, Jerusalem assumed its place amongst previous central cult sites, but what distinguished Jerusalem was its temple and its association with the Davidic line. Thus, the religious connotation of this idea appears to have been de-emphasized.

In light of these conclusions, what are the implications for the other passages in Kings that speak to the Lord's choice of Jerusalem? Most importantly, the other passages demonstrate a perceptual development. For the Josianic historian, the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem emphasizes the socio-religious centrality of Jerusalem. This is accomplished most emphatically in six locations (1 Kgs 9:3; 11:32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7) where the historian employs the שׂום reflex of Deuteronomy's לְשַׁכֵּן idiom, thus creating an explicit connection between Jerusalem and its temple with the centralization ideology of the Deuteronomic legal code. In fact, given that Deuteronomy never explicitly mentions the name of the place that the Lord chose to put his name, the use of the שׂום reflex in connection with Jerusalem with its temple possesses tremendous hermeneutical implications for understanding Deuteronomy. Viewed in its larger literary context, the occurrences of the Centralization Formula in Deuteronomy anticipate, or foreshadow, the statements in Kings, which explicitly mention Jerusalem. This is brilliant rhetoric, as there would be no better way to argue for the socio-religious centrality of

Jerusalem than by connecting it with the central cult site spoken of in Deuteronomic legal code, the catalyst of Josiah's reforms.[81]

From a different perspective, the Josianic historian elevates Jerusalem's socio-religious prestige to a level on par with the importance of the Davidic covenant. That is, Jerusalem's prestige rivals the expectations of the Davidic covenant in explaining critical events in the history of the Lord's people. On the one hand, the choice of Jerusalem helps to explain the retention of Judah for the Davidic dynasty, hence the Josianic redaction of 1 Kgs 11:29-39.[82] On the other hand, the choice of Jerusalem by the Lord corroborates

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[81] I agree with those who hold to the historical veracity of 2 Kings 22-23. There was some type of a "lost document" found by Josiah that became a driving force behind his reforms. L. B. Paton's critique of those who believe that Deuteronomy was an exilic or post-exilic composition is still the most comprehensive. Lewis Bayles Paton, "The Case for the Post-exilic Origin of Deuteronomy," *JBL* 47 (1928): 322-57. Indeed, there are problems with the traditional tenets of a northern provenance for Deuteronomy, and there is a pro-monarchal slant to its legal code. Sweeney, *King Josiah*, 137-69. However, these realities do not preclude the existence of an extant code that was adapted by Josiah. For example, Knoppers, *Two Nations*, 2:135-40. Interestingly, A. D. H. Mayes argues that a discovery narrative is fictional, but the reform movement was not. A. D. H. Mayes, "King and Covenant: A Study of 2 Kings Chs 22-23," *Herm* 125 (1978): 34-47. According to Mayes, the nature of the "book" that fueled Josiah's reforms must be reconstructed from 2 Kgs 23:4-20, what he refers to as the only pre-deuteronomistic material. In other words, Mayes argues that the reforms could not have been *sui generis*. Mayes' argument is difficult to accept, particularly in light of the implications of Richter's work. There was a "book" discovered, albeit the nature of it is difficult to determine. From this study, it appears that it contained a legal code with a centralization concept (ch. 6).

[82] Incidentally, by inserting the שׂום reflex of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula in two locations, the historian obscured the original reason from Judah and Jerusalem's preservation to the point of hardly being discernable.

the extensive reforms of Josiah, communicating that those reforms, while extensive and revolutionary, were necessary. They were the solution to some of the most significant spiritual problems that plagued the Lord's people, spiritual problems that had serious ramifications for the vitality of the Lord's people. Consider the contexts of the individual occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem in the Josianic history. In each occurrence, this theme appears in a context that discusses the iniquity of either the people or a particular Judean king. In 1 Kgs 11, Solomon is the culprit, and his apostasy is the cause of the schism. The context of 1 Kgs 14:21discusses the sins of the people of Judah, which inevitably secures judgment through the invasion of Shishak. In 2 Kgs 21, Manasseh is the guilty party, who, among other things, reverses the reforms of his father Hezekian. Yet, each context also exhibits a recognizable association with the descriptions of Josiah's reforms. The specific iniquities of Solomon foreshadow the reforms of Josiah as 1 Kgs 11 and 2 Kgs 22-23 "are mutually referential."[83] In 1 Kgs 14, the people are to blame for constructing high places, standing stones, Asherim, and propagating ritual prostitution, all of which are rectified in the list of reforms documented in 2 Kgs 23.[84] Second Kings 21:3-7 not only constitute the climax of Manasseh's iniquity but also "foreshadows the reform of Josiah."[85] Thus, the Josianic historian simultaneously highlights the egregiousness of the sin of certain people while bolstering the credibility of Josiah's endeavors. Intimately associated with these endeavors was the theme of the

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[83] Halpern, *The First Historians*, 154.

[84] Sweeney emphasizes this connection. Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 189. Elsewhere, he goes so far to say that the present form of the segment of 1 Kgs 12:1-14:31 "looks forward to the reign of King Josiah" (p. 90). See Sweeney, *King Josiah*, 88-92.

[85] O'Brien, *A Reassessment*, 229-30.

Lord's choice of Jerusalem as it was employed alongside Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula.

With respect to the occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 23:27, it should be discussed in connection with the nuances of the final phase of development within Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula as the היה reflex appears. According to Richter, 1 Kings 8 is the ideological foundation for understanding the nuances of the formula's final phase of development, and this has direct implications for understanding the nuances of the theme of the Lord's choice present in this context.[86] Focusing on literary allusions and imagery throughout 1 Kgs 8, Richter maintains that the composers of 1 Kgs 8 pulled from a variety of literary traditions in order to communicate the belief that the temple is "the ultimate symbol of the essentials of Israelite faith. The temple is spoken of as elect…the fulfillment of the deuteronomic promise…the fulfillment of the Davidic promise…and the place in which the Israelites will preserve the covenant relationship by means of humble confession and praise."[87] In other words, Richter suggests that the temple according to 1 Kgs 8 becomes the religious symbol of Israelite faith under which all individual components reside. Such a belief can explain why the ultimate demise of Jerusalem was communicated in the way that it was in 2 Kgs 23:27. By juxtaposing the belief that the temple was the "place of the name" with the belief that Jerusalem was divinely chosen, the exilic historian emphasized the gravity of Judah's rejection. Neither the temple, which was in his mind the quintessential symbol of

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[86] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 76-90.

[87] Richter, *Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology*, 90.

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Israelite faith, nor the chosen city, which was believed to have explained its previous salvation from Sennacherib, could mitigate judgment.

Incidentally, a belief in the temple as the quintessential element of Israelite faith can also explain the nuances of 2 Chr 6:6. In this context, the Chronicler parallels the choice of Jerusalem with the choice of David. Yet, the syntax demonstrates that the choice of Jerusalem was a means to an end–the construction of the temple. According to the Chronicler, Jerusalem was chosen *in order to* build a house *so that* the Lord's name would be there (§2.3.1). Thus, this passage demonstrates an inversion of early nuances of the theme of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem. The earliest usage of the theme, Jerusalem's choice by the Lord only alludes to the reality of the temple while it is subordinated to ideological elements of the Davidic tradition, namely the נִיר ideology. Here, the

association with ideological elements of the Davidic tradition is still apparent, but Jerusalem's choice by the Lord is a mechanism to propound socio-religious ideals associated with the temple.

