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The Book of Chronicles and Colophonic Chronography

Patricia R. Jelbert

University of Gloucestershire

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Author's Declaration:

PATRICIA R. JELBERT

TITLE: The Book of Chronicles and Colophonic Chronography

FIRST SUPERVISOR: Dr. Pekka Pitkänen
SECOND SUPERVISOR: Prof. J. Gordon McConville
DEPARTMENT: Theology and Religion

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Signed: Date: 28 February 2018

This work is dedicated to my beloved husband,
Michael, with love and gratitude

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It was always my intention to take my studies further, but the timing and circumstances were never right, so that twenty-two years since my last academic foray I found myself doing research for my PhD thesis at the same time as two of our four children, Glenton and Charmaine, both of whom helped in so many ways to get me back into the academic mode. They graduated as full-timers from Cambridge, but here I am as a part-timer, only now finally reaching the end. My excuse has to be the distraction of grandmotherly "duties" luring me to California, New York and Durban, our home base where our eldest, Michelle, still resides. I lament we cannot visit our son, William, in the Antarctic where he is team leader and doctor with South Africa's SANAE. To our beloved children, their wonderful spouses and all our delightful grandchildren, a big thank you for being a joyful reminder that there is life after a PhD.

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הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה קִרְאוּ בִשְׁמוֹ הוֹדִיעוּ בָעַמִּים
עֲלִילֹתָיו׃

O give thanks unto the LORD, call upon His name;

make known His deeds among the peoples.

1 Chr 16.8

Abstract

The Book of Chronicles and Colophonic Chronography

This thesis examines the repeating citation formulae in the biblical book of Chronicles to discover their nature, purpose and function. The principle focus of this study will be on the repeating formulae, especially the citation references: "And the rest of the acts of King X, first and last, are found in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," or other such references. These usually appear at the end of each king's reign. In addition, the ending of Chronicles which is repeated at the start of Ezra will be reviewed.

Variously designated by different scholars as "titles," "conclusion formulae" and even "Stichzeile" (catchlines), there is no scholarly consensus about these formulaic citations or their role within Chronicles.

An overview of the history of scholarly views on authorship, dating and genre in the book of Chronicles is conducted here, where it may be seen that today there is no settled view on these isagogic elements, which would seem to justify not assuming the isagogic elements *a priori.* From this starting point the Chronicles' citation formulae are compared and contrasted with those in the ancient Near Eastern epigraphic materials, especially those of Babylon and Assyria, where colophons are a feature of chronographic literature. A brief look at Egyptian epigraphy is included too. Overall, the thesis finds that these share similar features with those in biblical Chronicles, but also significant differences, depending on the period being examined.

The next step is to make an inner biblical comparison of Chronicles' citations with those found in Kings. Samuel is also examined, and parts of Isaiah and Jeremiah, where relevant. The findings of the ancient Near Eastern comparison of the citation formulae, and the internal biblical comparison with Kings' source citations, lead to a proposal that points to a genre classification of "Chronicles" with all that this implies about a running account and a pre-exilic commencement date in the time of the first temple of Solomon.

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible Commentary
ABC	Assyrian and Biblical Chronicles
ABR	Australian Biblical Review
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
AOAT	*Alter Orient und Altes Testament*
AST	Atlantic School of Theology
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAR	Biblical Archaeological Review
BASOR	Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research
BIBS/X	Bethel Institute of Biblical Studies, Otago, NZ
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BLS	Bible and Literature Series
BN	Bible Now
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BR	Biblical Review
BSac	*Biblioteca Sacra*
BSAI	British School of Archaeology in Iraq
BWANT	*Beiträge sur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
CTM	Concordia Theological Monthly
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
CBQ(MS)	Catholic Bible Quarterly (Monograph Series)
CDL	Cuneiform Digital Library
CHW	Chronistic History Work Hypothesis
CRB	*Cahier de la Revue Biblique*
CUP	Cambridge University Press
CRINT	*Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*
EncJud	*Encyclopedia Judaica*
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*
FOTL	Forms of Old Testament Literature
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
HUP	Harvard University Press
IBC	Interpreter's Bible Commentary
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IES	Israel Exploration Society
JANES	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies
JAOS	Journal of American Oriental Study
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society

JHS	Journal of Hebrew Scriptures
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	Journal for the Study of Old Testament
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KLR	Kessinger Legacy Reprints
LHB/OTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LS	Louvain Studies
LXX	Septuagint
NK	Northern Kingdom (Israel)
OTL	Old Testament Literature
OUP	Oxford University Press
PAAJR	Proceedings for the American Academy for Jewish Research
RB	*Revue Biblique*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature (Forum)
SKL	Sumerian King List
SiBB	Simor Bible Bibliographies
RBL	Review of Biblical Literature
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
SSN	*Studia Semitica Neerlandica*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
TB	Tyndale Bulletin
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	*Vetus Testamentum* Supplement
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WC 25	Walker Chronicle 25
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*
WJT	Westminster Journal of Theology
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für althebraistik*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Other Abbreviations used in the Text:

AKL	Akkadian King List
CBH	Classical Biblical Hebrew
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
NK	Northern Kingdom of Israel
SK	Southern Kingdom of Judah
J & I	Judah and Israel
I & J	Israel and Judah

Biblical and Talmud Translations used:

Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
Mechon Mamre JPS Hebrew-English_ https://www.mechon-mamre.org/
RSV Revised Standard Version
KJV King James Version
LXX Septuagint (Vaticanus)
The Babylonian Talmud, Pesachim 62b, Judaeo-Christian Research, 2009:
http://juchre.org/talmud/pesachim/pesachim3.htm [Accessed: 20 Feb 2015]

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Chronicles as Colophonic Chronography

The subject of this study is the repeating formula phrases in the Books of Chronicles, to discover their function and their purpose. These are variously designated in commentaries on the Books of Chronicles. Sarah Japhet refers to these "explicit references to written sources" as "titles" and "conclusion formulas."[1] Hugh Williamson refers to R. K. Harrison's beguiling description of the II Chronicles 36.22 and Ezra 1.1-3a parallel as a "*Stichzeile*"[2] (colophonic catchline). Simon de Vries notes thirty-six different "formula" types, but as most of these are literary idioms, comprehensive though his analysis is, this leaves only eight formal documentary devices relevant to the purpose of this study, of which none provides an overall classification.[3] Gary Knoppers refers to these formula phrases as "titles" of "lost works," noting that:

> [T]here is no scholarly consensus about the nature of such lost works. Some think of royal Annals, the official records of a given king's reign…while others

[1] S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, OTL, London, 1998, p. 19-20. Japhet divides these into two groups: "works mentioned in the conclusion formulas of the kings' reigns, referring the reader to additional sources by the repeated formula 'the rest of the acts of…are written in…' (e.g. I Chron. 29.29; II Chron. 9.29, etc.) and those mentioned outside this context…Several works are mentioned in Chronicles outside the concluding formulas. Some of these actually employ the same introductory formula as the above, and probably serve the same purpose: 'So all Israel was enrolled by genealogies; and these are written in the Book of the Kings of Israel' (1 Chron. 9.1), and 'behold, they are written in the Laments' (II Chron. 35.25)." (1 Chr 29.29 lacks "the rest of the acts of" which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[2] H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, CUP, Cambridge, 1977, p. 8. However, Williamson notes that the parallel verses (II Chronicles 36.22 and Ezra 1.1-3a) as "*Stichzeile*" would be unique in the Old Testament and only supportive as secondary evidence. In Chapter 3 the Babylonian Chronicles show this as an ancient Near Eastern feature that is paralleled in biblical Chronicles.

[3] S. J. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, FOTL 11, Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1989, pp. 438-9.

> think of historiographical works or surveys that may have been based, in part, on official records or Annals.[4]

Hence, amidst some fine analyses of these formulaic source citations referring to various sources in Chronicles, we are left with Japhet's question:

> What are all these works, thus referred to in Chronicles, and how are they related to the Chronicler's actual sources as revealed by the analysis of the book. These questions have engaged biblical scholarship intensively for many years…and the full spectrum of possibilities has been suggested.[5]

In this study it is suggested that "the full spectrum of possibilities" has not been investigated with regard to the source citations, and that there are further avenues of exploration. In order to address these problems within Chronicles' scholarship, one needs to see they did not arise in a vacuum, but began over two hundred years ago, with traces of the problems stemming even from the first translations of chronicles into Greek.

In many scholarly works on chronicles the citation formulae are judged as to whether these are reliable or untrustworthy according to the particular scholar's view of the narrative content itself. However, the aim here is to turn this around so that these citation notices, set against their ancient Near Eastern background, are allowed to be assessed independently of the related narrative content, thus avoiding the problem where scholarly views reached about the narrative sections do not impinge upon this reassessment of the source citations. The focus here is not on the historical aspects of

[4] G. N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9,* AB, Doubleday, New York, 2004, p. 47.
[5] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 21.

the narrative but on the underlying isagogic factors of genre, authorship and dating of the book of Chronicles.

Below is a biblical example of the type of citation formula that appears at the end of most of the kings' reigns in Chronicles, so that it is clear what formulaic citations are under discussion (2 Chr 28.26):

וְיֶתֶר דְּבָרָיו וְכָל-דְּרָכָיו הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי-יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**2 Chr 28.26** Now the rest of his [Ahaz] acts, and all his ways, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.

The second example is the *Stichzeile* or catchline (mentioned by Williamson above) which, I argue, links Chronicles to Ezra 1-3 (though not necessarily as a sign of common authorship) where almost entirely similar content is found (2 Chr 36.23):

וּבִשְׁנַת אַחַת לְכוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס לִכְלוֹת דְּבַר-יְהוָה בְּפִי יִרְמְיָהוּ הֵעִיר יְהוָה אֶת-רוּחַ כּוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ-פָּרַס וַיַּעֲבֶר-קוֹל בְּכָל-מַלְכוּתוֹ וְגַם-בְּמִכְתָּב לֵאמֹר׃	**2 Chr 36.22** Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying:
כֹּה-אָמַר כּוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס כָּל-מַמְלְכוֹת הָאָרֶץ נָתַן לִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהוּא-פָקַד עָלַי לִבְנוֹת-לוֹ בַּיִת בִּירוּשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר בִּיהוּדָה׃ מִי-בָכֶם מִכָּל-עַמּוֹ יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו עִמּוֹ וְיָעַל׃	**23** "Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia: All the kingdoms of the earth hath the LORD, the God of heaven, given me; and He hath charged me to build Him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of all His people - the LORD his God be with him - let him go up…" (*Sentence unfinished*)

In order to focus primarily on these formulaic source citations rather than the sources themselves, those factors that colour the discussion, namely the isagogic factors of genre, authorship and dating, will not be assumed *a priori.* Instead, in order to justify this step, these will be re-assessed separately in the next chapter. The history will be

reviewed which leads to the current positions, as well as the main scholars contributing to the discussion. These will include the views of several medieval scholars, an approach that will also be justified in light of the current isagogic uncertainties. Examples of chronicles from Babylon, Assyria, Greece and the day-books of Egypt as well as a medieval chronicle will be examined in order to discover any overall patterns similar to the patterns found in biblical Chronicles.

The approach in this thesis will seek to find answers to three questions:

1. Can the formulaic notices in the biblical Chronicles be classified as colophonic in the ancient Near Eastern sense of the word?
2. If so, what is the purpose of these colophons and how do they function, taking into account ancient Near Eastern chronographic texts as well as related biblical evidence?
3. How would this influence our current understanding of the isagogic elements, such as genre, authorship and dating of the documents?

If the book of Chronicles' citations could be shown to have parallels with those in ancient Near Eastern chronographic texts, this would open the possibility that biblical Chronicles, seen from a new perspective, could be viewed as a running account. This would mean the dating methods, with regnal updating over the monarchical period from Solomon's time onwards, would come under scrutiny.

Further testing of this hypothesis, or even the possibility of it, would be sought from other disciplines such as linguistics, philology, archaeology and palaeography,[6] which have developed tremendously in the last few decades. The common reasons given for

[6] Archaeology does not stand alone, but is supported by palaeography, stratigraphy, and iconography, etc., which give essential support to the dating of archaeological epigraphical finds. These in turn inform and support Biblical scholars.

late-dating the book of Chronicles will be examined. These differ from author to author but these all need to be assessed.[7] Broadly, at one extreme there are those scholars who date Chronicles to the closing years of the sixth century B.C. against the backdrop of the restoration of the Jewish community after the first exiles return to Jerusalem, a view which includes various redactional hypotheses, while the other extreme position is represented by scholars who argue for a Hellenistic date, either the third or second century B.C.[8] In between these extremes there are a the majority of scholars who have sought a middle course sometime in the fourth century shortly after the fall of the Persian Empire at the hands of Alexander the Great in 333 B.C.[9] Peltonen makes the following pertinent comments:

> The spectrum of radically differing opinions about the date of Chronicles is not the only remarkable element of the scholarly discussion. Even more remarkable is the fact that there is so much disagreement among scholars about the historical

[7] G. N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 2004, pp. 111-117; K. Peltonen, "A Jigsaw without a model? The Date of Chronicles," ed., L. L. Grabbe, *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, JSOTS 317, European Seminar in Historical Methodology 3, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2001, pp. 225-271.

[8] K. Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 226-227, n.3: These scholars include F. M. Cross "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL*, 94, 1.March 1975, pp. 4-18; J. D. Newsome, "Toward a New Understanding of the Chronicler and his Purposes," *JBL* 94, 1975, Pp. 201-217; D. L. Petersen, "The Temple in Persian Period Prophetic Texts," ed., P. R. Davies, *Second Temple Studies: Persian Period;* JSOTS 119, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1991, pp. 57-60; S. L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, HSM 33, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1985, pp. 25-26; R. L. Braun, *I Chronicles*, WBC 14, Word Books, Waco, Texas, 1986, p. xix; R. B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles,* WBC 15, 1987, Word Books, p. XIX; M. A. Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayers in Chronicles,* SBL, Diss. Series 93, Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia, 1987, pp. 97-107; D. N. Freedman and B. E. Willoughby, "I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah," ed., B. W. Anderson, *The Books of the Bible,* Charles Scribner's sons, New York, 1989, pp. 155-171; pp. 155-159. For a more comprehensive listing of scholars who have advocated a sixth-century date, see I. Kalimi, "Die Abfassungszeit der Chronik — Forschungsstand und Perspektiven", *ZAW* 105, 1993, pp. 223-233; pp. 226-227.

[9] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 227, n.7. From his representative list of modern scholars who hold a fourth century date for Chronicles: H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles,* New Century Bible, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1982, pp. 16-17; S. J. De Vries, *I & II Chronicles,* Eds. R. P. Knierim and G. M. Tucker, FOTL XI, 1989, pp. 16-17; M. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel: "Die geneologische Vorhalle" I Chronik 1-9*, BWANT, 128, 1990, W. Kolhammer, Stuttgart, pp. 44-47; S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, pp. 23-28; B. E. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles,* JSOTS 211, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1996, pp. 26-28; I. Kalimi, "Abfassungszeit der Chronik," *ZAW* 105, 1993, pp. 228-233.

> context into which Chronicles best fits. It is more than just a matter of academic curiosity to ask whether a date in the fifth, fourth, third or even second centuries BCE should be assigned to Chronicles. During these centuries, the Jewish community in Palestine witnessed and experienced significant political, economic, religious and cultural upheavals, and one would naturally expect to find at least occasional traces of them in a work that allegedly comes down to us from that era. It is still an open question, however, which of the tumults of the second half of the first millennium BCE is reflected in the theological/ideological disposition of the author(s) of Chronicles – or, conversely, whether any of them is present there.[10]

Howard Macy wrote over forty years ago in 1975 the following which still applies:

> The continuing investigations in the Ancient Near East have also increased our knowledge of the extent and long history of literacy in that area….This has already touched many areas of Old Testament Studies, but the theories about the Books of Chronicles have escaped almost entirely unharmed.[11]

While these out-dated theories may have escaped unharmed, the book of Chronicles' study has been seriously harmed, and indeed scholarship in this area has been done a grave disservice which the endeavours of many fine scholars have not yet managed to remedy. Despite taking many positive steps forward, the foundational isagogic questions remain as "unknowns" which leaves the source notices in limbo. Until we know the answers to the isagogic questions, we cannot know how to respond to the

[10] Peltonen, "Jigsaw", p. 229.

[11] H. R. Macy, *The Sources of the Books of Chronicles: A Reassessment*, PhD. Thesis at Harvard University, HUP, 1975, pp. 18-19.

source notices, and *vice versa*, which means to find answers we need to call on expertise outside of the isagogics and the source notices for evidence gathering.

It is evident from the above that the isagogic elements need to be re-evaluated in the biblical Chronicles in the light of the many advances in our understanding of palaeography and epigraphy, early literacy, record-keeping, and libraries which all give insights into evidence for early writing in monarchical Israel.[12]

Methodology

The methodology for this thesis will be in line with an abductive approach or "an argument to the best explanation" as opposed to an inductive approach. The essential similarities in the two approaches are that both proceed from the particular to the general, and both suffer from the ultimate lack of certainty which is the fate of all academic and scientific enterprises, for when a counter-example is found, the need arises either to accommodate it or re-work the experiment or the investigation.

While the inductive approach involves *experimentation* on what is observable and repeatable (which is the realm of the physical sciences), by contrast the abductive approach involves *investigation* of unique (though not necessarily unparalleled) events whether in theology, history, legal cases, detective work or historical science, and, reasoning backwards (abductively) aims to discover how the event happened.

This thesis then is essentially an *investigative* rather than an *experimental* approach. Whether inductive or abductive, the solving of problems either experimentally or

[12] D. M. Carr, *An Introduction to the Old Testament: Sacred Texts and Imperial Contexts of the Hebrew Bible,* Blackwell, Oxford. 2010; A. Millard, and J. K. Hoffmeier, Eds., *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions*, W. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K., 2004; S. Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature,* Library of Ancient Israel, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1996.

investigatively can never be a fully mechanical process of data collection plus empiricism plus rationalism. There is always the creative process, the imaginative leap that leads to the initial hypothesis.[13] This has to be tested and re-tested in a rigorous way, which is what the scholarly body of peer review enables.

This inductive process needs to proceed untrammelled by *a priori* presuppositions, some of which we are not even aware, especially when scholars arrive at a consensus where certain things appear self-evident. Peltonen writes:

> Here we come across a phenomenon which is close to what may be called a 'research historical pseudo-legitimation': when an argument circulates long enough and receives continuous support in scholarly circles, it may become a sort of absolute quantity. Its validity is no longer seriously questioned even though the entire construction is hollow, so to say, standing on shaky ground owing to some of its absolute prerequisites having been relinquished.[14]

Abductive reasoning as with inductive reasoning, shares the problem faced in all scientific experiments and in all investigative processes of inherent limitations and uncertainty. For this reason it is necessary to examine *a priori* assumptions as far as one is able, even those firmly established as a "consensus" within oneself or within the scholarly community within which one is working.

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[13] W. Heisenberg, *Physics and Beyond*, translated by A. J. Pomerans, Harper and Row, 1971, New York, p. 63: Heisenberg quotes a conversation he had with Albert Einstein: "But you don't seriously believe," Einstein protested, "that none but observable magnitudes must go into a physical theory?" "Isn't that precisely what you have done with relativity?" I asked in some surprise. "After all, you did stress the fact that it is impermissible to speak of absolute time, simply because absolute time cannot be observed; that only clock readings…are relevant to the determination of time." "Possibly I did use that kind of reasoning," Einstein admitted, "but it is nonsense all the same….in principle, it is quite wrong to try founding a theory on observable magnitudes alone. In reality the very opposite happens. It is the *theory* which decides what we can observe."

[14] K. Peltonen, *History Debated: The Historical Reliability of Chronicles in Pre-Critical and Critical Research*, *Vol. I and II*, The Finnish Exegetical Society, 64, Helsinki, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1996, p. 414.

It is common to assume science produces from its hypotheses assured results which formulate into established "theories" or even "laws," but while we use methods of induction and abduction, going from particular instances to generalised results, the results will always be tentative, albeit strengthened by repeated experimentation or additional evidence being produced favouring the hypothesis. The hypothesis gives the starting point, the first of perhaps many new starting points, for investigations which may range into wide-ranging angles of approach and many disciplines, until a theory can be formed that holds together. Mannoia gives an example from medical research, the example of Dr. Semmelweisss who investigated the high death rate from "childbed fever" of women delivering babies in one ward (11%), while the adjacent ward had a much lower death rate (3%). His investigations took him into a multi-disciplinary search trying one hypothesis after another. After many false trails he eventually had the breakthrough he required. He identified the direct connection between the doctors washing their hands between examining the patients and survival rates, and from there the whole medical knowledge we have today of germs and infection developed.[15]

In the courts, evidence is weighed in the light of what the "reasonable person" or "reasonable expert" would deem acceptable. The ideal would be to produce compelling argumentation "beyond reasonable doubt," but my aim here is more modest, which is more in line with the "balance of probabilities." Phrased in the vocabulary of abductive reasoning the aim here is to reach the abductive target, namely: "the argument to the best explanation."[16] The three chapters each dealing with one aspect of the thesis each require a slightly different approach to methodology:

[15] V. J. Mannoia, *What is Science? An introduction to the Structure and Methodology of Science*, University Press of America, 1980, p. 7.

[16] Mannoia, *What is Science?* pp. 6-8.

While the central aim of this research is to find the meaning of the citation notices, the first step towards that goal, before looking at the formulaic notices in the biblical book of Chronicles, is to trace in the first instance the history of the isagogic elements of genre, authorship and dating, the main scholars contributing to the discussion, and to aim to identify the key moments in the development leading towards these current scholarly viewpoints. Certain authors from the medieval period will be cited where relevant. The historical review of each isagogic element is treated separately, as each is subject to different influences.

The next step is to examine the ancient Near East chronographic texts works to "underpin the historiographical position with comparative evidence."[17] This enables an identification of the overall genre categories within which Chronicles may fit, sharing similar features, after which it will be possible to do a comparative study of the formulaic features in biblical Chronicles and the chronographic writings of Assyria and Babylon, focussing particularly on these two neighbouring countries, but briefly examining any possible influences from the Egyptian, Hittite, Greek and Persian chronography.

This comparison of the ancient Near Eastern colophonic formulae with those in the biblical book of Chronicles is, on the surface, straightforwardly an analysis of common features, or in some cases, a lack of commonality, which can also be equally informative. These necessarily require interpretation, but there will be no attempt to impose some modern or post-modern construct onto the material. The aim will be to

[17] N. Winther-Nielsen, "Fact, Fiction, and Language Use: Can Modern Pragmatics Improve on Halpern's case for History in Judges?" in *Windows into Old Testament History*, Eds., V. P. Long, D. W. Baker, G. J. Wenham, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapid, Michigan / Cambridge, U.K., 2002, pp. 49, n.7. B. Halpern's work under discussion: *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History*, Harper and Row, San Francisco, *1*988.

try to understand biblical Chronicles within its own wider ancient Near Eastern context. Knoppers voices concerns at the lack of dialogue between ancient Near Eastern "advances in epigraphy, art history, and archaeology" and those of biblical research insofar as these have "failed to affect the debates about the date of the Chronicler's work."[18] The supposed excesses of the Albright era[19] have led to a distancing of the two disciplines of theology and archaeology which causes loss to both disciplines. Lemche and Thompson's minimalist views on what archaeological findings can yield for historical reconstruction of Israel can take scepticism well beyond what the "reasonable person" might hold to be "beyond reasonable doubt" even to the point where it can hold up progress in biblical understanding with what may appear to be unreasonable scepticism.[20] However, the value of Lemche and Thompson's approach should not be underestimated as it challenges complacency in scholarship arriving at "assured results" too readily, and generally encouraging scholars to sharpen up methodology and scholarship.

This disregard for a healthy exchange between the Bible and the ancient Near Eastern archaeological and epigraphical findings as regards the isagogic elements of dating and genre in Chronicles has a history which may be said to date back to Wellhausen in some respects. One point in this regard may lie within Machinist's criticism of Wellhausen's

[18] Knoppers, *1-9 Chronicles*, p. 102.

[19] B. Halpern, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History*, Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1988, P 25. Halpern, for example, rejects Albright's approach as a "crypto-fundamentalist philological program heavily laced with archaeology." Balance to this view is provided by A. Millard, Story, History and Theology," in Eds., A. R. Millard, *et al*., *Faith, Tradition, and History: Old Testament Historiography in the Near Eastern Context*, Winona Lake, Ind., Eisenbrauns, 1994, pp. 37-64; also S. Bunimovitz, "How Mute Stones Speak: Interpreting What We Dig Up," *BAR* 21, 1995, pp. 58-67, 96, 98-100. Cited in N. Winther-Nielsen, "The Challenge by Halpern: Fact," p. 44-81; pp. 49, n.7.

[20] N. P. Lemche and T. L. Thompson, "Did Biran kill David? The Bible in the Light of Archaeology?" *JSOT* 19, 1994, pp. 3-22; *Prelude to Israel's past: Background and Beginnings of Israelite History and Ideology,* Hendrickson, Peabody, Massachusetts, 1990.

failure to engage with the findings of Assyriologists coming to light in his day.[21] Archaeology and its related disciplines, which have developed both in methodology and volume of findings, are valuable resources for biblical scholars. *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions,* edited by Hoffmeier and Millard, has guided and encouraged some of my approach in this matter.[22]

The third step is at last to look at the citation notices themselves. The aim with these formulae is to focus on the source notices primarily, rather than the narrative relating to the sources, even though these will also be taken into account in a more secondary role. The approach will be akin to a cryptographic exercise. The aim here is to decipher Chronicles' formulae in light of other biblical texts, especially the book of Kings, where similar formulae are to be found, in what might be described metaphorically in broad terms as "code-breaking." Clearly there is no deliberate encoding of secret messages in the biblical text, but, as Halpern describes the matter, there is a "breakdown in communication"[23] between modern times and ancient times, that means formulaic patterns have lost their meaning for us, a meaning which needs to be recovered. This then is not an attempt to develop a methodology in cryptography, but simply to use the heuristic features of code-breaking, namely an examination of the repetitions and the variables in the formulae which helps to reduce the otherwise voluminous data search to a narrower band, within which it is easier to spot repeating patterns, and to seek the best explanation for the variables. The results of a deciphering approach give an

[21] P. Machinist, "The Road not Taken: Wellhausen and Assyriology," Eds., G. Gershon, M. Geller and A. Millard, *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded,* Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2009, pp. 469-531.

[22] Millard, *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions,* Eds., A. R. Millard and J. K. Hoffmeier, Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2004.

[23] Winther-Nielsen, "The Challenge by Halpern," pp. 49.

interesting insight into where the superficial similarities between the two biblical works occur, but also where key differences happen, in particular, in the source citations in Kings and Chronicles which differ in every case, even when similar or identical narrative is attached to the references.

The heavy dependence of 1 Chronicles 10-31 on Samuel requires a redactional approach, to understand why and how the selections were made when compiling this section of Chronicles. It is important to establish the isagogic elements first so as to try to attain the necessary objective results, and avoid the subjectivity which so easily undermines this approach. Similarly, in the genealogical section of 1 Chr 1-9.1, the redactional approach can assist in understanding the formation of genealogies in light of ancient Near Eastern king lists and the way in which they developed.

In Chronicles as a whole a comparison at certain key points between the Septuagint and the Masoretic text will be made to examine more particularly difficult or controversial redactional developments.

Overall, the aim here would be to view the whole thesis in the light of what Halpern describes as an "epistemologically based" view of *human knowledge of the past*, challenging positivist sceptics as well as some postmodern reader-response critics, when, according to Halpern, they appear to demand, in some instances:

> …illusory and illogical absolute proof of veracity in history writing that no historian could ever meet…In court it would mean the end of justice if witnesses and testimonial evidence were ruled out in advance as suspicious and unreliable and therefore inadmissible.[24]

[24] Winther-Nielsen, "Challenge by Halpern," pp. 49.

Halpern, discussing historical criticism, responds in opposition to what he views as the subjectivism and reader-centric relativism of post-modernism. While it may be reasonably argued that Halpern is conflating "minimalists" with "post-modernists," as minimalists do not necessarily share the post-modernist departure from objectivism and rationalism, nevertheless this does not undermine the essential point he is making about the points of disconnect between ancient and modern historians:

> Present controversies on historical method in the study of texts from ancient Israel are evidence of miscommunication….This crisis in communication can find a solution only if the modern reader tries to understand his ancient communication partner.[25]

Perhaps Halpern expresses himself too strongly, but in the author-text-reader relationship, with the current reader as the only active participant engaging in the inter-communication, it would seem to make sense that it is the reader who needs to adjust to the world of the ancient document rather than insist the ancient writer, fixed in an unchangeable text and context, conforms to the impositions of the modern reader.

The Problem of Chronicles' Source Citations

In the latter half of the nineteenth century in Germany a confluence of ideas may be seen to have come together in the reconstruction of the history of Israel, where Romanticism, nature worship and Hegel's nature-to-history in an evolutionary trajectory of optimism and progress, predominated to produce a worldview which impacted on scholars' approach to the Old Testament. Nowhere was this impact more keenly seen than in the book of Chronicles which was used, even abused, in

[25] Winther-Nielsen, "Challenge by Halpern," pp. 44-81; pp. 47.

Pentateuchal studies, before being cast aside into a period of neglect. Chronicles' problems came to a head in the nineteenth century, one could say because of its "lawfulness." Knoppers addresses this issue:

> The legislation associated with Moses is more prominent in Chronicles than some commentators have acknowledged. First, the author of Chronicles does not dispense with the occasions in which Moses is mentioned in his *Vorlage* (e.g., 2 Chr 5:10; 25:4; 33:8). Second, in the material peculiar to Chronicles, such as the genealogies and lists, the figure of Moses again appears (e.g., 1 Chr 5.29; 6:34; 23:13; 26:24)….Finally, in depicting the monarchy the Chronicler explicitly rates royal performance with reference to Mosaic precedent or Sinaitic legislation on at least thirty occasions.[26] In contrast, Kings only refers to Mosaic precedent or legislation nineteen times.[27]

It is thus fair to say that the scholars who were determined to uphold the Documentary Hypothesis found it necessary to side-line Chronicles, especially its legal content and also its usage for reconstructing pre-exilic history. Wellhausen's presupposition was that Chronicles was "Jewish scribal activity" in the post-exilic period, which "twisted and perverted" received tradition with "arbitrary foreign accretions."[28] This enabled Chronicles to be safely "post-exiled" once the Hegelian time-line of Israel's history in Wellhausen's construction could be shown within his argumentation to have evolved

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[26] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, pp. 82-83, and n.78: 1 Chr 15:15; 16.40; 21:29; 22:12, 13; 2 Chr 1:3; 5:10; 6:16; 8:13; 12:1; 14:3; 15:3; 17:9; 19:10; 23:18; 24:6, 9; 25:4; 30:5, 16; 31:3, 4, 21; 33:8; 34:14, 15, 19; 35:6, 12, 26. On one occasion an Aaronic precedent (itself attributed to a divine command) is worded thus: "according to their custom at the directive of Aaron their ancestor, as Yhwh the God of Israel had commanded him," (בְּיַד אַהֲרֹן אֲבִיהֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּהוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמִשְׁפָּטָם) as determinative of how the priests are to enter the temple (1 Chr 24:5,19).

[27] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, pp. 83, and n.79: 1 Kgs 2:3; 8:9, 53, 56; 21:8; 2 Kgs 10:31; 14:6; 17:13, 34; 18:4, 6, 12; 21:8; 22:18; 23:24; 23:25.

[28] J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 1882, Reimer, Berlin, sechste Ausgabe, Berlin: Druck und Verlag Georg Reimer, 1882, pp. 405-408. Reprint edition as *The History of Ancient Israel*, The World Publishing Co., Cleveland, 1957, p. 227.

from nature-to-history: from the early, simple, spontaneous, nature-related feasts of the primitive Israel in the pre-literate days to the post-exilic, written, legalistic, formalized, Priest and Levite dominated cultic structure with all spontaneity gone, all links with the natural festivals broken.

Peltonen confirms this methodologically unsound use of Chronicles by scholars of the nineteenth century, in particular De Wette and Wellhausen's selective usage of the historicity of Chronicles only in instances where critical studies of the Pentateuch required it. A further methodological point he comments on is the simplistic comparison of Chronicles with Samuel-Kings for proof of Chronicles' unreliability. Thus the relationship of these two blocks of historical tradition was seen in a very uncomplicated light.[29] Peltonen comments that von Rad accused those engaged in critical research of Chronicles and Wellhausen in particular of "irrelevant value judgements to the study of Chronicles and the subjectivism ensuing from it."[30]

Once their aims were accomplished Chronicles fell into some neglect, even obscurity, alleviated by Martin Noth's ground-breaking studies in 1943. While Noth's *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* proposed a different structuring to the Old Testament books under an overall Deuteronomistic editor, positing an early oral tradition behind the exilic writings, this new understanding made no decisive impact upon reinstating Chronicles historiographically.[31] Noth explained his view of Chronicles' textual differences as compared with Samuel and Kings theologically rather than historically. Clearly he held a low view of the historicity of Chronicles,

[29] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 419.

[30] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 420. No direct reference to von Rad is given.

[31] M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I,* Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1943.

which extended to the source citations which he viewed as being "characteristically careless."[32]

Chronicles in the last few decades has enjoyed a recovery, which has drawn many comments, including being compared to Cinderella. Thus Kleinig writes that:

> The Cinderella of the Hebrew Bible, Chronicles, has at last emerged from years of obscurity and scorn. Early last century [*early nineteenth century*] she was all the rage among scholars who used her quite shamelessly in their battles over the reconstruction of Israelite history…[33]

Similarly, Pancratius Beentjes in his commentary on Chronicles comments that in the last twenty years the book of Chronicles, formerly the "step-child of Old Testament study,"[34] has now "come to maturity,"[35] where it can be studied independently of its sources.

Kleinig, continuing in his "Cinderella" theme, writes that "if Chronicles is not yet the belle of the ball, she is well on her way."[36] However if we examine what Chronicles' "independence" means, we could interpret this as essentially meaning "side-lined." Indeed Kleinig notes that Chronicles' rise in popularity has been at the cost of "the shift from historical criticism to literary analysis."[37]

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[32] Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, *The Chronistic History*, Introduction and Translation by H. G. M. Williamson, Eds., D. J. A. Clines and R. R. Davies, JSOTS 50, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1987. Reprinted, 2001, p. 56.

[33] Kleinig, "Recent Research," *CRB* 2, 1994, pp. 43-76; pp. 45.

[34] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 2.

[35] P. C. Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*," SSN 52, Brill, Leiden, 2008, p. 7.

[36] Kleinig, "Recent Research," pp. 45.

[37] Kleinig, "Recent Research," pp. 68. Also cited in K. Peltonen, *Recent Research*, 1996, pp. 685-6.

Thus, while Beentjes and Kleinig correctly note the proliferating writings on Chronicles, in fact it is at the cost of being excluded from the mainstream historical discussions along with Samuel and Kings. Chronicles is almost entirely ignored except on an *ad hoc* basis to uphold one point or another. This hardly seems the fullness of "maturity" which Beentjes desires.

Wellhausen's Prolegomena has Five Pillars[38] supporting his hypothesis which includes the late dating of the P material in the Deuteronomistic writings. The presence of law materials in Chronicles therefore needs to be dated after this if Chronicles is seen as dependent upon the priestly materials in the Deuteronomistic writings. These pillars have been supposedly demolished[39] but the building still stands, in what can only be said to be miraculous defiance of Newtonian gravity.

[38] M. Weinfeld, *The Place of the Law in the Religion of Ancient Israel*, Brill, Leiden & Boston, 2004, pp. 16-18: A precis of Weinfeld's analysis of J. Wellhausen's "five pillars," in J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, sechste Ausgabe, Berlin: Druck und Verlag Georg Reimer, first published 1878*:* These five pillars undergird Wellhausen's argument for the late "P" material: *Wellhausen's First Pillar: The Place of Worship:* – The cult of Israel was rooted in nature, worshiping God everywhere. But in P, the Tabernacle is modelled on the temple design and not *vice versa*, "a fictitious creation by a post-exilic scribe," p. 16; *Wellhausen's Second Pillar: The Sacrifice* – The old ritual of the holy meal (*zebah*) and burnt offering ('olah) now has the sin offering (ḥaṭṭā'ṯ) and guilt offering ('asham) based on post-exilic guilt feelings, with loss of spontaneous, joyous singing as in First temple times, p. 16; *Wellhausen's Third Pillar: The Sacred Feast* - Old nature-based harvest, first fruits and ingathering festivals became the elaborate sacrificial system (Num. 28-29), p. 17; *Wellhausen's Fourth Pillar: The Priests and the Levites* – Priests and Levites were unnecessary in the older sources, as anyone was allowed to slaughter and offer sacrifices (Judges 6.19-21; 13.15-19; 1 Sam 14.34-36), p. 17; *Wellhausen's Fifth Pillar: The Endowment of the Clergy* – Early sacrifices were consumed by the owners at various places, but P now requires that all the sin and guilt offerings, the firstlings, and the first fruits be given to the priests and the tithes to the Levites. This gift is an invention of the Judaic post-exilic period, p. 18. "All this led Wellhausen to the conclusion that Israelite law, originally tied to nature, was deprived by P of its natural bias and became dry and monotonous, the prototype of Pharisaism," p. 18.

[39] M. Weinfeld, *The Place of the Law in the Religion of Ancient Israel*, pp. 17-33: "The five pillars of Wellhausen's construction do not stand on solid ground and can no longer be maintained. The sacral character of P is no literary image of the priestly rule of the Second Temple days, as Wellhausen believed," p. 33. Indeed, Weinfeld sets out to show parallels between the Priestly Code and the ritual texts of the ancient Near East, some examples of which will be included in Chapter 4; G. A. Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of 'P'," *JANES* 12, 1980, pp. 65-80; G. J. Wenham, "The Priority of P," *VT* 49, 1999, pp. 240-258;

The question then arises: What was it about Chronicles that led so many scholars to be sceptical about the reliability of Chronicles? When and where did the genre label "history" become linked to Chronicles? Is this a correct genre label for Chronicles, and how have modern scholars viewed the genre of Chronicles? How do genre identifications impact on the authorship and dating of Chronicles? What are the consequences of this for the book of Chronicles and the citation formulae at the end of each King's reign, and what purpose and function do these source citations serve?

If the hypothesis proposed in this thesis can be upheld that biblical Chronicles is a chronicle in line with other ancient Near Eastern Chronicles, then there are consequences that would flow from that, which would not only give a starting point to begin to remedy the lack of clarity that surround the isagogic elements of biblical Chronicles, but would also affect the manner of dating. The way that a chronicle is dated differs from the way in which historical writings are dated. Here I am not writing about the dating of versions and tablets, but the actual process of chronicling, adding in new events as they occur. Histories are written after all the events have occurred, from a later perspective, and so are dated from the latest event recorded, while Chronicles are written in an on-going process over time, so are dated from the earliest part of the chronicled section, and thereafter, have punctuated dating through to the end. One might say the early parts are dated early and the late parts are dated late.[40] The intention

[40] C. Waerzeggers, C., "Dating Cuneiform Literary Texts (Persian and post-Persian periods)," paper presented at Cordoba, EABS 15 July, 2015; *idem*, "The Babylonian Chronicles: Classification and Provenance," *JNES* 71, 2012, pp. 285-98. Prof. Waerzeggers, at my request, kindly sent me her excellent and informative paper, "Dating Cunieform Literary Texts (Persian and post-Persian periods," EABS, Cordoba, 2015. When she mentions the Works (original writings) and the Documents (later copies) taken from Oppenheim's categories, she notes the texts are undated in their design but dated in their concrete manifestations. However some of these, and I include ancient Near Eastern chronicles and biblical Chronicles, have their own inherent dating system incorporated into them, and it is this I am trying to unravel. This entails examining colophonic formulae in the ancient Near East and comparing them with similar formulae in biblical Chronicles, which, whether Works or Documents, when they are chronicling on-going events, retain their internal, formulaic and colophonic time markers.

of chronicling is record-keeping though historical considerations may flow from these recorded events. The focus here is firstly to review the isagogic elements of authorship, genre and dating of Chronicles, then secondly, in the light of these findings, to review the repeating formulae of Chronicles within the wider context of the repeating formulae (colophons) of the ancient Near Eastern chronographic writings. Thirdly, using information gleaned from the first two studies, to make an inner biblical comparison of Kings and Chronicles' citations to discover their purpose and function.

Isagogic Features of the Book of Chronicles

The isagogic question can be seen to be a complex one, demonstrated by the multiplicity of scholarly definitions on offer, a veritable smörgåsbord. While valuable scholarship can be conducted even when there is no certainty in this troublesome area of isagogics (scholarship upon which this thesis relies heavily), nevertheless there are aspects of research into Chronicles which could benefit from revisiting the current isagogic questions in authorship, dating and genre, which still lack any certainty. This tricky problem will be reassessed in the light of a comparison with ancient Near Eastern texts.

The isagogic elements of genre, authorship and dating overlap and are interlinked to some extent. Each element inevitably affects the other isagogic factors. Authorship in Chronicles, for example, impacts upon the dating of Chronicles, as it was for a long time supposed to be authored by Ezra, who in turn was also supposed to be the author of Ezra and Nehemiah. This set limits to the early views of the dating of Chronicles to the Ezran period. As these views are no longer held widely amongst scholars, the full extent of what this entails needs to be explored together with the impact that the CHW (Chronistic History Work) hypothesis has had on authorship and dating of Chronicles.

Authorship, therefore, while meriting its own discussion, will necessarily influence part of the section on the dating of Chronicles.

The genre section gives an overview of scholarly attempts to identify the type of literature Chronicles fits into, but ultimately I hope to argue that the genre needs to find its identity within ancient Near Eastern epigraphy. This in turn depends to some extent on the formulaic citations in Chronicles finding parallels to similar citations within ancient Near Eastern epigraphy, especially within the chronographic writings where formulaic dating of documents is of paramount importance.

According to the genre, it may be possible to discover whether there was one author or many, whether it was written over time or at one late period. If dating and authorship could be determined, this would tend to predetermine the genre expectations. Thus it may be seen that the isagogic elements work together, each impacting on the other. However, it is useful to view them separately as they each have unique features to be examined as regards the biblical book of Chronicles:

Authorship

The authorship question has been linked to the period of Ezra in the early return of Ezra from the Babylonian exile. This together with several other factors such as the editorial link at the end of Chronicles and the beginning of Ezra (2 Chr 36.22-23//Ezra 1.1-3), and common themes and language discerned as late biblical Hebrew (LBH) has led scholars to propose a common authorship for the books of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, a theory which took strong root from the nineteenth century following the scholarship of Zunz (1832) and Movers (1834) with the Chronistic History Work

hypothesis (CHW hypothesis).[41] This view formed the undergirding of Chronicles scholarship until Japhet and Williamson challenged it,[42] whereupon the dating of Chronicles became almost entirely viewed as late post-exilic. The influence of the CHW hypothesis on authorship assumptions will be examined.[43]

A more current question with regard to authorship is whether we are looking at authorship at all. The question of the extent of authorship or editing is a very current debate with far-reaching implications for the credibility of Chronicles, to which I would add a third category, namely that of chronicling.[44] The methodology underlying this

[41] Peltonen describes the contribution made by Zunz (1832) and Movers (1834) in establishing the CHW hypothesis in their respective works: Peltonen, *History Debated,* (Zunz), pp. 132, 66-167, 339, 512; (Movers), pp. 82, 128-141, 147-150, 154, 157, 161, 163, 175, 179-180, 190, 194, 208, 221, 234, 339, 423-424, 431, 449, 455, 530, 576-577, 583.

[42] S. Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah," *VT* 18, July 1968, pp. 330-371; H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, CUP, Cambridge, London, New York and Melbourne, 1977.