Kings is a critically important corpus for understanding the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, qualitatively and quantitatively. In addition to providing the context of the majority of the theme's occurrences, Kings testifies to important developments within the theme's usage. What begins with an emphasis upon the Davidic connotation ends with an emphasis upon the cultic connotation, and Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula is a catalyst for this shift.

Chapter 8

A Discussion of the Dating of Psalms 78 and 132

The difficulties with determining a psalm's date of composition notwithstanding, the chapter will discuss and propose a probable date of composition for Ps 78 along with important compositional issues with respect to Ps 132. This discussion is necessary to solidify the chronological framework within which the fourteen occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem appear. However, this chapter must begin with a few methodological comments by interacting with A. Laato's "Psalm 132: A Case Study in Methodology."[1]

8.1 Methodological Considerations

In his article, "Psalm 132: A Case Study in Methdology," Laato targets "simplistic" methods of dating a psalm's composition. In particular, Laato targets literary-critical and redactional models that have developed without any empirical corroboration. Laato asserts the need for recognizing the historical, citational, and intertextual dimension of the Old Testament text.[2] As such, when attempting to ascertain a possible date of a psalm's composition Laato first suggests the creation of a dichotomy between the psalm's (canonical) form and its content, particularly as this accommodates the plausible reality that a psalm could have existed in various forms before its canonical form. In fact, Laato suggests that any discussion of a psalm's date of composition should begin from with the

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[1] Antti Laato, "Psalm 132: A Case Study in Methodology," *CBQ* 61 (1999): 24-33.

[2] Laato, "Psalm 132," 24, n. 1.

assumption that a psalm could have existed in a pre-canonical form and undergone phases of potentially significant development. One should then discern ideological connection between the content of the psalm and other passages of the Old Testament and proceed to investigate the nature of their interaction. Furthermore, Laato believes that it is improper to suggest a date of a psalm's composition based upon the last datable element as well as unsophisticated employment of parallel themes, motifs, and phrases between a psalm and any other passage in the Old Testament.

Laato's work rightly encourages the consideration of ancient literary conventions while emphasizing the reality that any psalm could have existed in a pre-canonical form. Furthermore, his emphasis to consider the ideological connections between the content of the psalm with other passages in the Old Testament is noteworthy. However, as this chapter will discuss, specific aspects of his discussion with respect to Ps 132 are open to criticism. Therefore, Laato's article will be discussed in more detail below (§8.3). For the moment, Ps 78 the composition of Ps 78 will be discussed with an awareness of these methodological points of emphasis.

8.2 Dating Psalm 78

Regarding the date of composition for Ps 78, J. Goldingay describes the situation as follows.

> The psalm's ending with God's choice of Judah, Jerusalem, and David might have various implications regarding its date. It might suggest that it comes from David or Solomon's day. It might come from a period after the split between Ephriam and Judah, when Ephriam was usually the stronger of the two, and it might buttress Judah's position. It might come shortly after the fall of Ephriam and

respond to that. It might come from the later pre-exilic period, when Judean kings

such as Josiah again sought to exercise authority in the north. It might come from

the exilic or Second Temple period with its rivalry between Judah and Samaria,

when (we know from Chronicles) the election of David remained very important

to the community. It might come from a messianically inclined Second Temple

community.[3]

In other words, opinions can reasonably fall on all points of the chronological spectrum.

On one end of the chronological spectrum, there are those who advocate an early

pre-exilic date of composition.[4] With respect to this position, certain observations are

laudable. First, that the psalm presupposes the vitality of the temple and that the psalm is

markedly silent with respect to typical theological and traditio-historical issues of the

post-exilic era strongly suggests a pre-exilic date.[5] Second, that the psalm presupposes a

north/south tension virtually assures a date of composition after the schism of 922 B.C.E.

However, other points of corroboration for an early pre-exilic date are open to criticism.

First, the linguistic evidence often compiled for any early date is by no means

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[3] John Goldingay, *Psalms* (BCOTWP; 3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 2:481.

[4] For example, M. Dahood accepts linguistic and historical data as decisive for a pre-eighth century date. Dahood, *Psalms*, 2:238-39. J. Day feels that the psalm's reminiscence of the Lord's indignation that resulted in the Ark's exile (vv. 59-64) without the allusion to the collapse of Samaria decisively determines a pre-722 B.C.E. date of composition. John Day, "Pre-deuteronomic Allusions to the Covenant in Hosea and Psalm LXVIII," *VT* 36.1 (1986): 8-11.

[5] Day, "Pre-deuteronomic Allusions," 9. Day rightly emphasizes the psalm's focus upon Shiloh, a pre-exilic phenomenon.

conclusive.[6] Second, the psalm need not recount recent events. Third, the idea that a lack of reference to the fall of Samaria precludes a post-722 B.C.E. date of composition is not only debatable, but it also fails to consider some implications of the cultural reforms of Hezekiah and/or Josiah. If the Hezekian and Josianic reforms were aimed at reestablishing north/south relations at least on some level, then drawing attention to the collapse of Samaria alongside the belief that Judah, Mount Zion, and the Davidic dynasty, was the preferred center of Israelite identity would have indeed been counter-productive.

On the opposite end of the chronological spectrum, there are those who advocate a post-exilic date of composition. P. Stern however has responded at length to those who argue for a post-exilic date of composition.[7] In fact, the cumulative force of Stern's argument against a post-exilic date is formidable. So much so, by my estimation a post-exilic date of composition is improbable.

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[6] "If we consider poetry, the problem of dating becomes further complicated. Poetic traditions may transcend chronological, national, and dialectical barriers." *IBHS*, 1.4.1j.

[7] For his complete discussion, see Philip Stern, "The Eighth Century Dating of Psalm 78 Re-argued," *HUCA* 66 (1995): 42-47.42-47. In short, Stern first highlights the books of Samuel as proof that the incorporation of the David and Zion traditions into a historical account occurred in a pre-exilic context. Second, he asserts the plausibility that the historical and wisdom genres were fused in a pre-exilic era. Also see H. Junker, "Die Entstehungszeit des Ps. 78 und des Deuteronomiums," *Bib* 34 (1953): 487-500; R. N. Whybray, "Wisdom Literature in the Reigns of David and Solomon," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 13-26. Third, Stern disagrees with Kraus' assertion that Ps 78 reflects Chronicles as a source. Fourth, in this psalm there is an absence of popular post-exilic themes and issues.

With the rejection of a post-exilic date as well as one that antedates the schism of 922 B.C.E., this discussion leaves one to search for a date of composition between 922 and 586 B.C.E. Moreover, in two paragraphs previous this essay has suggested that a pre-722 date is not required. Thus, there are two eras that naturally move to the forefront, the eras of Hezekiah and Josiah as they were eras of significant cultural renewal and textual production. R. J. Clifford discusses the possibility of a Josianic date, which inevitably relies upon thematic parallels with texts concurrent with the reign of Josiah.[8] Yet, this theory assumes that a thematic relationship equals the same period of composition, which need not be the case. The theological themes and imagery advocated as evidence for a Josianic date could very well pre-date Josiah and Jeremiah. Second, Stern's critiques against a Josianic date of composition are noteworthy. If the psalm, which was presumably written by the Josianic court, does not manifest allusions to important themes of the Josianic reform, then one should question that as the context of composition. Thus, it seems that while the Josianic era represents a plausible milieu for the composition of this psalm, it can be questioned. Thus, the Hezekian era remains. Stern is the champion of this view, and his argumentation is cogent. His presentation not only satisfactorily refutes