[43] Scholars who would question LBH arguments: G. A. Rendsburg, "Confused Language as a Deliberate Literary Device in Biblical Hebrew Narrative," *JHS* 2, 1998-99; *idem*, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings,* Occasional Publications of the Department of Near Eastern Studies and the Program of Jewish Studies, Cornell University, 5, 2002; "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of 'P'," *JANES* 12, 1980, pp. 65-80; R. Rezetko, "Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles," ed., I. Young, Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology, *JSOTS* 369, T & T Clark, London and New York, 2003, pp. 215-250; I. Young, "'The Northernisms' of Israelite Narratives in Kings," *ZAH* 8.1, 1995, pp. 63-70; I. Young, R. Rezetko, and M. Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Tests: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems,* SBL Press, Oakville, Equinox, London, 2009; R. F. Person, and R. Rezetko, Eds., *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*, Ancient Israel and its Literature, SBL Press, 2016. Scholars who would support LBH: A. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Books of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem,* RB 20, J. Gabalda, Paris, 1982; J. Joosten, "Textual History and Linguistic Developments. The doublet in 2 Kgs 8.28-29//9:15-16 in Light of 2 Chr 22.5-6," Eds., A. P. Otero and P. A. T. Morales, *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera*, Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2012, pp. 133-146; "Pseudo-Classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew," *ZAW* 128, 2016, pp. 16-29; M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E*., SBL Monograph Series 19, Missoula, Scholars Press, 1974; "The Chronicler's Use of Chronology as Illuminated by Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," ed., J. H. Tigay, *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism,* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1991, pp. 197-209.

[44] While I am looking at chronicling, the focus in this debate is on redactional layers, textual criticism and the notion of multiformity in the textual variables. Key figures in this debate representing the European (German) versus the North American (English-speaking) approaches: J. Pakkala *et al.*, D. Carr, R. Person and R. Rezetko. In D. Carr's review of J. Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted: Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible,* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2013, and R. Müller, J. Pakkala and B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, SBL, 2014, some of these issues are debated: "Signs of a New Age in the Study of the Formation of Biblical and Other Ancient Texts":
http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/signs-of-a-new-age-in-study-of-the-formation-of-biblical-and-other-ancient-texts-by-david-m-carr/ 23 June 2015. [Accessed: 15 Sept 2017]; In response, J. Pakkala

debate needs careful scrutiny, linked as it is to comparative studies of the Septuagint and Masoretic texts, which deserves a much fuller investigation than has been possible here.

Dating

This section of the study traces the path scholars have taken to reach the current scholarly viewpoints on dating. The "pre-critical"[45] scholars always took Chronicles to be a pre-exilic work, with perhaps Ezran editing. Kings was generally seen as being earlier than Chronicles but neither was regarded as post-exilic. Since the time of Spinoza this view has been challenged, to the point that even though the Wellhausenian Documentary Hypothesis lost much credibility, the dating of Chronicles continues to be regarded as being post-exilic, for reasons discussed in the second section of Chapter 2. There are exceptions to this post-exilic dating viewpoint, but these have not gained wide acceptance.[46] The consensus among scholars generally would be to place Chronicles after Ezra-Nehemiah, somewhere in the post-exilic period within a three hundred year range. However, especially in light of the topic of this thesis, the current dating range requires reassessment, a step that will be justified in the next chapter.

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reviews David M. Carr, 10 February 2014: "*Literary Criticism and the Composition of the Hebrew Bible*" review of David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, OUP, Oxford, 2011: http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/does-redaction-criticism-need-revision-by-juha-pakkala/ [Accessed: 15 Sept 2017]; Pakkala, J., Müller, R. and B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, SBL, Atlanta, 2014; Person, R. F. and Rezetko, R., Eds., *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*, Ancient Israel and its Literature, SBL Press, 2016.

[45] The term "pre-critical" is not one I like, as it suggests no-one viewed the Bible critically before the modern period. However, it has gained currency, so I use it here.

[46] R. L. Braun, *I Chronicles*, WBC 14, Word Books, Waco, Texas, 1986; A. F. Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings: A Late Ninth-Century Document (1 Sam 1-2 Kings 10)*, CBQMS 17, Washington D.C., 1986; A. Cody, *A History of the Old Testament Priesthood*, AnBib 35, Investigations Scientificae in Res Biblicas, Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, 1969; F. M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94, 1 March 1975, pp. 4-18;

Genre

The genre question is far from settled, to the point that an overall approach to define genre would be difficult to identify amidst a myriad of confusing and even contradictory genres attributed to the book of Chronicles. Beentjes puts it mildly when he writes, "The question [*sic*] what genre is used by the Chronicler has been answered in widely divergent ways."[47] Here the genre question will be looked at in the two broad categories into which the definitions mostly seem to fall, one where the emphasis is on Chronicles as a literary work so that it becomes classified among the many and varied types of literary genres, and the other where it is viewed from an historical point of view, where Chronicles is judged to stand or fall according to whether it can fit into historiographic definitions. Neither group is exclusively one nor other, but the broad categories accommodate the plentiful definitions of genre which Chronicles has managed to attract. To these, I suggest one further category, namely that of Chronography, which becomes the topic of the following chapter, Chapter 3.

Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Chronicles

Ancient Near Eastern literature contains many genres of writing, such as king lists, temple records, and astronomical diaries, within which we could seek a genre definition for Chronicles. Grayson in his discussion of Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles, sums up the genre issue of ancient Near Eastern historiography, under which chronographic writings would fall, which equally well may be applied to biblical Chronicles. He writes:

[47] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation,* p 4.

> The term 'chronographic' is used here to describe a group of texts which have, in the past, been called either king lists or chronicles…Rather than superimpose some modern classification on the chronographic material it is best to discuss them in terms of the ancient literary patterns which they follow. It will be seen that this is…an aid to elucidating the problem of their origin and purpose.[48]

King lists and chronicles have areas of overlap. Indeed Grayson sees them as developmental stages from the former to the latter. After giving a brief outline of ancient Mesopotamian historiography, Grayson turns to the chronographic texts, which he describes as being "one of the most important groups within this sphere."[49]

While it is not essential for this thesis to establish that biblical Chronicles are temple records, it is commonly accepted that they are "priestly" documents, and while priests may operate from shrines or cultic centres such as Shiloh or Nob, the building of an important centralised temple in Jerusalem would undoubtedly require the setting up of archives to keep and maintain cultic records. Peltonen writes: "After the fashion of Reuss, Kuenen said that there was every reason for designating the Chronicler's work "a temple chronicle."[50] Indeed, Reuss dedicated a whole monograph to the topic of biblical Chronicles as a *Kirchenchronik*.[51] This would in essence be a running account,[52] where the chronicles are written and maintained as an on-going record, generally in a temple or palace. If the genre of biblical Chronicles can be upheld as

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[48] A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2000, p. 4.

[49] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 4.

[50] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 256. Citing A. Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State*, Translated from the Dutch by A. H. May, T & T Clark, London and Edinburgh, 1890, pp. 162, 186.

[51] E. Reuss, *Die Kirchenchronik von Jerusalem. Chronik, Esra, Nehemia: Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erlaütert.* Hg. Aus dem Nachlasse des Verfassers von Erichson und Horst. Bd. 4. Braunschweig, 1983. Cited in K. Peltonen, *History Debated*, pp. 248, 256-7.

[52] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 14. Grayson demonstrates a link between writing boards and running accounts, information being selected from the former to write, for example, chronicles.

being in line with ancient Near Eastern chronicles then the dating methods and the authorship are also necessarily called into question, as the isagogic questions tend to overlap and impact each other.

The aim here is to study the formulaic "source notices" in biblical Chronicles by examining them within the context of chronographic writing of the ancient Near East in order to discover any basis for comparison. This raises the question as to the significance of chronographic writing? What difference does this make to our understanding of biblical Chronicles? What do we make of the repeating formulaic phrases at the end of each king's reign? How does this affect the approach to Chronicles and the ways of interpreting its many features? This will be the subject of Chapter 3 comparing biblical Chronicles with those of the ancient Near East, with a focus on Mesopotamian chronicles.

The wider scope of Hittite, Egyptian, Persian and Greek chronographic texts will be briefly examined for possible contributions to the thesis as these have all been cited within various scholarly works as possible influences on the book of Chronicles. For the Egyptian scenario, Redford[53] gives detailed insights into day-books and their function within Egyptian society. Edelman and Mitchell[54] discuss the Greek influence on biblical Chronicles. For an overall perspective, Van Seters looks at the types of epigraphy throughout the Levant, somewhat marred by a late-dating viewpoint being assumed without being necessarily justified by the evidence in all cases. [55]

[53] D. B. Redford, *Pharoanic King lists, Annals and Day-books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, SSEA Publication IV, Benben Publications, Mississauga, 1986.

[54] D. V. Edelman and L. Mitchell, "Chronicles and the Local Greek Histories," Eds. E. Ben Zvi and D. Edelman, *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?* Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 2011, pp. 225-248.

[55] J. Van Seters, *Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*, Eisenbrauns, 1983; R. Albertz, "An End to the Confusion? Why the Old Testament cannot be a Hellenistic Book!" ed., L. L. Grabbe, *Did Moses Speak Attic,* JSOTS 317, Sheffield Academic Press, 2001, pp. 30-46. This is a review of N. P. Lemche, "The Old Testament – A Hellenistic Book?"

Several scholars upon whose research I have relied have analysed the extant ancient Near Eastern chronographic texts. Three in particular are as follows:[56] A. K. Grayson covers Assyrian and Babylonian chronographic material, which is, for this thesis, conveniently laid out according to the formulaic patterns which each chronicle exhibits, making it particularly useful for this research. J.-J. Glassner also covers Mesopotamian chronicles, classifying them according to the various types of chronicles into royal chronicles, temple chronicles, etc. As he writes later than Grayson, he also fills in some gaps in Grayson where better or more complete copies have been discovered in the interim. R. J. van der Spek gives valuable perspective on the changing emphases from early chronicles to those of Nabû-nāṣir (Nabonassar) (747-734 B.C.) and thereafter. Additional scholars who have researched various archaeological and epigraphic aspects which cast light on the biblical records are also listed:[57] E. Leichty and H. Hunger provide research which is foundational to the study of colophons, giving wide insights into chronicles generally, and describing colophons in particular. They were amongst the earliest scholars to identify and define colophons. Gevaryahu's doctoral thesis was

JSOT, 1993, pp. 163-93, with revised and expanded version also appearing in *Did Moses Speak Attic*, 2001, pp. 287-318.

[56] Grayson, *ABC*; J.-J. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles,* translated and edited by B. R. Foster, Writings from the Ancient World, 19, SBL, Atlanta, 2004; R. J. van der Spek, "Review of Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*," *SBL*, Brill, Leiden, *RBL*, 09/2005: http://prophetess.lstc.edu/~rklein/Doc4/glassner.pdf [Accessed: July 2013]; R. J. van der Spek and *Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period*. http://www.livius.org I. L. Finkel, Babylonian /cg-cm/Chronicles /chron00.html; Eds., Wm. Hallo, *et al*., *The Bible in Cunieform Literature*, Series: Scripture in Context III.8, Edwin Mellen Press, New York and Canada, 1990, pp. 1-19.

[57] Additional readings in archaeological and epigraphical research: W. G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did they Know It? What Archaeology Can Tell Us About the Reality of Ancient Israel,* Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, UK, 2001; S. Dalley, "Recent Evidence from Assyrian Sources for Judean History from Uzziah to Manasseh," *JSOT* 28, 2004, pp. 387-401; G. Galil, '"The Synchronistic History" and the Book of Chronicles: Reconsidering the Reliability of Ancient Near Eastern Texts,' *Henoch* XXVI, Haifa, 2004, pp. 136-144; G. Gershon, M. Geller, and A. Millard, Eds., *Homeland and Exile : Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded,* Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2009; I. Gottlieb, "From Formula to Expression in Some Hebrew and Aramaic Texts," *JANES* 31, 2008, pp. 47-61; G. Barkai, R. Deutsch, M. Heide, A. Lemaire, A Millard, *et al*., *Recording New Epigraphic Evidence; Essays in Honor of Robert Deutsch*, Eds., M. & J. Lubetski, Leshon Limudim Ltd., Jerusalem, Israel, 2015; ed., J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament,* third edition, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1969.

on the topic of colophons too, but focusses on the superscriptions on psalms, which interprets colophons more broadly than simply publishers' end notes, which is a useful insight showing colophons not only as library markers but literary markers too, but does not touch upon chronicles. Kofoed usefully compares the synoptic aspects of biblical and particular Babylonian chronicles.[58]

In order to examine the annals of the ancient Near East to compare them with chronicles, the following late nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars provide useful translations and commentaries: Luckenbill (Sennacherib son of Sargon II, 705/704-681); Olmstead (Assyrian Historiography 934–609 B.C.); Kieme (Sennacherib), and Lau (Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon 668-62 B.C.).[59] More recent studies on this topic are by Seitz (Sennacherib), Hallo, Millard, Grayson and Novotny, Rollston, Niditch, Waerzeggers, and Carr, amongst others have contributed valuably to the debate on orality and early writing. They would not necessarily date Chronicles early or late, as specific biblical books are not the focus of their work. However, early writing is specifically argued by the palaeographic/archaeological research of Breasted, Barkai, Deutsch and van der Veen, although their work is considered by some as

[58] E. Leichty, "The Colophon," Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1964, pp. 147—154; H. Hunger, *Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone,* Alter Orient und Altes Testament Veroffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments, Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1968; H. M. I. Gevaryahu, "Biblical Colophons: A Source for the 'Biography' of Authors, Texts and Books," *VT* 28, 1974, pp. 42-61; J. B. Kofoed, "Facts and Fiction in the Ancient Near East: The Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, The Babylonian Chronicles, and the Books of Kings in the Hebrew Bible," revised version of a paper presented to a seminar on Text and History at Copenhagen Lutheran School of Theology, 18th June, 2003: *SEE-J Hiphil* 1[http://see-j.net/hiphil] 2004. [Accessed: via University of Cambridge Library: 9 Sept 2004]

[59] H. G. Kieme, *Sennacherib's Campaign in Syria, Phoenicia, And Palestine According to his own Annals*, Bacon & Co., San Francisco, 1875; R.J. Lau, *The Annals of Ashurbanipal*, Isha Books, New Delhi, First Edition 1903; reprint 2013; D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, Wipf and Stock Publishers, Eugene, Oregon, 2005. Reprinted from University of Chicago Press, Chicago, c. 1924; A. T. E. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography*, BookSurge Classics LLC 082, 2004, first printed 1916.

somewhat controversial.[60] These not only give current findings but explain their methods of dating using criteria which lends support to the re-assessment of dating in biblical Chronicles.

In sum, these repeating formulaic notices feature in the chronographic writings of the ancient Near Eastern epigraphic writings, where they are generally called *colophons*. Similar formulae to these also appear not only in biblical Chronicles but also in the biblical book of Kings.

Hence, an important part of this study will be to determine to what extent the repeating formulae of the books of Chronicles fit into the overall context of ancient Near Eastern chronographic documents, in order to arrive at a definition of chronicles that fits or does not fit in with the genre within the ancient Near East, and if so, what period it may indicate.

However, even when positioned within the ancient Near East within chronographic writings, problems begin for the biblical Chronicles when its genre is misdiagnosed as

[60] D. P. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards," *IRAQ,* 17, 1995, British School of Archaeology in IRAQ, Lincoln's Inn, London, 1955-56, pp. 3-13; O. Eissfeldt, "The Alphabetical Cuneiform Texts from Ras Shamra," *JSS* 5, January, 1960, pp. 1-5. Originally published in *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, 2, 1957; D. P. Wiseman, "Books in the Ancient Near East and in the Old Testament," Eds., P. R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans, *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to Jerome, Vol. 1,* CUP, 1970, pp. 30-48; *A. R. Millard,* "In Praise of Ancient Scribes," *BA* 45, p. 145–53. Reprinted: "In Praise of Ancient Scribes," *Bible and Spade* 2, pp. 33–46, 1982; A. R. Millard, "The Knowledge of Writing in Iron Age Palestine," *TB* 46, 1995, pp. 207-217; C. R. Seitz, "Account A and the Annals of Sennacherib: A Reassessment," *JSOT* 58, 1993, pp. 47-57; V. P. Long, D. W. Baker and G. J. Wenham, Eds., *Windows into Old Testament History: Evidence, Argument, and the Crisis of "Biblical Israel*," Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U. K., 2002; J. K. Hoffmeier and A. Millard, Eds., *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions*, W. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K. 2004; C. A. Rollston, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age,* SBL, Atlanta, 2010; Grayson, A. K. and Novotny, J., *Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib: King of Assyria 704-681 BC*, Vols. 1 & 2, Eisenbrauns, Penn State University Press, 2012; R. Da Riva, "Assyrians and Assyrian Influence in Babylonia," Eds., S. Gaspa, *et al*., Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Worlds and Beyond, dedicated to Giovanni Battista Lanfranchi, *AOAT* 412, Münster 2014, pp. 99-125; Waerzeggers, C., "Dating Cuneiform Literary Texts (Persian and post-Persian periods)," paper presented at Cordoba, EABS 15 July, 2015; D. Schmandt Besserat, *Before Writing,* forward by Wm. Hello, University of Texas Press, Texas, 1992;

being "annals" instead of being positioned within chronographic writings generally or, as will be examined here, as a subsection of chronographic writing. This confusion leads to scholars using the words "annals" and "chronicles" as if they were interchangeable, even attributing to chronicles the characteristics of annals. Haran, for example, does this when citing Montgomery who has used the word "archival," but Haran modifies it to "annalistic."[61] A brief discussion of these differences, using the Annals of Sennacherib as an example, will show the important differences between the two genres which have led to scholars drawing conclusions about chronicles which uniquely apply to annals, for example in the manner and purpose for which they are composed as compared with chronicles. This will be addressed in Chapter 3 with a list comparing point by point the two genres.

The biblical Chronicles' formulae will then be compared with those of Babylon and Assyria in the ancient Near East. Five aspects of Chronicles' formulae have been selected, which I would hope to show are a regular part of a wide range of Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles. As such they can be used to discover whether biblical Chronicles holds a legitimate place amongst these ancient Near Eastern chronographic works.[62]

[61] M. Haran, "The Book of Chronicles of 'the Kings of Judah' and 'the Kings of Israel': What Sort of Books Were They?" *VT* 49, 1999, pp. 156-164; J. A. Montgomery, "Archival Data in the Book of Kings," *JBL* 53, April 193, pp. 16-52.

[62] Studies of the contents of the ancient Near Eastern libraries, Borsippa, Esagila in Babylon and others, plus the prevalence of copies across these libraries, has led to a review of the consensual view which was led by Oppenheim on how chronicles can be dated. The colophons on some chronicles giving the details of the copyist scribe amongst other details tell us nothing about the original chronicles, their authors and the period during which they were composed. There is also the problem that traditions related to the formulae can be very persistent over time, or that patterns can re-emerge upon discovery of an earlier document, which influences the later style, as is demonstrated in J. J. Niehaus, "The Central Sanctuary: Where and When?" *TB* 43, 1992, pp. 3-30. G. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 9-29*, AB, Doubleday, NY, 2004, where Knoppers draws attention to "the literary technique of mimesis (μίμησις) or *imitatio*, the conscious re-use of the content, form, or style of an older literary work to bring recognition to one's own work," pp. 22-123; and on the same theme, J. Joosten, "Pseudo-Classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew", *ZAW* 128, 2016, pp. 16-29.

Below, I will use Grayson's categorisation and numbering of the chronicles of Assyria and Babylon, as they are centred round the formulaic structures, which makes his analysis very compatible with the purpose of this thesis. The five aspects selected for comparison with biblical Chronicles are as follows:

- The formulae for Dating: Regnal, Annual, Synchronic, etc.;
- The Origins and Recapitulation formulae
- The Catchlines
- The Death and Burial Formulae
- The Retribution and Reward Formulae

The findings from this section, which identify biblical Chronicles within ancient Near Eastern chronography, will be carried forward to give weight to an inner bible comparison of the source citations in Chronicles with those in Kings.

Source Notices of Chronicles / Kings Compared

In Chapter 4 an inner-biblical comparison of formulaic source notices will be conducted between Kings and Chronicles. The first part will be to examine the overall tripartite structure of Chronicles: the genealogy (1 Chr 1-9), a recapitulation section (1 Chr 10-29) and the actual chronicling of Chronicles (2 Chr 1-26) where Chronicles' presumed dependence upon both Samuel and Kings will be reviewed as a necessary first step before the citation sources themselves can be examined.

From this analysis of the overall structure of Chronicles, the dependence of Chronicles on Samuel, it will be argued, is qualitatively different from the relationship of Chronicles with Kings, so that Samuel-Kings should not be lumped together when discerning the clear relationships that exists between these two works and Chronicles.

Thus, for example, selections taken by Chronicles from Samuel, as the older work, would be selected on the basis of setting up a temple document according to temple requirements, while, if the mutual dependence of Kings and Chronicles can be established, as I hope to show, it will be argued that these two books demonstrate inter-relatedness, as may be demonstrated by the synchronicity of the citation sources.

This notion which I arrived at independently, turns out not to be a new thought, as several scholars have reached this understanding previously.[63] The double layer of synchronisation, which Campbell describes in the book of Kings,[64] is also seen in Chronicles, one for dating purposes, the other for source referencing purposes. Importantly, the synchronic cross-referencing system is not inserted for the purpose of *dating* a king or an important event, which is the normal function of regnal dating,[65] but for *informing* the reader of the protagonists in the agreement or dispute.

Auld's proposal of an underlying common document shared by Kings and Chronicles will be examined. While valuing Auld's demonstration of coterminous writing, the nature of the "underlying common document" will be re-examined as well as the impact of my analysis of the repeating formulae on the dating. However, with a modified view of the "underlying common document" together with Person's view of Chronicles as

[63] A. G. Auld, *Kings without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings*, T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1994; G. Galil, "'The Synchronistic History' and the Book of Chronicles, pp. 136-144; A. Jepson, *Die Quellen des Königsbuches,* VEB MAX Niemeyer Verlag, Halle, 1953; Y. Berger, *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles: A Translation with Introduction and Supercommentary*, Brown Judaic Studies, 345, Eds., D. C. Jacobson, *et al*., Brown University, 2007; S. Langton, *Commentary on the Book of Chronicles,* Introduction by ed., A. Saltman, Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan, Israel, 1978.

[64] A. F. Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings: A Late Ninth-Century Document (1 Sam 1-2 Kings 10)*, CBQM Series 17, Washington D.C., 1986.

[65] Dating by regnal years rather than events occurred from about the thirteenth century B.C. onwards. The Synchronic dating was also known, but here this is not synchronic *dating*, but synchronic *referencing*, or, in other words, cross-referencing. This is also found in the Synchronic Chronicle, *ABC* 21, to be discussed in Chapter 4.

preceding Ezra-Nehemiah,[66] as well as his view of Kings and Chronicles being written over an extended period (although I do not share the same view as to the period), Auld's view can be shown to make a great deal of sense.

The use of וְיֶתֶר ("*wəyeter*," "And the rest of…") will be examined to discover the purpose of its use, where it can be seen that it is used in almost all cases where the referencing is being shared between Kings and Chronicles. However, וְיֶתֶר ("*wəyeter*") is never used when it is referring to texts which may be judged to be older, such as Samuel, where the referencing is uni-directional.

Samuel and Kings will thus be treated as separate entities rather than as being seen as a unit with regard to Chronicles, as is usually done. This is an important feature in this thesis. The citations formulae as cross-references in biblical Chronicles and Kings find a counterpart in Egyptian day-books,[67] which will also be discussed in Chapter 3 on p. 187.

Summary and Comments on Introduction

The repeating formula phrases in the books of Chronicles are generally viewed as tendentious or, at best, careless. Several scholars such as Bin-Nun, Macy, Haran, Kofoed, Halpern and Vanderhooft, looking at either Kings or Chronicles, have found on examination and on various grounds that these citations appear to be genuine.

However it is fair to say that they may not appear to be genuine, as those in Chronicles differ from those in Kings on every occasion, even when the narrative text is similar or

[66] R. F. Person, Jr., *The Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles: Scribal Works in an Oral World*, SBL Ancient Israel and Its Literature, 6, Atlanta, Georgia, 2010, p. 15, 25.

[67] J. Van Seters, *Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History,* Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983; Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books,* 1986.

identical. Where the scholarly view is widely held that Kings is deemed to be earlier than Chronicles, with Chronicles supposedly dependent upon Kings, Chronicles' citations are seen as less reliable, an argument which is not necessarily demonstrable.

The aim of this thesis then is to take a different approach to discover the function and purpose of the repeating formulaic citations. As a first step, in order to focus primarily on these formulaic source citations rather than the sources themselves, those factors that colour the discussion, namely the isagogic factors of genre, authorship and dating, will not be assumed *a priori*, but will be reassessed, justifying this methodological choice. Egyptian day-books and medieval scholarship will be invoked, as well as a closer look at a medieval chronicle.

The next step will be to compare Chronicles with epigraphical works within its ancient Near Eastern background, but without the restraints of the current consensus of the post-exilic dating of Chronicles and the proliferation of proposed genres attributed to Chronicles, and then an inner biblical comparison with the book of Kings and other biblical works where relevant.

Testing of this hypothesis or even the possibility of it will be sought within other disciplines, such as linguistics, philology, textual and redactional criticism, archaeology and palaeography, all of which have developed tremendously in the last few decades.

In the final chapter, the arguments drawn from the previous three chapters will be drawn together. Biblical Chronicles seen as a temple chronicle set up in the time of Solomon's temple, where it would need to reflect the majesty of Yahweh, the magnificence of the temple and the might of the king, can be shown in this view as not being "deceptive" but "selective," giving examples of choices made especially from 1-2 Samuel for this purpose. Chronicles as a running account versus an historical work will be presented,

with the common arguments for late-dating Chronicles viewed in light of the findings of this research.

If the above studies can demonstrate that the Chronicles of the Bible may be fittingly established within the ancient Near East as "chronicles," with all that this definition entails, namely a running document over several kings' reigns, most probably temple chronicles, and if the isagogic features of genre, authorship and dating may be loosened from their current post-exilic moorings, then it becomes possible to look at the citation sources alongside other biblical writings, especially Kings, to gain new insights and perspectives on the citations themselves as well as Chronicles as a whole.

CHAPTER 2

A Re-examination of the Isagogics of Biblical Chronicles

In this chapter the scholarly understanding of the isagogic elements, namely, authorship, dating, and genre of biblical Chronicles will be re-assessed. These will not be assumed *a priori* in this research. In the first section the authorship of Chronicles is reviewed, looking at the earliest rabbinical view of Ezra's authorship, the impact of the CHW hypothesis,[68] and the current redactional questions as to whether we are looking at authorship, editorship or chronicling. In the next section the dating attributed to Chronicles is re-examined, including how the authorship assumptions have impacted on the dating. Medieval scholarship is invoked as an important step towards understanding the way in which current post-exilic dating became accepted in the nineteenth century A.D. In the third section in this chapter an overview of the many proposals for a genre for Chronicles are reviewed, from both a literary and historical viewpoint, in an attempt to assess the strengths and weaknesses in each viewpoint. It will be noted that these various scholarly approaches are not rooted in the ancient Near East itself, which leads to the question as to whether an approach within the ancient Near East can be considered for Chronicles. The final section looks at the evidence for early literacy and writing.

[68] CHW hypothesis: Chronicles History Work hypothesis.

The Authorship of Chronicles – Who wrote it?

Peltonen cites the early Rabbis, "Our fathers said that Ezra wrote this book."[69] However, by the late twelfth century A.D. Rabbi David Kimḥi and Archbishop Stephen Langton had both rejected Ezran authorship in favour of a much earlier date. Ezra's contribution, as Langton viewed it, was merely to add in the cross-references.[70]

The Influence of CHW Hypothesis on Chronicles

Ezran authorship was still widely upheld, apart from Kimḥi and Langton, which led inevitably to the CHW hypothesis (Chronistic History Work) where Ezra was supposed to be the author of both Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. This notion of Ezran authorship became known in the nineteenth century A.D. as the CHW hypothesis and gained wide acceptance when Zunz and Movers promulgated it.[71] Kalimi notes that Zunz and Movers were not the first to argue for this unity of authorship, as "Nachmanides and Gersonides considered Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah to be a single work."[72] Nachmanides of Spain (1194-1270 A.D.) and Gersonides of France (1288–1344 A.D.) both pre-date Abrabanal (1437-1508 A.D.) from Portugal, whose later contribution Kalimi also mentions: "Without referring to Nachmanides (and Gersonides)…he [Abrabanel] is of the opinion that both Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah were written by the same author, Ezra."[73]

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[69] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 21.

[70] S. Langton, *Commentary on the Book of Chronicles,* introduction and ed., Avrom Saltman. Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan, Israel, 1978, pp. 204-205.

[71] F. C. Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die biblische Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung In das alte Testament*, Bonn, 1834; L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt. Ein Beitrag zur Alterhumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur–und Religionsgeschichte*, Asher, Berlin, 1832.

[72] I. Kalimi, *Retelling of Chronicles in Jewish Tradition and Literature*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Illinois, 2009, p. 7, n.24.

[73] Kalimi, *Retelling of Chronicles,* p. 236.

Peltonen writes that Izaak Abrabanel (1437-1508 A.D.) "called attention to the possible existence of the so-called Chronistic history work, i.e. to a problem which has occupied an important role in the scientific research of Chronicles," and that "a significant point in Abrabanel's position was that he was contemplating the idea of Chronicles and the book of Ezra forming a literary and historiographical unit."[74]

This wide acceptance of the CHW hypothesis, which underlies nineteenth century A.D. scholarship on Chronicles, prevailed into the twentieth century, given fresh impetus by Torrey:

> There is no portion of the whole work of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah in which the Chronicler's literary peculiarities are more strongly marked, more abundant, more evenly and continuously distributed, and more easily recognisable, than in the Hebrew narrative of Ezra 7-10 and Neh. 8-10.[75]

It may be seen therefore that the CHW hypothesis impacted not only on assumptions about the Chronicler's viewpoint, but also on the dating of Chronicles, the discussion on which follows on from this section on authorship. Support came from scholars on various grounds, particularly on linguistic grounds.[76]

It was not until the 1970s that the CHW hypothesis was strongly argued against, following Japhet (1968) and Williamson (1977) in their ground-breaking works[77] who convincingly challenged the supposed common authorship of Ezra of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. The CHW hypothesis thus, which had held sway since Zunz and

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[74] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 29.

[75] C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1910, p. 241. Also cited in W. F. Albright, "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler, *JBL* 40, 1921, pp. 104-124, n.26.

[76] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 29, n.60; A. Klostermann, Die Bücher der Chronik, RE[3] 4, 1898, pp. 84-98; p. 95; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Don Isaak Abravane: Financier, Statesman and Scholar, 1437-1937*, BJRL27, 1937, pp. 168-178; p. 462, n.1; T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Gestaltung der historischen Überlieferung Israels*, Göttingen, FRLANT, 106, 1972, p. 22.

[77] S. Japhet, "Supposed Common Authorship" and Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles.*

Movers promulgated it,[78] was abandoned by most scholars, with some notable exceptions, in particular Rudolf Mosis.[79]

When the dating could have gone either way thereafter, into the post-exile or pre-exile, both Japhet and Williamson, largely on linguistic grounds, argued for a post-exilic date for Chronicles. This led to new proposals for authorship, the main candidate being a Second Temple scribe or priest in the post-exilic era.

Editors, Authors or Chroniclers

The current isagogic question is not so much about who authored Chronicles but whether it was authored at all. In a situation of some increasing polarisation between European Old Testament (or Hebrew Bible) scholars and those of North America, Juha Pakkala[80] and David Carr[81] may be said to represent the poles of the scholarly debate as it currently stands. Juha Pakkala, representing the European trend, writes:

> Following the European trend, conventional literary criticism has sought to understand the composition history of the Hebrew Bible by identifying the "later" additions and gradually reconstructing the prehistory of the texts layer by layer.

As the title of his first book *God's Word Omitted* suggests, Pakkala's invaluable contribution to this view is that he regards omissions as well as additions[82] as part of

[78] Kalimi, *Retelling of Chronicles,* 2009, p.7, n.24. Kalimi notes that Zunz and Movers were not the first to argue this unity of authorship. This point will be amplified below.

[79] R. Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*, Freiburger theologische Studien, Verlag Herder, Freiburg, 1973.

[80] J. Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted*, Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013; J. Pakkala, W. Müller and B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing*, SBL, 2014.

[81] D. M. Carr, The formation of the Hebrew Bible, 2011. *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, OUP, Oxford, New York, 2011.

[82] J. Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted*, 2013, p. 13.

transmission processes. This flies in the face of the eighteenth century dictum "*lectio brevior potior*"[83] which despite being countered at the time by "*lectio difficilior potior*" [84] still holds sway today.

Far less justifiably, unless one knows the full transmission history, Pakkala finds that:

> "It can reasonably be assumed that editorial reworking of the Hebrew Bible continued unabated for centuries before the texts gradually became unchangeable…Editorial modification was the rule rather than the exception.[85]

Pakkala notes too in this same review of Carr that this idea of ongoing editorship over the centuries is the mainstream viewpoint in continental European scholarship, while English-speaking scholarship has been more reluctant to use it. In this he is certainly

[83] "*lectio brevior potior*" (the shorter text is stronger)

[84] "*lectio difficilior potior*" (the difficult text is stronger). The presumption of "*Lectio brevior potior"* was challenged by Le Clerc's maxim "*Lectio difficilior potior*" (the difficult reading is stronger). E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible,* 3rd Edition, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2011 discusses this. The logic behind the rule of the *lectio brevior potior* is that ancient scribes were more prone to add details than to omit them. R. W. Klein, *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: From the Septuagint to Qumran*, 1975, p. 75, writes: "Unless there is clear evidence for *homeoteleuton* or some other form of haplography, a shorter text is probably better. The people who copied manuscripts expanded the text in several ways: they made subjects and objects of sentences explicit whereas they were only implicit in the original text; they added glosses or comments to explain difficult words or ideas; and when faced with alternate readings in two or more manuscripts they were copying, they would include both of them (conflation) in a serious attempt to preserve the original. However, alluding to this, G. L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament: Introduction*, 1964, writes "This rule sounds logical, yet its *raison d'être* has often been criticized. In fact, in neither the NT nor Hebrew Scripture can it be decided automatically that the shorter reading is original. Furthermore, the rule does not cover scribal omission (haplography, homeoteleuton, and homoioarcton). It would be helpful if one could identify texts that tended to add or omit details, but few such texts are known. Therefore this rule is impractical….The two aforementioned rules of the *lectio difficilior* and *lectio brevior* can be applied to only a small percentage of the readings that need to be evaluated. Yet, they are the main rules mentioned in handbooks on textual criticism and methodological discussions…The logic underlying certain rules is questionable." pp. 277-279.

[85] J. Pakkala, "*Literary Criticism and the Composition of the Hebrew Bible,*" review of D. M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, OUP, Oxford, 2011: http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/does-redaction-criticism-need-revision-by-juha-pakkala/10 Feb 2014. [Accessed: 15 Sept 2017]

correct, but that does not make it unchallengeable, as is argued in Person and Rezetko's recent book.[86]

David Carr, in this lively exchange of reviews of each other's books, confirms these divergent views, observing that North American biblical scholarship is at odds with this European trend. He also notes how this view has impacted on many biblical books, not just Chronicles:

> In the last several decades, numerous branches of Hebrew Bible scholarship in Europe, especially Germany…have concluded that larger and larger blocks of the Bible are the creations of scribes working in the post-exilic period…[and that] early Israelite concepts can only be reliably investigated through careful literary-critical analysis of the multiple editorial or redactional layers of these works….North American Scholarship is sceptical about the feasibility and worth of complicated literary reconstructions of multiple editorial layers of the Bible's pre-history and has more confidence in the antiquity and historical usability of the biblical text.[87]

In agreement with Carr's viewpoint, Person writes:

> Although I certainly agree that the Deuteronomic school used earlier sources in its production of the Deuteronomic History and that the Chronistic school used earlier sources, including some form of what became Samuel-Kings, I remain

[86] R. F. Person and R. Rezetko, "Introduction: The Importance of Empirical Models to Assess the Efficacy of Source and Redaction Criticism," Eds., R. F. Person and R. Rezetko, *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*, Ancient Israel and its Literature, SBL Press, pp. 1-36, 2016.

[87] D. Carr, "Signs of a New Age in the Study of the Formation of Biblical and Other Ancient Texts," Review of *God's Word Omitted: Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible,* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2013 and R. Müller, J. Pakkala, and B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, SBL, 2014: http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/signs-of-a-new-age-in-study-of-the-formation-of-biblical-and-other-ancient-texts-by-david-m-carr/ 23 June 2015. [Accessed: 5 Sept 2017]

> sceptical that we can adequately isolate original sources well enough to be able to establish who the authors were or were not for any particular source.[88]

Thus we can see that a line of division is drawn at the point where Carr argues against the "multiple editorial layers" and the "more complicated reconstructions of textual prehistory" over centuries, to which Pakkala responds that "the underlying scepticism about the general possibilities of literary-critical reconstructions, evident in Carr's approach, should be rejected."[89] It is not obvious to me that Carr's thesis should be rejected. On the contrary, this thesis, if it can be upheld, could provide support for it, offering an alternative explanation for these supposed editorial layers of texts, without postulating long periods of time.

This Raises Questions About Methodology

The approach to textual transmission based on a series of editorial or redactional layers over time, while it could be a useful approach if the isagogic elements were well understood, here seems to rest on certain presuppositions which raise several questions of which four are listed here:

1. Are there Layers of Editorial Changes over time - or Scribal Fidelity? The viewpoint that accepts editorial changes over time does not take into account the rigid standards throughout the ancient Near East from earliest times of scribal copying.[90] Chronicles and its selective use of Samuel and Kings are

[88] Person, *Deuteronomic History and Chronicles*, p. 18.

[89] J. Pakkala, "*Literary Criticism"* review of David M. Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*: http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/does-redaction-criticism-need-revision-by-juha-pakkala/10 Feb 2014. [Accessed: 15 Sept 2017]

[90] Research drawn from: Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*; M. Cogan, "The Chronicler's Use of Chronology as Illuminated by Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," ed., J. H. Tigay, *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism,* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1991, pp. 197-209; W. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did they Know It? What Archaeology Can Tell Us about the Reality of Ancient Israel,* Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, UK, 2001; R. S. Hess,

much cited to support the case for editorial layers, but is this view of Chronicles justified, and if not, then why not? A chronographic viewpoint would give a very different interpretation as to what is really happening in these works, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2. Can one have an empirical literary critical and redactional approach without isagogic understanding and comparisons with the ancient Near East? There are dangers in taking a "one size fits all" approach to the biblical texts, when genre, date and authorship are still under debate, and often unknown. As with Chronicles and Kings, two documents with similar material but with different purposes do not need wide divergence in time to influence the selection of material.
3. Should the Septuagint text be favoured over the Masoretic text? The reasons for assuming the superiority of the Septuagint over the Masoretic text is based on the assumption that scribes added layer upon layer over time to the texts, so that the earlier Septuagint *Vorlage* has had less time for editorial layers to be added than the earliest MT *Vorlage*. The premise (namely, that there are redactional layers over time) is thus a necessary part of the conclusion (namely, that the earliest manuscript must have fewer of these layers of redaction), making the informal fallacy of "begging the question" which opens itself to the accusation of circular reasoning.
4. The Elusive Greek Septuagint – Where and what is it? In whatever way the Septuagint came into being, the Hebrew text(s) that underlie the Greek tradition cannot be known with any certainty from the Septuagint. What is called the

"Literacy in Iron Age Israel," pp. 82-102; A. R. Millard, "The Knowledge of Writing in Iron Age Palestine," TB 46, 1995, pp. 207-217; S. Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word*; C. Rollston, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age*.

Septuagint, upon inspection, tends to be copies based on the Vaticanus, which purports to come from the fourth century A.D.[91] This needs further investigation which goes beyond the remit here, though Dr. Scot McKendrick, Head of Western Antiquities in the British Library, makes an interesting comment on this subject.[92]

So what are we dealing with here: Authorship, Editing, or Chronicling? The four concerns listed above, which result from a methodology which seeks redactional layers and uses comparative texts, raise several points, amongst which are:

1. Transmitted texts reveal omissions as well as additions: Pakkala's insight here is valuable because it means that later texts cannot be assumed to have accrued extra layers vis à vis an earlier copy simply by virtue of being later, as omissions are just as likely, indeed more likely to have occurred. The old rule *lectio brevior potior* offset by the *lectio difficilior potior* needs to be aligned with principles of evidence, where motive and witness evaluations are taken into account.
2. This means the physically "Earliest Manuscript" is not necessarily the best unless we know the transmission history of the text. In view of Pakkala's

[91] E. Wurthwein and A. A. Fischer, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblica Hebraica*, Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2014, p. 119: "The existence of the Vaticanus was first noted in a Vatican Library entry dated 1475."

[92] Dr. Scot McKendrick, the Head of the Western Heritage Collections in the British Library, comments in an On-Camera Interview in April 2008 in the British Library with C. J. Pinto of Adullam Films on the differences between the Sinaiticus and the Vaticanus Codex: "They are different also in one critical way …two ways actually I'd say, let us say, two ways: one is that Vaticanus does not have the extent of correction – that's a critical difference. Sinaiticus is the most corrected manuscript – Greek Manuscript – of the Scriptures. The second is that Vaticanus has a, now has a very strange appearance. When you look at it as a manuscript expert, although you know that people tell you that it is a fourth century manuscript, it actually looks like a fifteenth century manuscript and there is one very simple reason for that [*sic*] is that almost the entire text has been over-written by a fifteenth century scribe. Not only that but he has added in fifteenth century decoration, titling and so forth so it has a very strange appearance."

finding that omissions are equally to be found with additions to the text, and further, that this earlier *Vorlage* is still a copy, not an original, this is a weak assumption upon which to judge the transmission fidelity of different texts without further information about the standards of the transmission process and the motives of the transmitters.[93]

3. Transmission history requires Isagogic and Comparative ancient Near East Research: If we do not know the genre and dating, then we cannot be confident in identifying as editing what may well be authorship or chronicling. Redactional layers do not intrinsically imply or require long periods of time. Isagogic and comparative studies with texts in the ancient Near East would perhaps reveal a very different picture.

This is an ongoing discussion, and it is hoped that Chronicles can be reassessed in the light of a re-examination of the isagogic elements and comparative ancient Near Eastern texts studies to add to the discussion. Van Seters laments the loss of authors[94] as editors take centre-stage, but perhaps the role of chronicling and scribes can cast a different light onto the redactional claims of editorship. Ackroyd warns against modern assumptions about authorship, a warning that is still relevant and reminds us how hypothetical all theories of origin are.[95]

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[93] J. Pakkala, R. Müller and B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing*, 2014, pp. 101-105. For example, 1 Kgs 6.10-15 in the Masoretic text is deemed, by default, to be a late addition, because there seems no reason for the Septuagint to omit such a passage: "There are no clear arguments that point in the opposite direction, etc." p. 105.

[94] Van Seters, "Reports of the Death of the Yahwist have been Greatly Exaggerated," A *Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch.* Eds., Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid, Brill, Leiden, 2006, pp. 143-157; *idem*, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the "Editor" in Biblical Criticism*. Eisenbrauns, Winona, Illinois, 2006; Review by E. Otto, who writes that Van Seters "seeks to demolish the idea of ancient editors, which is a late eighteenth Century idea. Editorship is a phenomenon which traces back only to sixteenth century, hence it is an anachronistic idea."

[95] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 44. Citing P. A. Ackroyd, "Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah: The Concept of Unity," ed., O. Kaiser, *Lebendige Forschung im Alten Testament*, BZAW 100, de Gruyter, Berliin, pp. 189-201.

The Dating of Chronicles – What *is* Late Dating?