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[8] First, there is "language common to [1 Kgs 17:7-23] and Ps 78 . . . The purpose of the first edition of the Deuteronomistic History of which [1 Kgs 17] is a product is similar to that of Ps 78, the examination of the sins of Israel as a lesson, to show that all Israel still exists in the tribe of Judah, and that God's mercy is shown in this new period in his election of Zion and David." Second, a similar Shiloh/Israel and Zion/Judah comparison as seen in this psalm appears in Jeremiah. Also, the prophet envisions a single Israel, much like that depicted in Ps 78. Richard J. Clifford, "In Zion and David a New Beginning: An Interpretation of Psalm 78," in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 139-40.

other theories, but it also offers a significant amount of evidence to bolster his case for a Hezekian context of composition.[9]

Stern's position can be bolstered with some ideological considerations. The climactic passage of Ps 78 (vv. 67-72) appears ideologically similar to the communicative intent of the Hezekian history, a historical apology. That is, just as the Hezekian history sought to communicate the socio-political importance of the Davidic line, so too does Ps 78. In fact, Ps 78 has been characterized as a "theological interpretation of history" that understands Judah with its ruling dynastic family to be the apex of the history of the Lord's people hitherto and the critical vehicle to lead the community into the future.[10] Even the most elementary of observations, namely the

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[9] There are six main pillars to Stern's extensive argument. See Stern, "The Eighth Century Dating," 48-65. First, Stern posits that Ps 78 is dependent upon Ps 49, another eighth century psalm, which is predominately based upon the reality of similar wording at the onset of Ps 78 with Ps 49 as well as a "wisdom frame" observed in Ps 78 (cf. Ps 78:1-2 and 49:2, 5; 78:72 and 49:4). Second, the psalm's denouncement of Ephraim alludes to the fall of Samaria. Third, v. 9, particularly its imagery of bowmen, parallels Is 5:28 and suggests a familiarity with Assyrian warfare tactics, which must have been well-known in eighth century Syria-Palestine. Fourth, 2 Kgs 17, a Deuteronomistic text, is dependent upon Ps 78 for its themes as incorporated in its historical analysis. Fifth, Ps 78:70 reflects a common tradition with 2 Sam 7:8, the Davidic tradition with its emphasis upon David's election, thereby suggesting northern influence shortly after the fall of the northern kingdom. Sixth, Ps 78 exhibits linguistic and thematic affinities with Hosea and Amos (cf. Ps 78:57 and Hos 7:16; Ps 78:9 and Hos 10:14; Ps 78:15b and Am 7:4c; Ps 78:70 and Am 7:15; 78:67 and Amos' tendency of identifying the north by "Jospeh"). Schniedewind also accepts a late eighth century date of composition. See Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 66-69.

[10] Antony F. Campbell, "Psalm 78: A Contribution to the Theology of Tenth Century Israel," *CBQ* 41 (1979): 77.

reality that the psalm ends with a discussion of the election of David as the ideal leader, suggests this. Carroll has gone so far to say, "[The psalm's] conclusion was designed to show how the election of David and the foundation of the Zion Sanctuary represented a new creation."[11] Thus, in the sense that Ps 78 argues for the legitimacy and importance of the Davidic line, it too manifests an apologetic tendency.

With respect to the belief in the Lord's choice of Zion, its connection in this context with the choice of David has already been mentioned. (§2.3.2.2). To reiterate, "The choice of David in Ps 78 is inseparable from the choice of the holy city."[12] Yet, it is important to note the nuances of this connection, which provide the second ideological connection between Ps 78 and the Hezekian history. The choice of David overwhelmingly enjoys the emphasis in the final three verses of the psalm, which centers on the divine choice of David to lead Israel and the perfection of his rule. The choice of Mt. Zion, is not nearly as prominent. First, it does not enjoy a privileged position as הַר־צִיּוֹן functions alongside שֵׁבֶט־יְהוּדָה as the object of the Lord's choosing; the two are tantamount to each other (v. 68). Second, as noted again by Campbell, the choice of Zion

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[11] Carroll, "Psalm LXXVIII," 144. According to Carroll, this "new creation" is a "revitalizing of the *Heilsgeschichte* in favour of a new bearer of the divine election" (p. 144). Such comments have to be understood in the context of his argument, which postulates that Ps 78 is a "charter myth" that explains Judah as the "rightful heir to the exodus movement" and legitimate leader of the Lord's people (p. 150). Regardless of whether one agrees with the nuances of his interpretation, he is certainly correct insofar as the Davidic line and Judah are described as the fresh recipients of divine grace and therefore are critical to the community's endurance and vitality.

[12] Melody D. Knowles, "The Flexible Rhetoric of Retelling: The Choice of David in the Texts of the Psalms," *CBQ* 67 (2005): 242.

is a means to an end. That is, the consequence of choosing Mt. Zion matures with the construction of the temple (v. 69).[13] Therefore, as demonstrated by the logical flow, Ps 78 is also ideologically similar to the Hezekian history in the sense that the belief in the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem is subordinate to particular ideology of the Davidic tradition, namely the choice of David. Thus, in light of all these considerations, I am inclined to accept tentatively an eighth century date of composition.[14]

8.3 Dating Psalm 132

The situation regarding Ps 132 is similar to Ps 78. Arguments can be, and have been, made for many points on the chronological spectrum. Some advocate a pre-exilic, tenth century date of composition based upon linguistic and historical criteria.[15] Others advocate an exilic/post-exilic date of composition.[16] Complicating the situation even

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[13] Campbell, "Psalm 78," 58. The form וַיִּבֶן is a consequential *wayyiqtol*.

[14] Additionally, A. Lee also argues for a Hezekian context of composition, citing the psalmist's unique use of the plague tradition as an allusion to the Neo-Assyrian threat. Archie C. C. Lee, "The Context and Function of the Plagues Tradition in Psalm 78," *JSOT* 48 (1990): 84-85. A Frisch notes a "verbal echo" between Ps 78:8 and 2 Chr 30:1, which indirectly testifies to this Hezekian connection. Amos Frisch, "Ephraim and Treachery, Loyalty and (the House of) David: The Meaning of a Structural Parallel in Psalm 78," *VT* 59 (2005): 196-97.

[15] Dahood, *Psalms*, 3:242-43. Also, see Kraus, who claims that this psalm depicts a "royal festival on Mount Zion." For his discussion, see Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of the Old Testament* (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), 183-88; Kraus, *Psalms*, 2:275-79.

[16] H. Kruse argues that the psalm is the product of a messianically inclined Second Temple community that yearned for the glory and power of the Lord to return. Heinz Kruse, "Psalm CXXXII and the Royal Zion Festival," *VT* 33.3 (1983): 279-97. L. Crow also suggests a post-exilic date. According to Crow, Ps 132 was composed whole cloth by the chief redactor of the Songs of Ascents (Pss 120-134),

further is the nature of liturgy, which has been pointed out by Schniedewind.[17] Therefore, a conclusion regarding this psalm's date of composition must consider of a variety of issues.

On the one hand, numerous issues suggest an early date of composition. First, a significant amount of linguistic and thematic data corroborate an early date of composition.[18] Also, vv. 8-10 are quoted by the Chronicler (2 Chr 6:41-42), which suggests that the psalm, or at least this part of it, existed in a fixed form before the early Persian period. Yet, other issues suggest a later date of composition. First, there are textual parallels with post-exilic texts.[19] The phrase אַצְמִיחַ קֶרֶן in v. 17 is mirrored in Ez 29:21. Also, the clause וְכֹהֲנֶיהָ אַלְבִּישׁ יֶשַׁע is thematically related to Is 61:10. Second, the blessings of Zion anticipated in vv. 15-16 coincide best with the bleak socio-economic

which are a compilation of post-exilic pilgrimage psalms that bolster Jerusalem's credibility over against competing centers of worship. Loren D. Crow, *The Songs of Ascents (Psalms 120-134): Their Place in Israelite History and Religion* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 129-87.