The dating of Chronicles will not be assumed *a priori* in this thesis, but instead is part of the investigation. "In modern biblical research, the date accorded to Chronicles is a particularly controversial topic."[96] Thus writes Kai Peltonen who, citing a list of scholars who have written on this thorny problem, intriguingly entitles his paper "A jigsaw without a model" where "someone trying to make sense of it has to fit the pieces together without having a model, without a picture of what the result should look like."[97]

Peltonen, who sets the earliest date for the writing of Chronicles on the basis of the last events recorded, a standard dating approach this thesis wishes to re-evaluate, writes: "The *terminus post quem* can naturally be set easily on the basis of the books' content. Since the presentation of Israel's history ends with the rise of the Persian Empire, it is obvious that the books have been composed after 539/538 BCE."[98] As to the *terminus ad quem*, Peltonen mentions two works which date from the first half of the second century B.C., both of which make use of Chronicles in their work. The first is Ben Sira's "Praise to the Fathers" which seems to use the Chronistic description of David (cf. Ben Sira 47.8-10), and the second is the Jewish historian, Eupolemus, "who appears to have made use of the book of Chronicles in a Greek translation."[99] Peltonen

[96] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," pp. 225-271; p. 225.

[97] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 225-271; p. 239.

[98] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 225.

[99] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," P. 225. The possibility that Ben Sira in his "Praise to the Fathers" (Hebrew, 180 B.C.) and Eupolemus making use of a Greek translation (possibly) of portions of Chronicles (159-8 B.C.) as a means of setting *a terminus ante quem* for Chronicles has been contested by G. Steins, "Die Bücher der Chronik" in W. Zenger *et al*., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Kolhammer-Studienbücher Theologie, 1.1 Stuttgart third edition, 1998, Pp. 223-234, 321. Steins sets the composition of Chronicles in the early Maccabean period (as did Spinoza) specifying 164 B.C. as the time when the temple was cleansed, though the writing may have taken place c. 134 B.C.

concludes therefore that all one can say with any certainty is that the Chronicles were written at some time after the exile, but before the first half of the second century B.C., a time span of over 300 years.[100] He writes, "What makes the issue really problematic is that unambiguous evidence for saying something more precise does not exist."[101] There are hints, but no agreement on how these should be understood. Chronicles therefore has been dated from the late sixth century by those who see Chronicles against the backdrop of the newly restored Jewish community in Jerusalem,[102] right through to the early Hellenistic period.[103] The middle course supported by the majority of scholars is that the Chronicles' composition falls at some time in the fourth century B.C. before or after the fall of the Persian Empire to the Macedonian, Alexander the Great in 333 B.C.[104]

All these proposals, whether early or late, have strengths and weaknesses, and bear testimony to the difficulty scholars encounter when they try to attribute a date to the work. Kleinig writes thus: [105]

> Since this date has gained general acceptance, not much can be said with any certainty about the setting of Chronicles due to the paucity of relevant historical sources from the late Persian period. This has led to a growing scepticism at attempts to explain its content and concerns chiefly from its purported setting.

[100] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 255.

[101] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 256.

[102] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 256, n 3. The scholars listed as holding this view, with variations in detail, are F. M. Cross, J. D. Newsome, D .L. Petersen, S. L. McKenzie, R. L. Braun, R. B. Dillard, M. A. Throntveit, D. N. Freedman and B. E. Willoughby, for example. (Full list in Peltonen).

[103] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 257, n.6 and Kalimi, "*Abfassgungszeit,*" pp. 227-28.

[104] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 227-228, n.7. listing H. G. M. Williamson, J. De Vries, I. Gabriel, W. Klosterneuburg, W. Kohlhammer, R. Klein, I. Kalimi, J. W. Kleinig, M. J. Selman, J. E. Dyck.

[105] Kleinig, "Recent Research," *CBR* 2, 1994, pp. 43-76; p. 46.

For most modern scholars "early dating" starts from the exile or at the time of the second temple building. Knoppers, writing in 2003, notes that the anticipated help from archaeology and epigraphy in the Persian period, more numerous and better analysed than a few decades ago, has not materially affected the debates about the date of Chronicles:

> Chronicles is a post-exilic work that depicts the pre-exilic period. There are no specific references, no absolute synchronisms, and no extra-biblical citations that could definitely situate the work within a given decade or century….Hence those who wish to see the date of Chronicles pinpointed to a specific decade or year are faced with an impossible challenge.[106]

Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) is also of no assistance in pinpointing a finely tuned and accurate date. Further, recent studies by Ian Young and Robert Rezetko have demonstrated that the LBH argument turns out to be based on a circular argument, dependent on other arguments such as the higher critical argumentation to support it. It is thus not a "stand alone" argument, which means that help from LBH, in and of itself, may have to be reviewed or abandoned altogether.[107]

Japhet who supports a post-exilic dating for Chronicles, and who does not agree with the pre-exilic dating of Chronicles, comments that holding to an early dating of the book "must entail a very specific view of the literary work, with extensive parts of it regarded as secondary or later editions."[108] Japhet lists some of these specifics which contribute to a redactional pre-exilic view, mostly stemming from the book's

[106] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, p. 102.

[107] I. Young, R. Rezetko R and M. Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Tests,* Equinox, London, 2008, p. 88.

[108] S. Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, pp. 24, 27.

heterogeneity in its literary genres, spheres of interest, and contradictions in different parts of the book. She writes:

> They are influenced, however, also by other arguments, like the question of dating, established presuppositions on the development and value of biblical literature and theology, strict application of preconceived methodological criteria, and the like. Thus, for example, gradual growth of complex literary works is a decisive presupposition in Noth's general method of "tradition history," which he applied to biblical historiography in general. It also enables him (and Rudolph) to bring Chronicles as close to the Deuteronomistic model that preceded it, with the lists – a more 'Priestly' occupation – regarded as later 'wild growth.' For Welch, the existence of late elements in the book, either 'priestly' or post-exilic in general, is irreconcilable with his theory that Chronicles was composed after the exile of the northern kingdom; they must also be regarded as secondary when the book's composition is ascribed to the last quarter of the sixth century, against the backdrop of the eschatological movement connected with Zerubbabel.[109]

Japhet's examination of the most influential of these propositions concludes they lack the hoped-for harmony of detail, whilst raising more problems than they solve. She finds some of the arguments very arbitrary:

> In the end, it seems that each of these approaches has come with its own idiosyncratic 'Chronicler,' ascribing to him political and theological goals which are not always evident in the actual 'Chronicles.'

[109] Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 7. Japhet cites D. N. Freedman, "The Chronicler's purpose," *CBQ* 23, 1961, pp. 436-443; also mentioning Cross and others.

She thus prefers the view that Chronicles is one work, composed essentially by a single author, with a distinct and peculiar writing method.[110]

Japhet's finding of the arguments for pre-exilic dating as "arbitrary" appears harsh, especially where she adds:

> [i]n many cases these attempts fail to take into sufficient account the book's special character, to cope with the problem of what are defined as secondary (or tertiary) elements in the book or to account for the final emergence of the canonical reality.[111]

In response to this, firstly, it is these very considerations, such as its multiplicity of literary genres and various contradictions in different parts of the book which Japhet outlines, that have caused some scholars to seek answers within the pre-exilic[112] period having found the post-exilic theories unsatisfactory on these same and other grounds; and secondly, as to the fitting of the Chronistic text to political and theological context, it is very much a problem common to *all* scholars seeking to date Chronicles, regardless of whether the scholars espouse a pre-exilic or post-exilic date.

Knoppers comments on this fitting of the political and theological context to the Chronicles text amongst the problematic assumptions that scholars bring to the issue of dating, regardless of whether they favour a pre-exilic or post-exilic date. He comments that it is a "simplistic assumption" that "a composition mirrors the mood and tenor of a

[110] Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 7.

[111] Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 7.

[112] R. L. Braun, *I Chronicles*, WBC 14, Word Books, Waco, Texas, 1986; A. F. Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings: A Late Ninth-Century Document (1 Sam 1-2 Kings 10)*, CBQMS 17, Washington D.C., 1986; A. Cody, *A History of the Old Testament Priesthood*, AnBib 35, Investigationes Scientificae in Res Biblicas, Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, 1969; F. M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94, 1 March 1975, pp. 4-18.

certain period."[113] He describes these attempts to locate Chronicles within a historical context as "commendable" but notes that one cannot assume a direct correlation between a text and a given context:

> There may be hints – anachronisms, references, citations – that are important for dating. Nevertheless, the literary products need not mirror the conditions…in which their authors lived.[114]

Given the uncertainty around the question of the dating of Chronicles, one asks what choices would be available to anyone who attempted to date such a text from the external evidence. This approach of attempting to marry up hints from the text with contextual settings gives almost limitless scope to any and all imaginative reconstructions within the scholar's timeline of personal choice curtailed only by what can be adduced from archaeology and epigraphy. This is in fact what we see happen when Chronicles is cut loose from its traditional early dating deemed to be in Ezra's period.

Kalimi asks why "the most neglected book Chronicles was located after Ezra-Nehemiah?"[115] The period of history it covers clearly precedes those contained in Ezra-Nehemiah and Esther, yet from the nineteenth century Chronicles is located after these clearly post-exilic books. Kalimi describes this as "surprising" and asks what the reason(s) could be for this "unusual arrangement."[116]

One possibility Kalimi mentions is that the sages considered Chronicles a good summary of the whole Hebrew Bible, from Adam to Cyrus's decree, therefore they put

[113] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9,* p. 104.
[114] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, p. 105.
[115] Kalimi, *Retelling Chronicles*, p. 27.
[116] Kalimi, *Retelling Chronicles*, p. 27.

it at the end of the biblical corpus.[117] It is also possible to surmise that it was put into the Hagiographa rather than within the prophetic writings because it was not written under prophetic inspiration. However, this still would not explain the positioning after Ezra-Nehemiah in the Jewish canon, and puts us no further forward with considering the question of the actual dating of Chronicles.

One of the results of the "demise" of the CHW hypothesis for the dating of Chronicles has been that Chronicles, no longer necessarily looked upon as a work by one author, has been set free to enjoy a plethora of possibilities for its date as expressed in a multitude of scholarly writings. In the past twenty years the "Stepchild of OT study"[118] is seen as having come into its own, particularly as a piece of literature, with a rearguard action being fought by some stalwarts,[119] who still believe that pre-exilic historical value is to be found in Chronicles.

The impasse on the dating is not just something we can lay at the feet of nineteenth century scholars, but can be shown to go right back to the earliest records of Chronicles' reception into the canon. The dating of Chronicles was unknown with any certainty from the rabbinical period onwards. Here we come full circle too, as the reason for the

[117] Kalimi, *Retelling Chronicles*, p. 29 and n.53. Jerome (331-420 A.D.) considered Chronicles to be a condensed version of the entire Old Testament. He writes in his introduction to Chronicles in the Vulgate: "all the studying of Scripture is included in this book."

[118] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 2.

[119] Haran, "The Chronicles 'of the Kings of Judah' and 'of the Kings of Israel,' pp. 136-144; Also included in this group are, among others, J. G. Campbell, "Rewritten Bible: A Terminological Reassessment," ed., J. Zsengellér, *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms or Techniques?* Brill, Leiden, 2014, pp. 3-11; F. M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 94, March 1975, pp. 4-18; *idem, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel.* HUP, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, 1973; G. Galil, "'The Synchronistic History' and the Book of Chronicles," pp. 136-144; Kofoed, *Text and History,* 2002; H. Weippert, *Beiträge zur prophetischen Bildsprache in Israel und Assyrien,* 1985; *idem,* "Die 'deuteronimistischen' Beurteilungen der Könige von Israel und Juda und das Problem der Redaktion der Königsbucher, " *Biblica* 53, 1972, pp. 301-339.

dating of Chronicles given by the early rabbis was simply one of authority: "Our Sages, of blessed memory *(b. Baba Bathra* 15a) said that Ezra wrote this book."[120]

Medieval Scholarship's approach to dating Chronicles

It is not common to invoke the rabbinical and medieval scholarship, but this may be justified on certain grounds. Firstly, some critical scholarship in fact uses pre-critical scholarship, sometimes without giving full or any credit to the source of the idea, so ideas appearing as post-critical are in fact garnered from pre-critical scholars. Kalimi comments on this point as follows:

> In many cases, the earlier interpretations and insights are entirely convincing, and in countless examples they supplement contemporary arguments. Are we allowed to dispose of these great efforts and achievements by earlier generations? Thorough knowledge of interpretation's history can eliminate scholars' repeating of the same thoughts, interpretations, and arguments. [121]

Kalimi goes on to enumerate several examples of such borrowings, inadvertent or otherwise, which are now viewed as modern contributions from within the critical circles, but which are in fact medieval contributions:

> Unfortunately, too many scholars claim to have discovered new understandings, ideas, literary devices, and so on that already appeared in earlier literature. There are numerous examples of this problem in biblical scholarship in general and in works on Chronicles in particular.[122]

[120] Berger, *Rabbi David Kimḥi*, p. 6.
[121] Kalimi, *Retelling Chronicles*, pp. 6-7.
[122] Kalimi, *Retelling Chronicles*, pp. 6-7.

An example that Kalimi gives, mentioned earlier, which is related to my thesis here is that Nachmanides and Gersonides considered Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah to be a single work. However in Chronicles scholarship, the credit for this assumption is given to L. Zunz (1832) and F. C. Movers (1834).[123] While this is generally true, Peltonen notes in his section on F. C. Movers that:

> The idea that the books of Chronicles and Ezra had a common author was naturally not a novelty. Already in the Talmud one can find the notion that in addition to the book bearing his own name Ezra had composed at least the genealogies in Chronicles (*b. Baba Bathra* 15a). Furthermore, during the Middle Ages Gersonides and Abrabanel, both well-known Jewish scholars, had hinted at the possibility of the existence of a larger history work by a common author….However, the first scientific explication of a larger history work of the CHW hypothesis, i.e. the idea that the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah may originally have formed one continuous literary work, was put forward by Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), a German Jewish scholar…[124]

What is fair to say is that this idea originated with medieval scholars' ideas but was not acknowledged by Zunz, Movers, or later scholars in general, which is the point that Kalimi is making.

Secondly, the neglect seems to stem from the idea that pre-critical scholarship is tied too tightly to medieval orthodoxy to be useful in a critical age. This is especially true as regards the book of Chronicles. However, this view of medieval scholarship assumes that post-critical scholarship is free from similarly outworn orthodoxies and ideologies

[123] Kalimi, *Retelling Chronicles,* pp. 6-7, and n.29. Also I. Kalimi, "The Capture of Jerusalem in the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic History," *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, pp. 95-108; pp. 104-105.

[124] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 128, n.160.

deriving from the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. While medieval and post-critical scholarship need to be re-interpreted in the light of new evidence from archaeology and from new scholarly insights on an on-going basis, this should not prevent scholars assessing critically the research and insights of value therein, while also recognising where our own modern biases have limited our own research.

Thirdly, the medieval period was neither static nor homogenous so that, especially from the twelfth century to the seventeenth century, we see developmental steps in the medieval historical research of Chronicles that influences directly the dating assumptions of the nineteenth century and onwards. Hayes describes the gathering views of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D. as "militant humanism" where thinkers such as Grotius, Hobbes, and Spinoza drew attention to what they regarded as discrediting features in the biblical texts – literary inconsistencies, repetitions, and the like.[125] Naturalistic and rationalistic assumptions of the eighteenth century "Enlightenment" thus undergirded the nineteenth century scepticism towards the historicity of the biblical narratives. V. P. Long, in his introduction to *Israel's Past in Present Research* comments:

> This period saw the abandonment of many traditional beliefs about the Bible, but, if Hayes is correct, this abandonment did not so much *result from* the application of more advanced critical methods, but, rather *preceded* them.[126]

[125] J. H. Hayes, "The History of the Study of Israelite and Judaean History: From the Renaissance to the Present," ed., V. P. Long, *Israel's Past in Present Research: Essays on Ancient Historiography Sources for Biblical and Theological Study* 7, Eisenbrauns, Winona lake, Indiana, 1999, p. 8.

[126] P. V. Long, ed., *Israel's Past in Present Research*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 1999, p. 2-3.

As Hayes expresses it, these thinkers "had already moved away from the typical Jewish and protestant view of religious authority and revelations," so that "their criticism was probably the result rather than the cause of such a move."[127]

Overview of Medieval Dating of Chronicles

Japhet writes that a general tendency to date this book late[128] prevailed amongst medieval scholars, both Christian and Jewish, with Ezra being viewed as the "second Moses." She notes some exceptions, namely Rabbi David Kimḥi,[129] and Archbishop Stephen Langton[130] in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. who "relegated it to a much earlier period," attributing to Ezra only the later portions. Ezra was proposed as the final author of all the "nine books" (Genesis to Kings) by Spinoza in the seventeenth Century A.D.[131] Japhet mentions Kimḥi and Langton in a way which might give an impression of other lively scholarly activity on Chronicles in this period with just two lone figures going against the current scholarly consensus.[132] This impression is undoubtedly unintentional, but could hardly be further from the state of Chronicles' scholarship at that time. Only Kimḥi and Langton, two highly respected scholars, in a general climate of serious scholarly neglect of Chronicles which lasted from the late rabbinical period through the patristic period to the twelfth century A.D. and beyond, turned their abilities towards redressing this lacuna in Old Testament scholarship by doing commentaries on Chronicles. Peltonen comments:

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[127] Hayes, "Israelite and Judaean History," p. 19.

[128] While Japhet may intend "late" to mean a post-exilic date (she does not specify) it is important to note that "late" in the medieval context up to the time of Spinoza, here means up to Ezra's time and not beyond it. This is to be discussed later in this section.

[129] Berger, *Rabbi David Kimḥi,* p. 6.

[130] Saltman, *Stephen Langton,* Prologue, p. 23.

[131] cf. B. Spinoza, *Theological Political Treatise,* 1670, translated by R.H.M. Elwes, in *The Chief Works of Benedict Spinoza,* New York, 1957, p. 146. Cited in Japhet, 1 & 2 Chronicles, p. 24.

[132] Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 24.

> As far as we know, none of the early Church Fathers wrote a commentary on Chronicles. In the writings of Jerome (347/348-420), however, there are occasional remarks that emphasize the value and importance of Chronicles. According to him, this book contained 'all the erudition of the Holy Scriptures.'[133] Likewise, he concluded that anyone who claimed to know the Scriptures without being acquainted with Chronicles only made himself a laughingstock.[134]

However, despite Jerome's positive view of Chronicles, he did not write a commentary on it, or deal with it in any systematic way. Peltonen writes that, as a result of this generally negligent attitude towards Chronicles, only two patristic commentaries on it are extant. There are two commentaries in the patristic era: one on the book of Kings by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, where Chronicles is dealt with occasionally, its value being seen in its giving of supplementary information *(paraleipomenon*); and one by Procopius of Gaza, the most prominent member of the sophist school of Gaza who only deals with the "questions" of Theodoret, so has no independent value[135]

Leading up to the middle ages, we find very few writings on Chronicles. The best known of these are an anonymous one attributed to the school of Sa'adia Gaon (possibly late tenth century), then those by Pseudo Rashi (c. 1125), David Kimḥi (c.1200); and Gersonides (before 1344).[136] He does not list the others.

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[133] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 36, n.91.

[134] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 36, n.92. *Ad Paulinum,* PL 22, 548.

[135] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 37-38. Two commentaries in the patristic era: one on the book of Kings by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, where Chronicles is dealt with occasionally, its value being in it giving supplementary information *(paraleipomenon*); and one by Procopius of Gaza, the most prominent member of the sophist school of Gaza who only deals with the "Quaestiones" of Theodoret, so has no independent value.

[136] Langton, *Commentary on Chronicles*, p. 13, n.10.

Medieval Developments: East to West and Jewish to Christian

The seventh century A.D. for Judaism marks the start of the medieval period where, Peltonen writes, Jewish culture and literature were influenced by the Arab world, and at the same time, Judaism functioned as a kind of intermediary between Islam and Christianity. The rational aspect was considered an indispensable part of the issue. This led to a certain crisis for the Jewish midrashic tradition, where the midrashic and homiletic study (the so-called *derash*) had to make way for clarifying the literal meaning (*peshat*). European Judaism still isolated from its wider cultural context, did not move from the midrashic tradition as early as this. The first prominent developer of literal exegesis within Judaism was the Egyptian-born theologian and philosopher, Sa'adia ben Josef Gaon[137] (882-942 A.D.) at Sura in southern Babylon.[138]

An anonymous Jewish commentary on Chronicles, thought to be written by a pupil of Sa'adia, though perhaps partly by Sa'adia himself, was modelled on his *peshat*-style exegesis.[139]

As this trend moved slowly across Europe into France and Germany, the commentaries of Salomo ben Isaak (Rashi) (1040-1105 A.D.) show a compromise between Midrash and "modern" literal elements. As far as we know, Rashi never wrote a commentary on Chronicles, though a commentary bearing his name exists. However, its style and

[137] Gaon is the title given to the presidents of the two great Babylonian Talmudic Academies, one of Sura and one in Pumbadita. They were accepted as the world-wide spiritual leaders of the Jewish community in the Gaonic period, which stretched from about 600 – early eleventh century A.D.

[138] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 23, n.29, Sa'adia has been called the "father and founder of Hebrew philological science," as he paved the way for philological research on the Hebrew language and thereby for the subsequent literary analysis.

[139] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 23, n.30, citing, among others, H. Malter, *Sa'adia Gaon. His Life and Works,* reproduced, New York, 1969, p. 138; A. Grossman, "Medieval Rabbinic Commentaries," *EncJud*, third edition, Vol. 3, Editor in Chief Michael Berenbaum, Keter Publishing House, Jerusalem, 1978, pp. 890-894: p. 892: "As a result of Saadiah's biblical studies, Bible commentary emerged from the sphere of homiletics to embark upon the pursuit of direct and close exposition of the biblical text."

other features show it to belong to a date later than Rashi, so it is called Pseudo-Rashi, where Midrash and homiletic are combined with the "modern" literal elements of *peshat*.[140]

The first Christian commentary on Chronicles was by Rabanus Maurus (780-856 A.D.), written between 825 and 838 A.D., and was modelled on an unknown Jewish author whom Maurus refers to as a "*Hebraeus moderni temporis.*"[141] The style of this reflects a "borderline case between Jewish and Christian traditions," entitled "*Quaestiones Hebraicae in libros Regum et Paralipomenon.*"[142] While influential, it adds nothing of value to the development of Chronicles' isagogical concerns, so it need not delay us further.[143]

The famous Gloss of the early twelfth century, entitled the *Glossa Ordinaria*, was the standard medieval work of Christian biblical exegesis, "sometimes called the Bible of scholasticism." The commentary on Chronicles in the Gloss contains large portions of the commentary of Rabanus Maurus, which in turn is heavily reliant on the *Quaestiones*, so, while it became to be regarded as the normative Christian exegesis of

[140] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 24: Pseudo-Rashi, who shows interest in the formulaic citations only at one point (2 Chr 12.15) regarding the references to Shemaiah the prophet and Iddo the seer's writings. Pseudo Rashi's interlinear Gloss reads: "In the words of Shemaiah the prophet: Every prophet would write his book, containing that which he prophesied, and this is the Shemaiah who was mentioned above (11:2, 12.5). And the verse written further (13.22), "And the rest of the deeds of Abijah and his ways and his words are written in the Midrash of the prophet Iddo," proves this, [that each prophet wrote a book of his prophecies, and] his Iddo's book was called midrash."

[141] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 38, and n.104. The author of the *Quaestiones* was possibly a Jewish convert to Christianity (see among others, Saltman, 1978, 14; Kalimi, 1990, 42).

[142] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 38.

[143] Langton, *Commentary on the book of Chronicles*, p. 13, n.10. Maurus's commentary on Chronicles has been described by Saltman as "a pioneer work, and certainly by the standards of its time, it may be rated as a considerable achievement….Even so, nearly a third of the commentary is devoted to literal exegesis," and "forms the basis for nearly all subsequent literal exegesis on Chronicles down to Nicholas de Lyra."

Chronicles,[144] and heavily influenced several works that followed, it adds nothing of independent value to its predecessors for this thesis.

Following the Gloss (early twelfth century A.D.) there was no "century of silence" as postulated by Göttsberger, Willi and Oeming,[145] because the latter part of the twelfth century saw commentaries on Chronicles from Peter the Chanter,[146] Ralph Niger, and Stephen Langton in the Christian tradition, and, in the Jewish tradition, Rabbi David Kimḥi.

However, the study of Chronicles seems to have been rare at the time. In fact, Chronicles fared no better in the Christian expositions during the Middle Ages than it had under the rabbinical and patristic period, where, perhaps, the problem was compounded by poor distribution. Ralph Niger (1140–c.1217 A.D.) wrote "that never had he heard Chronicles studied or lectured upon in the schools he had attended."[147] He does not, somewhat surprisingly, even seem to have heard of the Gloss. Niger,[148] accepted the traditional view of the authorship of Ezra for Chronicles because, in his opinion, it was difficult to think of any other alternative.[149] His views thus are fairly representative of the earlier writings on Chronicles.[150]

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[144] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 41. Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas both recognise the *Glossa* as highly authoritative, a position which it held even up to the seventeenth century when it was gradually replaced by updated exegetical commentaries.

[145] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 42 and n.121. J. Göttsberger, *Die Bücher der Chronik oder Paralipomenon übersetzt und erklärt*, HSAT 4, Bonn, 1939, p. 22; T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Gestaltung der historischen Überlieferung Israels*, FRLANT 106, Göttingen, 1972, p. 20; M. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel. Die "genealogische Vorhalle," 1 Chronic 1-9*, BWANT 128, Stuttgart, 1990, p. 57.

[146] Peter the Chanter (c.1130-1197 A.D.), canon of the cathedral school of Notre Dame, wrote a commentary deemed "little more than a rehash of the Gloss." Cited in Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 42.

[147] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 42.

[148] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 42, and n.129, citing Saltman, 1978a, 109. "Niger's commentary on Chronicles suggests the probability that he was one of the very few Christian scholars of the twelfth century who was not ignorant of the Hebrew language."

[149] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 43, n.132.

[150] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 43.

Kalimi has compiled a list of medieval Jewish and Christian commentaries to which Peltonen refers[151] but Peltonen notes that Kalimi's medieval Christian expositions of Chronicles in comparison with his medieval Jewish expositions is "surprisingly deficient."[152] However, the list is not long by any standards, as can be seen from the above overview up to this date.

All in all, it was not until the latter part of the twelfth century A.D. that two scholars at roughly the same time took a fresh look at Chronicles. One was the Jewish, Narbonne-born youngest son of a well-known scholar, Joseph Kimḥi: Rabbi David Kimḥi, also called Radak (c.1160-1235 A.D.). Kimḥi became famous for developing Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and as a philologist, influencing strongly Christian Hebraists of the Renaissance.[153]

The other was an English-born scholastic, Stephen Langton (c.1150-1228 A.D.), a Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1207 to 1228. Stephen Langton earlier studied and taught for twenty-five years in Paris, where one of his teachers was Peter Comestor, whose work, *Magister historiarum* influenced him. His commentary on Chronicles, approx. 1195 A.D., shows evidence of having been compiled from his lectures on the subject. It also shows the medieval conception of the four dimensions of biblical exposition, a combination of literal, moral/topological, allegorical and isagogical expositions, where, however, the boundaries of each dimension are not rigidly observed. The isagogical is used sparsely and indirectly.

[151] Kalimi, *The Book of Chronicles. A Classified Biography*, SiBB Jerusalem, 1990, pp. 42-45.

[152] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 38, n.102, which also refers to H. G. Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung. Bd.II. München, Von der Spatantike bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 1994, pp. 146-230 and pp. 259-287.

[153] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 25, n.42.

Kimḥi (c.1160-1235)[154] and Langton (c.1150-1228)[155] have both suffered from scholarly neglect outside of specialist scholarly circles, which is a great loss to Chronicles scholarship, as the following discussion, which includes citations from their commentaries, I trust, will demonstrate.

Kimḥi complained that in his native Narbonne he had found only one commentary on Chronicles, filled with useless allegories, though in his prologue to his commentary on Chronicles, according to Willi he hardly deigns to call them "*commentaries.*"[156] Kimḥi's stated aim was to move away from the midrashic and homiletic interpretations of the earlier scholarship, and instead to use *peshat* exegesis, which aims to expound on the plain, literal meaning of the passage. The divide between *peshat* and *derash,* the latter of which involved metaphysical and other wider considerations, is, inevitably, not always maintained as there are areas of overlap between the two.

Importantly for the dating theme of this chapter, Kimḥi saw Chronicles as having been "written before Ezra, as it says in the book of Kings (1 Kgs 4:29);[157] they just were not yet included in the Holy Scriptures."[158] Japhet notes that Radak (Kimḥi) is among the first to argue that Chronicles, which he identified as "*the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*" cited in Kings, was written much earlier than the time of Ezra, so Ezra's role was to canonize the Judean Chronicles, which had apparently been compiled

[154] Rabbi David Kimḥi wrote his commentary in response to a request from a pupil of his father, Josef Kimḥi, a famous scholar of his day, only dealing with problematic sections. He aimed for *peshat* exegesis, to counterbalance the homiletic interpretations of earlier interpreters, avoiding the midrashic interpretations of other commentaries. This information is drawn from Peltonen, *History Debated*, p.25, also n.42 and 43.

[155] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 43, "Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury was one of the most influential theologians and church leaders of his time."

[156] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 25 and n.44.

[157] Kimḥi understands the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah to refer to the book of Chronicles when he reads it in Kings, e.g. 1Kgs 14.29, "the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה).

[158] Berger, *Rabbi David Kimḥi,* pp. 24-25.

over centuries. Kimḥi finds that Ezra's role in producing and shaping the text appears to have been relatively minimal.[159] He writes:

> Rather, they were written as a separate book, among the Chronicles of the Judean kings….Ezra included this book in the Holy Scriptures on the authority of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, and included it in the Writings and not in the Prophets because it is a historical account. Since its main purpose is to present the history and the genealogies, it was written and included among the Writings even though there are some prophecies in it.[160]

Thus in Kimḥi's thought, Ezra's only contribution was to include the Chronicles in the canon, but to exclude it from the Prophetic category, because of this perceived lack of priority given to prophetic input and intent, so instead assigning it to the Writings as an historical work.

Stephen Langton, who wrote his commentary on Chronicles at much the same time, placed special emphasis on the literal dimension, and, where he deals with spiritual and moral exposition, it is done separately. His commentary on Chronicles contains an unusual amount of grammatical jargon, at least when compared to its Christian predecessors. Langton disagreed with his predecessors, and in particular, Niger, about the identity of the author of Chronicles as being Ezra. He thought it was an unknown *historiographus* who had used "the book of Kings, his important source, in a form which to a certain extent deviated from their present text."[161] Later, he believed that Ezra had been the redactor who was responsible for the final form[162] of Kings and

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[159] S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 24. Citing Berger, *Rabbi David Kimḥi*, p. 24, n.14.

[160] Berger, *Rabbi David Kimḥi,* pp. 23-27.

[161] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 44, n.142.

[162] From a text-critical perspective there is, in a sense, no such thing as a "final form" but only various extant forms, including the LXX (or "Old Greek"), and indeed other versions of MT (eg. Aleppo

Chronicles, as well as inserting the cross-references that in Langton's opinion existed between them.[163]

Both scholars, unique in their day for breaking away from the midrashic and homiletic approach, took the plain sense of the material in their exegesis. They questioned the standard view that Ezra was responsible for writing Chronicles. Neither thought that Ezra had written it, but both thought that it was an earlier writing. Both thought that Ezra updated Chronicles. Both thought the work was of a specifically historical nature, which Kimḥi thought explained why it was not much studied.[164] Kimḥi identified the "*book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*" mentioned in the book of Kings, as being the canonical book of Chronicles. He also thought that the "*book of Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*" referred to a similar work in the northern kingdom, Israel. The Chronicles of the Kings of Israel were not included into the canon, because, as he thought, only Judah was considered to be the legitimate heir of the Davidic monarchy.[165] Both Kimḥi and Langton, once released from the idea of Ezra as the author, dated the book of Chronicles well before Ezra's time, in contrast to the later scholars where "[t]he early critical impulse tended to date the book late,"[166] as we will see starting with Abrabanel, Spinoza and de Wette.

Langton, similarly, finds the corollary that the references in Chronicles to "*the book of Kings of Judah and Israel*" mentioned at the end of the regnal reigns refers to the

Codex). It has become customary to use the Leningrad Codex as a "final form" reading by virtue of having a certain claim to being the best available text.

[163] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 44, n.143.

[164] Berger, *Rabbi David Kimḥi*, p. 3.

[165] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 26, n.50. Examples of multiple references to these books in the book of Kings: Book of the Chronicles of Kgs of Judah: 1Kgs 14.29; 1Kgs 15.7; 1Kgs 15.23. Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel: 1Kgs 15.31; 1Kgs 16.14; 1Kgs 16.20.

[166] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 24.

canonical book of Kings.[167] Given Langton's belief that Ezra gave both Kings and Chronicles their final form, adding in the references to both Kings and Chronicles, and also adding the genealogy to Chronicles, it is only a small step for him to find that these books cross-reference each other, and that Ezra would have been the person to do it. Langton only postulates the cross-referencing, but does not offer any proofs or detailed study as to the complexity and nuance of these cross-references. Kimḥi and Langton are important contributors to the discussion on dating Chronicles, the reasons for which will be examined as they both grapple with isagogic concerns.

The Early Meaning for Late Dating in Chronicles Scholarship

Scholars today mention that the "late date" attributed to Chronicles began from the earliest known times.[168] However, what is overlooked is the crucial difference between what is considered "late dating" for the pre-modern scholars of the early rabbinic period through the Middle Ages, as compared with what is considered to be "late dating" in scholarship from the nineteenth century onwards. For the early rabbinical scholarship, Ezra was believed to be the writer of Chronicles, which necessarily formed a *terminus ad quem* being the latest date possible for Chronicles to have been written, but which gave scholars full freedom for exploring other pre-exilic possibilities up to the time of Ezra, however *not beyond* Ezra's lifetime. By contrast, in today's scholarship we mostly have, with some exceptions, Ezra regarded as the *terminus post quem* from which Chronicles can launch out into the later post-exilic era. This makes an important difference to the way we regard the idea of "late-dating," using Ezra as the pivot point in each case. Japhet, when she argued for the separate authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah

[167] Peltonen: *History Debated*, p. 44, n.143. Also in Latin original in S. Langton, *Commentary on the Book of Chronicles*: In Langton's *peshat* commentary on 2 Chr. 36.8, pp. 204-205.

[168] Japhet, I and II Chronicles, p. 24. cf. B. Spinoza, *Theological Political Treatise,* 1670, translated by R.H.M. Elwes, in *The Chief Works of Benedict Spinoza,* New York, 1957.

and Chronicles,[169] immediately upheld the *terminus post quem* for dating Chronicles to have been composed *after* Ezra-Nehemiah, which has set the direction for Chronicles' dating, with a few exceptions, ever since. By contrast, for the medieval scholars, Kimḥi and Langton, with the time of Ezra as the *terminus ad quem*, their investigations took them into the pre-exilic period *before* and *up to* the time of Ezra. Rabbi David Kimḥi (c.1160-1235A.D) could thus write in his commentary:

> Our sages of blessed memory (*b. Baba Bathra* 15a), said that Ezra wrote this book. But in fact, these Chronicles of the Judean kings were written before Ezra, *as it says in the book of Kings*; they just were not yet included in the Holy Scriptures. Rather, they were written as a separate book, *among the Chronicles of the Judean kings* [my emphases]. Similarly, the Chronicles of the Israelite kings were written in a book; but that book was not included in the Holy Scriptures because the Israelite kingship did not survive. In the future, only the Davidic kingship will arise, as the prophet says: "and there shall be one prince for all of them" (cf. Ezek. 37:24), and "Never again shall they be two nations, and never again shall they be divided into two kingdoms" (Ezek. 37:22). But the book of the Chronicles of the Judean kings was properly included in the Holy Scriptures, to relate events pertaining to the Judean kings and their exile until their ascent from the exile.[170]

Thus we see that Kimḥi took seriously the formulaic citations which refer to the book of Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel as our canonical book of Chronicles plus a northern Chronicle now lost. He also seems to accept that both works were concurrent because the book of Kings also referred to

[169] Japhet, "Supposed Common Authorship."
[170] Berger, *Rabbi David Kimḥi,* p. 6.

Chronicles. Both of these he saw as being updated on a continuing basis until the return from exile, hence a running account. Kimḥi thus understood the references in the book of Kings "And the rest of the acts of King X, they are written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?" as referring to our book of Chronicles, being updated in a continuous way over time. Berger analyses this passage as follows:

> According to Radak, then, the book [of Chronicles] is fundamentally a representation of the Judean Chronicles mentioned in the book of Kings which *continued to be updated until the return from exile*, [my emphasis] not the ideologically driven post-exilic composition suggested by his [Radak's] predecessors.[171]

The ideologically driven post-exilic compositions he refers to are those such as Pseudo-Rashi who "argues that Ezra wrote the book in order to validate the Davidic, priestly, and Levite lineage, apparently in an effort to re-establish a Jewish polity and cultic community in Jerusalem after the exile."[172]

It is interesting that Kimḥi reaches this idea of on-going updating, which is an essential feature of all chronicles, seemingly without having considered the possibility that the book of Chronicles might be an actual example of a chronicle.

Langton, who believed Chronicles to be written by an *Hystoriographus*, hence unlike Kimḥi, does not see it as an ongoing work but as an historical work. Langton comments that "the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" frequently referred to in Chronicles is to be identified with the book of Kings.[173] Chronicles on the other hand is called the

[171] Berger, *Rabbi David Kimḥi*, pp. 6-7.
[172] Berger, *Rabbi David Kimḥi*, p. 5.
[173] Saltman, *Stephen Langton,* p. 24 n.58: 2.6.11 *Sed quis est iste liber regum Juda et Israel? Dicimus quod liber Regum*.

"book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" as it does not concern itself with the history of the kingdom of Israel. At one point Langton calls a passage in Chronicles "a gloss on Kings," which causes Saltman to comment: "This proves that in Langton's opinion Kings was written before Chronicles."[174] As Langton detects cross-referencing between Kings and Chronicles, as has been alluded to already, this poses a dating problem for him, which he address in the next section (2.36.8):

> *[i]n the book of the kings of Israel and Judah* – namely the book of Kings. But one is often asked, "Which comes first, Kings or Chronicles?" If we say Kings is first, how then do we account for the texts in Kings referring the reader to passages dealing with special activities of the kings i.e. the book of Chronicles? But if on the basis of such texts we say that Chronicles comes first, how do we account for what is written here and previously in many places: the rest is written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, i.e. the book of Kings? The solution: The Book of Kings comes first in time and Chronicles was written a long time after. But Ezra, who restored the Bible which had been burnt by the Babylonians, inserted much material of his own which had not appeared in the original text (*in prima veritate*). Similarly it was he who inserted these cross-references between the two books. It is likewise said of the Evangelists that each kept back material for the others to add. Similarly with Deuteronomy: Moses wrote it, but the passage relating to his death…was not written by Moses but added by Joshua….This is what Ezra has done here and in the book of Kings by adding the cross-references. Similarly we find in the *Elenchi* – "as is said in

[174] Saltman, *Stephen Langton*, p. 24. Citing 2.18.31 of Langton's commentary: *Clamavit ad Dominum*. Hoc Glossa est illius quod dicitur in Regum quod *exclamavit*, scilicet tantum, et ita videtur quod ad vocem eum cognoverunt, p. 170.

> the *Analytici*," and in the *Analytici* – "as it is said in the *Elenchi.*" The reason for this is that the one was written first, but the other is studied first…[175]

Saltman's comment on the above passage reveals how sharply this passage diverges from other earlier medieval discussions:

> There does not seem to be any parallel to this kind of discussion in the earlier medieval exegesis, at any rate since Jerome and Augustine. Clearly Langton did much to set the tone for the study of the Bible in the medieval Universities.[176]

While noting the unique critical stance of Langton here, what we can take from his comments is that, despite Saltman's footnote disclaimer that Langton intends no chronological significance to be read into these comments,[177] it can be seen that Langton thought that Chronicles was written "a long time after" Kings, but that Chronicles had to be re-written because it was destroyed in Babylon, a re-writing which Ezra did, inserting "much material of his own," who also added the cross-references between Kings and Chronicles.[178] The "long time after" is clearly not beyond the time of Ezra in Langton's understanding.

Further, Langton, while he accepts the identification of "*the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel*" as being the canonical book of Kings, points out on more than one occasion that the canonical text of the book of Kings differs to some extent from the pre-Ezran text of Kings familiar to the Chronicler.[179] The dating implications in Langton's view cannot be avoided. Chronicles was in his view re-written at the time of Ezra, *and no*

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[175] Saltman, *Stephen Langton*, p. 25.
[176] Saltman, *Stephen Langton*, p. 25.
[177] Saltman, *Stephen Langton*, p. 25, n.64.
[178] Saltman, *Stephen Langton*, p. 25.
[179] Saltman, *Stephen Langton*, p. 24; Commentary Refs: 2.36.8, pp. 204-205.

later, with the earlier material reconstructed by Ezra with his own additions and cross-references.

Kimḥi and Langton, who examined the real possibility that Chronicles had pre-exilic origins, realized that this also necessarily means that Ezra could not have been the original writer of Chronicles, even though Langton attributes to Ezra the cross-referencing of Chronicles. This was a new departure from the earlier "midrashic" writings from which Kimḥi explicitly dissociated himself during an age where other scholars had reached a consensus that Ezra had written Chronicles. Thus both Kimḥi and Langton were free to identify the reference "*The book of the Kings of Judah and Israel*" as referring to the biblical Book of Kings, and "*The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*" as referring to the book of Chronicles. While Kimḥi saw an earlier dating for Chronicles than Langton did, Langton also saw Chronicles as being written earlier than Ezra. It is Kimḥi, who explicitly identifies Chronicles as an on-going piece of writing over time, while Langton explicitly discerns and explains the system of cross-referencing between the book of Kings and Chronicles, which he attributes to Ezra's handiwork.

It is not certain where Langton received his theory or information about the Babylonian book burning, but it seems clear that he thought the original book of Chronicles existed from earlier times, and that a copy of it went into exile to Babylon, or it was copied during the exilic period. His solution to finding Kings and Chronicles referring to each other is resolved by having Ezra insert these source references.

Thus Langton's insights about cross-referencing between the books of Chronicles and Kings, being written early but cross-referenced by Ezra much later, raises the question, if we are taking the references seriously, as to how Ezra several hundred years later

would have gained such intimate knowledge in order to identify each prophetic writer who had contributed, could display such an intimate knowledge of obscure prophets' contributions to the books of Kings and Chronicles whose names are mentioned in this cross-referencing. This would require current knowledge, as there are no indications in either work as to which prophet wrote each section, yet the cross-references mention these specific names.[180] Langton regards these works by obscure prophets as lost books.[181] As Noth notes, each prophet mentioned in Kings and Chronicles is positioned correctly in the regnal period in which he lived and prophesied.[182] This notion of cross-referencing, if taken seriously, needs further investigation, which will be covered in Chapter 4.

The identification of the names by which both Kings and Chronicles are called, the "late-dating" as referring to a pre-Ezran period, Langton's insight of Kings and Chronicles cross-referencing each other, Kimḥi's view of Chronicles as pre-dating Ezra-Nehemiah, being a running account within a framework where both Kimḥi and

[180] E.g. In Kings, where "the rest of the Acts of Solomon" are referred to (1.Kgs 11.41) we find in Chronicles at the parallel section in the narrative, the reference to "the rest of the acts of Solomon" being found in "the Visions of Iddo the Seer, the words of Nathan the prophet and the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite" (2 Chr 9.29). After the kingdom is divided, during the reign of Rehoboam, the reference in Chronicles mentions Shemaiah the prophet and Iddo the Seer (2 Chr 12.15).