[17] "All in all, [Ps 132] illustrates the innate problem of liturgy- namely the continual use in the community, which undoubtedly revised and updated it." Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise*, 44-45. Also, as already mentioned, Laato correctly emphasizes that this is an important methodological consideration (see §7.1).

[18] See Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 97; Dahood, *Psalms*, 3:242; Gese, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung," 16. For a brief synopsis of these important voices in addition to a few others, see Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-50, revised* (WBC 21; Nashville: Nelson Reference & Electronic, 2002), 267-698.

[19] Indeed, Laato is correct to emphasize that thematic parallels are potentially tenuous when trying to ascertain the dating of a psalm. Laato, "Psalm 132," 27-28. However, as will be demonstrated, it is the correspondence of these observations with others that bolster the proposal offered in this chapter.

and religious realities of the Persian period.[20] Third, the כִּי clause of v. 13 signifies an atmospheric change within the psalm, shifting the psalm's focus from David to Zion/Jerusalem. This is indicative of the post-exilic community. Fourth, וַחֲסִידֶיהָ parellels the specific social institution of the "priests." Could this allude to the presence of the Hasidim, a religious institution that arose in the post-exilic period?[21]

Perhaps the most forceful argument for a pre-exilic date is that of Kraus, and those like him, who argue that Ps 132 is a liturgical psalm implemented during a royal festival. Yet, Kruse's critique is important.

> The main source in establishing this cultic drama for Kraus as well as Mowinckel is Ps cxxxii . . . This is the only psalm where the Ark is mentioned explicitly and here the dramatic action of the precession seems to be palpable in verses 6-9, unfortunately the most obscure part of the psalm. Apparently the whole Festival hinges on the interpretation of these few lines, which since Mowinckel have stirred the imagination of so many authors.[22]

In other words, the elaborate reconstruction of such a festival hinges upon a few verses and comparative analogy. Even if the proposal of Kraus and others is true, that there was a royal festival, this does not guarantee that Ps 132 was composed for such a festival. It

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[20] The blessings are those of basic sustenance, which suggests a time when economic realities were particularly harsh. Such comments are reminiscent of the intense socio-economic chasm of Yehud during the Persian period. Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion*, 2:443-50, 495-97 ; Crow, *The Songs of Ascents*, 69-; Kruse, "Psalm CXXXII and the Royal Zion Festival," 387-88.

[21] Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion* [2:538-44.]

[22] Kruse, "Psalm CXXXII and the Royal Zion Festival," 280.

could also be that a post-exilic writer of this psalm incorporated elements of a preserved pre-exilic liturgy for a post-exilic context. The point is this: there are substantive arguments for a pre and post-exilic date of composition.[23]

Nonetheless, some statements can be made with relative certainty when discussing the composition of Ps 132. First, the intricate structure of Ps 132 is not necessarily indicative of a unified, one-time process of composition.[24] Second, the nature of liturgy resists change. Third, the most pointed support for a post-exilic period of composition appears in vv. 13-18, which is significant. Fourth, the leading כִּי of v. 13 does not need to be causal (§2.3.2). In turn, I suggest that Ps 132 is a pre-exilic psalm that underwent a later expansion. Verses 13-18 represent that expansion, and it occurred in the post-exilic period.

To clarify, I begin with Laato's discussion of Ps 132. Laato concludes, "[T]here is evidence in favor of the hypothesis that a version of this psalm existed during the pre-exilic period and that it was substantially the same as Ps 132 in its present form."[25] Laato's position is largely founded upon his belief that the writer of Kings was aware of the ideology of Ps 132 and incorporated its ideology into his work. According to Laato,

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[23] For a quality synopsis of the debate regarding the psalm's date of composition, see Allen, *Psalms*, 267-69.

[24] Levinson speaks to this general principle in his critique of J. G. McConville, stating, "There is no intrinsic reason why structure (pattern or symmetry) must be authorial or compositional- it could with equal theoretical legitimacy derive from an editor or a series of editors attempting to integrate their additions or interpolations into an earlier composition." Bernard M. Levinson, "McConville's Law and Theology in Deuteronomy," *JQR* 80.3-4 (1990): 403.

[25] Laato, "Psalm 132," 33, emphasis mine.

the conditional promise of the Davidic dynasty's reign, articulated in Ps 132:11-12, was reformulated "as a conditional promise concerning the Davidides' rule over the whole of Israel, including the northern region."[26] Laato arrives at this conclusion by considering such passages as 1 Kgs 2:4, 8:25, and 9:5 in conjunction with the נִיר passages of Kings.[27]

In fact, Laato believes that 1 Kgs 11:29-39 is the critical pericope where this "reinterpretation" is explained.[28] However, the new investigation of the נִיר passages of 1 and 2 Kings in this study has implications for Laato's conclusions. As argued in chapter 4 of this study, these passages function rhetorically to communicate a specific pro-Davidic dynastic ideology. Thus, one wonders how conditional the Davidic covenant is perceived to be in these passages. In fact, I have suggested in chapter 4 that these passages still reflect the belief in an unconditional covenant, albeit on a reduced level. Furthermore, the נִיר passages have the נֵר passages of 1 and 2 Samuel in view, not Ps 132:17. Thus, the writer of Kings did not seek to reinterpret the promise of David's "lamp" in Ps 132:17, as Laato asserts. Moreover, the double entendre possible in the consonantal text of Ps 132:17b fuses the ideals of the נִיר passages of Kings with the נֵר passages of Samuel.[29] This of course suggests the opposite direction of allusion. One only needs to revocalize

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[26] Laato, "Psalm 132," 29.

[27] Laato, "Psalm 132," 28-29.

[28] Laato, "Psalm 132," 29. Laato argues that the unconditional promises of 1 Kings 2-9 and 2 Samuel 7 are alluded to in 1 Kgs 11:29-39, where the text refers to those unconditional idea while recognizing the judgment imparted upon a disloyal dynasty.

[29] The consonantal text reads ערכתי נר למשיחי.

the Masoretic pointing of נר, ever so slightly, from *nēr* to *nīr*: עָרַכְתִּי נֵר לִמְשִׁיחִי, "I have set

up dominion for my anointed."[30] Thus, Ps 132:17 had 1 Kgs 11:29-39 in view, not vice

versa.

Other phenomena bolster the idea of a hidden meaning.[31] First, both the

immediate context of Ps 132:17 and the ideology of the נִיר passages share a geographic

emphasis that focuses upon Jerusalem and its immediate environs. In the case of 1 Kgs

11:36, 15:4, and 2 Kgs 8:19, the נִיר is intimately associated with either Jerusalem or

Judah. In the case of Ps 132, the location of Zion is emphasized throughout vv. 13-18,

and this emphasis directly influences v. 17 via the fronted locative particle שָׁם.[32] Second,

not only do both this psalm and the נִיר passages of Kings inform the ideology of the

Davidic tradition, but v. 17b echoes 2 Sam 23:1-7 by means of the verb ערך and the noun

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[30] John Goldingay is aware of the connection between this clause and the נִיר passages of Kings.

"The flame that belongs to the anointed is David's yoke, David's rule." Goldingay, *Psalms*, 3:558.

However, his discussion in a commentary did not provide a proper context for further explanation.

[31] Jonathan Grossman maintains that the correspondence in any context of allusions, metaphors,

images, multivalent expressions, and other literary phenomena as mechanisms that allude to a text's

"hidden meaning." Jonathan Grossman, *Esther: The Outer Narrative and the Hidden Reading* (Siphrut 6;

Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 5-12.

[32] Zion is the antecedent of the recurring pronominal suffixes in vv. 13-18: Consider אִוָּהּ, אוֹתִיהָ,

צֵידָהּ, אֶבְיוֹנֶיהָ, וְכֹהֲנֶיהָ, and וַחֲסִידֶיהָ. Also, the locative particle פֹּה, which also refers to Zion, appears

emphatically in v. 14b.

מָשִׁיחַ. These verses are the "last words of David," which in part ponders the "eternal

covenant" given to David, מְשִׁיחַ אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב. According to 2 Sam 23:5, this covenant has

been "properly set out and ordered in every respect,"[33] עֲרוּכָה בַכֹּל וּשְׁמֻרָה. Since the

expectations of the Davidic covenant assume a corresponding territorial dominion,[34]

when Ps 132:17a discusses the endurance of the line it would stand to reason that there

would also be the anticipation of a corresponding territorial dominion. Thus, I repeat my

conviction that Ps 132:17 is alluding to the ideology of Kings, not vice versa.

Such a reality corroborates the observations of vv. 13-18 mentioned above,

suggesting that vv. 13-18 constitute a post-exilic expansion of a pre-exilic liturgy. It is

noteworthy that, outside of v. 17, Laato's argument for a pre-exilic form of this psalm

arises merely from a consideration of the content of vv. 1-12. Consequently, while Laato

is correct to assert that a form of Ps 132 could have existed in the pre-exilic period, his

rationale for asserting that the pre-exilic form of Ps 132 was virtually the same as its

canonical form seems tenuous.

8.4 Conclusions

This chapter argued for a probable date of composition for Ps 78 in the Hezekian milieu,

particularly since there are noticeable ideological connections with the climax of this

psalm and the Hezekian history. With respect to Ps 132, this chapter suggested that vv.

13-18 are probably the result of a post-exilic expansion of what appears to be a pre-exilic

liturgy. Thus, the implications are quite significant for this study. The use of the theme

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[33] *HALOT*, 1:885.

[34] Halpern, *The First Historians*, 167.

appears not to have pre-dated the socio-historical milieu of Hezekiah. As to when the theme's usage fell out of favor, it is incontrovertible that it was still being used toward the end of the sixth century B.C.E., which is shown by its use in First Zechariah. It should be noted that the theme's usage in Ps 132 is ideologically similar to its use in Chronicles. In these post-exilic texts, the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem uses the ideological nuances of the Davidic tradition in order to bolster the ideology of the temple. Thus, assuming that the Chronicler's history was extant in the early Persian period, it is reasonable to speak of a time-span of usage from the end of the eighth century to the end of the sixth or into the fifth century B.CE.

Conclusion to Part 2

The purpose of Part 2 was to discuss the literary-critical and socio-historical issues that bore upon the usage and development of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. Indeed, the scope of Part 2 has been wide, but the issues discussed have implications for understanding the theme under investigation. Chapter 5 offered a general socio-historical sketch of Judah from the end of the eighth through the sixth century B.C.E. In turn, emphasis fell upon Zerubbabel in order to determine his role for the Second Temple community. What was mentioned at the conclusion of the investigation of the theme of the Lord's choice in Zechariah (§2.3.3) is corroborated by the historical reconstruction of Zerubbabel offered in this study. Zerubbabel, a Davidic descendent who represents an adjusted role for the dynasty, appears to be an impetus behind Zechariah's peculiar usage of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem.

Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula was discussed in chapter 6 with a particular focus upon its development, for this formula is closely aligned with the occurrences of the theme of the Lord's choice. Based upon linguistic and hermeneutical observations, a three-tiered development for the Centralization Formula was proposed. The original formula employed Deuteronomy's לְשַׁכֵּן idiom and referred to Israel's central cult site, the place where Israel was required to commemorate the exodus and the Lord's exclusive ownership. The second phase, which is signaled by the שׂום reflex, alludes to the developments within Israelite society and religion by referring to the increasing activity to be associated with the site and explicitly mentions Jerusalem as that site. The

final phase, signaled by the היה reflex, is probably an exilic/post-exilic development and its unique contribution to the centralization ideology is the ostensible belief that a divine presence dwells at the central cult site.

It was also determined that these three phases of development within the Centralization Formula correspond with major phases of development with the formula's larger literary context. This issue was discussed in chapter 7. Based upon the evidence that the books of Kings exhibits at least three editions, a Hezekian, Josianic, and exilic edition, chapter 7 examined the content of the climax of the Hezekian history in order to determine the necessary components for that history. As such, it was determined that the larger literary context of the Hezekian history went beyond Deuteronomy, as its climax assumes knowledge of narratives in Numbers and Exodus. Thus, the literary scheme of Schmid's Moses Story was adapted, whereby the Deuteronomic legal code, which has the ideology of centralization as a foundational component, appears to be the authoritative supplement to the Ten Commandments given on Sinai. The pericope of Deut 5:22-27, which recalls Exodus' account of the Lord giving the Ten Commandments on Siani, supports this. It was also discussed that there is considerable evidence to believe that the Covenant Code of the Sinai pericope was a late insertion into that pericope and that Ex 24:2-8, an integral component to this reconstruction, exhibits a three-phase redactional development wherein the middle phase is definitively Josianic. Thus, it was pondered whether the developments of Ex 24:2-8 parallels developments within Israel's historical work that spanned Exodus-2 Kings and Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula.

In chapter 8, issues of dating Pss 78 and 132 were discussed. It was determined that Ps 78 was probably the product of a Hezekian milieu, particularly since there is a

noticeable ideological connection between it and the Hezekian form of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 as well as the psalm's usage of the theme of the Lord's choice and that of the Hezekian form of 1 Kgs 11:29-39. With respect to the complicated issues in Ps 132, it was determined that vv. 13-18 probably constitute a later expansion of a psalm that was extant in the pre-exilic period. Ideologically, Ps 132's use of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem appears to be similar to the distinct usage of the theme in 2 Chr 6:6, which suggests that the time of composition for the psalm's post-exilic expansion is the same milieu as that of Chronicles.

Other points that bear upon the task at hand have arisen. First, there appears to be a distinct chronological framework within which the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem was utilized. What surfaced at the end of the eighth century B.C.E. lasted through the sixth century and into the fifth; the theme was utilized for approximately 200 years. Furthermore, this chronological framework houses the historical reality of the Davidic dynasty as a viable political option and the perception that it was integral to the community's endurance. Stated otherwise, the theme appears to have fallen out of favor after a chronological context wherein the Davidic dynasty was perceived to be a viable political option.

Second, a developmental spectrum for the usage of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem appears. I suggest that it is possible to speak of a three-phase development for the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, a development that was influenced heavily by the encroachment of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula. In phase one, the theme was utilized in order to emphasize particular ideological elements of the Davidic tradition (the pre-canonical form of 1 Kgs 11:36; Ps 78:68). In phase one,

the theme is explicitly linked to Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula, suggesting that the Josianic historian emphasized the cultic aspect of the theme in order to bolster the legitimacy of his reforms (1 Kgs 11:13, 32, 36, 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7). In phase three, the theme was utilized to emphasize particular ideological elements associated with the temple (Ps 132:13; 2 Chr 6:6). In other words, what began with an emphasis upon the Davidic component of the theme's foundation, moved to an emphasis upon the cultic component. The use of the theme by the Josianic historian was the critical phase for this progression.