[181] Saltman, *Stephen Langton*, p. 24. "Jewish exegetes tended to identify these 'books' (Nathan, Gad, Iddo, etc.) with portions of the existing books of Samuel and Kings. Langton, however, refrains from identifying them with any books or portions of books in the OT. He assumes rather that these writings were among those irretrievably lost at the time of the Babylonian Captivity." See Langton 1.29.29 (p. 142) and 2.9.29 (p. 158).

[182] Noth, *Chronistic History*, p. 53. "Almost without exception he [the Chronicler] refers in this matter to prophets who are known from Samuel-Kings to have been contemporaries of those kings whose history they are supposed to have recorded." Noth does not thereby think the source citations are genuine. "It can be clearly demonstrated that this is simply a case of following a literary convention in the wake of Dtr. and not of actually citing sources that have been used….Chronicles had no *Vorlage* other than the traditional book of Samuel. On the whole this is quite obvious and does not need to be proved in detail, p. 53-54. Noth's view of Chronicles colours his viewpoint, so having dismissed the source citations as "literary adornments" he writes: "…on the one hand, with his characteristic carelessness in such matters Chr. varies the wording of Dtr's concluding remarks in a variety of ways, and on the other hand, he makes frequent, though thoroughly inconsistent, reference to all kinds of prophetic writings instead of to the royal annals. This is obviously due to the general assumption that the ancient history of the people of Israel was at that time recorded by contemporary prophets," p. 56, and n.37.

Langton take the formulaic citations seriously, are some of the thought-provoking insights to be found within their commentaries.

The Late Medieval Period: Chronicles Goes "Post-Ezran"

The Medieval period was not static. Langton and Kimḥi in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries set the tone for *peshat* and isagogical exegesis. In the late middle ages leading into the early "Enlightenment" period, we find the sixteenth and seventeenth century Jewish scholars, Abrabanel, Delmedigo and Spinoza, within whose works, while not necessarily sharing much else in common, Chronicles first began age-shedding, losing hundreds of years in presumed age.

Isaak Abrabanel (1437-1508 A.D.) who had only read one commentary on Chronicles, namely that of Kimḥi, thought there was no place for Chronicles in the writings of Jewish scholars, but nevertheless made some comments which throw light on the date he assigned to Chronicles. He clearly agreed with Kimḥi that Chronicles pre-dated Ezra-Nehemiah. A significant point is that Abrabanel contemplated the idea of Chronicles and Ezra as forming a literary and historiographical unit because of their historical continuity at the point where the book of Ezra continues from where Chronicles left off.[183] He thereby drew attention to the possibility of the Chronistic history work (CHW hypothesis) which has impacted on the dating of Chronicles.[184]

[183] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 29, n. p. 60. Klosterman 1898c, p. 95; Rosenthal 1937, p. 462, n.1; Willi 1972, p. 22. Cf. here comment of Gersonides (see above n.55) according to which Chronicles and the book of Ezra had a common author because they resembled each other linguistically (see Kalimi 1993, p. 225, n.5; 1995, p. 9 n.25.)

[184] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 29, n.60. Cited in E. I. J. Rosenthal, "Don Isaac Abravanel: Financier, Statesman and Scholar, 1437," *BJRL*, 1937, pp. 445-478; p. 462, n.1.

Rosenthal suggests here that Abrabanel laid a preliminary foundation for the future historical-critical isagogics.[185]

Joseph Salomo Delmedigo (1591-1655 A.D.) wrote an essay in 1629 A.D. on Chronicles in a collection of essays called "Collection of Wisdom" (מצרף לחכמה).[186] He clearly heralded the later critical research of Chronicles as Peltonen observes.[187] He did not think Ezra wrote Chronicles. He was the first scholar to attach it to a post-exilic date[188] well past the time of Ezra. A crucial passage for defining the date of Chronicles was, in Delmedigo's opinion, the genealogy of the post-exilic descendants of David (1 Chr 3.17-24). Further, he identifies the genre of Chronicles as *Auslegung* (Interpretation) so that, according to Willi, to whom this genre description is generally attributed, Delmedigo's work contains "*die Ergebnisse des historisch-kritischen Chronik-Verständnisses in nuce."*[189] The effect of observing this interpretative nature of Chronicles, and given that he gave Chronicles a *late post-exilic* date, meant that he drew a conclusion that touched upon its historical reliability. However the impact of this was not strong because not only was his essay not a commentary, but as far as biblical scholarship went, he was regarded as an outsider, a dabbler, perhaps, as he was a physician, not trained in biblical scholarship.[190]

Here may be observed a strong connection between late-dating and doubting the Chronicles' historicity, though which comes first may be questionable. What is important to note at this point is that the late-dating beyond the time of Ezra did not

[185] Peltonen, *History Debated,* p. 29. Citing E. I. J. Rosenthal, "Don Isaac Abravanel: Financier, Statesman and Scholar, 1437," *BJRL*, 1937, pp. 445-478; p. 462, n.1.

[186] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 29.

[187] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 30.

[188] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 31, n.63.

[189] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 30, n.64. "The results of the historical-critical understanding of Chronicle in a nutshell."

[190] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 30, n.65.

happen suddenly in de Wette's time. The inspiration for it was built up in the centuries beforehand where the most impactful of these ideas could be seen in the works of Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), as Peltonen writes:

> [T]he signs of the times to come had already been in sight earlier. One of these, especially with respect to biblical scholarship and thus the research of Chronicles, was the work of the Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza….[191]

For Spinoza (1632-1677 A.D.) as Peltonen describes it, "[t]he Bible was essentially a historical document that had to be examined rationally from its own premises and terminology."[192] Spinoza's method contained a demand for both thorough linguistic examination (cf. the Peshat tradition) and critical enquiry into the religious and literary history of the Bible. Moreover he emphasized the importance of isagogical questions. Though Spinoza, in *Tractatus-theologico-politicus*, only made a few remarks about Chronicles, they were telling: he believed Chronicles belonged to a very late age, maybe even to the time after the restoration of the temple in the Maccabean era, which would put it around 160 B.C.[193]

Here may be seen in Spinoza's work a possible link between doubting the historicity and late-dating (to well into the post-exile period) the book, in whichever order these conclusions were reached. He also clearly had no concept of chronographic writing (e.g. chronicling) which requires a different dating method. This very late dating by Spinoza paved the way for de Wette and others to date Chronicles after Ezra's time. Logically therefore for Spinoza, Ezra was not the author. According to Spinoza nothing was known about the person who had written it.

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[191] Peltonen*, History Debated*, p. 30, 31.
[192] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 32.
[193] Peltonen, *History Debated*, p. 34, also n.84: See Willi, 1972, 29, n.28.

He was not convinced of the general utility and authority of Chronicles. He noted the contradictions between Chronicles and other historical material in the Old Testament, so ultimately when he doubted Ezra's authorship a logical choice lay before him: he could have seen in Chronicles a pre-exilic or a post-exilic date, but he chose the latter. This is one of the earliest examples of post-exilic late-dating combined with the scholar's sceptical viewpoint on Chronicles' reliability.[194]

Nineteenth Century Late-Dating in Chronicles' Scholarship

De Wette's *Beiträge*[195] is commonly invoked by scholars from the early nineteenth century onwards when attributing to Chronicles post-exilic late-date, even finding support for it by mentioning that this late-dating stemmed from the earliest periods of the rabbinical and medieval periods. What is not pointed out is the major shift in meaning that this in fact represents. There is an important difference in what "late" means for the rabbinical and for the early to mid-medieval scholars, for whom it means up to and including the time of Ezra, as compared with what "late" has meant from the early nineteenth century onwards for scholars for whom it means the period starting from Ezra onwards for about three hundred and fifty years.

This type of argumentation, the fallacy of equivocation, falls under a type of argument called an informal logical fallacy, where the meaning is understood one way in the premise, but in the development of the argument, the meaning is shifted, so that the conclusion reached has shifted from its full or true meaning. This fallacy of

[194] Peltonen, *History Debated*, Vol. 2, p. 34.

[195] W. M. De Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* Schimmelpfennig und Compagnie, Halle, Germany, 1805.

equivocation[196] usually used with a semantic shift of word meanings, is done in this case by making a change of context, while treating the contexts as equivalent.[197]

Thus the fallacy of equivocation used by de Wette is here achieved by changing the understanding of late-dating from the pre-Ezran period to the post-Ezran period, a sleight of hand deception, which may well have gone unnoticed even by de Wette himself, but which seems to have had serious consequences for the scholarship, and in particular the dating, of Chronicles up to the present. De Wette's argument runs:

Premise/Proposition: Earliest scholarship gave a late-date to Chronicles (meaning the pre-Ezran period)

Inference: This supports the current argument for giving a late-date to Chronicles (post-Ezran period = shift of meaning from "pre-Ezran" to "post-Ezran")

Conclusion: Therefore we can accept a late-date (starting from the post-Ezra period) = *(Fallacy of equivocation,* or sometimes called *Bait and switch)*

The phrase "late-dating" has shifted from meaning "late-dating up to the time of Ezra" to meaning instead "late-dating from the time of Ezra onwards." De Wette thus changed the context within which Chronicles is examined by treating as equivalent two distinct understandings of the term "late-date." This has had far-reaching consequences for the fate of Chronicles, being viewed in this post-exilic dispensation within the genre

[196] Equivocation ("to call by the same name") is classified as an informal logical fallacy.

[197] To illustrate further the informal logical fallacy: the *fallacy of equivocation* argument:
Premise/Proposition: Man-eating sharks eat men.
Inference: Men are male human beings. (= Shift of meaning from "mankind" to "males")
Conclusion: Therefore females are safe from sharks. (*Fallacy of equivocation*)
The conclusion is clearly not true. The word "man" has shifted from meaning "mankind," to meaning "male" as opposed to "female," leading to a wrong conclusion. This type of argument is sometimes called a "*bait and switch*" argument, where the premise (the bait) is an acceptable statement, then the inference is in fact a shift of meaning (the switch), which, if it is not picked up, leads unwittingly to a fallacious conclusion.

of history, where the late-dating is also often used to support the accusations of tendentiousness.

Japhet points to the first steps taken towards the late-dating after the time of Ezra by Spinoza and its influence on later scholars:

> The early critical impulse was to date the book late. Since Ezra was proposed as the final author of all the 'nine books' [Genesis to Kings]… and later [the author of] the Pentateuch or the 'Priestly Source' alone… the composition of Chronicles had to be pushed to a much later date, and relegated as far as the Maccabean period.[198]

No scholar today thinks Ezra was the final author of these works, but the critical impulse to date Chronicles later rather than earlier became the critical norm.

The "P" Factor's Impact on the Post Exilic Dating of Chronicles

The Documentary Hypothesis discerned four strands of tradition within the Pentateuch, naming them J for the Jahwist, E for the Elohist, D for the Deuteronomist and P for the Priestly. From the earliest times of identifying these strands of tradition diachronically through the ages rather than synchronically, P was considered to be the oldest. It was Reuss in his lectures then Vatke in his writings, who first mooted the idea that the Priestly material P was not the earliest but was the latest in the JEDP Pentateuchal Hypothesis.[199] Reuss came to this conclusion as early as 1833, and wrote later, "In

[198] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 24. Citation from B. Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* or *Theological-Political Treatise* (1670), translated by R. H. M. Elwes, in The Chief Works of Benedict de Spinoza, New York, 1957, p. 146; Also J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, sechste Ausgabe, Berlin: Druck und Verlag Georg Reimer. First published 1878, pp. 405-408.

[199] Peltonen, *History Debated,* Vol. 1, p. 409: Peltonen describes how "…a system was born in which everything known about the history and religion of ancient Israel seemed to fall neatly into its proper place from the historical point of view – everything except Chronicles, that is, for this book formed a threat to the entire system.

more than one point my system was indeed originally…a product of intuition."[200] This remark is similar to Wellhausen's later comment on first hearing this hypothesis:

> [I]n the summer of 1867, I learned through Ritschl that Karl Heinrich Graf placed the Law later than the prophets, and, almost without knowing his reasons for the hypothesis, I was prepared to accept it; I readily acknowledged to myself the possibility of understanding Hebrew antiquity without the book of the Torah.[201]

This would seem to be an illustration of how one's *a priori* assumptions come into play so that what seems like a sudden insight, is one towards which one has been moving all along, unaware of the gathering framework of ideas directing one's purview. Graham sees Reuss's influence on Wellhausen being at this very point where he writes: "Reuss's greatest contribution to Old Testament studies is usually seen in his suggestion to Graf that P was later than the other Pentateuchal sources."[202] Graham notes that this re-dating of D and P took place over several decades in the nineteenth century:

> A period of thirty years elapsed between the suggestion by Reuss and Vatke that P material should be assigned a later date than Deuteronomy and the resurrection of the theory by Graf in 1866….Graf's opinion that P should be dated late guided him, therefore, to discount much of what the Chronicler wrote about the pre-exile cult. Graf believed that the Chronicler's primary aim had

[200] E. Reuss, *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments.* first edition, C. A. Schwetschke & Son, 1881, Braunschweig, 1957, p. VII. Cited in M. P. Graham, *Utilization 1 & 2 Chronicles,* SBL Dissertation Series, Scholars' Press, Atlanta, Georgia, 1990, p. 119.

[201] M. P. Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 142. Citing: J. Wellhausen, *The Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel,* Peter Smith, Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1973, pp. 3-4.

[202] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles*, pp. 118-119.

> been to edify his readers….The Chronicler, therefore, pursued his aim by the selection and editing of relevant materials. [203]

As early as 1859, Graf had already taken a stand with de Wette and Gramberg about the Chronicler's reliability, or lack thereof:[204]

> Like Graf, Kuenen thought the Chronicles were useful for examining the post-exilic reconstruction. He also accepted the CHW-Hypothesis, believing that Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles were part of one work. He was greatly impressed with Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* which came out seven years before his own work. It was Kuenen, as a Pentateuchal scholar, who first suggested to Graf in a letter written in 1869 that P came last in the sources, for which Graf gave no credit to Kuenen.[205]

Bishop Colenso believed that Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles formed one book written by a Levite Chorister derived from sources "composed after the Captivity,"[206] dating Chronicles to about 330 B.C. Colenso was a man of strong words. Given his late-dating of P and his choleric approach, Colenso's view of Chronicles is hardly surprising in its conclusions and forcefulness:

> I have examined the two Books of Chronicles, and have shown that in those Books the real facts of Jewish history, as given in Samuel-Kings, have been systematically distorted and falsified in order to support the fictions of the LL (Later Legislation), and glorify the priestly and Levitical body, to which the

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[203] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 128, 130.

[204] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 131.

[205] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* Pp 135. Citing T. K. Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, Methuen, London, 1893, pp. 192-193; P. H. Wickstead, "Abraham Kuenen," *JQR,* 1892, p. 588; R. J. Thompson, *Moses and the Law in a Century of Criticism Since Graf*, VTSup 19, Brill, Leiden, 1970, pp. 54-55.

[206] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 141.

> Chronicler himself belonged. It is impossible to acquit him (the Chronicler) of the grievous offence of falsifying for future generations the well-known facts of actual history.[207]

Setting aside the invective, it is possible to extract from Colenso's writing that his view is that he simplistically supposed that a late P made for mendacity, while an early Samuel-Kings makes for historical truth. It brings out clearly the unnuanced assumption that late-dating of P, if not exactly necessary for discrediting Chronicles, is at least of great support in discrediting Chronicles as far as having any value for reconstructing Israel's history. This is in line with Graham's finding that:

> [T]hose scholars in the latter half of the nineteenth century who hold an exilic or post-exilic date for the Priestly Code tended to have a low estimation of Chronicles' value for the reconstruction of Israel's pre-exilic history.[208]

It was Wellhausen (1844-1918) who drew all the nineteenth century strands together to form the new paradigm which had as its central postulate that the Priestly material (P) came after the Deuteronomic material (D) within which, with many modifications, we work to this day. He gives generous acknowledgement of de Wette and Vatke who both greatly influenced him. He wrote that he was indebted to Vatke for "the most and the best" of his own work.[209]

Wellhausen's claims about Vatke's influence on him would seem to refer selectively only to Vatke's early writing, for he did not seem aware of the changes in Vatke's viewpoint outlined in his later work, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Alte*

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[207] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 141.
[208] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 169.
[209] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 123, n.23.

Testament published in 1849.[210] Vatke grew disenchanted with the Hegelian idea that religion gradually moved to higher levels through the conflict of opposing forces in the dialectic process.[211] As it loosed its hold on him, this simultaneously seems to have released him from the requirement to late-date the P material. Graham comments:

> In the years following 1849, Vatke's attitude toward Hegel's philosophy began to change, and he came to see less value in it….the author's views about the Pentateuch had undergone significant changes since the publication of *Die biblische Theologie* in 1835. According to his *Einleitung*, Vatke dated the Priestly Code in the last years of Hezekiah, before both J and D.[212]

Graham identifies an interesting point when he notes the link between Vatke's disenchantment with Hegelian philosophy and his revision from a late-dating of P. Whether this was causal or part of a wider shift in viewpoint is not discussed. Whatever the case, Wellhausen does not seem to have been aware of or influenced by these posthumously published arguments of Vatke. Graham notes that in Wellhausen's extensive treatment of Chronicles in the *Prolegomena*:

> [H]is interest was not in Chronicles for its own sake. Rather his attention was focused on the problem of historical development and his desire was to establish the place of Chronicles in the history of Israel's religion.[213]

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[210] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 124. Vatke's later essays were collected, edited and issued as *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* published four years after his death, in 1886.

[211] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 124, also n.27. Graham cites W. Vatke, "The entire history of Old Testament religion is, so far, a constant battle and victory of thought over what is natural…." *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Eds., H. G. S. Priesse and E. Strauss, Bonn, 1886, pp. 388-389, 402.

[212] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* pp. 123-124.

[213] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 145.

To this end Graham quotes Wellhausen's desire to trace the changing "spirit of each age":

> [T]he Hexateuch is of course our object, but we make our commencement rather with the properly historical books. For on various grounds we are here able with greater certainty to assert: Such was the aspect of history at this period of time, and such were the influences which prevailed at another. We begin where the matter is clearest – namely, with the Book of Chronicles.[214]

In other words, Wellhausen is saying that the central topic of Wellhausen's work, the Hexateuch, is to be placed into a framework where the book of Chronicles will be seen to have evolved from the Hexateuch rather than the Hexateuch drawing on the law content in Chronicles. Chronicles is deemed to represent the Judaic post-exilic "spirit of the age" with its rigidity and legal codifications with its corresponding loss of historical value, thereby establishing the Hexateuch as earlier than the Chronicles. Wellhausen writes: "The alterations and additions of Chronicles are all traceable to the same fountain head – the Judaising of the past."[215]

Beyond observing Wellhausen's simplistic assumption of diachronic linear evolution, there seems no rational way to account for the deeply disparaging tone that he uses in reference to Chronicles, unless his Protestant anti-clericalism finds expression in anti-Semitism and/or anti-Roman Catholicism. He claims, for example, that "the feasts entirely lose their peculiar characteristics…deprived of their natural spontaneity, and degraded into mere 'exercises of religion.'"[216] Further, Graham would seem correct in

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[214] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 145, n.116. Citing Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 172.

[215] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 145-146. Citing Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 223.

[216] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 101.

seeing a strong reliance of Wellhausen on de Wette who saw Chronicles "as worthless for historical construction of the pre-exilic period."[217]

Knoppers describes the reasons that compelled Wellhausen to discredit Chronicles as historically reliable, and thereby to establish the Documentary Hypothesis with the P material as the last in the JEDP ordering of the sources. Chronicles exhibits an extensive use of legislation, and in particular is reliant on Mosaic legislation. In depicting the monarchy, the Chronicler explicitly rates royal performance with reference to Mosaic precedent or Sinaitic legislation on at least thirty occasions.[218] Kings, by contrast, only refers to Mosaic precedent or legislation nineteen times:[219]

> The Chronicler deliberately introduces an emphasis in his narrative which did not figure as prominently in his *Vorlage*. Were earlier legislation not such a prominent and consistent motif in Chronicles, de Wette (1806-7), Vatke (1886), and Wellhausen (1885; 1889) would never have privileged Chronicles with such extensive historical criticism.[220]

The presence of the priestly law in Chronicles, harkening back to the ancient law of Moses and Aaron, means that Chronicles had to be late-dated in order to fit in with the late-dating of P so as to make it the last strand of tradition in the Documentary Hypothesis JEDP. Thus Chronicles had to be viewed as tendentious in order to uphold

[217] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 115.

[218] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9,* p. 82-83, also n.78: 1 Chr 15.15; 16.40; 21.29; 22.12, 13; 2 Chr 1.3; 5.10; 6.16; 8.13; 12.1; 14.3;15.3; 17.9; 19.10; 23.18; 24.6, 9; 25.4; 30.5, 16; 31.3, 4, 21; 33.8; 34.14, 15, 19; 35.6, 12, 26. In 1 Chr 24.19 the manner in which the priests are to enter the temple is based on an Aaronic precedent, (itself attributed to a divine command).

[219] Knoppers*, I Chronicles 1-9,* p. 83. 1 Kgs 2.3; 8.9, 53, 56; 21.8; 2 Kgs 10.31; 14.6; 17.13, 34, 37; 18.4, 6, 12; 21.8; 22.18; 23.24; 23.25.

[220] Knoppers*, I Chronicles 1-9,* p. 83.

a set of fashionable but unprovable evolutionary presuppositions. Knoppers notes the prevalence of the Mosaic Law in Chronicles:

> To prove the tenability of the Documentary Hypothesis, these scholars found it necessary to discredit Chronicles as a trustworthy source for reconstructing pre-exilic history, specifically the use of law as an ancient criterion for evaluating monarchical conduct. Far from receding in importance after the introduction of the Davidic promises (1 Chr 17), Mosaic legislation consistently occupies an important place in Chronicles and should not be overlooked in any study of Chronistic theology.[221]

Graham shows how the dating of Chronicles into the late post-exilic period was accomplished:

> There are two factors that were decisive in accounting for the differences between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings and thus for the preparation of an outline for Israel's religious development. The first was the date of Chronicles, which Wellhausen set at the beginning of the Greek period – three hundred years after the composition of Samuel-Kings….The second factor that helped explain the differences between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings was the fact that the additions and changes in the former were in accordance with the Priestly Code and so pre-supposed the completed Pentateuch.[222]

[221] Knoppers*, I Chronicles 1 -9,* p. 83.

[222] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 145. Graham writes that Wellhausen was also decisively influenced by W. M. L. de Wette's "Critical Essay on the Credibility of the Books of Chronicles," *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* Vol. i. 3, Schimmelpfennig, Halle, 1805.

Peter Machinist writes, regarding Wellhausen's lack of engagement with the wider Mesopotamian discoveries coming to light in his time[223] that he not only did not engage in the debate himself but criticized Gunkel and Meyer strongly for the way they approached the matter, describing Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* as only chaos,[224] and writing so strongly against Meyer, that Meyer recanted.[225] These are not isolated incidents.[226]

Oddly, Wellhausen affirmed, even in the midst of his critiques of Meyer and Gunkel, the relevance of extra-Biblical sources for the Bible.[227] Nevertheless, Albright was correct in noting that Wellhausen never followed his own advice to continue the study of cuneiform and the exploration of its relevance to Biblical studies.[228]

Graf and Wellhausen in the Documentary Hypothesis, in arguing for a late date for P, "were to undercut the foundations upon which the acceptance of the historical value of

[223] Machinist, "The Road not taken," pp. 469-531: Protestantism's "*sola scriptura*" (p. 505) and German Romanticism (p. 501) with its attendant rise of nationalism, translated into biblical terms, meant to seek Israel and Judah's national expression from "*von innen heraus"* ("from inside out") as Wellhausen expressed it (p. 152). Meyer criticized Wellhausen's *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte,* 1894, for this "*von innen heraus,"* (pp. 519- 520) and the pursuit of source criticism (*Quellenkritik*) to find the "master text" within the bible text (p. 521), while at the same time ignoring the state of the field of Assyriological excavations both before and during 1860-1880 when Wellhausen was pursuing his university education (p. 485). The early efforts at translation led him to express doubts about the polyvalent cuneiform script leading to accurate translations, indeed Machinist thinks he was too cautious in his use of cuneiform texts to reconstruct Mesopotamian history and illumine Biblical literature and culture (p. 495). These factors came together with his own decision to move away from theology to philosophy, in particular he had a choice between Aramaic, Arabic or Assyriology. In the end for practical considerations he went into Arabic which he had already learned from Ewald (p. 506).

[224] Machinist, "The Road not taken," pp. 514-515. Referring to H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit, eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap. Joh. 12*. Göttingen, 1895. English Translation with introduction by K. W. Whitney, *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton: A Religio-Historical Study of Genesis I and Revelation 12*, Grand Rapids, 2006.

[225] Machinist, "The Road not taken," pp. 516-517. Referring to E. Meyer, *Julius Wellhausen und meine Schrift, Die Entstehung des Judenthums. Eine Erwiderung*, Halle, a. S. 1897.

[226] Perlit, *Vatke und Wellhausen*, p. 165-167; R. Smend, "Wellhausen, Julius", *EncJud* 16, 1971. P. 444, quoted in Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 146. Wellhausen was vigorously dismissive of those who opposed his views, calling Ewald, for instance, the "great restrainer" who prevented advances in Old Testament scholarship by his adherence to the early dating of P.

[227] Machinist, "The Road not taken," pp. 469-531.

[228] Machinist, "The Road not taken," p. 496.

Chronicles had rested."[229] Thereafter the straightforward assumption of simple to complex developing over time, without examination of other possibilities such as synchronic writings for different purposes or regional variations, undergirded this thinking, which also lacked the benefit of later archaeological and epigraphic discoveries to give nuance to the thinking.[230]

Developments from Wellhausen to Modern Times

Wellhausen's hypothesis has been strongly attacked and some would say even disproven. However, the crucial point, the late dating of P, is still part of the scholarly consensus to this day. Weinfeld laments this:

> Thus, until today, Wellhausen's view of P's date is taken as axiomatic, a foregone conclusion according to which one establishes the dating of institutions, concepts, literary strata, and even linguistic usages in the Bible….[231]

There is no real reason to suppose that a later piece of writing should not be historically accurate, nor that an early piece should not be tendentious, but Graham, who looks at the scholars immediately following Wellhausen, notes that those who give a late date

[229] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 145.

[230] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles*, p. 118, n.1. Graham lists the scriptures that gave force to these arguments, such as the two accounts of King Uzziah's leprosy in 2 Kgs 15.5//2 Chr 26.16-21. Both attribute the leprosy to sin, in Kings because Uzziah did not remove the high places, but in Chronicles gives details of his attempt to offer incense in the temple, which reflects "the Priestly Code (Ex 30.1-10; Num 16.40; 18.1-7) that only descendants of Aaron were allowed to perform he sacred act of offering incense. Note also the substitution of Levites for priests in 2 Chr 5.4 (cf. 2[*sic*] Kgs 8.3) in accordance with the legislation in P in Num 3.31 and 4.15." The incorrect citation 2 Kgs 8.3 should read 1 Kgs 8.3,4, and 2 Chr 5.4 should include v. 7, where, in both cases there is no substitution of Levites for priests, as both Levites and priests are mentioned in both selections.

[231] Weinfeld, *Law in Ancient Israel,* p. XII and n.5: "More than half a century ago Y. Kaufmann set out in his Hebrew *History of the Israelite Religion* (vol. 1, 1937) to prove that the Priestly Code antedates the Book of Deuteronomy, and therefore stems from the First Temple period. While Kaufmann's line has found considerable support among Jewish scholars in Israel and elsewhere, Christian scholarship has generally adhered to the Wellhausenian approach."

to P also see the Chronicles having the least value for a reconstruction of the history of Israel; whereas those who give P an earlier date, on the whole, see Chronicles as valuable for the reconstruction of Israel's history. Graham gives a summary of each of the scholars who fall into each group in the late nineteenth century.[232] The view of Samuel-Kings as being earlier than Chronicles was a further basis for viewing Chronicles unfavourably, the time lag between them being given as the reason for discrediting Chronicles.

The various efforts to redate P, that central pivot in the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, have not yet worked their way through the whole paradigm, so Chronicles is still not free from the shackles of the late-dating of P, an assumption which underlies Noth's work, to be discussed in the next section.

Current Views of Dating of Chronicles

"Since Martin Noth's seminal work in 1943,[233] the dominant opinion has been that one author was responsible for the book of Chronicles with some subsequent glossing of the text."[234] Noth's foundational literary-critical argument that 1 Chronicles 23-27 is a secondary addition, was challenged in 1979 by Williamson,[235] where Williamson concluded that the core of these chapters come from the author but were later revised at key points by a pro-priestly reviser. Williamson's challenge found support from

[232] Graham, *Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 151. Exilic or Post-Exilic date for the composition of all or part of P: Seinecke (1876/1884); Meyer 1884-1902, Stade 1887/1888, Renan 1887-1893. Piepenbring 1898, and Guthe 1899, Budde 1892 article on Chronicles as a Midrash, 1892, and OT introduction, 1906. Pre-Exilic date for the composition of the Priestly Code: Köhler (1875-1893), Kittel (1888-1892), Klostermann (1896) and Oettli (1905); Chronicles commentaries by Zöckler (1897), Kittel (1902), Neteler (1899) and Oettli (1889) and introductory treatments of Chronicles by Nöldeke (1898).

[233] Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, pp. 29-52.

[234] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 45.

[235] H. G. M. Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Courses: A Study of 1 Chronicles 23-27," ed., J. A. Emerton, *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament,* VTSup 30, Brill, Leiden, pp. 251-268; *idem*, *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiograhy,* ed., H. G. M. Williamson, Mohr-Siebeck, Tübingen, 2004, pp. 126-140.

Wright,[236] and independently from Japhet[237] who both argue against the interpolation of these chapters, demonstrating how they are integrated into their text. Kleinig writes:

> This challenge to Noth's position may eventually be much more significant than it first appears. If it wins out, the status of the other Levitical passages, long held to be secondary, will have to be reconsidered, all theories about later pro-Levitical or pro-priestly redactions may have to be abandoned, the arrangement of the clergy may yet prove to be more important for Chronicles than is presently allowed, and the role of David and his successors in the organization of the clergy will need to be reassessed.[238]

This essentially means that if the priestly and Levitical material is held to be an original part of Chronicles, we are then faced with the notion that the whole of Chronicles is to be judged as priestly, and if so, as priests are inseparable from temple life, we need to ask to which temple this refers, the first or the second temple. As Chronicles only mentions the first temple, it fits awkwardly into being seen as a creative piece of literature written to inspire the building of an inferior second temple. Klein, who accepts the CHW-Hypothesis, gives a current view of Chronicles:

> Jerusalem is clearly the place of authorship. If there was a Chronicler's history, including all, or parts of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, then the Chronicler [*sic*] must be subsequent to the work of Ezra (458 or 398 B.C.E. [7th year of Artaxerxes I or Artaxerxes II]) and Nehemiah (445-32 B.C.E.) Internal clues in Ezra-Nehemiah, such as the list of high priests in Nehemiah 12, also figure in

[236] J. W. Wright, "From Center to Periphery: 1 Chronicles 23-27 and the Interpretation of Chronicles in the Nineteenth Century – Prophets, Priests and Scribes." *Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp*, Eds., J. W. Wright, R. P. Carroll and P. R. Davies, JSOTS 149, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1992, pp. 20-42.

[237] Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship," pp. 330-371.

[238] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 45-46.

> this argument, unless this list or the Nehemiah Memoirs in general are held to be supplementary to the original.[239]

Would-be rescuers, such as Cross,[240] Campbell[241] Nelson[242] and others, have won some support for a double or even triple redaction within Chronicles, during Hezekiah or Josiah's reigns, but essentially the dating debate ranges from late fifth century B.C. at the time of Ezra to views of Persian, Greek, or Hasmonean periods.

Kleinig observes that the separation of Chronicles from Ezra-Nehemiah has opened up the possibility for an earlier dating of Chronicles, mentioning that Braun[243] and Throntveit[244] thus "date the original draft of the work at about 515 BCE," writing that:

> Throntveit argues that this date explains the interest of Chronicles in the temple and its similarity with Zechariah 1-8, yet to do so he needs to posit the addition of at least 1 Chron. 3.19-24 and 29.1-9 in a second stage of redaction at about 400 BCE.[245]

Kleinig notes that Throntveit's proposal has gained little support and is unlikely to do so because most scholars hold to the unity of Chronicles. However, it is important to note that the question of unity, as here described by Kleinig, is not sufficient reason to give a late date to Chronicles, especially without defining what "unity" means. If it means authorial unity, this poses difficulties especially as we do not even know who

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[239] R. Klein, *Chronicles, Book of*, AB, Doubleday, NY, 1992, pp. 992-1002: prophetess.lstc.edu/~rklein/Documents/ABDChr.htm [Accessed: 19 May 2017].

[240] F. M. Cross, 'A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration,' *JBL* 94, 1975, pp.4-18.

[241] A. F. Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings: A Late Ninth Century Document (1 Sam – 1-2 Kings 10),* CBQMS 17, Washington, 1986.

[242] R. D., Nelson, "Dual Redaction Hypothesis in Kings," *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History,* JSOT, Sheffield, 1991.

[243] Braun, *1 Chronicles*, p. 29.

[244] M. A. Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles*, Scholars' Press, Atlanta, 1987, pp. 97-107.

[245] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 46.

the author is; if it means compositional unity, we are faced with Japhet and other scholars who note the heterogeneity within the text of Chronicles; if it means temporal unity, when the subject matter covers many centuries, we limit genre to historical and non-chronographic writing. We need therefore to ask "What kind of unity are we looking at?"

Could it be unity of purpose, in this case a chronographic purpose? No-one questions the unity of a Birth Register in a Church even though it extends over one or more centuries, with oft-changing writers making entries. No-one questions the unity of Pepys's Diaries written over several years of his life between the years 1660-1669 A.D. The unity of purpose, namely recording current events over time, in these examples clearly overrides temporal, authorial and/or compositional unity. Nevertheless most scholars today date the book of Chronicles between 350-300 B.C. They determine the date Chronicles was written according to the last cited event, based upon the assumed but unproven unity of composition by one author at one time, a position that, in light of the acknowledged isagogic difficulties invites a fresh reassessment.

Kleinig writes that this general acceptance of a post-exilic date has nevertheless led to a situation where "not much can be said with any certainty about the setting of Chronicles due to the paucity of the relevant historical sources from the late Persian period."[246] This in turn leads to a "growing scepticism at attempts to explain its contents and concerns chiefly from its purported setting."[247] As the search for the historical setting as a key to understand the text has become exhausted, it has been replaced by sociological analyses of the text itself.[248]

[246] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 46.
[247] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 46.
[248] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 46.

This post-exilic late-dating assumption indeed has been the problem with several studies of the repeating formulae, where the dating is regarded as fixed within a post-exilic range. Macy in his study of the sources of Chronicles writes in his introduction that he is accepting *a priori* the scholarly consensus of a post-exilic date for Chronicles.[249] This limits at high cost the conclusions that can be drawn from these formula phrases, especially in relationship with other similar formulae found in other biblical books. It prevents the identification of traits of chronographic literature which in turn makes no allowance for the dating methods of this genre. It also prevents the cross-referencing possibilities discerned by Langton.[250]

Reasons Scholars Date Chronicles Post-Exilically

Certain points are raised regularly by scholars in support of the post-exilic dating attributed to the book of Chronicles. Kleinig conveniently gives a list of these, mentioning the main factors that underlie these points, namely, that:

> [t]he separation of Chronicles from Ezra-Nehemiah has opened up the possibility for an earlier dating of Chronicles… but since most scholars hold to the unity of Chronicles, they date the book somewhere between 550-300 BCE….This date is determined mainly by the extent of the Davidic genealogy in the MT of 1 Chr 3.19-24, the mention of darics in 1 Chron. 29.7, the apparent borrowing of 2 Chr 36.22-23 from Ezra 1.1-3a and of 1 Chron. 9.2-17 from Neh. 11.2-19.[251]

To these may be added three more from R. W. Klein's longer list: 1 Chr 3.17-24: the "genealogy of the sons of Jeconiah (exiled in 597 B. C. E.);" 2 Chr 16.9: "The eyes of

[249] Macy, *Sources of Chronicles,* pp. 4-6.
[250] Saltman, *Stephen Langton,* pp. 204-205.
[251] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 46.

the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth" as a citation of Zechariah 4.10; and the language of the book as Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH).[252]

To the above I would add the War Machines in 2 Chronicles 26.15 which have been described as anachronistic, as noted by Welton.[253]

Some of the main internal arguments will be looked at individually below, but one overall comments may be made here, namely that while *some* of the arguments depend upon the CHW hypothesis which necessarily ties Chronicles to a post-exilic dating, *all* of them depend on a view of Chronicles (together with its attached genealogy) as history-writing and not as chronicling. Genealogies and Chronicles require a different mode of assessing the date from history-writing, which is not straightforwardly to look at the last entry as is done with history-writing, but instead requires looking at the chronicles' starting point and noting the updates over time until the last entry. The following section outlines the main arguments, and some of the counter-arguments that scholars have presented.

Late Biblical Hebrew and the Vocabulary of Chronicles

Peltonen lists the Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) found in Chronicles as supporting a post-exilic date for Chronicles.

[252] R. W. Klein, "Chronicles, Book of 1-2," *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein,* Eds., M. P. Graham, S. L. McKenzie and G. N. Knoppers, A Festschrift at the annual meeting of the SBL Meeting in Atlanta, November 22, 2003, pp. 992-1002; pp. 992-993.

[253] P. Welten, "Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern," Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag. *WMANT* 42, 1973, pp. 98-114.

> The language of Chronicles clearly represents late biblical Hebrew, with features common to the late corpus of biblical (Ezra-Nehemiah, Daniel, Esther) and extra-biblical (Dead Sea Scrolls, Samaritan Pentateuch) works.[254]

The assumption here is that Chronicles is a post-exilic composition therefore the linguistic features unique to this book are post-exilic traits. Robert Rezetko has demonstrated this to be based on a circular argument, dependent upon the assumptions of Higher Criticism. The small corpus of books deemed to be post-exilic comprises: Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Job and Daniel, of which Chronicles comprises 40% of the material. The sample is too limited and too dependent on Chronicles to bear the weight of any such definitive conclusion without support from other fields of endeavour. [255] These are not forthcoming. As Peltonen writes, "The net result gained from an assessment of the internal evidence in Chronicles of the books' date is meagre indeed."[256]

In addition, the CHW hypothesis which held sway until the 1970's, linked Ezra and Chronicles as the work of one author, *ergo*, the vocabulary unique to Ezra was attributed to the book of Chronicles too. However, there is no trace of Hellenistic or Persian influence in the language of Chronicles. This has been seen by some scholars as a deliberate attempt to introduce pseudo-classicisms or archaisms into the text. However, if, on the other hand, the dating is assumed to be early, there are late features which then need to be explained. These will be addressed below.

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[254] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 232, n.17. "It is pertinent to say that linguistic observations support a postexilic date for Chronicles." Peltonen references: Kalimi, "Abfassungszeit," p. 223 and n.18; R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*, HSM, 12; Missoula, MT Scholars Press, 1976.

[255] I. Young, R. Rezetko and M. Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Tests,* Vols. 1, 2, London, Equinox, 2008, p. 88.

[256] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 233.

Problems with the Genealogy (1 Chr 1-11)

The Davidic genealogy in the MT of 1 Chr 3.17-24; where the sons of Jeconiah (exiled in 597 B. C. E.) as well as other updated genealogies: 1 Chr 9.2-1 Chron. 9.2-17 from Neh. 11.2-19[257] raises the question as to who updated what and when was it done?

The extent of the Davidic genealogy in the MT of 1 Chr. 3.19-24 which lists the genealogy of the sons of King Jehoiachin, who was exiled in 597 B.C. Peltonen writes "The text is unclear at a number of points, and as yet there is no consensus over its proper reading. The Masoretic Text (MT) appears to extend for six generations after Zerubbabel, while LXX counts still five generations more."[258] Peltonen examines the debating points as being the question of the MT or LXX being a secondary clarification; counting the generations is one problem to which must be added the starting date for counting the generations, and how long one allows for each generation; the LXX supposedly translated into Greek around 200 B.C. could well have added in successive names from those at the time of the return from exile. The MT may have been canonized by that time so that no further names could be added. However the use of these names as a *terminus a quo* is only possible if the genre is definitely decided as an historical document. If it is still a "living" document, as the additional names in LXX suggest, such as a genealogy or other chronographic work, the *terminus a quo* would become instead a question of determining at what point the records stopped being collected. Ezra 2 contains a genealogy of those taken into exile and have now returned to Jerusalem and Nehemiah mentions getting an updated genealogies (Neh 7.5). So these examples would serve to confirm the Genealogical section as a "living"

[257] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 46.
[258] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 299.

document, rather than fixing it as a document put together at a late date. The LXX, adding a few more names, suggests it is a later copy with information taken from sources other than the Masoretic Text.

The Mention of Darics in 1 Chr 29.7

The daric, a Persian coin not minted before 515 B.C., is supposedly named after King Darius (522-486 B.C.). Mention of this coin, however, is contained within a section during King David's reign. The daric problem thus appears as anachronistic, but this problem was "defended most elaborately by Torrey," writes W. F. Albright in 1921, who writes:

> The view that adarkonim is a loan from Gr. Draxmy is an unproved assumption; in Phoenician both forms, darkonim and dark'monim occur as the names of metallic weights so Eduard Meyer (Entstehung, pp. 296 ff.) is probably right in maintaining that draxmy is a loan from the Phoenician instead of the reverse.

In support of the Phoenician idea, one may point to Kings where Phoenician words appear in the month names over the time of the building of Solomon's temple when Phoenician skilled builders were being employed (1 Kgs 6.1, 37-38).

If one is not convinced by this, it is because the late dating generally attributed to Chronicles offers a ready explanation for the incorporation of a later word, without invoking Phoenician vocabulary. However, the odd wording should then alert one to the fact that something is not quite right with this explanation. Here is the passage in 1 Chronicles 29.7 where we read (translated very literally):

> They gave for the service of the house of God gold talents five thousand and *darics* (ribo) ten thousand, silver talents ten thousand and bronze (ribo = 10,000 + 8,000) eighteen thousand talents and iron a hundred thousand talents.

However, the actual wording *ădarkonîm* for darics matches up with the way this word is spelt in Ezra after Ezra 7 (e.g. Ezra 8.27 אֲדַרְכֹנִים), but differs from the way it is spelt in the first six chapters of Ezra, where it is spelt *darkmonîm* (e.g. Ezra 2.69 דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים) a section which Williamson[259] identifies as being a separate document from what he finds to be a later time, but which appear to be older documents from the Persian times. From Ezra 7ff. the spelling matches that of the Chronicles passage, which suggests that scribes of the Ezran period may have had a hand in this interpolation. The later spelling suggests it was possibly inserted as a currency exchange reference to clarify for those returning from exile to Jerusalem for the value of a talent versus a daric.

What it looks as if we have here is a *waw* disjunctive, where *waw* + a non-verb together mean "even" or "namely." This differs from the *waw* conjunctive, where the *waw* links two sentences with conjunctions such as "and" or "but."

Here are three examples of the *waw* disjunctive from Isaiah 44.1, 1 Samuel 2.2 and Amos 2.2:

Isaiah 44.1 Now hear, O Jacob my servant, and [even] Israel whom I have chosen.

1 Samuel 2.2 There is none holy like the Lord; and [indeed] there is none besides thee.

[259] Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Courses: A Study of 1 Chronicles xxiii-xxvii," ed., J.A. Emerton, *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament, VT* 30, 1979, pp. 251-268.

Amos 2.2 The Lord God has sworn by his holiness that, behold, the days are coming upon you, when they shall take you away with hooks, and [even] the last of you with fish nets.