Chapter 9

Synthesis and Implications

This study has exegetically examined what has been characterized as the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, which was demarcated by specific syntactical considerations. The fourteen passages that constitute this thematic thread, which occur only in the books of 1 Kings, Pss 78 and 132, and Zechariah, all exhibit the verb בחר with the Lord as the subject along with the explicit citation of either Jerusalem or Zion as its object. In each case, these passages testify to the belief that Zion or Jerusalem was singled out because of its association with the temple. More specifically, Zion/Jerusalem was divinely distinguished because of its unique ability in fostering the relationship between the Lord and his people and the world through the temple and its services. According to these fourteen passages, the Lord chose Jerusalem for himself, to be the central cult site. He chose Zion in conjunction with his choice of Judah in order to build his temple there. He chose Zion because he desired it to be his dwelling place and the locus where the Davidic dynasty and the people will enjoy his sustenance, provision, and glory. However, as this study has demonstrated, the nuances of this theme are quite intricate. In particular, each occurrence of this theme appears in contexts that also inform certain ideologies of the Davidic tradition. Consequently, a dual foundation for this theme exists. While there is evidence to suggest throughout the history of this theme's usage that one connotation could be emphasized at the expense of the other, one could never

completely drown out the other. In short, the reason for using the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem stems both from its cultic and Davidic foundations.

This study has also proposed that the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem exists as a distinct thematic thread in the larger biblical theme of Zion/Jerusalem's election. To say that the Lord *chose* (בחר) Zion/Jerusalem conjures specific nuances that preclude this ideology from being uncritically interchanged with other ideas of Zion/Jerusalem's election. To have chosen Zion/Jerusalem is to have elected it, but to have elected Zion/Jerusalem is not tantamount to choosing it.

Of those particular nuances that are connected with the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, this study has categorized them generically into two spheres, excluding Zechariah's peculiar usage. One sphere, which is also the most pervasive, centers on the belief that the Lord chose Jerusalem to be the central cult site, the "place of the name." Eight of the fourteen occurrences voice this reality. Therefore, it goes without saying that to understand adequately the usage of this theme one must discuss Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula and its centralization ideology. On the other hand, this theme appears in contexts that make no mention of this centralization ideology, which perhaps is also the primary reason why this study refuses to assert that the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem is a variation of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula. In these non-centralization contexts, the theme appears in close connection with particular ideologies that emphasize the need and importance of the Davidic dynasty. Only in 1 Kgs 11:29-39 do these two spheres converge.

Through a redaction critical analysis of 1 Kgs 11:29-39, the vestiges of a diachronic development emerge within the theme's usage. In fact, this diachrony has

historical and ideological implications, both of which appear to be intimately connected. Historically, there is evidence to suggest that both the Hezekian and Josianic historians incorporated a form of 1 Kgs 11:29-39 into their history in order to explain the historical reality that one tribe was left under Judean control after the split of the northern and southern kingdoms. Furthermore, each historian appears to have utilized the theme of the Lord's choice during that explanation. Ideologically, each historian utilized the theme differently. For the Hezekian historian, it appears that he used the theme to augment his pro-Davidic agenda. In other words, during the Hezekian phase, the theme of the Lord's choice was subordinate to the more salient, pro-Davidic ideology. This subordination changed with the Josianic redaction of 1 Kgs 11:29-39. By explicitly linking Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula to the theme, the Josianic historian elevated the cultic prestige of Jerusalem to the same level as its political prestige. In other words, the Josianic historian espoused that Judah and Jerusalem were retained for the Davidic dynasty because of the reality that it was both the location of the divinely promised dominion, indicated by the נִיר ideology, and the central cult site.

In the midst of this redaction-critical discussion of 1 Kgs 11:29-39, this study noted a couple of ideological emphases that functioned with the theme of the Lord's choice to inform the pro-Davidic scheme of the Hezekian historian. On the one hand, the theme appears in a type scene whose related scenes permeate the larger literary context. According to this scene, a prophet confronts a king in order to rebuke him in light of his covenantal disobedience. In turn, the kingdom was torn with the intention of giving it to another. On the other hand, the Hezekian usage of the theme of the Lord's choice appears in a relative clause that modifies the idea of dominion promised to David. Consequently,

despite the sparse usage of the idea of the Lord's choice of Jerusalem within the Hezekian history, it bolstered the pro-Davidic agenda at the heart of the history's point of communication.

It was during the Josianic phase that this theme was used at its greatest extent within the books of Kings. In order to bolster the legitimacy of Josiah's religious reforms, the Josianic editor sanctioned the usage of the theme in strategic passages. In 1 Kgs 11, Jerusalem was preserved because it was chosen to be the central cult site, the epicenter of the king's reforms. These reforms rectified some of the most egregious spiritual errors of the community, errors that had been the impetus of previous national judgment. Also during this phase of usage, the theme was nuanced in a way that would eventually mature with a discernible development. The Josianic historian used both long-forms of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula to augment the theme of the Lord's choice equally at times (cf. 1 Kgs 14:21), but at other times the historian made a distinction. As attested to by 1 Kgs 9:3 and 2 Kgs 21:7, Jerusalem was the chosen city, but the temple was the "place of the name." This distinction matures with the ideological developments of the post-exilic period.

While the books of Kings contain the vast majority of the occurrence of the theme of the Lord's choice and thus are the ideal context to discuss the semantics and depth of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, Pss 78 and 132 and Zechariah are informative. In Ps 78, which appears to be the product of a Hezekian context, the usage of the theme is very similar to the Hezekian usage displayed in 1 Kings. In particular, the belief is subordinated to more salient ideological emphases that communicate the importance of Judah and its ruling family for the community's endurance and vitality.

Consequently, the similarities between Ps 78 and the Hezekian history allow one to postulate a distinct phase of usage for the theme of the Lord's choice. Regarding Ps 132, this study has suggested that it exhibits two distinct phases of composition that can be dated generically to pre-exilic and post-exilic periods. The belief in the Lord's choice of Zion appears in the latter portion, what I have suggested to be the post-exilic expansion of a pre-exilic liturgy. In fact, its usage is similar to the usage of the theme in 2 Chr 6:6. In both of these contexts, the theme of the Lord's choice informs this how elements of the Davidic tradition are used to bolster the ideology centering on the temple. Thus, it is possible to postulate another distinct phase of usage for the theme of the Lord's choice that is anchored in the post-exilic era. Zechariah's usage is by far the most peculiar. In each of the three occurrences of the theme in Zechariah, the syntax is unique. In particular, the first two occurrences exhibit verbal forms in the *irreal* mood. Thus, there are possibilities to be realized within the meaning of the theme, namely that the full maturation of the Lord's "(re)choice" lie on the horizon as it is contingent upon other issues. While the temple's ongoing reconstruction is undoubtedly a contributing factor, this study has proposed that the uncertainty surrounding the role for the Davidic line within the Second Temple community, manifested in the person of Zerubbabel, is also a contributing factor.

In Part 2 of this study, socio-historical and literary critical issues that bore upon the usage and development of this theme were discussed. Of particular importance was the development of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula and the development of its larger literary context. This study was greatly informed by the work of Richter and Levinson with respect to Deuteronomy's ideology of centralization in order to propose a

three-tiered development. Initially, the central cult site was the place where the Israelites made pilgrimage in order to celebrate the unique lordship of Yahweh and to remember the exodus from Egypt. With respect to the linguistic form, the earliest centralization ideology was communicated by the phrase לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ שָׁם. However, this ideology and form developed subsequently. In order to accommodate developments within the community, the central cult site became the all-encompassing socio-economic and religious focal point, and this ideology was expressed most clearly by the use of the phrase לְשׂוּם שְׁמוֹ שָׁם. This development is linked to the Josianic historian. The ideology and expression developed a third time, and during this phase, the היה reflex was implemented and emphasized the belief that the presence of the Lord resides at the central cult site.

This three-tiered development of Deuteronomy's Centralization Formula and its ideology of centralization may correspond to three major phases of development within the larger literary context of Deuteronomy. As to the nature and extent of this literary context, this study adapted Schmid's idea of a Moses Story, particularly since the climax of the Hezekian edition of Kings recalls narratives found in the books of Exodus and Numbers. In other words, there is reason to believe that Deuteronomy and Kings existed as component parts to a large-scale historical work that spanned Exodus to 2 Kings, recounting Israel's exodus, its settlement, inhabitance, and its eventual exile from the land. Furthermore, there was a least a Hezekian, Josianic, and exilic edition of that history, each of which probably contained a form of the Deuteronomic legal code with its concept of centralization.

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As to the role of the belief in the Lord's choice of Jerusalem within this literary context, it varied. For the Josianic and exilic editions, the theme was utilized to explicitly identify Jerusalem as the central cult site, the "place of the name." For the Hezekian edition, there is evidence to suggest that the historian was aware of Jerusalem's cultic centrality, but instead he chose to allude to that reality rather than explicitly mention it. The reason appears to be associated with the essential point that the Hezekian history was attempting to communicate. Reflecting upon the preservation of Jerusalem versus the destruction of Samaria, this historical work essentially communicated the belief that Judah with its ruling dynasty enjoyed divine sanction and offered the best hope for the community moving forward. The preeminent proof for this conviction was Jerusalem's miraculous salvation from the siege of Sennacherib. Therefore, an emphasis upon the cultic centrality of Jerusalem should not necessarily be expected. Rather, the Hezekian historian recognized and utilized this reality in a manner that bolstered his overarching purpose. By stating that the Lord chose Jerusalem in 1 Kgs 11:36, the historian simultaneously may have been alluding to the Deuteronomic legal code that possessed a centralization concept communicated by the לְשַׁכֵּן idiom as legal precedent for Hezekiah's centralization efforts and communicated the Lord's commitment to Jerusalem, which would eventually aide in the explanation of Jerusalem's salvation from Neo-Assyrian clutches.

Another significant product of this study has been the chronological time span within which the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem was utilized. It was relatively brief, not antedating a Hezekian milieu and lasting only to the beginning of the fifth century B.C.E. I propose that the reason stems from the theme's dual foundational

connotations. The requisites for speaking of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem appear to be a functional temple and the presence of a Davidic descendent in a prominent political position. It was suggested that this is a significant reason for Zechariah's peculiar use of the ideology of the Lord's choice. Zerubbabel, a Davidic descendent, was present in Jerusalem during Zechariah's ministry. Yet, the nature of his role, and thus that of the Davidic line, was still being processed. In fact, there is reason to believe that Zerubbabel's role represented the nuanced role for the Davidic dynasty moving forward (Hag 2:20-23), which helps to explain Zechariah's discussion of the (re)choice of Jerusalem in underdeveloped terms. It is curious that the final chapter of First Zechariah, which is dated two years after the prophets initial oracles and visions and speaks of the glorious election of Zion as the hub of a global assemblage, omits the discussion of the Lord's "choice" of Jerusalem. Given that Zerubbabel disappears abruptly and is not present at the temple's rededication ceremony in 515 B.C.E, could it be that the absence of a Davidic descendent on the Judean political scene limited Zechariah's usage of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem?

Despite a time span of approximately two hundred years, there is evidence to suggest three identifiable phases of usage for the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. In phase one, the theme was used in such a way to emphasize the Davidic foundational element. This can be observed in the usages of the theme in the Hezekian form of 1 Kgs 11:36 and Ps 78:68, in which the cultic connotation of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem was subordinate to the Davidic connotation. In phase two, the cultic foundational connotation gained relative equality with the Davidic connotation. This phenomenon can be seen most clearly in the Josianic usage of the theme represented

in 1 Kgs 11:32, the canonical form of 11:36, 14:21, and 2 Kgs 21:7. Phase three switches

the primary and secondary emphases of phase one. In phase three, the Davidic

connotation is subordinate to the cultic connotation. Thus, the choice of Zion/Jerusalem

stems more from its cultic prominence, i.e. the temple; the city's association with the

Davidic dynasty merely adds to its prestige. Second Chr 6:6 and Ps 132:13 best

demonstrate this.

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Davidic Emphasis	Relative Balance	Cultic Emphasis
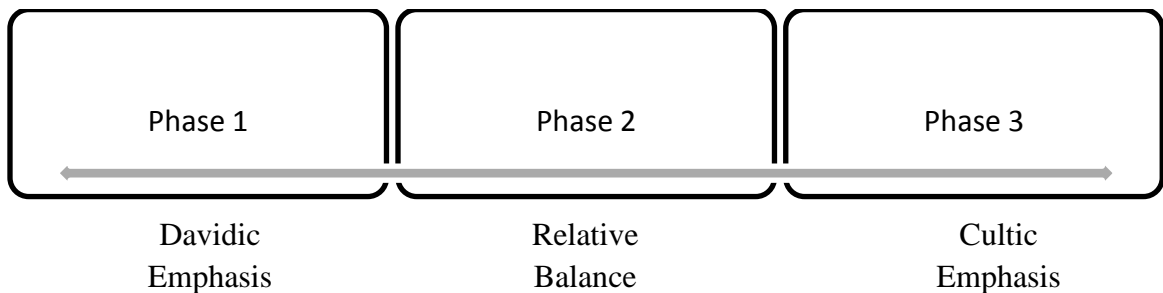
Consequently, it appears that the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem

represents one of the strongest bonds, perhaps the strongest bond, between the Davidic

and Zion traditions. On the one hand, the reality that the Lord chose Zion/Jerusalem for

himself, to be the location of the temple, informs foundational tenets of the Zion

tradition: the Lord dwells there and will protect it. On the other hand, Jerusalem became

the chosen city through a process initiated by David when he ushered the Ark of the

Covenant into that city, a process that would culminate with the temple's dedication. The

theme bolstered the connection between these two one independent traditions, perhaps to

the point that they became inseparable. Furthermore, it was a connection realized in the

immediate aftermath of the events of 701 B.C.E., events that proved Jerusalem's prestige

and unique position. Moreover, these events had a similar outcome for Jerusalem's ruling

family. The Davidic line enjoyed unprecedented divine sanction. Thus, I concur with S.

Japhet, who asserts in response to the same passages examined throughout this study, "The deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrian threat in the days of Hezekiah, and the contrast between its survival and the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, may be seen as the seed which would grow and flourish in later generations into a *new theology of election.*"[1] The theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem does appear to have arisen in light of these events, and it is definitely a distinct, or "new," aspect of Jerusalem's election.

The LXX either renders the verb בחר with ἐκλέγω or αἱρετίζω in the fourteen passages that constitute the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. Of those two possibilities, the former is the most predominant, occurring twelve of the fourteen times. Yet, nowhere does the New Testament employ these verbs when speaking of a divine action preformed with Jerusalem or Zion as the recipient. In fact, nowhere in the New Testament is Jerusalem or Zion described as the "chosen city." Overwhelmingly, Jerusalem is used geo-politically, referring to the city as the capital of Judea. Yet, Jerusalem is also used in the New Testament as a motif through which certain authors consider aspects of the Lord's revelation to humanity in light of Jesus Christ's life, ministry, death, and resurrection.