Here in these examples, there is no conjunctive adding of a new item, but rather a disjunctive amplification or reiteration of what has gone before, plus the non-verb following. In the 1 Chronicles 29.7, similarly, there is no conjunctive usage, which would mean that a further item has been added to a list. It is thus a disjunctive with a non-verb following, and in this case has an "interruptive" use, better called explanatory or parenthetical where it breaks into the main narrative to supply information relevant or necessary for the narrative.[260] Thus 1 Chronicles 29.7 should better be translated (very literally to see the word order) as:

> They gave for the service of the house of God gold five thousand talents, [and – disjunctive =] namely *darics* (ribo) ten thousand, silver talents ten thousand and bronze eighteen thousand talents, and iron eighteen thousand talents.

The *dārkmonîm* (Ezra 2.69 דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים) is the form used in Ezra 1-6, a section in Ezra which Williamson[261] has shown to be qualitatively different from the remaining chapters in Ezra (Ezra 7-10). In this latter part, the form of the word used is the same as is found in Chronicles, *ădarkonîm* (אֲדַרְכֹנִים).[262]

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[260] B. K Waltke and M. P. O'Conner, *An Introduction to biblical Hebrew Syntax* Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Illinois, p. 650-652. The *waw* may be used conjunctively followed by a verb or disjunctively before a non-verb. There are two common types of disjunction. One type involves a continuity of scene and participants, but a change of action, while the other is used where the scene or participants shift. A disjunctive – *waw* may also shift the scene or refer to new participants; the disjunction may come at the beginning or end of a larger episode or it may "interrupt" one. The "interruptive" use, better called explanatory or parenthetical, "break[s] into the main narrative to supply information relevant to or necessary for the narrative," e.g. Isa 44.1; 1 Sam 2.2.

[261] H. G. M. Williamson, "The Composition of Ezra," *JTS* 34, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1985, pp. 1-30. Reprinted in H. G. M. Williamson, "The Composition of Ezra," *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, Wipf & Stock, Eugene, Oregon, 2010, pp. 244-270.

[262] In Ezra 7.22 the word *kak'rîn* כַּכְּרִין appears, which looks like a possible deliberate archaism.

The most likely explanation would seem to be that of the *waw* disjunctive explanation, where the daric value, perhaps put in a margin note, was then later incorporated by a scribe doing a new copy. The least likely explanation would be that it was used anachronistically, as there would be no reason to retain the word "talent," (*kîkārîm* כִּכָּרִים) in that case.

The Supposed Parallel Citations in 2 Chr 16.9 and Zech 4.10

It is assumed that Chronicles (2 Chr 16.9) depends upon Zechariah (Zech 4.10), a passage where Hanani the seer addresses King Asa:

כִּי יְהוָה עֵינָיו מְשֹׁטְטוֹת בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ לְהִתְחַזֵּק עִם-לְבָבָם שָׁלֵם אֵלָיו׃	**2 Chr 16.9** For the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to show Himself strong in the behalf of them whose heart is whole toward Him.

Zechariah 4.10: In reply to Zechariah's question, the angel replies: "These seven [lampstands] are the eyes of the Lord, which range through the whole earth."

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי מָה אַתָּה רֹאֶה ויאמר (וְאֹמַר) רָאִיתִי וְהִנֵּה מְנוֹרַת זָהָב כֻּלָּהּ וְגֻלָּהּ עַל-רֹאשָׁהּ וְשִׁבְעָה נֵרֹתֶיהָ עָלֶיהָ שִׁבְעָה וְשִׁבְעָה מוּצָקוֹת לַנֵּרוֹת אֲשֶׁר עַל-רֹאשָׁהּ׃	**Zech 4.2** And he [the Lord] said unto me: 'What seest thou?' And I said: 'I have seen, and behold a candlestick all of gold, with a bowl upon the top of it, and its seven lamps thereon; there are seven pipes, yea, seven, to the lamps, which are upon the top thereof.

Scriptures featuring the Lord's eyes watching over the land and His people also appear in Deut. 11.12, Proverbs 15.3, and several other scriptural passages:[263]

[263] Genesis 6.8 Noah found favour in the eyes of the Lord; Psalm 33.18 Behold, the eye of the Lord is on those who fear Him, On those who hope for His loving kindness; Proverbs 15.3 The eyes of the Lord are in every place, watching the evil and the good; Job 34.21 For His eyes are upon the ways of a man, and He sees all his steps; 1 Peter 3.12 For the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous….

בְּכָל-מָקוֹם עֵינֵי יְהוָה צֹפוֹת רָעִים וְטוֹבִים׃	**Prov 15.3** The eyes of the LORD are in every place, keeping watch upon the evil and the good.
אֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ דֹּרֵשׁ אֹתָהּ׃ תָּמִיד עֵינֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בָּהּ מֵרֵשִׁית הַשָּׁנָה וְעַד אַחֲרִית שָׁנָה׃	**Deut 11.12** a land which the LORD thy God careth for; the eyes of the LORD thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.

However, only in the Zechariah passage are the eyes of the Lord connected to the number seven:

וַיְהִי דְבַר-יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר׃	**Zech 4.8** Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying:
יְדֵי זְרֻבָּבֶל יִסְּדוּ הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה וְיָדָיו תְּבַצַּעְנָה וְיָדַעְתָּ כִּי-יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שְׁלָחַנִי אֲלֵיכֶם׃	**9** 'The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also finish it; and thou shalt know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you.
כִּי מִי בַז לְיוֹם קְטַנּוֹת וְשָׂמְחוּ וְרָאוּ אֶת-הָאֶבֶן הַבְּדִיל בְּיַד זְרֻבָּבֶל שִׁבְעָה-אֵלֶּה עֵינֵי יְהוָה הֵמָּה מְשׁוֹטְטִים בְּכָל-הָאָרֶץ׃	**10** For who hath despised the day of small things? Even they shall see with joy the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel, even these seven, which are the eyes of the LORD, that run to and fro through the whole earth.'

These seven lamps are viewed as the seven eyes of the Lord, which shall oversee Zerubbabel's completing of the temple: seven, the complete and perfect number, uniquely mentioned in Zechariah, suggests the ubiquity of Yahweh who is able to see the whole earth. As both the Chronicles and Zechariah citations are prophetic utterances it would be hard to say which one was prior to the other if we brought no assumptions of dating to the assessment. The only feature in common is that shared with the other scriptures as cited above, namely, "the eyes of the Lord" that watch over the whole earth," in which case the number seven, suggesting completeness of the

Lord's vision, would appear as a new feature, making Zechariah the more likely passage to be the later one.

The Apparent Borrowing of 1 Chr 9.2-17 from Neh 11.3-19

The list of the high-priests Neh. 12 10-11, 22; and the complexity of the clergy arrangements.[264] This approach straightforwardly assumes that the last mention gives us the date, which stems from an assumption of Chronicles as historical writing. If it is chronographic writing, the argument would not be valid at all, as chronography is continuous writing over the years, so the early bits would be early and the late bits late. We do not assign a date for birth registers we find in old churches according to the latest entry, we date them from the first one through to the last one. Similarly genealogical and chronographic writings are also "living" records which need updating, so need to be dated from the point where they begin (this is not always clear-cut as will be shown in the chapter on chronographic literature, as there is usually a "prologue" or "recapitulation" section before the chronographic section proper begins, so dating is complicated in chronicling by this factor). However, in this instance with the two lists from Nehemiah, either they were added by Nehemiah to Chronicles, or they were added by Chronicles to Nehemiah. In Nehemiah 7.1, 4-5 it reads (my underlining):

> Then when the wall had been built and I had set up the doors, and the gatekeeper, the singers, and the Levites had been appointed, I gave my brother Hanani and Hananiah the governor of the castle charge over Jerusalem…The city was wide and large, but the people within it were few and no houses had been built. Then God put it into my mind to assemble the nobles and the officials and the people to be enrolled by genealogy. And I found the book (copy) of the genealogy of

[264] Kleinig, "Recent Research," p. 46.

> those who came up at the first, and I found written in it: (here follows the list of those who had been part of the first returnees to Jerusalem).

This shows no dependence upon the original genealogical book described in 1 Chr 9.1 as the book of the Kings of Israel, but instead depends on a copy made by the first people to return to Jerusalem. It is likely therefore that these were added to the genealogy of Chronicles from the book of Nehemiah, getting it up to date, once the walls were built. The question of the complexity of the temple officials appears to be reading too much into the text, because Nehemiah only mentions the fact that gatekeepers, singers and Levites had been appointed, (Neh. 7.1) but these would have been unlikely to be on the same elaborate scale of David's appointments in 1 Chronicles 23-27.

It seems unlikely that in a city with large spaces and few people with no houses built that the top priority would have been the appointment of huge numbers of people for the temple administrations, a top heavy priestly arrangement for a temple that, by all accounts was vastly inferior to the first temple. We can readily recall the huge tumult described in Ezra 3.12 when the second temple was completed when the people saw it for the first time. Those too young to have known the first temple rejoiced, but those who recalled the first temple wept. Chronicles, to have been post-exilic in a city with few people and no houses, would hardly be a priority. As Carroll puts it:

> The point I wish to make is a very simple one: why would anyone writing about the past existence of an institution which had been reconstructed in their own times not refer, even if only in the time-honoured fashion of an 'as at this day' phrase or allusion, to such a wonderful eventuality which in itself would have

> sealed and cemented the continuity of his own age with the glorious past of the nation? I find that most peculiarly odd….[265]

A similar anachronism is possibly contained in 2 Chr 8.3-4 regarding Tadmor and Hamathzobah as reflecting the Persian system of provincial administration. This would fit into the idea of an updated genealogical record.

The Catchline at 2 Chronicles 36.22-23 and Ezra 1.1-3

If 2 Chr 36.22-23 is seen as an integral part of Chronicles, which it generally is, then the last two verses, which mention the first year of Cyrus and the return from exile, lead to the conclusion that Chronicles is a post-exilic work written after the time of the return of the exiles at the earliest. The parallel words at the start of Ezra 1.1-3 lack any clear explanation. Haran writes that it is a typical ancient Near Eastern catchline, but his arguments consist of drawing unlikely parallels with the "page breaks" in the Pentateuch and seeing catchlines where it is not evident that there are any. Williamson in his quite full reply opposes Haran's "Clutching at Catchlines," but though he comes very close to seeing a linking role between 2 Chr 36.22-23 and Ezra 1-3, he denies that these parallel verses in Chronicles and Ezra are actually catchlines.[266] It has the hallmarks of a catchline, which would have been added by Ezra or an official of the period probably at the time of the dedication of the Second Temple, needing to show the link and continuity between the First and Second Temple Chronicles. From a chronographic point of view this represents no disruption to the unity and integrity of

[265] R. P. Carroll, "JewGreek Greek Jew: The Hebrew Bible is All Greek To me: Reflections on the Problmatics of Dating the Origins of the Bible in Relation to Contemporary Discussions of Biblical Historiography," ed., L. L. Grabbe, *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, JSOTS 317, Sheffield Academic Press, 2001, Sheffield, pp. 91-107; p. 105.

[266] M. Haran, "Explaining the Identical Lines at the End of Chronicles and the Beginning of Ezra," *BR* 2, 1986, pp. 18–20. Reply by H. G. M. Williamson, "Clutching at Catchlines," BR 3, 1987, pp. 56-59.

the work, on the contrary, it confirms that the temple continuity from Solomon's temple to the Second Temple is maintained, and the gap of the seventy years in exile is thus bridged in this colophonic catchline. During the exile there may have been some other writings produced, and these may have been priestly writings, but they would not be temple writings, because there was no temple. These may well have been stored in the Second Temple once it was built, alongside the temple chronicles, linked together by the colophonic catchline. As this is discussed much more fully in Chapter 3 on p. 252 in the section on catchlines, it is mentioned here for completeness.

Uzziah's War Machines in 2 Chr 26.15

In the battle account in Uzziah's time certain "inventions" are mentioned. Welten[267] thought of these as catapults, which would not have been known in Judah until the third century B.C., as there is no real evidence that catapults existed before 399 B.C. Thus he attributed a Hellenistic date for Chronicles. Welten's view on this has found support in Bianchi and Rossini,[268] who argue from philological and archaeological evidence that this is the Chronicler's own composition, and is not based on any eighth century source. Peltonen writes that Welten's views have not received unanimous approval, so that attributing a Hellenistic date for Chronicles, based as they are on "such uncertain and ambiguous evidence" is problematic, and that there are further complications stemming from scholarly uncertainty about whether this passage is part of the Chronicler's original composition or not.[269]

[267] P. Welten, "Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag," *WMANT* 42, 1973, pp. 98-114. Cited in Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 230.

[268] F. Bianchi and G. Rossini "L'armée d'Ozias, (2 Chr 26, 11-15) entre fiction et réalité: Une esquisse philologique et historique," *Transeuphratène* 13, 1997, pp. 21-37. Cited in Peltonen, "Jigsaw," pp. 230-231, n.10.

[269] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," pp. 230-231.

The actual Hebrew words for this "war machine" חִשְׁבֹּנוֹת מַחֲשֶׁבֶת חוֹשֵׁב ("ḥišbonôṯ ma'ḥašaḇeṯ ḥošēḇ) translated as "invention from inventions of inventors," suggests that a word was not yet devised for this war machine. Judging from Assyrian reliefs from the siege of Lachish (701/2 B.C.) it has been suggested that, rather than looking as if catapults were on the ramparts, there appears to be instead a large shield on wheels, with a large hole for throwing rocks below, and smaller holes nearer the top for throwing spears, those defending the city walls do not have to carry a shield. Instead the soldiers can use both arms to throw spears and rocks, while being protected by the shield.

Christopher Jones, in a paper entitled "What were Uzziah's Machines?" writes:

> The purpose of the invention is said to be to "shoot arrows and hurl large stones." The word translated as "shoot" and "hurl" is the Hebrew verb *yarah*, which is used many times to describe a bow shooting an arrow.[270] But it is also used in 2 Samuel 11:20-24, when David ordered the Israelite army besieging the city of Rabbah-ben-Ammon to approach close to the walls in order that Uriah the Hittite may be killed so that David can then marry his wife. [271]

Several of his men were killed as rocks were "hurled" from the ramparts above, including Uriah. The biblical account recalls Joab sending a messenger to deliver the news to David, drawing a parallel to the manner of Abimelech the son of Jerubba'al's death at Thebez when a woman threw a millstone down on him from the wall (Judges

[270] C. Jones, "What were Uzziah's Machines?" Article © Christopher Jones 2014: https://gatesofnineveh.wordpress.com/2014/06/19/what-were-uzziahs-machines/. [Accessed: 21 March 2015] Jones notes that the usage of the verb יָרָה in the Qal is used in about a dozen verses to refer to using a bow and arrow (1 Sam. 20:20, 36; 2 Sam. 20:36-37, 37:33; 2 Kings 13:17, 19:32; Psalms 11:2, 64:7; Proverbs 26:18; 1 Chron. 10:3, 2 Chron. 35:23), and 2 Samuel 11:20-24. Other miscellaneous uses are piling up stones to build a sacred cult site (Gen. 31:51), casting lots (Josh. 18:6), laying foundations stones (Job 38:6), God shooting righteousness like rain (an allusion to the imagery of the divine warrior shooting a bow in the sky when it rains, Hosea 10:12).

[271] Jones, "What were Uzziah's Machines?"

9.50-53), which would provoke David to ask, "Why did you go so near the wall?" This clearly suggests the scenario in both cases refers to the dropping of rocks rather than a projectile being catapulted.

Jones continues:

> However, the Assyrian reliefs from Nineveh that portray Sennacherib's siege of Lachish in 701 B.C. do show us Israelite fortification towers from that city. Several of the towers have archers shooting arrows from behind shields in a superstructure placed over the battlements. They also feature a sort of slotted window at the top of the tower. The tops of the towers overhang the base of tower, leaving room for murder holes for dropping rocks on anyone at the base of the wall.

This photograph shows the inscription depicting the corner tower at Lachish showing archers, shields, window slits, and overhanging superstructure.[272] From this picture it may be seen that these mobile shields would be plausible "inventions from inventions by inventors," and would fit well into the early period of the monarchies of Israel. This is inconclusive evidence, but causes enough doubt to enter the debate to disallow a firm allocation to a post-exilic dating. Jones, examining this, comments:

> At the risk of overstating the obvious, there is absolutely nothing in this image that looks like a catapult at all. The best that can be made of this engine based

[272] https://gatesofninevah,files,wordpress.com/2011/09/lachish_tower.jpg10

> on these pictures is that it is a siege tower built on the ramp to allow the people inside the tower to shoot down onto the walls.[273]

Late Dating and Tendentiousness

It is not obvious that writing an historical work, even many years after the events described therein, means that it is necessarily less factual than its earlier counterparts. Peltonen writes:

> The connection between the dating and reliability of Chronicles is obvious: the closer Chronicles are set to the events described in them, the more trustworthy they are as a presentation of history – and *vice versa* of course. What we have here is an indirect – and also perilously close to circular – argumentation that is clearly more theologically/ideologically than historically motivated; for example, it is obvious that a work composed soon after the events it purports to describe can be as tendentious as a substantially later work dealing with the same events, since it is the author's purpose that determines the treatment of source materials. The methodological hazards of an argumentation that directly connects Chronicles' date and historical value are nowadays truly recognised….[274]

However, the corollary of that finding is that the more we recognise the limits of the argumentation that straightforwardly connects late-dating with tendentiousness, the

[273] G. Rawlinson, *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*: *or, The History, Geography and Antiquities of Chaldæa, Assyria, Babylon, Media, Persia, Parthia, and Sassanian or New Persian empire*, Vol. 2, J. W. Lovell, New York, 1880: https://www.gutenberg.org/files/16165/16165-h/16165-h.htm [Accessed: 8 Nov 2017]

[274] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 237.

more Samuel-Kings is drawn into the fray, and the less we can accept it as the hithertofore bedrock of historical certainty. Peltonen write that:

> If the books of Chronicles are thought to describe the pre-exilic history in a reliable way, one has to surmise that the Deuteronomistic historiography is less reliable when it is at variance with the Chronistic version.[275]

To this he adds:

> [I]t comes to light that the eclectic nature of the Chronistic theology…can be accommodated quite smoothly to diverse historical and ideological contexts.[276]

If Chronicles can be thus readily used for such a wide variety of ideological and historical perspectives, and if this cannot be justified on the internal and external grounds that scholars thus far have used, then, then the task of dating Chronicles correctly needs to be reconsidered with urgency. As Peltonen convincingly argues, without knowing the date of Chronicles, the case for using it in historical reconstructions is weak. The above hopefully demonstrates that these arguments are insufficient to place Chronicles definitively into any particular period.

Summary of the Dating in Chronicles

After the sixteenth century, following Spinoza's late-dating of Chronicles into the Maccabean era, leading up to the nineteenth century, the late-dating changed meaning from being before Ezra's time to being beyond the time of Ezra, which is a very different type of late-dating from the traditionally accepted view of Ezra as the latest possible *terminus ad quem* for Chronicles to be written. The reasons for this were arguably more to do with putting forward a particular view of the post-exilic Judah than

[275] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 237.
[276] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," p. 242.

to do with objective research into theological and historical reality. The chief victim of this was Chronicles, with its source citations being relegated to literary adornments and worse. This calls for a re-examination of these citation formulae, in order to see what they can tell us about the isagogic elements in Chronicles. Thus, to accept the current dating assumptions, when the purpose of the thesis is to re-examine them, would impose an impossible restriction on the investigation. This chapter seeks to give reasons as to why dating merits this reinvestigation, this time in the light of the repeating formulae in Chronicles, without the restrictions imposed by isagogic presuppositions.

We now look at how the question of genre affects the interpretation of Chronicles and the repeating formulae in them.

The Genre of Chronicles – What *is* it?

Amidst the proliferation of proposals for the genre of the book of Chronicles, how can we know what genre it is? "Registers, litanies and catalogues are not the most favourite literary genres one can imagine…The Book of Chronicles beats them all," thus writes Pancratius Beentjes.[277] This "heterogeneity"[278] as Sara Japhet describes it, makes Chronicles difficult to categorise, for it contains elements of all the genres attributed to it. In it we can find "divine speeches, royal addresses, prophetic exhortations and oracles, prayers, letters, dialogues,"[279] to which one could add genealogical, military and population census lists, varieties of literature, such as sermons, rhetoric, propaganda, theocratic eschatology, battle annals, and building plans. This stands in contrast to Knoppers who discerns only two principal genre types in Chronicles:

[277] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation* p. 7.
[278] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles,* p. 5.
[279] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles,* p. 34.

> The work provides a continuous register of people and events, without even a considered statement of authorial purpose or great ornamental embellishment. While the Hexateuch[280] depicts cycles, lawgiving, peregrinations, and conquests, Chronicles contains only lineages and anecdotes….The narrative portions of the Chronicler's work focus, for the most part, on the public actions of monarchs residing in Jerusalem.[281]

Knoppers' "lineages and anecdotes" stand in contrast to the extensive list of Japhet. If Japhet's list is not enough to convince us of the multiplicity of genres perceived within Chronicles, we then only have to look at Kegler and Augustin's work which pioneered the first systematic definition and classification of all the genres found within Chronicles, a task which at times, as the authors themselves pointed out, required totally new definitions of genres.[282]

De Vries's commentary on 1 and 2 Chronicles seeks to identify the genres contained within Chronicles by following in the "exegetical technique developed many decades ago by Gunkel, but not even now fully understood."[283] Gunkel (1862-1932) famously introduced the "*Sitz im Leben*" seeking the origins of biblical literary texts in oral tradition.[284] His three fundamental principles for discerning a genre are: a structure and a series of formulae; an atmosphere (*Stimmung*) and a perspective; and an existential

[280] The Hexateuch ("six scrolls") is a term that scholars began to use in the nineteenth century from the 1870s onwards. Kuenen and Julius Wellhausen's names are associated with this term, which essentially adds Joshua onto the Pentateuch, thus making up the sixth book, the collection termed the Hexateuch.

[281] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, p. 50.

[282] J. Kegler and M. Augustin, *Synopse zum Christischen Geschichtewerk, Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 1984, 1991, pp. 22-56. Cited in Japhet, *I & II Chronicles,* p. 34.

[283] S. J. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. xiv.

[284] J. L. Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, Eisenbrauns, 2006, p. 112. "The 'Golden Age' of Israelite religion for Wellhausen was the period of the United Monarchy; for Gunkel and his followers, it was necessary to go still further back in the past, to the period of the Judges, and further yet, to the time when Israel was still nomadic."

context (*Sitz im Leben*).[285] For De Vries this technique avoids extensive textual, historical and philological problems which may be sought in traditional commentaries.[286] His commentary seeks to identify the genres within Chronicles as a whole. However, it is immediately clear, as Japhet points out, that:

> [O]ne is immediately confronted with a methodological obstacle with this "pure" form-critical method. Since the immanent relationship of "genre" and "setting" ("*Sitz im Leben"*), with all the consequent considerations and results, applies, according to Gunkel, to the original emergence of "genre" from the living and recurring life-situations[287] it would be applicable only when the genre itself – and not merely the individual literary piece – is identified as "Chronistic."[288]

This may be said equally of Kegler and Augustin's *Synopse.* The individual literary *pericopes* in themselves do not define the whole, nor give us any idea of the overall genre of Chronicles. Knowledge of the whole can help understand the parts, but knowledge of the parts may not help to discover the genre of the whole.

There is an intriguingly wide variety of genre options for Chronicles, but as Duke in his survey of recent research into Chronicles notes: "genre is an essential pre-requisite to understand authorial intent," but "regarding this primary step, scholars have not come up with a genre classification for Chronicles over which there is general agreement."[289] Mitchell, in an otherwise useful assessment of current Chronicles studies, finds Duke's

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[285] Ska, *Reading the Pentateuch*, p. 113.

[286] De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. xv.

[287] De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. xiv, refers to H. Gunkel, "Literatur-geschichte, biblische", *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. 3, 1927, pp. 1677-8; also in *What remains of the Old Testament?* New York, 1928, pp. 57-68.

[288] Japhet, *I and II Chronicles*, pp. 34-35.

[289] R. K. Duke, "Recent Research," *CBR* 8, 2009, pp. 10-50; p. 30.

paper on recent research "idiosyncratic" because he writes that "there still is no consensus on the unity of Chronicles." However, she has quoted only part of the sentence, which in its completed form reads, "there still is no consensus on the unity of Chronicles, that is, whether or not Chronicles was composed by one author….Some find a clear distinction between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah…." It is thus perhaps a little unfair to dismiss the entire article as "idiosyncratic" on what turns out to be a specific point about Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah being one work or separate works.[290] Claims therefore that Chronicles has "come to maturity"[291] may be precipitate, for until the genre issue is settled, one could reasonably argue that the full extent of this "maturity" has not been, nor can be adequately explored.

Chronicles as Forms of Literature and History

The many and varied genres attributed to the book of Chronicles fall into two broad categories of literature and history, with some necessary overlapping of these two categories. All would find a place under the general rubric of historiography. Louis Jonker's recent commentary looks at Chronicles from the perspective which has developed from rhetorical studies[292] of the last quarter of the twentieth century.[293] Here the aim is to seek to understand the intention of the Chronicler, asking what he wanted

[290] C. Mitchell, "Reflections on the Book of Chronicles and Second Temple Historiography," *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography*, Eds., P. S. Evans and T. F. Williams, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2013, pp. 269-277; p. 269, n.1.

[291] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, p. 2.

[292] Rhetorical Studies: A definition from the University of California: "Through the use of an extensive range of critical and interpretive methods, scholarship in rhetoric focuses on the ways texts come to have any meaning for an audience, whether the text is a speech, printed publication, television program, film, or public ritual, such as an inauguration." http://comm.unc.edu/areas-of-studies/rhetorical-studies/ [Accessed: 26 March 2017].

[293] L. Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, Understanding the Bible: Commentary Series, Baker Books, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2013, p. 3, n.11. Citing R. K. Duke, *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler*, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1990.

to achieve. Thus the author is given centre stage, while his text contributes to insights into whichever period the scholar's research has led. Jonker explains this:

> In line with these rhetorical studies of Chronicles, the issue of identity negotiation has been introduced into Chronicles research recently.[294] This position proceeds from the presupposition that these texts also serve or function as part of an active process of identity negotiation in the post-exilic restoration period. This position does not imply that Chronicles is a reflection of a formulated and closed identity of the post-exilic Judahite community.[295] It rather emphasizes that the very construction and composition of Chronicles were part of a dynamic process of identity negotiation during this period.[296]

This perspective forms "a prominent lens" for Jonker's analysis.[297] Interestingly, he views this interpretation as emerging from the literary nature of Chronicles, rather than being directly within the literary category.[298] This approach, while using historical methodologies, necessarily rests always on the supposition that Chronicles cannot be substantiated within the historical period about which it is writing, but through literary analysis offers insight into the supposed period into which it is deemed to have been composed. Overall, the investigation into Chronicles in a post-exilic framework from the literary point of view suffers severe restraints because of the limits of what we actually know about the Second Temple period of history, making all reconstructions of Chronicles within these periods necessarily speculative, and leading to a proliferation of genres, which will be outlined below.

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[294] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 4, n.12. Citing J. E. Dyck, "The Ideology of Identity in Chronicles", in *Ethnicity and the Bible,* ed., M. G. Brett, Leiden, Brill, 1998.

[295] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 4, n.13.

[296] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p .4.

[297] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 4.

[298] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 3.

By contrast when Chronicles' genre is viewed from within the category of History, there is a much more limited range of genre expressions than the literary range of proposed genres. One could say that there is uniformity of genre, namely that of "History" or historiographic writing, whilst the flowering of investigative and methodological processes proliferate around it. Historical investigation, while more narrowly focussed in its aims, finds a smaller number of scholars doggedly pursuing Chronicles from this historical viewpoint by drawing in evidence from a wide variety of fields, such as comparative ancient Near Eastern studies, archaeology, epigraphy, philology, linguistics, biblical textual studies, and findings from sociological and literary studies, in an effort to discover what can be sought out from within the text of Chronicles as having historical value from as objective a viewpoint as possible, recognizing the limits of historical accuracy.

The Book of Chronicles as Various Forms of Literature

Paraleipomenōn: The earliest definition of Chronicles may be found in the title given to it in the Septuagint (LXX) - των Παραλειπομενων (Paraleipomenōn) '[things] omitted / left over' – indicating that the translator(s) considered it as a *supplement* to other, well-known work(s).[299] Beentjes, whose list of genre identifications has been used here, is in agreement with Knoppers who writes "The standard nomenclature for Chronicles in the Septuagint (LXX) - των Παραλειπομενων (Paraleipomenōn) 'the things left out' - testifies to another earlier understanding of the work."[300] Japhet views this designation as referring to the *contents* of Chronicles rather than referring to its *genre*. She notes that while "this view of the book certainly confirms the book's sacred

[299] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation,* p. 3.
[300] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, p. 49.

origin and authority,"[301] it may also carry "negative connotations for its contents,"[302] with a title that seems to indicate the supposed derivative, secondary nature of Chronicles. However, it is probable that the early manner of entitling biblical books from key phrases, often the first words of the piece, or in this case, from the repeating formulaic "And the rest of…" has led to this *title*, which indicates nothing about *genre* or *contents*. (See Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion on this point).

Chronicles as a Partially Translated Book: Zimmerman takes up the view that Chronicles is a "partially translated book."[303] In this he was influenced by Wilhelm Gesenius who identified Late Biblical Hebrew by the many Aramaisms in the text.[304] This genre title could only arise within a Chronistic Historical Work Hypothesis (CHW-Hypothesis) viewpoint, as the Aramaisms within the book of Chronicles itself are few and far between. Thus the genre of Partially Translated does not apply to Chronicles except in a few places where it can be argued that these are part of chronicling procedures or updating of genealogies. This is discussed further in Chapter 2 in the section on dating of Chronicles.

Chronicles as Midrash: "Over the last centuries, at times the notion 'midrash' has been related to the Book of Chronicles," writes Beentjes, adding: "This has been done in a rather unspecified way by scholars like Leopold Zunz, Julius Wellhausen, William Emery Barnes and in a more specific way, by Isaac Seeligmann."[305] In the nineteenth century Midrash was seen as a pejorative term, as Japhet writes, describing Wellhausen's view of Chronicles as Midrash being for him "a sign of the utmost

[301] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 1.

[302] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 1.

[303] F. Zimmerman, "Chronicles as a Partially Translated Book," *JQR* 42, 1951-2, pp. 265-82; 387-412. Cited in Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 42.

[304] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 42.

[305] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation,* 2008, p. 4.

degradation"[306] and being "a wholly peculiar, artificial way of reawakening dry bones."[307] De Vries comments that midrash "might be seen in isolated passages," but not as a whole: "[T]hose who claim that Chronicles is a midrash or utilizes midrashim are thinking of the method known from rabbinic literature, which might be seen in isolated passages."[308]

In an article entitled "Midrash" by M. D. Herr, he notes this same development to have taken place with the word "Midrash:"

> The term Midrash itself derives from the root *drsh* (דרש) which in the Bible means mainly 'to search,' 'to seek,' 'to examine,' and 'to investigate' (cf. Lev. 10:16; Deut. 13:15; Isa. 55:6; *et al*.,)….The noun '*Midrash'* occurs only twice in the Bible (II Chr 13:22 and 24:27); it is translated in the Septuagint by βίβλος, γράφη i.e., "book" or "writing," and it seems probable that it means "an account," "the result of inquiry (examination, study, or search) of the events of the times," i.e., what is today called "'history' (ίστορὲω).[309]

Chronicles has only two references, which in both cases, would better fit the word "account."[310] In light of these scholars' research, it would seem reasonable not to interpret the whole of Chronicles through the lens of our modern understanding of "midrash" as "interpretation."

Auslegung (Interpretation): Japhet writes: "In the footsteps of Zunz and under the influence of Movers, Willi describes Chronicles as '*commentary' (Auslegung*),"[311]

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[306] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 31.

[307] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 277. Cited in Japhet, *I & II Chronicles,* p. 31.

[308] De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles,* p. 55. Also cited in Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation,* p. 4, n.9.

[309] M. D. Herr, "Midrash," *EncJud*, 1971, pp. 1507-1514.

[310] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation,* 2008, p. 4.

[311] Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles,* pp. 32.

Beentjes writes, "In 1972, Thomas Willi introduced a new concept, highlighting Chronicles' dependence on Samuel and Kings, where he characterizes the essence of the book of Chronicles as interpretation ('Auslegung')"[312] Willi explains this concept:

> Chronicles cannot be understood apart from the books of Samuel and Kings…and in particular in relation to those parts which were not included; indeed one may go further and say that it was not intended to be understood without them. Its style of history-writing, exegesis in the best sense of the word, aims at clarifying the understanding of the source….[313]

Beentjes notes that:

> [S]everal scholars have…drawn attention to some disputable points in his presentation, such as his overestimation of the role of the parallel texts from Samuel–Kings, his comparatively scant attention to the Chronicler's own material (*Sondergut*), as well as his predisposition to consider quite a lot of passages in the book (e.g. 1 Chronicles 1-9) as secondary additions.[314]

Chronicles as Supplanter: This notion of Chronicler as a supplanter of Scripture may be seen as a variant on the interpreter genre. A rekindling of this view comes from William Schniedewind, seeking not simply to interpret, but effectively to *supplant* the sources of Samuel-Kings.[315] He sees the purpose of Chronicles is: "to bolster the claims

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[312] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, pp. 4-5.

[313] T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung: Untesuchungen zur literarischen Gestaltung der historischen Überlieferung Israels,* FRLANT, 106, Göttingen, 1972, p. 66: "…ohne die Samuel- und Königsbücher…, und zwar gerade auch deren nicht aufgenommene Partien, lässt sich die Chronik nicht verstehen; ja mehr noch: sie will gar nicht ohne sie verstanden sein. Ihre Art der Geschichtsschreibung, Auslegung im besten Sinne des Wortes, hat das Ziel, zum Verstaendnis der Quelle anzuleiten…." The English translation has been quoted from P .R. Ackroyd, *The Chronicler in His Age, JSOTS* 101, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1991, p. 341.

[314] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, p. 5.

[315] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, p. 6.

of both the Davidids and the rebuilding of the temple among the post-exilic community."[316] Beentjes comments:

> If the Book of Chronicles, however, was intended to *supplant* Samuel-Kings, it is hard to understand why the Chronicler, in the first place, adopted so many texts from the corpus he wanted to reinterpret or even to replace with his own composition. And, second, why should he have created so much unparalleled material, if his intention was to *interpret Scripture* in order to help his community 'to relate itself to its past through the hermeneutic process?'[317]

Independent Literature: Sugimoto is amongst those who see less dependence of Chronicles on Samuel-Kings than Willi, though he sees Samuel-Kings as the source from which the material is drawn. He also opposes Schniedewind's supplanter idea, instead defining Chronicles as "Independent Literature."[318]

Sugimoto writes:

> …the Chronicler is not dependent on the literary structure of Samuel-Kings, though he uses it as his source. He rather chooses the appropriate portions from his own perspective to write his own work. He does not omit parts because they are in conflict with his interpretations of the text but because they do not contribute to his purpose. New portions are added not to suggest theological development of Samuel-Kings, but to develop his own theme.[319]

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[316] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, p. 6.
[317] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, p. 6.
[318] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, p. 5
[319] T. Sugimoto, "Chronicles as Independent Literature," *JSOT* 55, 1992, p. 74. Cited in Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, p. 5.

However, although this reflects the "common source" or "re-used text" theories which release Chronicles from reliance on Samuel-Kings, independence, writes Beentjes, does not denote genre.[320] However, from this starting point one would be free to explore other genres into which this "independent literature" might fit.

Liturgical Writing: Japhet identifies a further view which draws attention to the important aspect of the priestly and temple content within Chronicles: "M. D. Goulder proposed the view that Chronicles was composed for liturgical purposes: a collection of sermons to be read along with the weekly portions of the Torah."[321] While Chronicles would seem to affirm the priestly and temple roles with its long genealogy, military and personnel lists, and instructions for temple building, these aspects would not, overall, qualify it as a genre of liturgical writing.

Theological Essay: Ackroyd regards the Chronicler as a theologian, and his work as almost a "theological essay."[322] This exclusivity does not do justice to the "heterogeneity" of which Japhet writes. "Theological" has a good ring to it, but the implied antithesis of "non-historical" imposes limits of interpretation which cannot do justice to the Chronicles as a whole.

Historical Fiction: The worthlessness of Chronicles as a historical source as put forward by de Wette, Wellhausen and Torrey, and reasserted by Welten and North, and once more coming to the fore in R. H. Pfeiffer, still influences scholarship today, though Gwilym Jones finds that "recent years have on the whole produced a more positive

[320] Knoppers, *I Chronicles, 1-9,* p. 66.

[321] M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, London, 1974, p. 206. Cited in Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 32.

[322] P. R. Ackroyd, "The Chronicler as Exegete," *JSOT 2*, 1977. Cited in Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. 32.

attitude towards the historical value of Chronicles.[323] Here the priority of Samuel-Kings means that the common material is not under scrutiny here, but the unique material in Chronicles that is neither shared with nor drawn from Samuel-Kings. Regarding this unique material in Chronicles, Jones finds that this position "runs contrary to recent investigations, which attach more historical credibility to some of the Chronicler's additional materials."[324]

Rewritten Bible: The Dead Sea Scroll findings have inspired some further genre insights in the light of the notion that there has been a "process of editing and redacting" biblical texts.[325] The lack of agreement as to a precise definition of "rewritten Bible" makes for further complications.[326] G. J. Brooke who defines this as "any representation of an authoritative scriptural text that implicitly incorporates interpretive elements, large or small in the retelling itself"[327] includes Chronicles in his category of "r*ewritten Bible.*"[328] The justification for this lies in Chronicles' assumed dependence on Kings, which is not always possible to uphold in light of recent findings that, in some instances, Kings appears to have sections which are later than those in Chronicles, for example 2 Chr 22.5-6 would appear to be earlier than 2 Kgs 8.28-29 as Jan Joosten

[323] G. H. Jones, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, OTL, Sheffield Press, 1993, p. 81. Jones writes comments on the views of R. North: "Asking the question, 'Does Archaeology prove Chronicles' sources?" North gives a characteristically negative answer." Cited in Peltonen, *History Debated*, pp. 699-700.

[324] Peltonen*, History Debated*, p. 700, n.284. Citing G. H. Jones, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, OTL, Sheffield, 1993, p. 81.

[325] Knoppers, *I Chronicles, 1-9*, p. 55.

[326] G. Vermes, "Biblical Midrash," *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ,* Vol. 3, ed., E. Schürer. Revised edition, by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman, T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1986, pp. 308-341; p. 326. Cited in Knoppers*, I Chronicles 1 & 2,* p. 129. Geza Vermes was the originator of the term fifty years ago in 1961. He defines "Rewritten Bible" as "a narrative that follows Scripture but includes a substantial amount of supplements and interpretative developments."

[327] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation,* p. 22. Chronicles is compared to the *Temple Scroll* 11QT19, the *Genesis Apochryphon* 1QapGen(ar), or to writings such as *Jubilees* and *The Book of Biblical Antiquities.*

[328] G. J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible," Vol. 2. Eds., S. Schiffman and J. VanderKam, New York: OUP, Oxford, 2000, p. 777. Cited in Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1 & 2*, p. 129.

argues and, in his view, would attribute to a later recension.[329] However, Auld's theory where he aligns Kings and Chronicles, both based on the postulate of a common underlying document, would obviate the need for a theory of later recensions.[330] In the case of the book of Samuel and the first book of Chronicles 9-31, dependence of Chronicles on Samuel is much clearer, but the selections chosen for inclusion, and those ignored by the Chronicler, belie the notion of "rewritten Bible," as seen above in Sugimoto's comments.[331] One could ask if "rewritten Bible" actually qualifies as a genre *per se*.

Chronicles as Ideology: This was the subject matter of Japhet's doctoral thesis in 1977.[332] For Japhet, the Chronicler's ideological perspective is linked to his historical intentions, giving him the freedom to reinterpret and make relevant for a new generation of returned exiles the historical past of Israel, making it relevant for his own day, and thus to give to the returned exiles the fullness of their inheritance, a continuity with the past and a foundation for the future.

A view of Chronicles as "Ideology" has been fuelled mainly from three areas of study: source comparison where ideological intent was seen in Chronicle's variations from these sources,[333] linguistic advances in light of new epigraphic materials,[334] and Chronicles as literature exhibiting authorial skills.[335] However, in the light of post-

[329] J. Joosten, "Textual History and Linguistic Developments. The doublet in 2 Kgs 8.28-29//9:15-16 in light of 2 Chr 22.5-6," Eds., A. P. Otero and P. A. T. Morales, *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera*, Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2012, pp. 133-146.

[330] Auld, *Kings without Privilege,* is discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

[331] T. Sugimoto, "Chronicles as independent Literature," p. 74. Cited in Beentjes, Tradition and Transformation, p. 5. (See "Independent Literature" above)

[332] S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought*, Bialik, Jerusalem. (Hebrew 1977; English translation by A. Barber, 1989).

[333] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, p. 66.

[334] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 42-43.

[335] Duke, "Recent Research," p. 33.

Qumran, LXX and Masoretic textual comparisons, caution is urged at too readily attributing to ideology what may merely be alternative source material.[336]

Persuasive Speech: Duke regards Chronicles as "persuasive speech."[337] However he points out that all these literary proposals are necessarily conjectural. Greenspahn's review[338] of Duke's rhetorical analysis of Chronicles as "persuasive speech" sums up the general position: "The lengthy genealogies with which the book begins are not an effective mode of persuasive speech…directed at a broad group of post-exilic Judeans."

Utopian Literature: Stephen Schweitzer in 2007 proposed Chronicles' genre as "*Utopian Literature*" that "critiques present society by presenting a better alternative reality."[339] Duke sees this new literary–theoretical perspective as challenging assumptions about Chronicles' historicity and genre, purpose and ideology.[340] Schweitzer, who sees Chronicles as purposive, but with no real historical backing, asserts that there is no solid proof that Chronicles reflects the history of the Second Temple period, but Beentjes replies that neither is there proof that it does not.[341] In fact one could go further to suggest that, since the arguments of Japhet and Williamson have proven hugely influential amongst scholars against the notion of the CHW hypothesis[342] meaning that common authorship is no longer attributed to Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, there is ultimately no compelling reason to suppose that Chronicles reflects any post-exilic period at all. There is a problem too with the focus on future

[336] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 43.

[337] Duke "Recent Research," pp. 10-50.

[338] F. E. Greenspahn, Book Review of R. K. Duke, "The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler: A Rhetorical Analysis," *Bible and Literature Series,* 25, Almond Press, Sheffield, 1990, p. 192.

[339] S. Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles*, Diss. University of Notre Dame IN, 2005, p. 415. Cited in Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation,* p. 105.

[340] Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles*, LHB/OTS 442, New York, 2005, p. 414. Cited in Duke, *Recent Research,* pp. 32-33.

[341] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, p. 105.

[342] Japhet and Williamson both argued against the prevailing view that Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were the work of one author. The CHW hypothesis thus is no longer a widely held viewpoint.

orientation, because all the narrative in Chronicles describes the past, such as Solomon's temple and Josiah's reforms, so does not really seem to point so much to an idealized future as to a glorified past. Hence there would seem, at least potentially, to be several other possible explanations for such a portrayal, which do not indicate or require a future orientation.

The above forms a fairly representative overview of the variegated genre proposals from a literary perspective on genres proposed for Chronicles. Recent trends in the genre of Chronicles, Kalimi writes, move away from the midrashic, interpretative, exegetical, rewritten Bible and theological essay views, as the full extent of Chronicles' unique, non-parallel material is taken into account. There is also a move away from viewing Chronicles as supplementary to its sources, acknowledging its unique perspectives. In recent trends there is also recognition of Chronicles as a theologically oriented work of history writing in its own right,[343] to which we now turn.

Chronicles Defined as History

Here the view of Chronicles as "history" will be considered, after which will follow an appraisal of both the literary and historical approaches, recognising the overlaps between the two approaches.