The best example of this *Tendenz* appears in the corpus of Luke/Acts. According to J. Fitzmyer, Jerusalem is "the city of destiny for Jesus and the pivot point for the salvation of mankind."[2] Such a strategic purpose is established at the onset of the gospel

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[1] Japhet, "Chosen City," 135, emphasis mine.

[2] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB 28-28A; 2 vols.; Garden City, NJ: DoubleDay, 1981-85), 1:164.

and is carried through to its end. The Lucan birth narratives foreshadow the importance of Jerusalem; the appeal of Jerusalem signifies the Lucan interpretation of the temptation narrative; Jesus' entry into Jerusalem is the climax of the Lucan travel account.[3] Yet, Fitzmyer rightly emphasizes that the strategic nature of Jerusalem is best demonstrated between the final chapters of the Gospel of Luke and the opening chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. After his resurrection, Jesus attends to his disciples in and around Jerusalem, and during this time, according to Luke 24:45, Christ opened the minds of the disciples so that they could understand the scriptures. In particular, Christ explained that his experiences were in line with the expectations of Scripture. The Christ was expected to die and rise, the forgiveness of sins was to be proclaimed to the ends of the earth (Luke 24:46-47), and these global endeavors were to begin in Jerusalem. In Acts 1, Christ ascends into heaven, but before he does so, he exhorts the disciples not to leave Jerusalem. Rather, they are to wait for the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:4), which will empower them to be Christ's witnesses "in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8). In the words of Fr. Witherup, the Gospel of Luke "begins and ends" with Jerusalem.[4]

It should be noted that in the process of this presentation, Luke imports a uniquely royal connotation to Jesus' movements toward Jerusalem.[5] Entering Jerusalem to cheers and recognition of his royal pedigree, the crowds exclaimed, "Blessed is the one coming, the king, in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven and glory in the highest" (Lk 19:38).

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[3] Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 1:165-68.

[4] Father Ronald D. Witherup, "Jesus and Jerusalem," *Bible Today* 34.3 (1996): 166.

[5] Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 1:167.

Indeed, Jesus assumes the throne of David (cf. Luke 1:32), but, as testified to in Acts 1, this throne is celestial and with a global kingdom. Thus, Luke is clear that this king resides not over an earthly kingdom, but over a spiritual and heavenly kingdom.

In terms of this study therefore, the corpus of Luke/Acts communicates that Jerusalem was elected not so much because of the temple or its association with the Davidic dynasty. Rather, Luke believed that Jerusalem is elected more because of the implications of Christ's ministry, death, and resurrection. Jerusalem was the goal of Jesus' ministry. It was where Christ died on the cross to fulfill the Scriptures and atone for sin. It was where Christ was resurrected to initiate the global advancement of the Kingdom of God. Jesus' actions in Jerusalem were the catalyst for the next phase in God's revelation. In short, Jerusalem was elected to be the locus where a new dispensation in salvation history would commence.

This New Testament perspective regarding the nature of Jerusalem's election, which the Lucan historian articulates so clearly, is not *sui generis*. The New Testament belief in the election of Zion/Jerusalem has a history, and this belief represents the perceptual maturation of a series of experiences of ancient Israel, whereby the belief in the prominence of Zion/Jerusalem survived and was nuanced according to the Lord's revelation through time. As such, the investigation of the theme of the Lord's choice offered in this study also offers a glimpse into the progressive nature of divine revelation. In the case of the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, it testifies to how revolutionary a particular event can be upon one's understanding of those moments that preceded it. It is my conviction that the Christ event was so transformative that the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem, so integral to the Old Testament, was not

utilized. I propose that this abandonment by the New Testament writers arises from the connotations associated with the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem. If the New Testament writers understood the kingdom of God to be a global kingdom concerned with the redemption of the cosmos in light of the effects of humanity's sinfulness and alienation from God, and if one's inclusion in this kingdom is contingent more upon accepting the gracious salvation through Jesus than rituals performed, then there would be no use for a theme that associated Jerusalem's prestige with a functional temple and a Davidic descendent ruling over a physical kingdom.

An awareness of the impact of the Christ event on understanding the nature of the Lord's revelation to humanity is evident in the Patristic period. Irenaeus recognized the implications of the Christ event for understanding the progressive nature of God's revelation, and he was one of the first to articulate it. He emphasized that Christ, the Savior of humanity, is God, and therefore his impact should not be confined to the incarnation. Christ has been active on all points of the chronological spectrum. As for the incarnation, Greer's quote articulates Irenaeus' position appropriately. Irenaeus believed that the incarnation brought to focus "God's self disclosure in creation and in the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus, the history of the human race is one of the progressive revelation of God, a revelation that drives toward the final redemption of incorruption in the new age."[6] That is, the incarnation brought into focus and to fulfillment the economies of God in the economy of God.

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[6] Rowan A. Greer, "The Christian Bible and Its Interpretation," in *Early Biblical Interpretation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1986), 166.

Irenaeus believed that the progressive nature of revelation, particularly those aspects evident in the Old Testament, was necessary because it provided the necessary growth and experience for the ultimate economy–the incarnation of God Almighty in Jesus of Nazareth.[7] Accordingly therefore, the "choice" of Jerusalem was a requisite for properly understanding the nature of the kingdom of God. As this study has demonstrated, the theme of the Lord's choice communicated divine presence in Jerusalem, divine protection of Jerusalem, and an association with a Davidic descendant, all of which informed the belief in the centrality of Jerusalem during Jesus' lifetime, religiously and messianically.[8] Jesus' ministry, death, and resurrection addressed all of these ideals. In fact, the Christ event radically adjusted these ideals. The divine presence is no longer confined to the temple; it resides in the believer via the Holy Spirit (Acts 2). Divine protection will not shield the temple's destruction as it will be a sign of the end of the age (Mt 24; Mk 13; Lk 21). The physical Jerusalem is no longer the focal point of true worship. Rather, true worship is spiritual (John 4). Indeed, a Davidic descendent has assumed the throne, but it is not yet a throne of a physical kingdom (Acts 1:7). In other words, in light of the Christ event, the "choseness" of Jerusalem has yielded to its function as the location of *the* most pivotal event in human history. It was the location of

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[7] Greer draws attention to Ireneus' use of an education metaphor in his articulation of the progressive nature of revelation. Greer, "The Christian Bible and Its Interpretation," 167.

[8] Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into the Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (trans. F. H. Cave and C. H. Cave; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 73-77. Jeremias mentions that Jerusalem was the hub religious education, movements, and expectations. Speaking to the messianic movements of the era, Jeremias asserts that they "aspired towards Jerusalem" (pg. 75).

the death and resurrection of Jesus the Christ, the event that would constitute the lens through which humanity was to interpret God's relationship with them and his intentions for creation. Yet, given that these plans will be realized in full at the eschaton with a new Jerusalem at the center of it all (Rev 21-22), one could say that Jerusalem will remain the center of the world.

In closing, I recognize the relatively small scope of this study. Nevertheless, the theme of the Lord's choice of Zion/Jerusalem constitutes a small, but important, portion of the traditions pertaining to Jerusalem. Furthermore, I recognize that these final pages only begin a conversation about the Jerusalem traditions of the New Testament. Consequently, it would be worth investigating in greater depth how the theme of the Lord's choice intersects with other themes and motifs within the Zion/Jerusalem traditions of the Old and New Testaments. Moreover, it would be worth investigating how the theme of the Lord's choice, particularly in light of its absence in the New Testament, would inform a biblical theology pertaining to the role of Zion/Jerusalem.

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