Japhet writes: "Chronicles is among the very few biblical books the name of which is actually a definition of genre: *dibrê hayyāmīm* = 'the events (or: the words) of the days,

[343] I. Kalimi, "The Chronicler as Historian," Eds., M. P. Graham, K. G. Hoglund and S. L. McKenzie, *Was the Chronicler a Historian*? Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1997, pp. 73-89; *Idem*, *An Ancient Israelite Historian,* Studia Semitica Neerlandica, Assen, The Netherlands, 2005, pp. 19-39; R.W. Klein, *I Chronicles: A Commentary,* Hermeneia, Minneapolis, 2006, pp. 17-19; Knoppers, *I Chronicles, 1-9*, pp. 1; S. L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles,* Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries, Nashville, 2004, pp. 129-134. All cited in Duke, *Recent Research*, p. 31.

that is, a history."[344] She affirms this definition by noting that Noth in 1943 in his influential study defined Chronicles as history.[345] Noth notes, for example, the Chronicler's "characteristic carelessness" where he "varies the wording of Dtr's concluding remarks" and "makes reference to all kinds of prophetic writings instead of to the royal annals."[346] However, he also notes that two "individual pieces of information which do not come from Dtr….are so accurate historically that we are compelled to adopt the assumption that Chr. derived them from a pre-exilic source."[347] In support of Noth's view, Japhet upholds Chronicles as history in its "aim, plan, form and method."[348] In defence of this view, she writes, "Doubts regarding this definition of Chronicles often stem from a scholar's awareness that the work is different from what is broadly defined as 'history' in the modern sense."[349] Nevertheless Japhet concludes that these differences "should not exclude Chronicles (or other parts of biblical historiography, for that matter) from belonging to the genre of 'history.'"[350]

Williamson views Chronicles as "a history in which miracles abound, numbers are exaggerated, circumstances are idealized into black and white situations where right and wrong are immediately recognisable."[351]

Japhet notes that the question of the genre of Chronicles was taken up more systematically with the flourish of 'form criticism' and 'tradition-historical criticism'

[344] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 1.
[345] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 32.
[346] Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, p. 56.
[347] Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, p. 57. Noth refers gives two examples: Hezekiah's tunnel in 2 Chr 32.30 and Josiah's last battle and death (2 Chr 25.20-24)
[348] Japhet, *I & II Chronicle*, p. 32. Here Japhet writes: "Although Noth was as critical as his predecessors of the Chronicler's historical reliability, this consideration did not – as indeed it should not – affect his view of the genre of the book and its position in biblical literature."
[349] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 32.
[350] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 34.
[351] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, p. 68.

in biblical studies, a trend still potent in today's scholarship.[352] De Vries, who takes up Gunkel's form criticism,[353] views Chronicles overall as an historical work. He writes: "No less than Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles deserves the genre name HISTORY…."[354]

However, firstly, his assessment includes Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles as one work (CHW-Hypothesis), despite being aware of Japhet,[355] Williamson[356] and Braun's work,[357] in which Chronicles is separated from Ezra-Nehemiah as far as having common authorship.[358] This means that his views can be assessed in light of the possibility that Ezra and Nehemiah are separate works from Chronicles, and therefore, that isagogically, Chronicles needs to be assessed separately from Ezra and Nehemiah, including the genre question. Secondly, the very choice of the word "historical" not only necessarily fixes the date of composition to the latest event mentioned in the Chronicles, but also leaves us with a supposed historical work about which Japhet writes: "the best definition of Chronicles is that of 'history,'" albeit "an idiosyncratic expression of biblical historiography."[359]

It appears that it was in translating Chronicles from Hebrew into Greek, that the category of "Chronicles" first manifested as ἱστορουμένων in association with the book of Chronicles. Early evidence for "matters of the days" (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים) being called "history" may be seen in I Esdras 1.31: τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῆς Ἰουδαίας· translated from the parallel verse in the Hebrew 2 Kgs

[352] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 31.
[353] De Vries, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, p. XIV
[354] De Vries, *1 & 2 Chronicles,* p. 16. (Capital letters in original).
[355] Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship," pp. 330-371.
[356] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*.
[357] R. Braun, "A Reconsideration of the Chronicler's Attitude towards the North," *JBL* 96, 1977, pp. 10-36.
[358] Braun, *I Chronicles*, 1986.
[359] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 34.

עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים-לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה׃ 23.28 (Lit: "the book of the matters of the days/Chronicles of the Kings of Judah"). The Septuagint translation of 2 Kgs 23.28, by contrast, translates the Hebrew quite literally: βιβλίῳ λόγων ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰούδα; (Lit: "the book of the words / matters of the days of the Kings of Judah"). Whether this word had, at this stage, the meaning it acquired by the later medieval period, is beyond the scope of this current enquiry, but what can be said, as C. A. Baron writes, is that:

> [T]he very term "history" derives from the Greek word *historiê* ("inquiry") which Herodotus uses to describe his work, and the subject of historical inquiry decided upon by Herodotus and his successor Thucydides—description and explanation of political and military events in the past—remained standard for many centuries.[360]

Saltman, who edits Archbishop Stephen Langton's Commentary on Chronicles in the late twelfth century A.D., notes that the Greeks described the anonymous "Chronicler" as the ἱστοριογράφος, as Langton similarly does, a description which Saltman accepts with approval, commenting that it is:

> [A] title in some ways more appropriate than the present-day Chronicler. A historiographer was then regarded as being far superior to a mere chronicler or annalist. It will be generally agreed that the "Chronicler" had a distinct philosophy of history. The modern appellation hardly does him justice. [361]

[360] C. A. Baron, "Greek Historiography," http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195389661/obo-9780195389661-0078.xml [Accessed: 8 August 2018]

[361] Langton, *Commentary on the book of Chronicles*, p. 23-24.

Contrary to Saltman, all that this view of the Chronicler as a ἱστοριογράφος really does is confirm that the genre definition imposed onto the "Chronicler" by the early translations from Hebrew into Greek of the Hebrew Bible as that of "Historiographer" has influenced the understanding of the genre of Chronicles up to the present day. However it needs to be considered that the very word choice reflects what may indeed be the Greek view of what constitutes historical writing, *Hystoriographus*, but does not necessarily fully reflect earlier Hebrew culture or writings.

Overall upon inspection, the definition of Chronicles as history is, in each case, qualified even by the scholars who give it support. At one end of the spectrum, Van Seters views Israelite historiography as "more akin to myth-making,"[362] while at the other end, Kalimi gives recognition to the subjective nature of all historiography, as well as the inherently theological orientation of an ancient Israelite perspective. He states, "Writing about the past is never done in a vacuum, but is always influenced by the witness's own circumstances."[363] Duke's assessment of the scholarly dialogue on this topic as a whole is that it would have been "strengthened by a critical dialogue among the participants about presuppositions and methodology,"[364] adding that, in describing Chronicles as history, it is important to note this is not an argument in favour of its historicity.[365] Nevertheless there are problems with "history" as Chronicles' genre.

[362] J. Van Seters, "The Chronicler's Account of Solomon's Temple Building, A Continuity Theme," Eds., Graham, Hoglund and McKenzie, *The Chronicler as Historian*, JSOTS 238, Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1977, pp. 283-300. Cited in R. K. Duke, *Recent Research*, p. 30.

[363] I. Kalimi, "Was the Chronicler a Historian?" Eds., Graham, Hoglund and McKenzie, *The Chronicler as Historian*, JSOTS 238, Sheffield Academic Press, 1977, pp. 71-89. Cited in Duke, *Recent Research,* p. 30.

[364] Duke, *Recent Research*, p. 30.

[365] Duke, *Recent Research*, p. 30.

Without wishing to raise the whole issue of the *Tendenz* of Chronicles, if it is a history of the monarchical period then, while acknowledging that history is always selective, one could still ask why certain significant events are omitted in the narration, and why, with the genealogies starting right from Adam, there is seemingly no attempt to present a complete record of events thereafter. There is minimal reference to the book of Joshua or Judges.[366] Saul, the first Israelite king, is only mentioned at his death. Even as history of a particular period, Chronicles would be deemed incomplete, lacking references to the northern kingdom of Israel except when it impacts upon the Judaic kings. A supposed "anti-Samaritan" stance has been well refuted by Williamson,[367] who having resolved one problem, leaves us with another: if there was no enmity, then why was Israel together with its regnal records omitted from the Chronicle's records? Such omissions, in a work which starts with an extended genealogy from Adam, and features repeating formulaic time-markers, would argue against a genre of history, even theological history. If its purpose is not historical, and its genre undecided, then what is it?

For those who view Chronicles as history, the current consensus amongst scholars favours theological history, but even those who define it as history do not do so without qualification. As history, Japhet argues reasonably, Chronicles could not be expected to meet modern definitional demands.[368] However, if our notion of modern history being imposed onto Chronicles requires so many caveats, it may be better to search elsewhere for a definition.

[366] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 16.
[367] Williamson, *Israel in Chronicles,* 1977.
[368] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, pp. 32-34.

Ancient Near Eastern epigraphy contains many genres of writing, such as chronographic writings, including king lists, temple records, palace annals, within which we could, and perhaps should, seek a genre definition for Chronicles. In the next chapter ancient Near Eastern epigraphical writings will be examined, in particular within the chronographic category. Before looking at this, it is necessary to see when writing began in Israel.

When did Literacy and Writing Begin in the Ancient Near East and in Israel?

The evidence for writing in the period of the early monarchy will be examined in the light of several scholars' research.[369] Christopher Rollston in his recent paper focuses attention on methodology as the prerequisite for the subject of "writing technology(ies) in and around Jerusalem during the Iron IIA (the tenth and ninth centuries BCE)."[370] The first foundational principle in the important field of epigraphy for him is "[b]readth of view," pointing out that "[n]othing exists in a vacuum, certainly not something as complex as writers and writing-systems."[371] The next and corresponding principle is that of being "entirely data-driven," which he writes "should not *need* to be mentioned, but it does."[372] The next principle Rollston stresses is that of the "methodological

[369] R. S. Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," *Windows into Old Testament History: Evidence, Argument, and the Crisis of "Biblical Israel,"* Eds., V. P. Long, D. W. Baker, G. J. Wenham, Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Cambridge, UK., 2002, pp. 82-102; S. Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word,* 1996; D. M. Carr, *An Introduction to the Old Testament: Sacred Texts and Imperial Contexts of the Hebrew Bible,* Blackwell, Oxford, 2010; M. and E. Lubetski, Eds., *Recording New Epigraphic Evidence: Essays in Honour of Robert Deutsch*, Leshon Limudim, Ltd., Jerusalem, 2015; Van der Veen, P. G., *The Final Phase of Iron Age IIC and the Babylonian Conquest: A Reassessment with Special Emphasis on Names and Bureaucratic Titles on Provenanced Seals and Bullae from Israel and Jordan*, Diss., University of Bristol, Trinity College, Bristol, July, 2005;

[370] C. A. Rollston, "Epigraphic Evidence from Jerusalem and its Environs at the Dawn of Biblical History: Methodologies and a Long [sic] Duree perspective," *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region, Collected Papers,* Vol. XI, Jerusalem 2017, pp. 7-20; p. 7.

[371] Rollston, "Epigraphic Evidence," p. 7.

[372] Rollston, "Epigraphic Evidence," p. 7: "This should not *need* to be mentioned, but it does….there is also a natural human desire to bend the arc of the data in a manner that supports the

importance of comparative Semitic Grammar." He laments the "serious decline in the rigorous training within palaeography," which is a problem that is "worsening throughout the entire field of Northwest Semitic philology."[373] In this connection he mentions the recent epigraphic find, the Qeiyafa Ostracon, which, while it is important as "evidence of scribalism," the authors of the *editio princeps* incorrectly asserted that it was written in the Hebrew language but later it turned out that "[u]ltimately there is no morpheme or lexeme or syntagm in the Qeiyafa Ostracon that is exclusively diagnostic for Hebrew (or Phoenician)."[374] The last but not least epigraphic methodological principle Rollston outlines is "La Long [*sic*] Durée." He writes his recollections of Frank Moore Cross on this aspect of contextuality:

> In conversation and classes, the great Frank Moore Cross used to emphasize that someone attempting to understand the script and language of an inscription must understand that which came before it and that which came after it, in addition to the inscriptions that were contemporary with it….someone wishing to discuss the Old Hebrew Script must also know the Phoenician script (from which the Old Hebrew script derived) and the Aramaic script. This is indeed a methodological imperative, and is the case with all of the typological sciences (i.e., pottery typology, script typology…).[375]

This concern for methodology was echoed by Gabriel Barkai, Robert Deutsch, Pieter G. Van der Veen (and others working in the archaeological field[376]) at EABS, Leuven

presuppositions and beliefs that we bring to the table…That is, confirmation bias is a real thing and it constitutes a serious problem."

[373] Rollston, "Epigraphic Evidence," p. 8.

[374] Rollston, "Epigraphic Evidence," p. 9.

[375] Rollston, "Epigraphic Evidence," p. 10.

[376] G. Barkai, R. Deutsch, M. Heide, A. Lemaire, M. Lubetski, A. Millard, *Recording New Epigraphic Evidence: Essays in Honour of Robert Deutsch*, Eds., M. and E. Lubetski, Leshon Limudim, Ltd., Jerusalem, 2015.

in 2016, where they addressed the topic of "Northwest Semitic Epigraphy related to the Biblical World." Pieter Van der Veen drew attention to methodological requirements which when not observed, led to problems in the field. In order to assess the writing on a piece of pottery, for example, there were four areas of expertise required of the archaeologist, all of importance:

1. Palaeography which helps determine the date and provenance of the writing
2. Iconography where certain symbols pertain to a particular period and place
3. Stratigraphy enabling interpretation of the strata and the events of that period
4. Historio-stratigraphy becomes essential in determining, for example, which king is named, whether Jeroboam I or II. This confirms the findings from palaeography, iconography and stratigraphy, giving more nuanced datings.

Gabriel Barkai from the Jerusalem Temple Mount Sifting Project gave a talk on inscribed bowls from the Iron Age. Those with lids have the name on the outside of the bowl. If they are open vessels with no lids then the writing will be on the upper part of the inside of the bowl. Here, he said, the "לְ" *never* indicates "Belonging to…" plus the owner's name, as these have been interpreted before, but always "for…" plus "thy poor brother," or "the widows," or "the Priests." These bowls belonged to the temple, and were placed where people could donate to the widows, orphans, and the Priesthood. They had a social purpose, says Barkai, such as the one for "thy poor brothers," being an example of the oldest poor boxes. The characters and the shape of the bowls are typical Judean. These are found in various locations, which indicate their purpose and date too. Barkai commented at the end of his talk that this meant that it was necessary for people to be able to read to know which bowl to put their offering into.[377] Whether

[377] In modern times, in early colonial days, there was a priority placed on children's education and spreading literacy generally, and pictorial signage accompanied written signs. As literacy declined

writing was so widespread, for the purpose of this thesis, it is only necessary to ascertain the possibility that scribes and writing were known in the courts and temples from the tenth century B.C., which is what is being attempted here.

There seems to be a correlation between researchers who are involved directly in the excavations and the high credence many of them would appear to give to early literacy. This is shared by some biblical scholars. Thus Millard finds:

> Written records extend to the earliest times in the ancient Near East, and while it is popular in scholarly circles to refer to oral traditions prior to Semitic, including Arabic writing, it is more likely that writing which traces back to the second and third millenniums inspired memorisation, and that absence of early copies of written records are more likely as a result of poorly enduring writing materials than as a result of no writing at all.[378]

However, this is not how the matter has been perceived by scholars generally, where there is a general sense that orality is on a continuum, more or less widely separated from literacy. Carr sums up the current viewpoint well, when he calls attention to:

> This stress on the role of *memory* in the formation of *written texts* which involves overcoming a dichotomy is all too common in studies of the ancient world, between orality/memorization and writing/literacy. Though scholars decades ago deconstructed the idea that there was a "great divide" between orality and literacy, a remarkable number of high-quality publications still work with a strong distinction between the two, or at least a "continuum" with orality

in the UK in the seventies, pictorial signs appeared alongside written signs, which also helped when foreigners visited. Today, many road signs are pictorial, with no words at all, which are usually clear enough to work out what is intended. No pictures in ancient times may suggest general literacy.

[378] A. R. Millard, "The Knowledge of Writing in Iron Age Palestine," *TB* 46, 1995, pp. 207-217.

> at one end – often connected with memorization – and literacy at the other. As soon as "memorization is discussed, many presuppose that one is in the realm of 'orality,' or 'performance' that often seems to exclude a focus on writing and textuality. Scholars of antiquity are just at the beginning of exploring the interface between writing, performance, memorization, and the aural dimension of literary texts.[379]

Regarding the encouragement of Israelite sages urging their students to "write this Torah/commandment on the tablet of your heart," which was in line with Egyptian scribes reciting much earlier sages, and well-educated Greeks performing classical texts at a symposium meal, Carr writes:

> Students in a culture such as Israel's learned the *written* tradition in an *oral-performance* and *communal* context.…The clearer it becomes that scribes referred to and adapted earlier written traditions *in memorized form*, the more qualified our claims must become for being able to reconstruct the precise contours of the written texts on which they depended.[380]

Carr's view on orality/memorization and writing/literacy might seem at odds with Susan Niditch's contention that writing in ancient Israel was in the context of an 'oral mentality.'[381] When seen more broadly in the context into which the orality–literacy argument is set, Niditch's argument has value where she looks at the details of the epigraphical findings within Israel, such as the abecedaries, graffiti, the many ostraca,

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[379] D. M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, OUP, Oxford, 2010, p. 5.

[380] Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, p. 4-6 and n.4 outlining his approach in his previous work, D. M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*, OUP, Oxford, New York, 2005, p. 6.

[381] S. Niditch, *Oral World and Written World: Ancient Israelite Literature*, Library of Ancient Israel, John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1996, p. 108

etc., not denying literacy, but tracing the patterns of orality therein.[382] However, Millard in his review cites Niditch as writing: "The important message from our study of Israelite literature…is that an oral aesthetic infuses Hebrew Scripture as it now stands,"[383] which is, he notes:

> [A] verdict which will be widely accepted, but which could be applied to the majority of texts surviving from the ancient Near East. She [Niditch] follows previous writers in attempting to establish features of oral composition, namely, repetition, epithets and formulas, referentiality, patterns of content…while arguing against modern assumptions of Israelite literacy in a modern sense, drawing upon studies of ancient Greece, medieval England and Assyrian Royal inscriptions, she claims writing had a minor role in the "dominant oral culture of ancient Israel."[384]

Millard makes a valid point. What piece of literature, ancient or modern, does not start off in the mind and is then committed to the current available writing materials? Hess takes up this point, writing:

> Thus for Niditch early texts tend to exhibit more oral traits, whereas later texts seem to be more conscious of the literary context in which they were written. The theological implications for oral tradition have been explored primarily by critics who see the Israelite theology as undergoing a profound transformation

[382] S. Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word,* p. 108.

[383] A. R. Millard, "Review of S. Niditch, Oral World and Written Word," *JTS NS* 49, 1998, pp. 699–705.

[384] Millard, "Review of S. Niditch," pp. 699–705.

> that evolved from an early polytheism to a much later and more literate, monotheism.[385]

If this is what Niditch intends, then indeed it would be a retrogressive harking back to nineteenth century postulates of evolutionary developments from primitive to sophisticated. However, Niditch surely does not intend this at all. Certainly, she nowhere explicitly states this. However, Hess is surely correct in saying that:

> [O]rality is difficult to prove where it is not explicitly attested…the features or repetitions and various themes may just as easily appear in what are fundamentally written compositions. The origins of biblical texts are notoriously difficult where they are not explicitly stated.[386]

He looks at the evidence for literacy in Iron Age Israel and surveys the extra-biblical evidence for early literacy, which "is important for laying to rest several unwarranted assumptions."[387]

Sometimes though, the evidence of writing and literacy that exists seems to be overlooked in a way which would breach Rollston's methodological requirement for data-based objectivity. Hess outlines Young's position and then cites him directly, where Young suggests that only those of high social standing could read and write:

> [S]cribes, administrators, and priests were those who could read and write….Even the Siloam Tomb inscription from 700 B.C., which warns individuals to avoid the tomb and not to attempt to rob it, is not evidence that

[385] R. Hess, "Oral Tradition and the Old Testament," ed., K. van Hoozer, *Dictionary of Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, Baker Academic, 2005, pp. 551-553; p. 551.

[386] Hess, "Oral Tradition and the Old Testament," p. 552.

[387] R. S. Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," *Windows into Old Testament History: Evidence, Argument, and the Crisis of Biblical Israel,"* Eds., V. P. Long, D. W. Baker, G. J. Wenham, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K., pp. 82-102; p. 83.

> ordinary people could read. Rather [writes Hess, citing Young] "it was normal practice in antiquity for people to read out loud, and hence interested but illiterate bystanders would be able to obtain the information presented in the text.[388]

The very thought of a potential tomb raider patiently waiting by the sign until a reader happens along to read the warning out loud for him would seem highly unlikely. However, Niditch seems to be essentially in agreement with Young's sentiments about limited literacy, finding that:

> Writing was either limited to military and commercial purposes, as in the cases of the Samaria ostraca and the Lachish and Arad Ostraca, or it was iconic and not really intended for reading, as in the case of the Siloam inscription and Mesha stele.[389]

Both Young and Niditch do at least seem to be in agreement that there was indeed literacy amongst scribes, administrators and priests, which would cover the palace and temple, which suffices for this thesis. William Schniedewind writes that:

> [t]he roots of early Israel were semi-nomadic shepherds who live on the desert fringes of the Near East until around 1300 B.C.E. Consequently, the origins of these wanderers in the archaeological record are obscure. When the early Israelites do begin to show up in the archaeological record, they are shepherds and farmers. But did these shepherds and farmers write books?....The social infrastructure necessary for the widespread use of writing in Israel would not begin to emerge until the late monarchy. Rather the beginnings of the Bible are

[388] Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," p. 82-83. Citing I. Young, "Israelite Literacy: Interpreting the Evidence: Part I," *VT* 48, 1998, pp. 408-422.

[389] Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," p. 83, citing Niditch, *Oral World, Written Word*, p. 55.

> to be found in oral literature – in the stories and songs passed on from one generation to the next.[390]

In this portrayal, the Israelites were an oral culture lacking even a word for "read." This is strangely at variance with Matthew Black's comment that while in the Iliad writing is referred to only once, and in the Odyssey not even once, in the Bible we find as many as 429 references to writing or written documents.[391] If one can write, logic dictates that there are some in the population who can also read what has been written.

Interestingly, Robert D. Miller II argues that illiterate societies do not provide prolific oral literature:

> Biblical scholarship often speaks of "oral tradition" quite loosely, as if the concept is commonly and easily understood. We imagine a time when Israel was illiterate, before writing, when traditions were handed down from generation to generation by elders and priests….Oral tradition and written tradition are related phenomena, and in fact, writing often supports oral tradition and vice-versa….In fact, illiterate societies are *not* the most common source of oral literature.[392]

In 1935 the finding of some 25,000 tablets in the Royal Palace of Mari, northern Syria, revealed and confirmed beyond doubt early literacy in the ancient Near East. This does not mean that all groups within the ancient Near East were equally literate. However, the findings at Ugarit, today's Ras Shamra, also in northern Syria, with its north-

[390] W. M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible became a book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*, CUP, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 48-49.

[391] M. Black, "Languages and Script: The Biblical Languages," *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 1. Eds., P.R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, CUP, 1970, p. 13.

[392] R. D. Miller II, "Orality and Performance in Ancient Israel", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 86, 2012, pp. 181-192.

western Semitic language, Ugaritic, dating back to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., have been used by scholars of the Hebrew Bible to clarify Hebrew texts, and also revealed parallels with Israelite culture. Cyrus Gordon writes: "That Ugarit has radically changed the nature of Old Testament studies is generally recognized."[393]

While there is still much debate about the question of literacy and orality in Israel's history, Rollston comes to a positive conclusion, as Millard notes in his concluding comment in his review of Rollston's book. He draws attention to Rollston's area of special expertise in the early history of the alphabet, and in particular the shapes of the letters, then comments:

> Many will welcome Rollston's conclusion, countering views that deny Hebrew books were written before 700 B.C.: "I am absolutely certain that a nation (Israel) that has a scribal apparatus that is capable of developing a national script and employing standardized orthographic conventions is certainly capable of producing literature.[394]

The increasing support for acknowledgement of early writing in the Old Testament, from internal biblical and extra-biblical evidence, such as the copying methods of scribes (see below), the language parallels with ancient writings,[395] and the existence

[393] C. H. Gordon, "Ugarit and its Significance," a paper addressed to the Association of Historical Studies, 24 June 1974, p. 8: https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/ART/article/viewFile/5483/6093 [Accessed: 10 July 2018]

[394] A. R. Millard, "Review of C. A. Rollston, 'Writing and Literacy in Ancient Israel,'" *SBL*, 2010, in *Biblical Archaeology.* [Accessed: 12 June 2015]

[395] D. P. Wiseman, "Books in the Ancient World: Books in the Ancient Near East and in the Old Testament," *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the beginning to Jerome*, Vol. 1, Eds., P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, CUP, 1970, pp. 30-48.

of scribal families,[396] as well as references to tablets and scrolls,[397] means necessarily there were writers and readers. Whether these were the entire population or only sections of the leadership, may still be debated. However, the important point to note is that the evidence in the overall structure of the writings, especially the repeating formulae at the end of the Kings' reigns in the monarchic period, when aligned with those in the ancient Near East in their formulaic writing procedures, need to be considered carefully in the light of the possibility of early writing.

Indeed, Knoppers writes that it is methodologically incorrect to conclude an "impoverishment of culture" on the basis of an absence of archaeological evidence. Hess, citing Knoppers, writes that on this basis the post-exilic period should also be a time of cultural and textual absence. Yet this is the very time when most scholars date the major production of many of the biblical materials.[398]

When it comes to the twelfth to tenth centuries B.C. evidence traces the Proto-Hebrew alphabet for close to a thousand years to the time of the united monarchy, writes Diringer, when the centralized administration with a staff of secretaries (see, for instance, 2 Sam. 8.17 and 20.25) enabled the autonomous development of the Hebrew

[396]E.g. of scribes and scribal families: Josh. 24.26 Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God; 2 Sam 8.16-17: David's staff of recorder and secretary: Jehoshaphat b. Ahihud, the recorder (מַזְכִּיר) and Seraiah the secretary (סוֹפֵר); 1 Chr 2.55 the scribal family at Jabez (סֹפְרִים מִשְׁפְּחוֹת); 4.22 the Lehem settlers whose records were ancient (וְהַדְּבָרִים עַתִּיקִים); 4.33 the five cities reaching towards Ba'al who had kept their genealogical records (הִתְיַחְשָׂם); 2 Chr 34.8,15 Shaphan the secretary(הַסּוֹפֵר) and Jo'ah the recorder (הַמַּזְכִּיר).

[397] Biblical references to "tablets" (לוּח luach): Ex 24.12; 31.18; 32.15, 16(X2), 19; 34.1(X3), 4(2), 28, 29; Dt 4.13; 5.20; 9.9, 10, 15, 17; 10.1, 2,(2), 3(2), 4, 5; 1 Kgs 8.9; 2 Chr 5.10; Prov 3.3; 7.3; 8.1; Isa 30.8; Jer 17.1; Hab. 2.2; and "scrolls" (סֵפֶר sepher): Isa 34.4 transl. as "scroll" but elsewhere both words are "tablets" לוּח and "scrolls" סֵפֶר are translated as "book" from Genesis to Malachi, except not in Lev, Jg, Ruth, Ezra, Prov, or the 12 Minor Prophets.

[398] G. N. Knoppers, "The Vanishing Solomon: The disappearance of the United Monarchy from Recent Histories of Ancient Israel," *JBL* 116, 1997, pp. 40-42. Cited in Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," p. 87.

alphabet.[399] While Diringer does not assert writing in this period, he notes that the personnel and circumstances present at the time that would have enabled it, and lead to a strong supposition that there was writing in Israel in this period.

To the above may be added the most important text of the eleventh century, the Izbet Sartah abecedary, with a script "not unlike Hebrew" which gives:

> [e]vidence of learning the alphabet and writing skills in a small village in the eleventh century BC within the area that the Bible designates as Israel during this time. This is a remarkable discovery because it suggests that 'Israelite-type' people were learning to read and write.[400]

From the tenth century Davies[401] lists over 900 seals, and seal impressions, of which some are of Hebrew origin. A further 195 more have been recently added to these numbers.[402] Ussishkin has identified the seal of Shema, the servant of Jeroboam as belonging to Jeroboam 1 and not Jeroboam II.[403] To these have been added "universally recognised Hebrew inscriptions [which] begin to appear."[404]

One can multiply examples, such as the Kirbet Qeiyafa finds, but of special note are the Amarna letters of the fourteenth century. These comprise "written documents of a literary style," almost four hundred in number, most of which come from Egypt's vassal cities in the Syrian-Palestine region, with letters from many places including "Byblos,

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[399] D. Diringer, "Language and Script: The Biblical Scripts," *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Eds., Ackroyd, P. R. and Evans, C. F., CUP, 1975, pp. 11-29; p. 13.

[400] Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," p. 86.

[401] G. I., Davies, *Corpus and Concordance: Ancient Hebrew Inscription*s, CUP, Cambridge and New York, 1991. Cited in Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," p. 88.

[402] Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," p. 88. Barkai, 1993; Lemaire, 1990; Deutsch and Heltzer, 1994 and 1995.

[403] D. Ussishkin, "Gate 1567 at Megiddo and the Seal of Shema, Servant of Jeroboam," Eds., M. D. Coogan, J. C. Exum and L. E. Stager, *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip K. King,* Louisville, 1994. Cited in Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," p. 88.

[404] Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," p. 88.

Tyre, Gezer, Hebron, Shechem (Nablus), Ashkelon, Megiddo, and Jerusalem."[405] This suggests very early writing in Jerusalem, albeit mostly in Akkadian, "a few centuries before King David would ostensibly vanquish the Canaanite (Jebusite) population of Jerusalem and make it his own capital (2 Samuel 5)."[406] Rollston notes the relevance of this for Israel's literacy:

> The Jerusalem letters from Amarna "have attracted substantial attention because of their dialect. It is normally argued that they are quite different in terms of cuneiform signs used, orthography, and syntax from the rest of the letters from Canaanite cities, more sophisticated in certain ways, which may indicate the scribal culture at Jerusalem was of a particularly high quality. Also, the correspondence with a Jerusalem ruler in the 14th century provides evidence for occupation in the city in a period (Late Bronze Age II) for which there is little archaeological evidence.[407]

There is no reason to assume that tenth-century Jerusalem was any less populated or likely to produce written texts. Nuzi, which has produced more than 6,500 texts from the Late Bronze Age, was a site whose population was estimated at 2,000; not much different from the size of Jerusalem.[408]

So this brings us back to the questions Millard asks in his review of Rollston's monograph on Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: "Did ancient

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[405] C. A. Rollston, "Jerusalem in the Amarna Letters": http://www.bibleodysey.org/en/places/related-articles/jerusalem-in-the-amarna-letters [Accessed: 19 Nov 2017] They date to the 14thcentury B.C.E., primarily to the reigns of the Egyptian kings Amenhotep the Third (reigned circa 1382–1344 B.C.E.) and Amenhotep IV (reigned circa 1352–1336 B.C.E.). The letters from Jerusalem (written as "Urusalim" in the Amarna texts) are from a Canaanite ruler named Abdi-Heba.

[406] Rollston, "Jerusalem in the Amarna Letters."

[407] Rollston, "Jerusalem in the Amarna Letters."

[408] Hess, "Literacy in Iron Age Israel," p. 87.

Israelites write? Is there evidence apart from the Hebrew Bible? If so, what did they write? And who could write?"[409] If we consider Israel first, Millard himself writes regarding the knowledge of writing in Iron Age Palestine:

> The Bible presents writing as a normal activity of daily life, but no Hebrew books survive from Iron Age Palestine to attest that. The written documents found there are few and brief in comparison with those from Egypt and Mesopotamia, yet they attest a varied use of writing which…reached beyond the scribal circles or palace and temple. Considered in the light of inscriptions from neighbouring lands, Hebrew epigraphy presents a richer source, lacking only royal monuments.[410]

His consideration of the evidence and analogies from other parts of the ancient Near East, leads him to make a case for the possibility of written literature existing in the land from at least the tenth century B.C. onwards.[411] De Blois and Van der Spek confirm this viewpoint:

> The reason why we are nevertheless reasonably well-informed about the Israelites is that they conscientiously copied the works of their richly varied literature over and over again to preserve them for future generations. These works, which comprise poetry, histories, laws and wisdom literature, constitute the books of the Old Testament, the basis of the Jewish religion and, together with the New Testament, also that of Christianity.[412]

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[409] Millard, "Review of C. A. Rollston, Writing and Literacy in Ancient Israel," p.1.
[410] Millard, "The Knowledge of Writing in Iron Age Palestine," pp. 207-217.
[411] Millard, "The Knowledge of Writing in Iron Age Palestine," p. 207.
[412] L. de Blois and R. J. van der Spek, *An Introduction to the Ancient World*, translated from the Dutch by Susan Mellow, Routledge, London and New York, 1997; paperback edition, 2008, p. 34.

Overall then, the above survey suggests that Old Testament scholarship still reflects ideas of late literacy in Israel. I suggest this may be, in part, one of the reasons that in today's scholarship this finds expression in a tendency to place more and more biblical texts into the post-exilic period. This is strangely at variance with the wider ancient Near Eastern studies, where it is accepted that writing was widespread in the ancient Near East even from the second and third millennium B.C. In Chapter 3 the similarity of various features in the chronographic literature in biblical Chronicles and the ancient Near East will be examined to assess this more fully.

While widespread literacy may or may not have been prevalent in the early monarchic period, there seems to be good reason to consider the strong possibility that there were scribes, administrators and priests in the palace, court and temple where public affairs were supported by written documentation.

CHAPTER 3

Chronography: Chronicles in the Ancient Near East

What is chronographic writing? As the name implies, it is closely concerned with recording events in a chronological time frame. The underlying meaning of chronographic, "*chrono*" from the Greek χρόνος (*chronos*), meaning time and "graphic" from γραφειν (*graphein*) meaning "to write" accurately describes the salient features of chronographic writing. Firstly, it is always a *written* record and secondly, it is always concerned with recording *time*.

Chronographic writing reveals the deep concern of the ancient Near Eastern peoples with recording time. Glassner writes: "Time was the basic component of history. It was a powerful force, governing all things…"[413] Broadly speaking, chronology may be defined this way: "In the widest perspective of the word, chronology is a time scale, a method for putting time into order."[414] As chronographic writing developed, the importance of time as the central focus did not diminish. Glassner describes the chronicler's task in ordering time this way:

> Chronology lies at the heart of the chronicler's preoccupation with establishing dates and the succession of events in time and recording the names of kings and the length of their reigns.[415]

[413] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 7.

[414] Barksdale, "*10 Methods of Measuring Time*," Discovery Channel : Curiosity. [Accessed: Feb 2012 – site no longer available]

[415] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 55.

This concern with fixing time in writing is called chronography, of which Chronicles form one of the varieties of genre within the group. In this chapter we are dealing in particular with the chronographic literature of Assyria and Babylon, which, Grayson observes, "is an integral part of ancient Mesopotamian chronography which in turn is an integral part of ancient Mesopotamian historiography."[416]

Van der Spek defines Chronicles as "a continuous register of events in chronological order."[417] Grayson's working definition for an ancient Mesopotamian chronicle is "a prose narration of events in chronological order normally written in the third person."[418]

Millard mostly agrees with this definition in that it acknowledges the common understanding of a "chronicle" as "a detailed and continuous register of events," but finds that those Chronicles with dynastic listings do not fit into this definition. An example of this would be the Babylonian Dynastic Chronicle,[419] which is "a list of kings by dynasties with notes of lengths of reigns, and burial places for some."[420]

However it is here that Millard has really touched upon the problem which Grayson himself addresses, as to whether Chronicles may be understood as a development from the earlier king lists. It is likely, too, that when a new temple is built, an earlier king list is taken to form the origins section, which would be added to the start of the new chronicle, thus showing features of both king lists and chronicles within one work.

[416] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 1.

[417] R. J. van der Spek, "Berossus as a Babylonian Chronicler and Greek Historian," ed., R. J. van der Spek, *Studies in the Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society presented to Marten Stol*, Bethesda, Maryland, 2008, pp. 277-307.

[418] Grayson, *ABC,* p. ix.

[419] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 139. The Dynastic Chronicle *ABC* 18 is transcribed fully.

[420] A. R. Millard, Review of A. K. Grayson, *ABC,* Locust Valley, NY, 1975, p. ix in: *JANES* 100, 1980, p. 366.

Millard himself notes this taking of older material to form the starting point for a later work, but still aims to classify the work as either a king list or a chronicle:

> It [Dynastic Chronicle: ABC18; MC 3][421] is really a continuation of the Sumerian King List tradition where the introduction of notes about particular kings is acceptable. It differs from the Sumerian King List in describing the Flood…and in noting the burial places for one sequence of kings. By content therefore, this text might be classed with king lists rather than chronicles.[422]

Grayson, however, classifies king lists and chronicles together under one heading of chronography because he finds them so interrelated that it is not always possible in a particular instance to decide if a text should be classified as either a king list or a chronicle:

> The term "chronography" is used here to describe a group of texts which have, in the past, been called king lists or chronicles. By definition the word chronographic denotes documents which are composed along essentially chronological lines. This is certainly a characteristic of ancient Mesopotamian king lists and chronicles which makes them a distinct entity. It is, moreover, essential to have one term for these two categories since in ancient Mesopotamia the king lists and chronicles are so interrelated that it is not always possible in a particular instance to decide if a text should be classified as either a king list or a chronicle. Such is the case with the so-called Assyrian King List. The beginning of the text simply lists one ruler after another and therefore can be

[421] A. K. Grayson and J.-J. Glassner's classification of Chronicles will be synchronised here as *ABC : MC* plus classification number chosen by each.

[422] Millard, Review of A. K. Grayson, *ABC,* p. 366.

> classified as a king list. But there are some narrative sections in this document which belong to the classification chronicle.[423]

Grayson justifies his joining of the two categories of king lists and chronicles under one rubric, citing Poebel who, meeting this same problem preferred the title Assyrian Chronicle for what has been termed the Assyrian King List [424]

Glassner is critical of Grayson's proposal of joining king lists and chronicles into one category, though he recognizes that there are areas of overlap. He also finds that Grayson's classification according to the study of recurrent literary formulae "seems to be of little help in making classification. Such an attempt has been made, but it led to lumping of the great majority of sources together while leaving out a small minority." [425]

Glassner's point here is valid in that the Neo-Babylonian chronicles form the largest group covering earlier and later periods, leaving only smaller groups within each of the other three categories into which Grayson classifies the Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles. He compares king lists with chronicles, writing:

> [L]ists were one-dimensional; they were in general dry enumerations of signs and words classified according to graphs, semantic or thematic criteria. They were distinguished from chronicles by the absence of prose, apart from a few late examples that did not conform to this definition. King lists may be clearly distinguished from chronicles in that royal names appear alone, immediately

[423] Grayson *ABC*, p. 4.

[424] A. Poebel, *The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad*, JNES 1, July 1942, pp. 247-306; p. 281. Cited in Grayson, *ABC*, p. 4, n.27.

[425] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 37.

followed or preceded by the bald mention of the number of years of the king's reign.[426]

Van Seters' basis for disagreement with Grayson's joining of king lists and chronicles into one category centres around Grayson perceiving similarities in the dating formulae of both and the brevity of the narrative content of some king lists. Further he does not believe that the one form, king lists, develops into the other, chronicles, and offers "good reasons…why the two types of texts might be fruitfully considered separately."[427] These reasons he gives are that there was more than one king list tradition, so that the origin and function of the lists was not always the same; also the culture of the time produced a multiplicity of lists such as syllabaries, bilingual vocabularies, lists of plants and animals, and date lists, etc. Van Seters therefore suggests that these lists in general and king lists in particular would only have a tenuous link to chronicles.

However, over the next few pages he gives examples, which, even if they do not help to establish conclusively the development from the king list to the chronicle, do seem to bear out Grayson's point that the king lists share features with chronicles. He mentions, for example, the date lists that "included the number of years of a series of kings' reigns," in particular one case, the Babylonian King List A, which extending from the first dynasty of Babylon to the late seventh century, seems to "go beyond the practical function of the date lists and reflect antiquarian interests."[428]

From a different tradition, Van Seters then cites the Sumerian King List which has "chronicle" features, where it describes how kingship came down from heaven and was

[426] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 37.
[427] Van Seters, *Search of History,* p. 68-9.
[428] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 69.

first established in the city of Eridu, where eight or nine kings had very long reigns in five different cities, until a deluge sweeps them all away.[429] This is the exact problem Grayson seeks to overcome by subsuming king lists and chronicles under one category of chronographic literatures. While it leaves a few problems in its wake, such as the lapse of four centuries between the last king list (sixteenth century B.C.) to the first chronicles known to us (twelfth century B.C.), an answer to this may be found in part by looking at royal inscriptions and Assyrian annals of individual kings, which according to Grayson, may have had an earlier origin than was originally thought to be the case, influenced by Hittite royal annals.[430] From these annals later king lists may have been extracted, as may be seen in some early date lists from which apparently Egyptian annals derived and from these later king lists were extracted.[431]

As to list-making, Van Seters points to the "list-science" as a widespread literary phenomenon. He includes specific mention of this feature within the Old Testament.[432] He sees in this widespread "list-making" that there are distinctly chronicle-like features, which would seem to suggest some signs of development, the very point he has set out to disprove. In this connection it is worth citing Glassner, whose view on this point is similar to that of Grayson:

> In the course of their discovery and decipherment, modern editors have classified them indiscriminately as "lists" or "chronicles." There has therefore been a tendency to refer to them confusingly as the Sumerian King List or the

[429] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 71-72.

[430] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 3-4. "Royal Inscriptions go back to the days when Sumerian was the spoken language in the Babylonian plain and find their origin in the ancient monarch's penchant for self-glorification."

[431] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 1.

[432] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 69, n.48, citing G. von Rad, "Job xxxiii and Ancient Egyptian Wisdom," in *Problems of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, Vol. 19, SCM Press, 1966, pp. 281-291. New edition: 21 June, 2012.

> Assyrian King List but the Dynastic Chronicle. Lists and chronicles certainly belonged to the same chronographic genre, since their authors were motivated by the same concern for chronological order, so it cannot be denied that there were close ties between them. Moreover, some Chronicles contain sections in list form; this suggests that the difference was not as sharply perceived in antiquity as it might be now.[433]

In sum, there is a convergence of opinion here that there are documents which start off looking like king lists and proceed to develop into chronicles, which makes them tricky to assign to different categories. In other words, the recognition of this point would seem to justify Grayson's placing them into one chronographic category. The value of this approach means that the features of both may be compared and contrasted, enabling an examination as to whether they are a combination of old and new, or a transitional form moving from one stage into another. The apparent definitional consternation caused by king list features, which comprise a list of names, appearing in a document which is then followed by chronicle features, where fuller sentences plus narrative appears is something this thesis seeks to address. This "combo" feature is something which appears in several Babylonian and Assyrian texts as well as in biblical Chronicles,[434] starting with the genealogical listing, what may be called the "Origins" section, that is then followed by a list of more recent kings, often with vague dating or a dating system which links to but differs from that which then follows later. This section acts as a type of prologue, what may be called a "Recapitulation" section, leading into the commencement of the actual "Chronicling" section which uses regnal

[433] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 37.

[434] Origin lists with king lists: Dynastic ABC 18/MC 3; Weidner ABC 19/MC 38; Early Kings ABC 20/MC 39/41; Tummal MC 7; Uruk chronicles of the Kings of Ur MC 48; Walker WC 25/MC 46; Walker Chronicle CW 25/MC 46; Eclectic ABC 24/MC 47; Religious ABC 17/MC 51; Assyrian Eponym List second Millennium MC 8.

dating as its prime dating formula, which would form the main chronicle itself. This tripartite division of some Mesopotamian chronicles, which would include the biblical Chronicles, will be examined below.[435] This same basic pattern would seem to be carried through to the chronicles of the medieval period particularly to the Anglo Saxon chronicles and others.[436]

The fact that Grayson has confined his analysis to the barest minimum of commonality between king lists and chronicles, namely the repeating formulaic patterns, which include information of the regnal year, the event or the eponym[437] or the king's name, is ideal on the whole for this study which seeks to minimise the distraction of cultural and cultic differences by looking at the formulae, both their similarities and their differences. Grayson observes: "A study of the literary patterns helps solve the problems of the origin."[438] The downside is that Grayson does not make a direct comparison with wider Mesopotamian and Sumerian materials. However, such deficiencies can be overcome with Glassner's wider classifications.

Having viewed the arguments of Grayson, Glassner, Millard and Van Seters, there would seem then to be good reasons to uphold aspects from each for the purposes of

[435] Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, p. 70. Glassner writes about "the myths of Origins and the Foundation narratives."

[436] *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, Everyman Press, London 1847. Britannia's online version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle originally compiled on the orders of King Alfred the Great in approximately A.D. 890, is based on the Everyman publication. Translated from the Old and Middle English by Rev. James Ingram (London, 1823), also the online version has excerpts from the translation by Dr. J. A. Giles (London, 1847): http://www.britannia.com/history/docs/1-448.html. [Accessed: 26 Aug 2017]. Here may be seen an Origins section, called an Introductory section, which records the earliest settlers into Britain, "the English, Welsh (or British), Scottish, Pictish." A Recapitulation then starts from 60 B.C. with the relevant years recorded from Julius Caesar's visit to Britain continuing with significant rulers, saints and events from the time of Christ onwards until the time of King Alfred 890 A.D. Hereafter the Chronicling section is commenced, maintained and added to by generations of anonymous scribes until the middle of the twelfth Century in the reign of King Stephen in 1154 A.D.

[437] Eponyms: The Assyrian Chronicles (2nd Millennium and 1st Millennium) had eponym lists of annually elected officials called *līmus.* See Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 160 – 176.

[438] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 6.

examining the biblical book of Chronicles: Grayson's inclusiveness of king lists with Chronicles means that they can be viewed alongside each other, giving valuable insights into both; Glassner and Van Seters' viewing them as separate categories enables the individual features of each to be examined, compared and contrasted. Where features of both king lists and chronicles arise in one piece of work, it is then possible to assess whether these are either a combination of old and new, forming a transitional from one system to the next, where elements from both are combined.

From the above, it is possible to see in the biblical Chronicles that we have what would certainly bear comparison with a king list in 1 Chr 1-9, then from 1 Chr 10-29, wherein we see sections of list-making throughout, which would form a recapitulation section taken from 1 Samuel 31 and 2 Samuel, starting with Saul's death followed by David's kingship leading up to David's commissioning of Solomon to build the temple, in other words the monarchical events leading up to the temple being built in Solomon's reign. The actual chronicling would thus only begin in 2 Chronicles, divided up colophonically with repeating formulaic citations at the end of the kings' reigns from 2 Chronicles throughout. In chronographic terms, whether defined by Grayson according to formulae, or by van der Spek in his description of historiography, or even Glassner with a definition of a Royal Chronicle,[439] it would be hard to categorize the biblical Chronicles into just one epigraphic form, such as a king list, giving lists of successive kings, or a chronicle maintaining a "running account" stemming out of the tradition of list-keeping of kings, or a history, without taking cognisance of the tripartite structure into which it falls. For further discussion on the tripartite structure of biblical Chronicles, see Chapter 4, The Tripartite Division of Chronicles on p. 281.

[439] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 2004, p. 70.

Chronicles as Chronography: How Does this Differ from History?

Glassner writes that there is no such literary genre known as "historical literature" in ancient Mesopotamia. Histories were written in epic or poetic style; the other compositions (chronographic writings for instance) were written in prose.[440] He writes:

> The oldest historical stories, including the narrative of the youth of Sargon of Akkade (the only composition in this style composed in Sumerian), date from the Old Babylonian period. Later the genre was cultivated in Assyria and Babylon. [441]

Grayson concurs that:

> The "Mesopotamian historical epic is Sumerian in origin….The composition of poetic narratives retelling the deeds of famous kings such as Enmekiri or Gilgamesh was a natural development in a society which was already well advanced in the arts of civilisation.[442]

The important point for this thesis is that chronicles, being prose, are to be distinguished from the prophetic, myths and epics, which are written in poetic style.

Glassner discerns three basic traits which characterize Mesopotamian chronicles:

1. They were written in prose, in the third person. This was the case even if the prose was reduced to a recurring formula and to a few…condensed chronological notes.

[440] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 19.
[441] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 19.
[442] Grayson, *ABC*, P. 3.

2. Priority was given to time. The essential thing was to note the date of every event selected. There was an increasing tendency to leave no year unaccounted.

3. Brevity was the norm. Restricting themselves to the events they summarized, and running the risk of appearing brief to the point of atomization, Chronicles were a kind of handbook that reduced history to a series of facts.[443]

Van der Spek, commenting on Glassner's monograph on Mesopotamian Chronicles, observes that Glassner seems to be attempting to make "one size fit all" so that no allowance is made for developmental changes or differences according to region or purpose of the chronicle. However, the points Glassner makes are fairly general, and do not cut across the categories into which he places the chronicles according to their function and content, such as the Royal chronicles. This may be seen in the case of the Neo-Babylonian chronicle series, which according to tradition was somehow connected to the Babylonian king Nabû-nāṣir (747-734 B.C.). Glassner is cautious in accepting the attribution of all this to Nabû-nāṣir but admits: "During the first millennium, intellectual life was marked by the development of a new branch of historical research." However he adds:

> Overall, it is difficult to see any truth in this proposition. The dates 748 (the year of Nabonassar's accession) or 747 (that of his full year of reign) do not appear to be a decisive break. Chronicle 16 [Grayson's Babylonian Chronicle ABC 1] begins in the third year of the reign, with the accession to the throne not

[443] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 38.

> of the king of Babylon but of the king of Assyria, Tiglath-pileser III, after Assyrian military intervention in Babylon. [444]

However this hesitation on Glassner's part to embrace the idea of a new departure for historical research in chronicles beginning with the reign of Nabû-nāṣir (Nabonassar) in 747-734 B.C. may be less about ignoring developmental signs, and more about an awareness of Nabû-nāṣir's purported destruction of records of previous kings, supposedly in order to gain pre-eminence for his own reign. Grayson writes:

> This tradition is best attested by Ptolemy who not only began his list of Babylonian kings with Nabu-nasir and used the Nabu-nasir Era in his writings for dating, but also said at one point that astronomical observations were preserved from Nabu-nasir's time onwards….[445] The tradition is also alluded to in a curious statement attributed to Berossus by Alexander Polyhistor and quoted from the latter by Syncellos: "Nabu-nasir collected and destroyed the (records of the) deeds of the kings so that the reckoning of Chaldean kings might start with himself."[446]

If these records were destroyed, then there is no reason to suppose the "new departure" from this time was in fact a new departure at all, but that earlier writings of a similar nature, with or without developmental features, may have existed. Glassner writes:

> It was long thought that chronicles appeared only late during the Neo-Babylonian period. The recent discovery of Mari eponym chronicles…dating

[444] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 111-113.

[445] Grayson, ABC, P. 13 n.38 citing K. Manitius, Des Claudius Ptolomāus Handbuch der Astronomie, I Leipsig, 1912, p. 183: 6-8.

[446] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 13 and n.39; F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Grischischen Historiker,* 3. Teil, C. Leiden, 1958, pp. 395f. This passage is also quoted and translated (into German) by F. X. Kugler, Sternkunde und Sterndienst 2, Babel, Münster, Aschendorff, p. 363; See also Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 111.

> from the eighteenth century [B.C.] shows that this was not true. We can now see that it was possible to go back even further in time, to the last third of the third millennium.[447]

Additionally, Grayson notes that while a text may have been composed in the fifteenth century B.C. it may only be known to us through a copy made in the seventh century, or even be an extract from a larger work.[448] Glassner confirms this, writing that:

> [T]here developed during the first millennium a certain antiquarianism. …Veritable museums were established in which original pieces sat side by side with copies….Private individuals took an interest in antiquities as well.[449]

"In such a case," writes Grayson, "One must allow not only for scribal errors but also discover whenever possible the reason the extraction was made."[450] This point is important for this thesis, as the extraction may form the basis for what I have termed the "Recapitulation" section (1 Chronicles 10-29), which form a "précis" of selected events and royal actions leading up to the "chronicling" section of a new chronicle. Various types of extraction could feature in some of the chronicles that fall within Grayson's Category D of Unclassified Chronicles,[451] for example, where they feature a mixture of formulaic patterns, starting with a king list.

Thus, for all chronicles, including biblical Chronicles, a more nuanced approach, which acknowledges the earlier sections which lead into the commencement date of the chronicle itself, is needed when attempting to date the work. I will argue that this

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[447] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 38.

[448] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 4.

[449] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 13. Glassner gives several examples of such copies, with colophons: "The scribe Nabū-balāssu-iqbi, son of Mişiraya, copied the "tariff" of King Sîn-kāšid of Uruk from an original preserved in the Ezida, the temple of the god Nabū at Borsippa."

[450] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 4.

[451] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 6.

threefold structure is how the biblical book of Chronicles is constructed so that chronographic work cannot be dated according to the last date recorded, but neither is it necessarily the first date, as the first date may be part of the extracted material which forms the background material after which the "running account" begins.

Glassner's hesitation to view chronicles as history or even historiographic material *per se* would seem to be based on the notable difference that historical narrations, which contain myths and epics, are always written in verse. Also a key difference in the poetic writings is that dates are neither given nor required. This contrasts strongly with chronographic writings, which are always in prose and where dating is of supreme importance.

Van der Spek, in his review of Glassner's monograph, agrees with Glassner here that: "Chronicles are about history, but not all history writing can be defined as chronicles," noting that Glassner is well aware of the ambiguity of the term. Van der Spek writes that "The people of Sumer and Akkad had no such term as "the writing of history," yet they produced a voluminous historical literature."[452] Van der Spek goes on to give a list of the "ladder of characteristics of historiography, more or less in an increasing scale of sophistication,"[453] the titles of which are below. While these characteristics give an excellent outline of historiographical writing generally, it will be seen that in the case of chronographic writing, not one of these eleven points fully apply to chronographic writings.[454]

[452] R. J. van der Spek, "Review of J.-J. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*," translated and edited by B. R. Foster, SBL Writings from the Ancient World, 19, 2004.

[453] Van der Spek, "Review of Glassner."

[454] Van der Spek, "Review of Glassner."

Historiography Versus Chronography

"Historiography is about the past:" Thus writes van der Spek.[455] However, this differs from chronographic writing, which, while it may be past from our perspective, for the chronographer writing in his own period, it would be current, giving a "running account" of present or recent situations. Chronographic writings can be used in the same way as journalistic reporting of current events. They are not history *per se*, but they can be used by historians to reconstruct a historical picture.

"Historiography is about the deeds of humanity:" Chronicles by contrast are not so much about the "deeds of humanity" in general as being more about the deeds of kings. Whilst the earliest chronographic writings aim to record important events chronographically within a time frame, later the kings' reigns began to be used as time-markers then the recording of events grew around each king and his reign, forming an early distinction between king lists and chronicles. This recording of events may be seen as keeping current records for current use, but also it borders on the historiographical, in that it records, for posterity, information which can be used for reconstructing the past.

"Historiography is based on evidence (either accounted for or not):" Historical evidence is very different from chronographic or journalistic evidence to the point that putting the two into one category presents difficulties. Historical evidence, in modern terms, relies on researching documents, investigating archaeological, epigraphical and palaeographical findings and assessing their interpretations. This is very different evidence from the immediacy of information gathered from writing boards written at

[455] Van der Spek, "Review of Glassner."

the actual scene of battle by war scribes, or a messenger carrying a report of events in one part of the country to the king, for example. Journalistic evidence is based on eye-witness reporting, which is not at all like historical research, putting historical pieces together, reconstructing the politico-social world into which the events would be explicable.

"Historiography tries to explain (either in religious or secular terms):" Historical writing seeks to interpret an age that is past into a current period, taking into account foreign customs and mores which no longer exist. This is very different from the attempts in chronographic writing to give either divine or, as happened later, more secular explanations, as happened in the Neo-Babylonian period after Nabû-nāṣir's time (747-734 B.C.).[456] The divine is so subsumed into the writing it would be difficult to see any ancient Near Eastern writings as "secular", but certainly the earliest ones, as also noted by van der Spek, must invoke a divine explanation for royal actions, and attribute punishment for kings who fail. This is not the dispassionate assessment of a later historian. Religious explanations in chronicling are a strong feature in Kings and Chronicles.

"There is a certain distance between author and object of study:" For original chronographic writings, the king, in his wish for pre-eminence amongst his people and before the nations surrounding him, may well seek to glorify the god of the temple, which in turn, gives glory to his own reign as king. Thus in priestly or scribal writings the virtues of the king are extolled (or vices are suppressed), or a viewpoint reflecting the current prejudices of the time may be apparent. The important point to note is that kings were not so punctilious in preserving previous kings' reputations as they were in

[456] Van der Spek, Review of J.-J. Glassner, p. 3.

guarding their own, which points to the immediacy, indeed even the "journalistic" element, of the writing. If one king is criticized and the next one is not, it is likely that the first king had no direct hand in the writing. This is not the "distance between author and object of study" aspired to in later modern historical writing.

"It is narrative:" The narrative element is what distinguishes chronicles from king lists, but it is also what is common to annals, histories, astronomical diaries, omens literature, epics and myths as well. Narrative is so broad as to include most literature except king lists and any other types of lists. So while chronicles thus share this narrative feature with historical writings, the chronological feature, especially the formulaic time markers, would be what distinguishes chronicling from historical writing.

"It has a well-defined theme:" While battles and buildings, especially temples, are amongst the common themes of chronicles, they are far from limited to these topics. It would be hard to describe chronicles as having a "well-defined theme." If we look at the Babylonian kings in the Neo-Babylonian period, the themes are far from well-defined. On the contrary: "Every significant event known in the period from sources other than the chronicles (eponym canons, royal inscriptions, letters, business documents, foreign documents) which affects Babylonia is referred to in the chronicle."[457] While historical writings may write on many topics, these will be drawn together into defined sections. By contrast, chronicles will fit disparate themes into the ongoing time scheme, recording them as they happen.

"It has a single, well-defined author; preferably known by name:" For modern history this is correct but for chronicles this is misleading, as in regnal accounts the scribes are usually anonymous, so the original "running accounts" of each king may have different

[457] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 11 and n.21: Almost every regnal year of each king is mentioned.

scribes writing, so that apart from clues from the narrative, the scribe would remain unknown. These "running accounts" form the original accounts, which were copied over the years as old copies wore out. However, when copies were made of the document later, perhaps commissioned by kings for the setting up of their libraries, the scribe doing these ancient copies would inscribe his name in the end colophon. Many of these end colophons have been damaged or lost. However, these scribes are copyists; they are neither editors nor the original authors.

"It is written with a historiographic aim:" We cannot know this as far as chronicles goes. As Grayson comments, "The conclusion that these are impartial historical documents leads to the question as to why they were written. They were certainly intended to be more than chronological aids otherwise a king list would be sufficient for this purpose." [458] The purposes may have differed from one nation to the next, though the dual-purpose of glorifying the deity and at the same time enhancing the image of the king's reputation abroad and at home are possibilities. However a long-term historiographic aim would seem to be negated by Nabû-nāṣir, for example, who was believed to have deliberately destroyed past records so as to accrue all the glory to himself and his reign.[459] Glassner however claims that Kings were "credited with the desire to bequeath to posterity, in the form of inscribed stelae, *narû*," the fruit of their experiences,"[460] in support of which he directs the reader to the record of Nāram-sîn of Akkad, in his old age, who lamented that King Enmerkar, his predecessor, had faced a similar situation to the one he faced, did not leave a record to help him in his current predicament.[461] Whether this story is legendary or not, learning from the records of

[458] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 11.
[459] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 13.
[460] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 22.
[461] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 22. Glassner adds that, ironically, it was this same King Enmerkar to whom is attributed the invention of cuneiform writing.

past kings would appear to be a developmental stage of the usage of chronicles which tends towards historiographic usage. A similar feature appears in a much later period, in the biblical book of Esther 6.1-2, where the king cannot sleep so he calls for the "book of memorable deeds" within which he finds recorded Mordecai's timeous warning of a plot against the king which saved the king's life." This practical use of chronographic writings as instructional and advisory does not seem to fit easily into the definition of dispassionate historical evaluations of past events, a modern phenomenon. However, drawing lessons from the experiences of past kings' accounts would seem to be a secondary use developing out of the original chronicling.

"It is published:" This suggests a completed work, reaching its end, being published for the readers envisaged. By contrast a chronicle, being a running account, continues indefinitely, only ending when circumstances change, such as the exile into Assyria or Babylon. It is not intended for publishing, but for maintaining. Later historians may well publish it for historiographic interest. King Nabopolassar commissioned scribes to collect writings from neighbouring countries to copy for his temple library. In that sense, then, would they be considered "published" or simply "copied"? Perhaps here can be seen the first signs of "publishing."

"Historiography tries to make sense of human history; it conveys meaning:" The aim of chronography generally and chronicles in particular, is not to make sense of human history from a perspective of looking back into the past to interpret events that have taken place, but rather to record *in situ* the on-going events, in a regular chronological framework, whether daily, as the king dictated the Diaries from a battlefront; annually, as with annals where the king recorded on an annual basis (or periodically, in reality) whatever may have occurred during the year in hand, usually victories in battle and large building projects; or in chronicles, where the length of the reign of the kings

determined the start and finish of the time period being recorded. The writing is being done with the future unknown as the recording of the events is being done.

Thus van der Spek's list, while comprehensive as classifying historiographic writings, is not broad enough to include chronography. True, one can draw historic information from chronicles, but chronography, which certainly includes chronicles, does not fit the above list well. If chronographic writing fits so ill into van der Spek's historiographic list, as my comments would suggest (though his comments, I readily accede, well describe historical writing), then the question arises as to what key features make the chronographic material different from historical writing. Quite simply, it would appear to be the angle from which one views time, whether from a current stance looking back into a period in the more remote past, knowing in advance how it all turned out, or from a current stance looking into current events, not knowing how it is all going to turn out in the future. Here is a list clarifying the analysis above:

THE CHRONICLER: (Recorder of present)	THE HISTORIAN: (Interpreter of past)
The Chronicler – records the present; future is unknown	The Historian - records the past which is already known from records
The Chronicler - precise time-recording of present events is important	The Historian - overall narrative is more important than the dating methods
The Chronicler - worldview of his own time is reflected in his recordings	The Historian - interprets an earlier worldview from his own perspective
The Chronicler – records details a later historian could not know	The Historian - has perspective the Chronicler lacks as he sees the outcomes
The Chronicler – is not writing History intentionally but may be the source of it	The Historian - Chronicler's records help to reconstruct the past

In historical writing the writer looks back in time, analytically evaluating and assessing, more or less knowing the overall outcomes of the choices that were made. In chronographic writing it is more akin to "journalistic" or "journal" writing, in the sense of being a "running account" going forward in time, without knowing the outcome of

current choices. The only section which gives an appearance of historiographic writing would be the "origins" and "recapitulation" material, which gives a diachronic overview of the past leading up to the commencement of the chronicles about to be started, plus the local historical focus over a short period of each king's reign. Even here it lacks historiographic features, for it gives the appearance of being a collection of past records, set down without editorial comment from the later epoque. Glassner views chronicles as the blurring of history and myth, presumably because the earlier chronicles contain origins material.[462] Van der Spek comments on how Glassner views the elimination of "Origins" material in the Neo-Babylonian chronicles as an important innovation, "giving rise to a new form of discourse, a historiography deliberately avoiding tales of origins."[463] This is the same van der Spek who claims Glassner does not see development in the chronicles![464] While these observations are useful for categorising the biblical book of Chronicles along with the ancient Near Eastern chronicles which have shared colophonic features, they do not lead to a definition of historiography that includes both historical and chronographic works.

Categories of Chronographic Writing in the Ancient Near East

The reason for examining ancient Near Eastern king lists and chronicles to compare with biblical Chronicles as opposed to other types of ancient Near Eastern writings classified within this group may be adduced from the following brief survey of these. Grayson writes:

[462] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 4.

[463] Van der Spek, "Review of Glassner, p. 4.

[464] Van der Spek and Finkel, *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period*: http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/Chronicles/chron00.html. [Accessed: Sept 2013]

> Briefly stated, ancient Mesopotamian historiography may be divided into categories entitled: chronographic texts, pseudo-autobiographies, prophecies, historical epics, royal inscriptions, and miscellaneous historical texts.[465]

Grayson does not include annals directly because they are categorized as a development from royal inscriptions and would come under that heading. As confusions often arise about annals and chronicles in biblical studies, which impacts on some aspects of the biblical book of Chronicles, a fuller treatment of annals will be included below. Genealogies as a separate category are not mentioned either, but Knoppers addresses the classification of biblical Chronicles as "genealogy," so this too will be looked at here.

The Book of Genealogies: Genealogies were a widespread phenomenon, usually listing successive kings and dynasties, while the Assyrian eponym lists featured annually elected officials, especially in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. In this regard, Knoppers draws attention to the "title associated with chronicles in the Babylonian Talmud: 'the book of the genealogies' (*sēper yôḥāsîn*, b. Pesacḥ 62.B).[466] This nomenclature may refer, however, to a commentary on Chronicles." In the footnote, Knoppers explains, "Pesacḥim 62.B speaks of this book as having been 'hidden,' a surprising assertion to make about the book of Chronicles itself."[467] Knoppers notes that this is not the only reference to Chronicles as the book of genealogies: "It is certainly relevant that *Targum Chronicles* begins with "This is the book of the

[465] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 4, n.13: "These categories apply primarily to historical texts written in Akkadian. However, since Sumerian texts are inevitably included in most of these categories the term 'Mesopotamian historiography' rather than 'Akkadian historiography' is preferable."

[466] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9,* p. 49.

[467] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9,* p. 49, n.4.

genealogies, the events of the days from antiquity."[468] To my e-mail query on the "hiddenness," Knoppers commented as follows:

> I commented that Pesachim 62b speaking of this book as having been "hidden" as "a surprising assertion," because if the author(s) were writing about the book of Chronicles, one would think that Chronicles could be found easily within the TaNaKh itself. Hence, even if the work was not read often, it was not hidden from the community.[469]

That seems a reasonable conclusion to have reached, unless it is possible that the 'hiddenness" of the work in question was of a more interpretative nature concerning the genealogies of the book of Chronicles, bearing in mind the context within which the quote is found, which includes the famous quotation about Azel and Azel directly from the book of I Chronicles 8.38-9.43 as commented on in the Babylonian Talmud:[470]

> R. Simlai came before R. Johanan [and] requested him, Let the Master teach me the Book of Genealogies. (14) [My note: *R. Johanan gives a somewhat convoluted explanation which is followed by R. Ashi's comment*:] [471] Since the day that the Book of Genealogies was hidden, (30)[472] the strength of the Sages has been impaired and the light of their eyes has been dimmed. (31)[473] Mar

[468] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9,* p. 49.

[469] Knoppers: To my E-mail query asking for a further explanation of this "hiddenness" Professor Knoppers kindly replied, the salient part of which is reproduced here. E-mail to myself: 11-2-2015.

[470] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9,* p. 49.

[471] *Babylonian Talmud 62b*: https://juchre.org/talmud/pesachim/pesachim3.htm#62bRabbi [Accessed: 19 Nov 2017] Rabbi Simlai: "As he was going he said to him, Master, What is the difference between [a Passover sacrifice which is offered both] for its own purpose and for a different purpose, and [one that is offered both] for those who can eat it and for those who cannot eat it?" 21 — Since you are a scholar, he [R. Johanan] answered him, come and I will tell you.

[472] *Babylonian Talmud* 62b, n.30. "This probably means either supressed or forgotten; perhaps destroyed."

[473] *Babylonian Talmud* 62b, n.31. "Rashi: it contained the reasons for many Scriptural laws which have been forgotten.

> Zutra said, Between "Azel" and "Azel" they were laden with four hundred camels of exegetical interpretations! (32)[474]

In light of the Babylonian Talmud's reference to the "hiddenness" of the Book of the Genealogies, in a context which is critical of the extremes of rabbinical interpretation, it is possible that this is referring to the Genealogy attached to the biblical book of Chronicles itself, where understanding of the text had become hidden within plain sight by excessive exegesis rather than being obscured by a commentary on Chronicles. If this title, "Book of the Genealogies" indeed refers to our book of Chronicles, it places emphasis on the work as a genealogical record rather than a narrative or historical work. This would fit in with the excessive use of the genealogies in this period,[475] which is criticized by this later piece of rabbinical writing. On balance, therefore, the "hiddenness," being interpreted as referring to the excessive interpretation loaded onto tiny portions of genealogical material, would fit well with our book of Chronicles being called "*the book of the Genealogies,*" though there is no need to insist on the point, as Knopper's explanation is equally plausible on an unprovable point.

Importantly, it seems to suggest though that genealogies were viewed as a well understood form, and in this case, one possibly viewed as a separate document from Chronicles as a whole. This viewpoint may have carried through to Langton in the late twelfth and early eleventh century A.D. who thought that Ezra had taken the pre-exilic Chronicles together with Kings then added the cross-referencing formulae and the genealogies. While current scholarship prefers to view the whole of Chronicles

[474] *Babylonian Talmud* 62b, n.32. "i.e. on the passage commencing 'And Azel had six sons' (I Chron. VIII.38 and ending with 'these were the sons of Azel' (*ibid*.IX.44) there were such an enormous number of different interpretations! This too, of course, is not to be understood literally."

[475] Knoppers, *1-9 Chronicles,* p. 47. "The genealogies in Chronicles and in other biblical books were popular in Late Antiquity because the names contained within these lineages were thought to be fraught with meaning."

including the genealogical section,[476] as stemming from one author, the reasons, apart from elegance of argument, while possible are not compelling. From a chronographic viewpoint, to look at the genealogy as a "living" document that is maintained over time, perhaps lying dormant for a while, then resurrected for updating from time to time, would also be one viewpoint that would equally fit the facts.

Pseudo-Autobiographies ("Narū"): Grayson writes that what distinguishes Pseudo-autobiographies from royal inscriptions is the fact that the purported autobiographies are composed not at the king's command but by scribes, written in the first person as if by a king, presumably after the king's death, or even a god, on their own initiative.[477] He writes, "The term "*narū*" literature has been used by some scholars for this same class of texts."[478] These compare with royal inscriptions and annals, in that they cover the life of one king, unlike chronicles which record all the kings within a dynasty or kingdom.[479]

Prophetic: This small group of texts, which Grayson comments that some might question as belonging in this group, contain a generalized description of various periods in Mesopotamian history in prophetic terms.[480]

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[476] Current scholarship argues for one author, e.g. S. Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship," *VT* 18, July 1968, pp. 330-371; H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 1977.

[477] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 2. "Pseudo-autobiographies" is used here as a designation for a class of texts, the characteristics of which are a narrative of historical events told in the first person by a king or god. What distinguishes these from royal inscriptions is the fact that the autobiographies are composed not at the king's command but by scribes, presumably sometime after the king's death, on their own initiative….The term '*narû*' literature has been used by some scholars for this same class of texts."

[478] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 2, and n.14. "These texts were recently discussed by the author in *JCS* 18, 1964, p. 8.

[479] T. Longman III, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 1991.

[480] A. K. Grayson and W. G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies," *JCS* 18, 1964, pp. 7-30. Cited in Grayson, *ABC*, p. 3.

> These texts are…not genuine prophecies in the Old Testament sense of the word but neither are they histories. The phrase "*ex vaticinium ex eventu*" aptly describes this kind of composition.[481]

Grayson writes that, while purporting to prophesy, they use prophetic language to "predict" what has already happened. Wiseman takes a slightly different view:

> Predictive prophecy was exercised by both Egyptians and Babylonians…Yet it is the rarity of this and other literary forms which contrasts with much of the Old Testament writing and with the unusual unity of theme and purpose in the selections there made. Against a background in which omina, astrology and myth play perhaps the largest role, their absence on the Old Testament is the more remarkable.[482]

Epic: The Epic is Sumerian in origin. Grayson explains this as follows:

> The composition of poetic narratives retelling the deeds of famous kings such as Enmekiri[483] or Gilgamesh was a natural development in a society which was already well advanced in the arts of civilization. It is true that the Gilgamesh Epic contains large sections of mythological material which make one hesitate to classify it as an historical epic. Nevertheless it is certainly from this general background that the later Babylonian and Assyrian historical epics spring.[484]

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[481] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 3-4. Grayson lists as an example the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic which was so blatantly pro-Assyrian that it was regarded as a propagandist tract.

[482] D. P. Wiseman, "Books in the Ancient World, Books in the Ancient Near East and in the Old Testament," *The Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol. 1: From the beginning to Jerome*, ed., P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, CUP, 1970, pp. 30-48; p. 48.

[483] Grayson, ABC, P. 3 n.18: The several appearances and forms of the name Enmekiri are listed in Appendix B, P. 216, where Grayson comments: "No inscription of Enmekiri are known but he was a popular legendary figure as attested by the number of times he appears in literary texts."

[484] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 3.

Royal Inscriptions: These go back to the early days when Sumerian was the spoken language in the Babylonian plain and find their origin in the ancient monarchs' penchant for self-glorification.[485] Internal development over the years as well as a possible Hittite influence led to many changes within these inscriptions.[486] While the Hittites did not write any chronicles they wrote annals of great clarity, which Grayson sees as possibly having also influenced those of the Assyrians.[487] Royal inscriptions cannot be relied upon as being factual, as Finkelstein writes:

> Upon analysis, it would become clear that all genres of Mesopotamian literature that purport to deal with past events, with the exception of omens and chronicles, are motivated by purposes other than the desire to know what really happened, and the authenticity of the information they relate was not in itself the crucial point for their authors.[488]

This view of Mesopotamian literature as being less than truthful, except for omens and chronicles, not only applies to royal inscriptions, as Van Seters concludes, but equally to annals, as discussed next.

Annals: Glassner writes about annals thus: "Written in the first person singular, as if the kings themselves, always victorious, were their authors, recounting their own exploits," annals were a "commemorative inscription" which "belonged to Assyria."[489] The word "annals" suggests that they were updated, or intended to be updated annually. While that may indeed have been the intention, the reality appears to be that this was not always possible, so they were in fact re-written "periodically," as Glassner writes:

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[485] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 3.

[486] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 4.

[487] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 4.

[488] Finkelstein, "Mesopotamian Historiography," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol.* 107, 1963, pp. 461-472. Cited in J. Van Seters, *Search of History, 1983,* p. 55.

[489] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 19.

"They were periodically rewritten; in each recension a new campaign was added, the scribes abridging, interpolating, recasting, and even suppressing certain current episodes before adding more up-to-date information."

Luckenbill writing on the Annals of Sennacherib, declares that "History begins with the vanity of kings."[490] Grayson confirms this exaltation of the king in annals: "The Assyrian royal scribes were prone to hyperbole, hypocrisy and even falsehood. The modern historian must tread warily through this dangerous forest."[491] However, an even bigger danger is confusing annals with chronicles, as they are very different in important respects, as will be outlined in the next section.

Defining Annals as Compared with Chronicles

The reason for including annals at some length is because they are often confused with Chronicles in biblical and medieval scholarship. This confusion increases when the definitions we find in modern analyses pertaining to medieval chronicles and annals is assumed to apply to chronographic writings in the ancient Near East. Burgess and Kilikowski, who seek a definition with terminology that would suit annals and chronicles in both ancient and medieval settings, recognize that currently the medieval definitions, whilst superficially similar, have quite independent origins:

> Medieval chronicles can be traced back to the third century Christian chronicles of Julius Africanus, while annals developed from Easter tables. This definition is quite different from the description one would get from a classicist…scholars

[490] Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, Wipf & Stock Publishers, Eugene, Oregon, 2005, p. 1. Earlier edition: University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. 2, c.1924.

[491] Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, p. xxi.

> of Assyrian and Babylon chronicles describe their chronicles in the same fashion as do Greek, Roman and late antique scholars.[492]

Van Seters notes this scholarly confusion about annals and chronicles:

> Even when it is recognized that Israel did share certain historiographic forms with its neighbors scholars are rarely concerned with comparing or elucidating the important features of such genres, so that terms like "annals" and "chronicles" are used in a rather questionable fashion. Too many statements made about Near Eastern forms in these studies are misleading or untenable.[493]

An example of this would be where Haran credits Montgomery with defining the biblical books of Kings as *annals* whereas in fact Montgomery uses the word *archival*, which is a more general term which may include annals along with a variety of chronographic genres, including chronicles and king lists. Montgomery's entirely valid point is that the characteristics of some archival writings that require a third person treatment (e.g. chronicles) show signs in some instances of having been adapted from the first person lapidary style of monuments, namely royal inscriptions. This scribal failure to make a completely grammatical conversion makes it possible to discover these genre traces.[494] Haran's error is not to distinguish between annals and chronicles.

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[492] R. W. Burgess and M. Kulikowski, "Medieval Historiographical Terminology: The meaning of the Word *Annales*," Eds., Erik Kooper and Sjoerd Levelt, *Medieval Chronicles*, viii. Rodopi BV, Amsterdam and New York, 2013, p. 166; and H. V. White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1987, pp. 4-25.

[493] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 247.

[494] M. Haran, "The books of Chronicles 'of the Kings of Judah' and 'of the kings of Israel,' citing Montgomery, "Archival Data in the Book of Kings," pp. 46-52. Montgomery does not find the reporting in Rehoboam's reign to be annually reported (I Kgs 14) as per the Akkadian Annals: "Our historians have seen fit to cull only a few of these direct extracts;" p. 49. He also cites the various "in that day", "in those days", "at that time", in Kings, whereas in Akkadian Annals the phrase "at that time"= *ina tarṣi*, is constant, but attributes these to the wider category of "archiva." p. 50: The use of the Hebrew pronoun "He" replaces the use of "I" used in royal inscriptions, so that "the order of words was slavishly copied in the narrative of the 3d [*sic*] person."

Montgomery's use of the word "archival" gives a broader definition, but leaves the matter rather vague as to why the third person singular is required. If he had stated that annals being derived from inscriptions would be written in first person singular while chronicles are written in third person singular, he would have made his point clear. Equally, the important question arises as to whether the book of Kings is "archival" with the connotation of its being a temple or palace document.[495] This thesis will argue that Kings is a prophetic collation maintained by prophets, not a temple document as such.

Are chronicles then dependent upon annals as sources or *vice versa*? Montgomery detects in the book of Judges some sections where the grammar is suited to first person singular, but has been changed to third-person singular to fit into the overall narrative intent of Judges.[496] This would suggest reliance on first person accounts, presumably of an annalistic type (as there is no way of knowing if they were annals), by the writers of the biblical book of Judges. The earliest chronicles within Grayson's Category A, the largest group and the one most closely linked to king lists (up to the twelfth century B.C.), are dated to the sixteenth century B.C.[497] Annals, by contrast, would appear to be an Assyrian royal adaptation from Sumerian inscriptions in the thirteenth or twelfth centuries B.C. The annals of king Adad-nirari in the thirteenth century B.C.[498] are the

[495] Haran, "The 'Kings of Judah' and the 'Kings of Israel,' p. 157, n.2. "The notion that these afore-mentioned books were not Annals was first expressed in the nineteenth century but not really in a proper critical manner." See, e.g. G. F. Keil, *The Book of Kings,* Edinburgh, 1872, pp. 12-14. Keil assumed that the writers of the Kings were prophets, relying on prophetic compositions, among them the extended corpus of Elijah and Elisha narratives. In our time, critically-based reiterations of this notion have come from, in particular, the following scholars: O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament, third edition, 1964.* Tübingen, 1964. pp. 64-65; M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, Tübingen, pp. 66-67; *idem*, *Könige I*, BK, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968, p. 237; S. S. Mowinkel, "Israelite *Historiography,"* ASTI 2, 1963, pp. 4-26; pp. 7-8, 12-13, 17-21; J. Van Seters, *Search of History,* 1983, pp. 292-302.

[496] Montgomery, "Archival Data in the Book of Kings," pp. 48, 49 and 50.

[497] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 195.

[498] Adad-nirari (1307-1275 B.C. or 1295-1263 B.C. in the short chronology), in either case, lived within the Middle Assyrian Empire period.

earliest ones to survive in any detail, though Glassner finds the first one to be a century or so later (1114–1076 B.C.), but either way: "This kind of commemorative inscription belonged to the Assyrians, the Babylonians made no use of it. It appeared under Tiglath-pileser I."[499] Grayson confirms this Assyrian origin of annals as a vehicle for royal reporting on military campaigns:

> In Assyria an important development appears in the reign of Adad-Nirari (1307-1275 or 1295-1263 Short chronology). Military exploits are minor or absent in Sumerian inscriptions. Detailed military accounts begin to appear in Adad-nirari I and by the reign of Tukulti-ninurta I have become quite lengthy. This innovation required experimentation with the format of the royal inscriptions and, after some unsuccessful efforts, a suitable stylistic vehicle was discovered.[500]

This does not mean that information could not be sourced from royal annals from the time of their introduction in those kingdoms where they were used. Nevertheless it is important to make a clear distinction between annals and chronicles in the ancient Near East, especially as the distinction becomes blurred in the medieval period, and today some scholars attribute to chronicles features that are only found in annals, which in turn, impacts on our understanding of their transmission processes.

First Person and Third Person Singular: The confusion between annals and chronicles is understandable, in that both are chronographic, both are written in prose, both record events in an on-going way, and both concern themselves with matters of state and the

[499] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 19, n.91. Citing H. Tadmor, "Observations on Assyrian Historiography," ed., M. de Jong Ellis, *Essays on the Ancient Near East, in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein,* O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, third ed., *1964,* Archon, Hamden Ct., 1977, pp. 209-210.

[500] Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, Series: Records of the Ancient Near East, Vol. 1, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1972, p. xviii-xix.

reigning king, and in both one can find reports of military campaigns and temple or palace building projects, although chronicles tend to be concerned with a very wide variety of other matters. However, most importantly, a chronicle is usually written in the third person singular, which distinguishes it from royal annals which are so regularly in the first person, that when an exception is found Olmstead comments on the unusual "use of the third person in speaking of the king."[501]

Written by the King: Another salient feature of annals is that they are written, or purport to be written, directly by the king himself. The battles were reported daily from the battle front. How involved the king was in this activity of writing comes under scrutiny by Glassner, as the final result is in the first person, as if the king had written it himself, though the reporting of events was evidently done by scribes. Regarding Assyrian annals, a mural painting in the palace at Til Barsip represents two "military" scribes watching a battle and taking notes of the events; one of them is writing on a cuneiform tablet, with a stylus, while the other is writing with a pen on a scroll, probably in Aramaic alphabet script.[502] It is probable that scribes noted from day to day the episodes of campaigns at which they were present and that these "notes" were subsequently consulted at the time of the composition of annals.[503] These notes were intended for the royal annals, but clearly could be used for chronicling purposes when for example temple records were set up for the purpose of chronicling successive monarchs.

[501] Ten Eyck Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography: A Source Study*, Book Surge Classics, Title No. 082, 2004, pp. 52-53. The last of Sargon's Annals in 714 B. C. in the form of a letter to the god Ashur open in the third person, while the body of the letter is in the first person. Olmstead speculates that the great scribe of the king, Nabu-shallim-shuna, either composed or copied it.

[502] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 14.

[503] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 14, n.63.

Annals cover only one king's reign: Unlike chronicles and king lists which continue over many reigns and even dynasties, annals belong to one king's reign only. This is a crucial point in understanding a key difference between annals and chronicles.

Annals are revised annually: Chronicles form a running account: Annals may be updated several times over the period of the king's reign, usually annually revised, when the current battles or buildings are "filling the headlines," so require more prominence. They can be altered, revised, and rewritten over the life of the king, usually on an annual basis, hence the word "annals" indicating "yearly." An example of this may be seen in Assyrian annals. These developmental stages over one king's reign are a feature of annals, one that is not one available to chronicles, which when updated, does not entail a re-writing of the whole document, but information is simply added to it. Each year's events are recorded and ruled off with a line. Then the next year's recording is added and ruled off, and so on.

Dating Methods: Annals mark time annually within one king's reign. One of the defining features of a chronicle is the chronographic dating according to the death/accession formulae of successive kings. This marking time by regnal years in Babylonian chronicles persists until the Assyrians take over the Babylonian chronicling, whereupon, as Glassner observes, the later chronicles tended more and more to report annually: "There was an increasing tendency to leave no year unaccounted."[504] The fact therefore that the biblical books of Chronicles and Kings record according to regnal years and not annually, suggests an earlier provenance for the regnal formulae. This pattern of regnal dating in the Babylonian chronicles rather than the later annual dating, ends when the Babylonian throne is taken over by the

[504] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 38.

Assyrians (Tiglath-pileser III: 745–727 B.C.), who thereafter maintain the Babylonian chronicles.[505]

Annals do not have Colophonic Catchlines: The salient differences between chronicles and annals may be seen in this chart:

CHRONICLES	ANNALS
Over many kings' reigns	Over one king's reign
Use of third person singular	Use of first person singular
Temple or palace documents[506], amongst others, may be found within this genre - Religious / cultic focus - Devotion to cult and feasts	King's personal document, usually attributed to the king himself[507] - Palace-based - Exalting of King
Running account over many kings' reigns, updated at the death of each king	Rewritten annually[508] over one king's reign, hence the word "annals"
Upkeep of records of succeeding kings as running account, not rewritten or revised: - Regnal update (early chronicles) - Annual update (later)	Not a running account but one King's reign is rewritten and revised annually: - Annual rewrite (if possible)
Chronicling requires colophons and catchlines to show the continuity over the successive reigns of kings	Annals are discrete units, so even though there may be several over one king' reign, they are not linked colophonically

Annals, even though they are updated annually, or at least periodically, are not linked to each other by a colophonic catchline, as each one is a discrete unit. This differs from chronicling, where continuity over each reign and over several reigns is an important aspect of what chronicling is all about, so colophons and catchlines are used to maintain the chronological order.

[505] Eponym chronicles are those kept by the Assyrians, using the annually elected officials (*līmus*) to date the documents. This practice would appear to have been carried through when they took over the Babylonian Chronicles.

[506] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 80, gives this definition: "A Chronicle is a narration of political events in chronological order and is closely dated to the years of a king's reign. Since many of them extend over the reigns of several kings they have an affinity with king lists." He notes the exception as the Chronicle of Market Prices, *ABC*23. However, Glassner notes that list-making covered many wide subjects.

[507] Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, p. 19: "Written in the first person singular, as if the kings themselves, were their authors, recounting their own exploits…"

[508] Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, p. 20. He writes: "They were periodically rewritten…."

From the above it is clear that chronicles as part of chronographic writings are also a seperate group with features that are unique to the chronicle genre, written without alteration and therefore cannot be viewed as if they are written in the same spirit as kings might approach their personal annals.

An Overview of Sennacherib's Annals:

A hundred years ago, Olmstead deplored the practice of historians of his day using the "last and worst edition" as the "basis for their studies."[509] This looking to the latest section or to the end of a piece of writing is the way one dates historical works, but which is inappropriate for annals (and indeed all chronographic works). This view finds that the last is the final and therefore the most inclusive and the best. While historians look back over time, they write from a later perspective, and therefore date their work from the last edition listed. This is entirely inappropriate for annals which are written and rewritten annually, updating, adding in new events as they occur, and deleting the out of date material, so need to be dated and investigated in a punctuated way, each annal being compared with the next one to see what had been left out and what has been added in for the current annal being rewritten. Olmstead's viewpoint therefore still holds, namely, that with annals, being re-written yearly and updated, the annals written nearest to the events relayed are clearly more to be valued than those where the final idealised account has been modified to please the royal family.

Unlike chronicles which do not have annual editions, but gets updated by simply adding onto what already had been written, annals have new editions written annually throughout the reign of a king. This gives useful insights into the developmental stages, e.g. the four parts of the very early annals of Tiglath-pileser I (c. 1100 B.C.), which set

[509] Ten Eyck Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography,* p. 11.

the pattern for those that follow. [510] Luckenbill's complete translation of the Annals of Sennacherib enables one to examine the developmental stages of each of the annals over the king's reign.[511]

For example, the full account (A1) of the first campaign and the re-routing of the river course to avoid flooding of the building foundations, is shortened in the following year (B1: Bellino Cylinder, 702 B.C.) to give way to the second campaign and some palace improvements. The description of the river is enhanced though. The Rassam Cylinder (C1, 700 B.C.) abbreviates the first two campaigns but puts the third one in full. A quiet period is reached at this point, which seemingly inspired two rather unnecessary campaigns to be mounted and recorded (E1, 694 B.C.) including the campaign against Tilgarimmu. In this latter battle, the first sign of dating by eponyms[512] may be seen in annals (Eponymy of Assur-bel-usur). These two battles, in the absence of any real military need, Luckenbill sees as meeting the needs of royal vanity to have dedicatory cylinders.[513] Perhaps in the absence of real battles E1 (694 B.C.) gives an extremely full record of the improvements in and about the building of the Palace and Capital, Nineveh. By contrast, a real battle in 694 B.C. inscribed in E1 (694 BC.) "was later passed over by scribes who composed the royal annals….The campaign is of special interest to us today because it was the one event of Sennacherib's reign of which any extended account was handed down by the Greek and Roman historians.[514] There seems no discernible reason for this, as normally it would be lost battles that would be

[510] Ten Eyck Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography,* p. 11.

[511] Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 19.

[512] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 196. Eponym Lists: The Assyrians used a variation on the Mesopotamians and Babylonians' use of year names to make their date lists, and instead had eponym lists instead. For these they used the names of the *līmus*, an early title given to Assyrian's annually appointed officials. It is not clear whether this idea is indigenous to the Assyrians or inspired by the Mesopotamian year names. It is possible that the *ḫamuštum* officials which were used for dating in Old Assyrian period (as well as *līmus*) were the prototypes of the *līmu* system of dating.

[513] Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 14.

[514] Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 14.

omitted in later records so the king could be seen as victorious. The Bull Inscription from the palace at Nineveh (F1, 694 B.C) describes two further campaigns, and records how Padi of Ekron is imposed on Judah as a ruler whereupon he is kept prisoner by Hezekiah.[515] We have here Sennacherib's famous remark about Hezekiah, the Jew, whom, "like a caged bird in Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut up….His cities I plundered." (28-29). There are several inscriptions thereafter, one of which, the Nebi Yunus (Prophet Jonah) (H4) in line 15 describes the province of Judah being overthrown.[516] In the last group (H5) all eight campaigns are recorded in abbreviated form.

By the time of the later edition of E1, the building of the Palace, the Capital and its surrounding areas are described in very full details, listing the Hittite architecture and workmanship which contributed to the Bît-hilâni portico, mentioned in A1 and repeated at length in E1, which rivals the narrative length and detail in the biblical Chronicles (2 Chr 2-6) where the building of Solomon's Palace is described in great detail.[517] So we see later editions of the annals paring down earlier military campaigns, recording current events, but omitting those which did not bring credit to the king. The most glorious achievements on the other hand, such as the improvements to Nineveh with canals, re-routing rivers, palace and surrounds with Hittite architectural influence, is extensively described in very full detail. Importantly, for understanding annals, these various editions all happened during the reign of the one king and were under his control, which is very different from chronicles, which record successive kings' reigns one after the other.

[515] C. Rollston, Writing and Literacy, p. 51. Rollston mentions the Tel Dan Miqne Stele and also references Isa 36-38. He references 2 Kgs 18-19; Isa 36-39, to which may be added 2 Chr 32.1-22.

[516] Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 86.

[517] Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 14.

What about Hittite, Persian, Greek, and Egyptian Documents?

The examination of the chronographic works of Assyria and Babylon would seem to show several similarities between biblical Chronicles and chronographic works, which would make a comparison of the formulaic citations worth looking at in detail. However, before that, a brief overview of the wider ancient Near Eastern texts of Hittite, Persian, Greek, and Egyptian literature will be conducted to see what qualities in common they may have with biblical Chronicles and whether these could have influenced the biblical writings, or *vice versa*. Such qualities that could reflect on biblical Chronicles would be, for example, similarities in formulaic patterns and purposes, as far as these can be judged, or the actual content of some colophonic features, such as retribution and reward formulae.

Hittite Chronography

Grayson mentions that the Hittites produced royal annals but no chronographic literature at all.[518] This means there is a lack of "genres such as historical omen texts or chronicles…"[519] The annal "The Apology of Ḫattušilli III, King of the Hittites" (c.1267–1237 B.C.) may be cited here as an example of the famed Hittite annals. It is in the first person singular, bears witness to the goddess Ishtar, to whom Ḫattušilli credits his success, his good and fruitful marriage, and his victories in war. There is also one of the oldest Peace Treaties known (1276 B.C.), namely the famous treaty

[518] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 2.
[519] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 100.

between Ḫattušilli III of the Hittites and Rameses II of Egypt which ensured in sixty years of peace after two hundred years of warring over Syria.

This treaty is a bilateral treaty between Ḫattušilli III and Rameses II of Egypt, sometimes called the Silver Treaty, with an unusual feature, namely that both sides of the treaty survive. As Grayson includes the Synchronistic History[520] which is the Assyrian side of the boundary treaties between Assyria and Babylon, it bears consideration here, particularly as Hittite treaties abound.[521] As with the Assyrian Synchronistic History, the names of both kings involved are given, but no specific annual dating according to the regnal years. Again, like the Synchronistic History, the Egyptian and Hittite versions are on separate documents, each written in the local language, e.g. Hittite and Egyptian in this case. However, it may have been influenced by the style of the early Babylonian epic, as identified by H. Güterbock in 1938, and which shows Hittite indebtedness to Babylonian literature.[522] Van Seters comments that this factor must be taken seriously in any assessment of the development of the Hittite historical tradition, but he observes that very few historiographic genres of Mesopotamia have counterparts in Hittite literature. He cites Cancik who finds similarity between Hittite and Israelite historical consciousness and notions of causality, but sees little in common between Mesopotamian sources and the Hittite texts generally.[523] Albrektson on the contrary sees similarities in the Hittite and

[520] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 157-170.

[521] K. A. Kitchen and P. J. N. Lawrence, *Treaty, Law and Covenant in the Ancient Near East*, 3 Vols., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012; G. Beckman, *Hittite Treaties and the Development of the Cuneiform Treaty Tradition*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2006. The many Hittite treaties may be viewed in these writings.

[522] H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200," *Zeitschrifte für Assyriologie,* 44, 1938, pp. 45-149; pp. 48-93. Cited in J. Van Seters, *Search of History,* 1984, p. 100.

[523] H. Cancik, "Mythische und historische Wahrheit*," Sources Bibliques* 48*,* Stuttgart, 1970. Cited in Van Seters, *Search of History*, pp. 102-104.

Mesopotamian expressing of divine causality, also found in the Old Testament.[524] Van Seters asks then if it is possible to establish a cultural continuity between the Hittites of Asia Minor in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. and the later Israelites of Palestine. Van Seters comments: "The bridge of time does not seem too great if we are able to accept a tenth century date for the few Old Testament texts that Cancik selects."[525] However, Van Seters himself dates these much later,[526] which affects his conclusions, namely that, firstly, that there is no evidence of direct cultural continuity between Hittite and Israelite literature, whether through Canaan or in any other way. Secondly, there is no clear demonstration…that such continuity must be assumed because of literary features unique to the Hittites and ancient Israel but not the rest of the Near East.[527]

Albrektson sees this divine causality as a much more widespread phenomenon throughout Mesopotamian literature.[528] As will be seen in the Greek literary comparison, this phenomenon of "divine causality" may be also seen as a feature in Greek literature. One may well wonder therefore whether this feature of divine causality was, as Albrektson suggests, simply ubiquitous in the late second millennium B.C. through to the eighth century B.C. Whatever the case, it seems to disappear, as may be seen in the Babylonian Chronicles, from the time of Nabû-nāṣir in 747-734 B.C. As van der Spek, after noting that "Chronicles of the remote past wanted to explain events….The explanans is the retributive will of Marduk," comments that the later

[524] B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods: An Essay on the Idea of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East and in Israel,* Lund, 1967. Cited in J. Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 103.

[525] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 103. This comment refers to H. Cancick, *Gründzuge der hethitischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtesschreibung*, Weisbaden, 1976.

[526] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 277-291. These points will be addressed in Chapter 3 under the Dating section.

[527] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 103.

[528] Albrektson, *History and the Gods*, p. 102.

Chronicles "have no interest in causality, but its merit is that it is an objective enumeration of facts, not dictated by royal ideology."[529] The presence or absence of comment about the retributive will of the gods, by the same token thereby, is also can be an aid in establishing chronological dating of documents.

Persian Chronography

The Medio-Persians took over the Babylonian throne in 539 B.C. when Cyrus seized the throne. No preserved texts of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series have yet come to light for the period of Persian rule from 539 B.C. to the reign of Xerxes 485-465 B.C., a gap of fifty-four years. It seems likely that these chronicles which the Babylonians had set up continued to be maintained: "There are chronological gaps in the series which are to be attributed partly to the fragmentary nature of the documents and partly to the complete absence of texts in some cases, particularly during most of the Achaemenid period.[530] Two texts are preserved from the Achaemenid period, Chronicle ABC 8 (a fragment which mentions Xerxes) and ABC 9 (a small text dealing with the fourteenth year of Artaxerxes).[531] These show a continuation of the annual updating with the dating according to regnal years, introduced after the Assyrians seized the Babylonian throne.

[529] Van der Spek and Finkel, Review of Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 4: https://www.academia.edu/817520/_Review_of_Jean-Jacques_Glassner-ed_by_Benjamin_R._Foster_ Mesopotamian_Chronicles_Atlanta_Society_of_Biblical_Literature_2004_. [Accessed: 12 June 2017]

[530] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 23, also n.151: "It seems unlikely that the original running account was ever seriously disrupted for it is with just one of these chaotic periods that one of the texts, Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi, is concerned. Also note the Nabonidus Chronicle which belongs to the same tradition and covers the period of Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia."

[531] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 23.

Lemche characterises Persian datings for biblical compositions as a kind of "black box" because we know so little about the period.[532] The "black box" concept makes everything possible and allows the scholar to propose all kinds of theories that cannot be controlled. However, while one can see the similarities between and the developments in the formulae from the earlier Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series and those of the Persian period, the same cannot be said for the formulae of biblical Chronicles, where there is no obvious Persian influence.

Before looking at the Greek period for similarities, we can say with some certainty that the Persian chronicles feature typical chronographic features, so in that sense, though the minutiae of the dating and other formulae may not match those in biblical Chronicles with the Persians following the Assyrian annual dating rather than the displaced Babylonian regnal dating, they follow in the tradition of chronographic writings, which will be examined below.

Greek Chronogaphy

Gunn points out that our better knowledge of the Hellenistic period, as compared with our lack of knowledge of the Persian period, does not thereby make the Hellenistic period more plausible as a suitable period into which biblical Chronicles can be fitted.[533]

The focus on chronographic writings, chronicles in particular, leads Grayson to dismiss a connection between biblical Chronicles and Greek writings because of the latters'

[532] N. P. Lemche, "Dating an expression of mental history: The Old Testament and Hellensim," ed., Lester L. Grabbe, *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, JSOTS 317, 2001, pp. 200-224; p. 215.

[533] D. M. Gunn, "The Myth of Israel: Between Present and Past," ed., L. L. Grabbe, *Did Moses Speak Attic?* JSOTS 317, 2001, pp. 182-199; p. 186.

focus on myth and epic poetry. These Greek epics and poetic pieces are not chronological writings as they do not keep records of time in running accounts for temple or palace, military or juridical purposes. The ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Chronicles' use of colophonic source citations is also something foreign to Greek writings.[534] However, there I a point of commonality with biblical Chronicles in that the early epic writing shows much divine involvement and "relied on a theology of sin and punishment, the impious king being punished by defeat."

These clear differences between Greek epic and poetic forms as compared with the chronographic emphasis in biblical Chronicles does not mean there are no possible points of comparison where both may have shared literary features common to a broader range of literary texts in the ancient Near East.

The *Atthides* of Athens dating from the early fourth to the mid-third centuries B.C., which only survive in small fragments, are another option for seeking a source for comparison with ancient Near Eastern chronicles in general and biblical Chronicles in particular. Edelman and Mitchell write that:

> The best known of the local histories, though also fragmentary, are the *Atthides* or local histories of Athens, which were chronicles (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.8.3) framed in the first instance around the lists of kings, and then around magistrates in the historical periods….Yet not all local histories were chronicles, as Harding has suggested (2007:181),

[534] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 47. Van Seters, along with many other scholars, takes a sceptical view of the genuineness of these source citations in Chronicles.

> [s]ince…they could also take poetic form, and sacred histories could also form part of them.[535]

The fourth and third centuries B.C. in particular were a time of experimentation with different forms of historical writing, and the range and kinds of historical writings burgeoned, although all that we now have are scanty fragments of most.[536]

Certain similarities with ancient Near Eastern chronicles, such as genealogies, and retribution and reward features, may be detected in the writings of Hecataeus of Miletus (550-476B.C.), the first historian and geographer to break from the epic poetry form to write in prose. [537] He followed in the tradition of his fellow citizen of Miletus, Anaximander (610-546 B.C.) as well as Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Turkey (484-425 B.C.), both of whom lived under Persian rule. Their writings also show features of retribution and reward, a feature found in the king lists and chronicles from the thirteenth to the ninth centuries B.C. ancient Near East from where they may well have found their way into Greek histories.

Once the Greeks overran the Persians to take over Babylon (333 B.C.), they continued to maintain the Babylonian chronicles, which is where one could seek a direct comparison with the ancient Near Eastern chronicles as well as biblical Chronicles. The late Babylonian chronicles series consists of one chronicle from the Greek period of the Macedonian kings, Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi ABC 10, which cover the period of Philip of Macedon III's fourth year (320/19B.C.) up to the ninth year of his

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[535] D. V. Edelman and L. Mitchell, "*Chronicles and Local Greek Histories*," Eds., E. Ben Zvi and D. V. Edelman, *What was Authoritative for Chronicles?* Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2011. pp. 229-252; p. 236. Referring to P. Harding, Local History and Atthidography, pp. 180-188 in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, ed., J. Marcincola, Blackwell, Routledge, Malden, MA; and *The Story of Athens: The Fragments of the Local Chronicles of Attica*, Routledge, London, p. 5.

[536] Edelman and Mitchell, "*Chronicles and Local Histories,*" p. 237.

[537] Edelman and Mitchell, "*Chronicles and Local Histories,*" p. 232.

son, Alexander IV (308/7 B.C.).[538] These are within the period when the *Atthides* were being produced. Here it may be seen that it is at this point that, apart from the regnal dating, the points of divergence in the repeating formulae, which began when the Assyrians seized the Babylonian throne, continued under the Persians and increased during the Greek kingship, increasingly lack commonality in the details. The annual dating, the named months, the idiosyncratic use of "that same month…" to be found in the Greek chronicles, are not found in biblical Chronicles. Other difference between the Greek chronicles and those in biblical Chronicles are the lack of the retribution and reward formulae and the lack of a genealogy in these Greek texts.

The question then arises as to where the parallel influences between the Greek and Hebrew writings came from, such as the retribution and punishment themes, and the Greek's early taste for genealogies and foundation narratives in the epic writings, that may also be identified in biblical Chronicles. These themes run strongly in both biblical Chronicles and in the epic poetry of Hesiod for example, but not in the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series at all, including those maintained by the Greeks.

Walcot argues that Hesiod (c.750-650 B.C.) the Greek poet active about the same time as Homer, was strongly influenced by eastern forms and ideas in both his mythological and didactic texts. This influence very likely came into Greece in the eighth century B.C. when the Phoenician alphabet and other cultural features were also introduced into Greek civilisation, and it is possible that it could be even earlier.[539]

[538] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 23-24.

[539] C. H. Gordon, *Before the Bible*: *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations*, Harper & Row, New York, 1962. Cited in Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 58. P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East,* pp. 120ff, University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1966.

In light of Van Seters' research, it would be reasonable to assume that the historiographic features shared by the Greeks and the Hebrews originally came via the Phoenicians, who were in close contact with both regions. It is doubtful if there was much direct cultural contact between the Greeks and Hebrews before the fourth century B.C. Van Seters thus sees the Phoenicians as a bridge between Israel and the Aegean, as well as a centre for the dissemination of culture in both directions.[540] He does not include the biblical Chronicles into this grouping as he views this as a post-exilic text, a view which does not hold up well when the chronicles formulae in both ancient Near East and in the bible are examined, as will be argued in the next section.

Egyptian Day-Books

The Egyptian day-books where daily matters were recorded are another possible source of seeking parallels with chronicles of the ancient Near Eastern and the Biblical Chronicles. The term for Day-book is explained in detail by Redford:

> In what must be its pristine form it appears as *hrwyt*, "day-(book)," derived fairly certainly from *hrw, "day"*, but in the New Kingdom and later *hrwyt* turns up as *h^{3}yw*, *h^{3}ry*, or *h $^{(3)}$ r*, or it is rendered by a circumlocution ^{c} *r(t) h^{3}w*, "Roll of Days." Examples, however, are infrequent, even though the genre denoted must have been very common.[541]

Redford describes the nature of these Day-books:

> [T]he *hrwyt* in essence is a record of human event and activity, acts and states of nature, or statements of purpose or intent. The calendrical notations constitute the single most important criterion in ordering the material. And

[540] Van Seters, *Search of History*, pp. 53-54.
[541] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books,* p. 97.

> since it is a daily record, such a document does not contain intelligences which could only have been gleaned *post eventum*….The account of the seventh Campaign refers the reader to the "day-book of the king's house" for the specific quantities of food with which the garrisons were stocked…; an adjacent passage, related to the same campaign refers the reader to an unspecified record in the treasury for the tally of the Syrian harvest…; and at the point in the account of the first Campaign where the siege of Megiddo ought to have been set forth in detail, the writer states that "everything His Majesty did against" Megiddo and the king of Kadesh was recorded on a leather roll and deposited in the Temple of Amun.[542]

Redford, attempting to define Egyptian record-keeping notes, finds that there are king lists, chronicles, annals, epics, royal apologies, day-books, but there is no genre called "history writing." All these various genres are found in Greece, Roman and the European states from the Middle Ages up to the present day, but in addition they also had a genre called "history-writing." This "history-writing" is characterised by the describing and interpreting of past events from a later perspective, a feature which is largely absent in the Near East.[543]

This is not to say that recent past events, or genealogical records, may not be included in Egyptian record-keeping, about which Redford comments: "Thus I think we may call Thutmose III's retrospective at the beginning of the Karnak "Annals" a piece of history-writing."[544]

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[542] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books,* pp. 121-122.

[543] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books*, p. xiv.

[544] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books*, p. xv. Redford comments: "To ferret out these 'lapses into history-writing' and examine them critically is a valid and worthwhile endeavour, but it presupposes a detailed form- and source-critical analysis of a great range of documents." It is

The word "retrospective" would appear to parallel my word choice of "recapitulation" to describe the material in 1 Chronicles 9-29, which gives an overview before the actual chronicling section begins in 2 Chronicles. This feature of "retrospective" or "recapitulation" is also found in other ancient Near Eastern chronicles, as will be outlined below. In fact, several features of Egyptian record-keeping day-books are to be found in common with Assyrian, Babylonian and biblical Chronicles.

Basic Formula for King Lists: The basic format for the king lists of Egypt have four elements:

1. *nsw-bity*, King of Upper and Lower Egypt
2. the king's name
3. the date with regnal year, month and day – for the king's reign sometimes only the year is given
4. from Menes to Djoser the length of the king's life is added as well.[545]

The similarities with dating methods elsewhere in the ancient Near Eastern chronographic writings show the concern with and importance of recording time and maintaining records.

Dating documents using regnal year, month and day: As with all chronographic writings, the dating of documents is of vital importance. Regnal years are used as with the biblical Chronicles and the Babylonian chronicles. Unlike earlier biblical and Babylonian chronicles, the Akkadian chronicles used eponyms of annually elected officials, but later used regnal dating, adding to the regnal dating the months and days. Strangely, the Egyptians seem to have used days and months from very early. "From

part of the purpose of my thesis to seek an answer to this in the repeating formulae in the Assyrian, Babylonian and biblical Chronicles.

[545] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books,* p. 7-8.

the twelfth dynasty onwards it becomes *de rigueur* to define the length of a king's reign down to the number of months and days; before that point the practice is rare enough to be conspicuous."[546] However, these seem to be numbered months as found in biblical Chronicles, not named months as later found in the later Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles.[547]

Heterogeneity: In their heterogeneity the day-books very much reflect biblical Chronicles, where a vast array of diverse materials is found. There is one Egyptian document that comes from the end of the Middle Kingdom in conventional dating, (eighteenth century B.C.), P. Boulaq 18, that appears to be a royal diary of the Theban court, recording the daily affairs of the palace. Its contents vary greatly from matters of business to formal affairs of state. There are records kept for the temple (Nos. 1, 2b), the palace / king's house (No. 2), the necropolis (No. 6), the ancestral archives (No. 8) and the treasury (No. 2a – in related passages).[548]

Redford quotes several examples of day-books, where it is possible to identify the institutions that used day-books. In the eleven examples he cites, there are matters regarding a military campaign and food supplies thereof, one pertaining to legal matters, a day-book where edicts are recorded, one in the Necropolis, one in the ancestral archives. The salient features of all these would be firstly the concern with dating, with entries following one after the other in dated order.

Centralised information: With all these diverse day-books, there would appear to be a centralising of information into the palace and temple records, thus explaining the

[546] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books,* p. 17.

[547] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books,* p. 8. "King N functioned in the kingship X years, Y months, Z days." Thereafter the complete list of all preserved examples of this formula follows.

[548] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books,* p. 101.

diversity found within these collating documents. A comment taken from P. Berlin suggests a certain centralisation of information in the temple where the superintendent of the temple Nebkaure speaks to the chief lector-priest Pepy-hotpe thus:

> Know you that the Going-Forth of the Sothis takes place in the fourth month of *proyet*, day 16. Bring this to the attention of the temple staff…and have this letter entered in the day-book of the temple.[549]

Synchronised Information: The synchronic Chronicle ABC 21 with the names of the reigning king of Babylon and the king of Assyria starting each new treaty section, as also in the treaty between Ḫatušilli III and Rameses II where we have both of the parallel documents, the reigns are synchronised. Redford, however, cites examples of specific referencing from one document to another, e.g. Thutmose III's Karnak Annals where "the account of the seventh Campaign refers the reader to the 'day-book of the king's house' for the specific quantities of food with which the garrisons were stocked."[550] As Van Seters comments, "statements are made to the effect that *more information* (cf. "The rest of the acts of…" in Biblical Kings and Chronicles) about military campaigns or income from booty can be obtained from day-books kept in the temple or palace respectively."[551] The biblical Kings and Chronicles' repeating formula phrase "the rest of the acts of…," occurring at the same narrative sections in each case, suggest more than shared information between two or more documents, or referencing from one document to another for further information, but here opens up the possibility of deliberate cross-referencing. The fact that one document refers to another document where more information may be found, suggests that a reciprocal

[549] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books,* p. 98.
[550] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-Books,"* p. 122.
[551] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 293.

cross-referencing system could be in place with both documents giving information as to where the "rest of" the information is recorded. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 3, "Egyptian Day-books," p. 187.

Scribal Accuracy: Warnings against altering documents or making false entries may also be found in Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles, but they are not particularly a feature of biblical Chronicles. In the day-books this feature is found in the legal Day-book entries (No. 7)[552] "do not make false journal entries, for that is a serious capital offence. They (involve) serious oaths of allegiance, and are destined for criminal investigations."[553] These warnings are because the day-books gained legal status to be used in court cases.[554] Similar warnings are not found in the biblical Chronicles, and, though found in Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles, it is divine wrath rather than legal sanction that is threatened (see below).

Law and Instruction: The passage in the decree identifies the contents of the *hrwyt* as *hpw* "laws" and joins them with *tp-rd* "instructions", reminiscent of the "Torah" (meaning "Instructions") which contains the "*mitzvoth*" laws.[555]

Annals: The Thutmose III annals show a listing of the king's annual campaigns, where the year is stated then immediately followed by a description of each battle. This annual listing is in keeping with the Assyrian annals, which covered one king's reign, and where a re-write was done annually (or that was the intention, though periodically is

[552] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-Books,*" p. 100.

[553] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-Books,*" e.g. Day-book 7, p. 100.

[554] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-Books,*" p. 101. Further: "this makes it certain that the *hrwyt* (and its variants) denotes a document which records an event or series of events by dates" and that "the *hrwyt* has meaning only because it is provided with specific dates." In the case of the later New Kingdom extension of the term into legal jargon, it is the date that validates or gives legal force to the document."

[555] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books,*" p. 102, n.20.

probably a more accurate term)[556] giving the achievements in battles and successful completion of new buildings. Clearly this is very different from chronicling where there is no re-writing but instead layers of regnal writing.

"By themselves," Van Seters concludes that, "the Egyptian parallels do not take us very far in identifying the historical genre in question,"[557] namely, identifying the biblical books of Kings (and by extension, the book of Chronicles too) as day-books. He finds, despite all the similarities, clearly with a chronographic purpose, that none of the Egyptian examples from Redford's extensive investigation of all such day-books[558] mention "a work containing a summary of the principal deeds of a series of kings, or even of each king, such as the biblical references seem to indicate."[559] In this he is correct, though the very word day-book, where the rudimentary gathering of lists and information on a daily basis which are recorded daily could be seen as a form which could readily lend itself to development into the chronicling and narrative direction.

As seen above, some annalistic qualities identified in the annals of Thutmose III (the might of the king and his victories and achievements) are akin to those listed by Haran in the biblical book of Kings, especially in Solomon's succession to the throne (1 Kgs 1-9).[560] However, annals are not very much like day-books which record quotidian matters, nor like chronicles, which record successive kings in a running account. Day-books, in this sense, have more kinship with biblical Chronicles. Also, the very name "day book" (*hrwyt*) is not far from *dîbrē hayyāmîm*, "matters of the days." The temple

[556] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 20.

[557] Van Seters, *Search of History,* p. 293.

[558] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books*," cited in Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 293, n.11.

[559] Van Seters, *Search of History,* p. 293.

[560] M. Haran, "The Books of the Chronicles," p. 157, listing as features of Annals: "the might" of the king and his achievements; His feats of construction; his revolt against his predecessor; the illnesses of his old age; "and he kept the House in repair."

documents are punctilious about recording and maintaining the feasts to the god or goddess, a feature that has parallels in the book of Chronicles where annual feasts are important. The parting of the ways between biblical Chronicles and Egyptian epigraphy would be where Egyptian writing bifurcates into two forms of national interpretations of the past, namely: mythology and record-keeping.[561] The Ancient Greeks may be seen to have taken the route of mythology and poetic epic, while the Assyrians, Babylonians and biblical Chronicles took the route of chronological record-keeping.

Chronicles and Colophonic Chronography: Marking Time with Colophons

In attempting to understand the repeating formulae in biblical Chronicles that appear at the end of most of the kings' reigns there needs to be an examination of the wider ancient Near Eastern context to see the prevalence and place such formulae might have in these writings. In the ancient Near East they are called "colophons." They can be understood in quite a narrow sense to refer to copyists' scribal end-notes giving details of the library or owner of the document being copied, the date of the extraction or full document, and generally the catchlines showing continuity between two documents are included in this definition. These various forms would all classify under the heading of colophons. In a broader sense, colophons would encompass all and any formulaic notices, whether library or literary markers, whether at the end of each king's reign, or at the end of a reign or dynasty or at the end of any and all chronographic writings. If catchlines linking one older work to the next one are seen as colophonic, and yet are authorial rather than later copyists doing a library copy, or library markers, then it

[561] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day Books,"* p. xv-xvi.

would seem to follow logically that colophons could and perhaps should be included in the colophonic category. Both Leichty and Hunger list examples that would seem to support the broader view of literary and library formulaic markers. Usages would certainly be inclusive rather than exclusive, literary and library, sacred and profane, trade and military, and these differences would meet societal and political needs, and vary over time too.

Victor Hamilton gives H. Hunger's definition of a colophon as:

> [A] notice appended to a text by a scribe at the end of a tablet, including literary contents, statements about the tablet and the person connected with its production."[562] In his introduction he lists examples such as bibliographical information (e.g. catchlines, title of work, tablet number, number of lines) personal data (e.g. the name of scribe, owner or commissioner of the tablet), purpose of writing, wishes, curses, prayers, date. Of the 563 colophons collected by Hunger, nos. 1-39 are from the Old Babylonian period; nos. 40-72 are from the Middle Babylonian/Assyrian period and nos. 75-563 are from the Late Babylonian/Assyrian period.

Hamilton writes further of the widespread and varied usage of colophons:

> The usage of colophons is also found in Canaan, as is well demonstrated from Ugarit. Thus UT, 62 has a title, "Pertaining to Baal," the main body of the text, and then ends with this colophon: "The scribe is Elimelech, the Šbn'ite. The narrator Atn-prin, chief of the priets (and) Chief of the herdsmen, the Ṭ'ite.

[562] V. P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis, Chapters 1-17*, NIV Commentary on the Old Testament, 1966, P. 6.

> (Dated in the reign of) Niqmad, king of Ugarit, Master of Yrgb, Lord of Ṭmrn.[563]

In all their forms, colophons show a significant concern with dating. Scribes who copy the documents date the regnal year in which they copied the document, name the library from which it is borrowed, and in the case of the reigns of kings, amongst varying details, essentially they list the regnal years of the dead king, sometimes an evaluation of his kingship, and the name of his successor, usually his son, sometimes a usurper, the burial place, and some of these find parallels in the biblical book of Chronicles, as will be discussed below.

These colophons in the Ancient Near Eastern writings are used in a variety of ways, but always with an emphasis on the dating of the events described in the documents by fixing points in time in relation to key events or the eponymic year-names or the successive reigns of kings. This concern with fixing dates through the use of repeating formulaic citations which is found within the biblical book of Chronicles has led some scholars to see a parallel with the chronographic writings of the ancient Near East. While these are classified generally under the definition of "historiography" in fact, as argued above, they really form their own category which provides sources from which later historical reconstructions may be made. Comparing ancient Near Eastern documents with those of the Bible has not always been thought productive or relevant. As Van Seters writes:

> Comparative treatment of the Old Testament historiography of the ancient Near East with ancient Israel has …been carried on almost entirely under the

[563] C. H. Gordon, *Ugarit and Minoan Crete*, Norton, New York, 1966, p. 87. Cited in Hamilton, *Genesis, Chs. 1-17*, p. 6.

> supposition that the cultures and their ways of treating the past are for the most part radically different. Because the comparison has been of mental states, not of form, the surveys often appear haphazard and do not adequately represent the kind of material that does exist for thorough examination. [564]

The intention here is to focus on the "form" and avoid focussing on the "mental state" which I interpret to mean comparative religious content (except where it is connected to the formulaic structure, for example in retribution and reward formulae), and instead to concentrate on the formulaic and structural format of the biblical book of Chronicles, both from the ancient Near East and from internal biblical evidence. By focussing on the formulaic and structural formatting of both, the commonality rather than the wide gulf in the "mental states" should potentially enable valuable comparisons between the writings of Israel and the rest of the ancient Near East.

While Torrey regarded these formulae as "literary adornments" and regarded them as "entirely useless "[565] and Noth regarded them simply as a "literary convention" which demonstrated the Chronicler's "characteristic carelessness,"[566] giving them no credibility at all, Glatt-Gilad describes them as an "historiographic device,"[567] which comes closer to the approach taken here. The question then arises as to how time, which was so important to chronographic writing, was indicated in these formulae. It was Erle Leichty, who in 1964, wrote an article on the subject of scribal notes in ancient Mesopotamian documents, entitled "The Colophon" which inspired Hermann Hunger

[564] Van Seters, *Search of History*, p. 247.

[565] C. Torrey, "The Chronicler as Editor and as Independent Narrator," *AJSL* 25, 1908-1909, pp. 188-217; p. 196.

[566] *The Chronistic History*, Introduction and Translation by H. G. M. Williamson, JSOTS 50, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1987, Reprinted, 2001, pp. 53, 56.

[567] Glatt-Gilad, "Regnal formulae."

to write his thesis on Babylonian and Assyrian Colophons.[568] Leichty's brief article is limited to the general content of the colophons, especially focussing on the later colophons, such as in the Seleucid period (312-63 B.C.). In this article he identifies and explains some of the features and idiosyncrasies of these colophons:[569]

> The ancient Mesopotamian scribe, when copying literary, scientific, or historical texts frequently appended a colophon to his copy. This practice occurred in all periods, but was much more common in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylon periods. In the early periods, the colophon tended to be very simple and contained only a date, the name of lines in the composition, or the scribe's name. In the later periods the colophon tended to be longer, and usually contained a great deal more information….The late colophons are relatively free of formulas, and seem to be, for the most part, free compositions of the individual scribes.[570]

Leichty lists the features of colophons, observing that the colophons on the tablets at King Ashurbanipal of Assyria's library at Nineveh (668-627B.C.) are written in one of twenty-three standard patterns, with very little deviation, as compared with the later ones from Uruk in the Seleucid times which, while they have a general similarity to each other, have enough individual variance to make them unclassifiable. Maximally, a colophon might contain all of the following information, while minimally it might contain only one of the categories:[571]

> The catchline (see below)

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[568] H. Hunger, *Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone*,Alter Orient und Altes Testament 2, Neukirchen-Vluyn Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1968.

[569] E. Leichty, "The Colophon", *Studies presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1964, pp. 147-154.

[570] Leichty, "The Colophon," p. 147.

[571] Leichty, "The Colophon," p. 147-148, n.1.

The series name and number of the tablet

The date

The number of lines on the tablet

The source of the copy

The name of the owner

The name of the scribe

The reason for making the copy

The curse or blessing

The disposition of the copy

Today's equivalent of the curse or blessing might perhaps be Letters of Demand threatening Legal Action. The curse was invoked against anyone who made changes to the document.

Grayson points out that colophons are generally only used for large tablets intended for a permanent library.[572] Small tablets for private use may or may not have colophons. The large tablets, where they formed part of a series, would feature colophonic catch-lines.[573] The catch-line links one tablet to the next with a colophonic reference by writing the first words of the succeeding tablet on the bottom of the previous tablet, using the exact same word or signs. The catch-line is usually but not always separated from the main body of the text as well as the colophon by empty spaces or a horizontal line across the tablet. In a few instances, the words EGIR-šú =”after it.” is written after the catch-line to identify it as such.[574]

[572] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 5.

[573] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 5.

[574] Leichty, “The Colophon,” p. 148. The words EGIR-šú > word (*w*)*arkīšu* (‘afterwards’, ‘later’). EGIR (now more commonly spelt in simple lower case: egir) is the sumerogram for Akkadian *warku*. The sign $ŠU_2$ simply represents the suffix 3ms > after it, equivalent to Hebrew אחריו

Leichty's article shows that a great deal of information can be gleaned from colophons, which must surely make the loss of so much of the colophonic information a point of great frustration for any Mesopotamian scholar. He writes: "Since colophons are often more difficult to read than the tablets to which they are appended, this information is often lost. It was once even the practice to delete the colophon when publishing a tablet."[575] He is intentionally only looking at the later colophons where the colophons are:

> [r]elatively free of formulas and seem to be, for the most part, free compositions of the individual scribes. Left to their own devices in the composition of the colophon, the scribes gave free play to their imagination and sense of creativity.[576]

Leichty gives examples from the Seleucid period when these flourished. This freedom of composition from the Seleucid period onwards marks a useful point in time which goes beyond the boundaries of the colophons examined here for this thesis, where the more rigid colophonic formulae of the biblical Chronicles and Kings can be shown to share only minimal similarity with these later Achaemenid and Seleucid colophons.

The impression that one could get from Leichty's article is that colophons are limited to end-notes giving the scribes' name and library details, but these only appear when one is looking at copies rather than originals. The scribes of such copies appended their names together with much of the information as per Leichty's list. Even so, it is also possible that the copying of scribal information may be lost when we are dealing with copies. However, in the case of originals, while catchlines, dates (regnal or eponym),

[575] Leichty, "The Colophon," p. 154.
[576] Leichty, "The Colophon," p. 147.

and sources may be seen, the scribes' names are not generally recorded, so the body of the text remains an anonymous work except where we get glimpses from the narrative content as to the scribe or scribal family of the period, or to specific prophets and scribes, as in the book of biblical Chronicles, as will be argued below.

To find similarities in the more formal style of colophons, we need to look at the formulae described by Grayson, where he categorizes the Assyrian and Babylonian chronographic texts (chronicles and king lists) into four categories (plus one category which defies categorisation), based on the literary patterns which give shape to each one.[577] Millard, in his overall favourable review of Grayson, finds the classification by formulae unconvincing:

> The Chronicle texts having 'year x of king y' are thought similar to the earlier year-name formula 'year z took place', and the totals 'x years of king y' leading Grayson to suppose the chronicles developed from a practice of compiling notes of events to provide year-names. There is, however, the distinction that regnal years were not numbered when year-names were in use. Although four literary forms are detected in the 'chronographic' documents they are so simple and so natural in producing such records that we may ask whether similarities were unavoidable and so not significant.[578]

Millard makes two reasonable points here which require consideration: the simplicity of the formulae so they could just be natural repetition, so not formulaic at all; and the observation that regnal years (as found in king lists) were not used when year-names

[577] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 5-6.
[578] Millard, Review of Grayson, p. 364.

were in use. Overall, I take the view that Grayson is justified in seeing formulaic patterning here rather than mere natural repetition, for the following reasons:

Taking the second point first, Grayson sees the change from the earliest listing of years by important events, the "year-names" becoming "king lists" where the regnal years of each king are successively recorded, as a developmental step to enable longer periods to be measured; as for Millard's first point, simplicity of the formulae, here too this may be seen as developmental over time as the formulae become more complex. The point Grayson would seem to be making is that it is the very repetition of the exact formulae which is the key factor to look at here as a key to dating the period of the document, and the slight shifts of wording in colophons can be indicative of development, and therefore significant, for example *ina tarṣi* = "In that day" or "In the day of…" in itself is not significant when isolated, but when repeated over and again in the same context, as in the Synchronistic Chronicles, these expressions indicate the period when the two kings reigned relative to each other, or where the scribe did not need an exact date, or did not have one, it can be used instead of precise designations.[579]

In our formal letter-writing to this day we would find significance in whether a letter were signed "Yours sincerely" or "Yours truly" or "Yours faithfully," though to a person untrained in formal or business letters these may seem insignificant. Slight shifts can be significant, so Grayson is surely justified in identifying the basic dating formulae, then noting how these systems develop over the centuries as more narrative and details about the kings' lives becomes included.[580]

[579] Van Seters, *Search of History,* 1997, p. 84, n.106. Citing Grayson, *ABC,* pp. 247-48. The phrase *ina tarṣi*, "At the time of" is typical of inscriptions which lack precise designations. Imprecise time phrases are also found in Chronicles, which will be discussed below.

[580] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 193.

Grayson compares the formulae in the date lists, (which he explains as lists of names given to each year for the purpose of dating records), and the Babylonian chronicles (which he has numbered as Babylonian Chronicles 1-17), to demonstrate that "they have literary patterns which are virtually identical."[581]

Grayson sees thus the "so-called Assyrian King List," which could equally well be classified as the "Assyrian Chronicle," as illustrating the fact that it is impossible to study chronicles in isolation from king lists. As Grayson writes:

> The beginning of the text simply lists one ruler after another and therefore can be classified as a king list. But there are some narrative sections which belong to the classification chronicle.[582]

Grayson's Classification of the Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles

In order to examine the ancient chronicles of Assyria and Babylon, Grayson's classification will be used. The reason that this classification is so helpful is because Grayson classifies these chronicles according to the repeating patterns of their colophons. It will be seen that the grouping according to formulae tends also to put the time periods covered by each group together, so that changes within each group can be seen as changes over time.

Grayson categorises the chronicles into five groups, four of which where the formulae are consistent throughout the group, (A, B, C, D plus one "Unclassified" category for

[581] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 6.
[582] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 4.

those with mixed formulae). This classification of chronicles sharing similar formulae very much suits the purposes of this investigation, but with two caveats:

Firstly, Grayson reduces his formulaic classifications to the barest minimum, which means that subtle changes over time are not immediately obvious, but some of which he points out[583] but others not mentioned will be pointed out here. Each category extends over a vast time span, even millennia. So, for example, while Category A contains copies of chronicles which hark back in time to the twelfth to eighth centuries B.C. (ABC 14-17) Grayson has put these four chronicles after the Neo-Babylonian series (ABC 1-13), and this order will be followed here.

Secondly, the intention is not to match the formulae with those in biblical Chronicles exactly, but to elucidate the parallels in formulaic style and purpose. For convenience Grayson's numbering of these chronicles will be used, except where further research has revealed later chronicles, which have been classified in different ways, e.g. in Glassner's *Mesopotamian Chronicles*. Glassner classifies the chronicles according to type, whether regnal, temple or other, so these will be listed accordingly, in parallel with Grayson's categories where relevant. [584]

One important point Grayson notes is that the Assyrians did not name their years after important events as the early Mesopotamians and Babylonians, but after their annually elected officials, the *līmus.* The pattern here would be either the names of the *līmus* in chronological order or "In the *līmu* of PN Narr."[585]

[583] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 22: "However, over the years minor changes took place so that these later Chronicles exhibit certain peculiarities not evident in the earlier texts. In particular the singular phrase "MN, that same month" which is found in the Seleucid Chronicles and is probably derived from astronomical diaries is to be noted." See also p. 22, n.143 for further details.

[584] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles,* pp. vii-ix.

[585] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 196. PN represents the annually elected *līmu; Narr = Narrative.*

Interestingly, even the kings' reigns were dated by the elected *līmus.* This is not easy to see from the fragments of Assyrian chronicles which are small and not well preserved, featured in Grayson.[586] However, Glassner devotes a full chapter to the eponym chronicles of the Assyrians, where the first few lines of the second millennium eponym chronicle (8.1-9) are a typical example:

Eponym Chronicle *MC*.8 [587]	
8.1 *iš-tu re-eš* ^{giš}*gu*.[*za lugal*^{ut}(?) *Na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.XU...*m]i*(?)-*im* 1 *iš-tu li-mu* [...]. 8.2 *Š*[*u-*^{d}EN.ZU (?)] 8.3 ^{I}[^{d}*A-šur-ma-lik* (?) 8.4 ^{Id}*A-šur-i-mi-ti* (?) 8.5 ^{I}*En-na-*^{d}EN.ZU (?)] 8.6 *i-na*[*A-ku-tim* …]^{ki} […*iṣ-ba*]-*at* 8.7 ^{I}*Ma-ṣí-a-am*-DIN[GIR (?) 8.8 ^{I}*I-dí-a-ḫu-um* [(?)] 8.9 *i-na Sa-*[*m*]*a-nim A-mi-nu-um Ša-du-pé-em iṣ-ba-at*	8.1 From the beginning of the reign of Narām-Sîn, …]…, <u>from the eponymy [of</u> …]. 8.2 Šūl-Sîn (?) 8.3 Aššur-mālik (?) 8.4 Aššur-imittī (?) 8.5 Ennam-Sîn (?) 8.6 In [the eponymy of] Akūtum…too[k (?) […]. 8.7 ^{I}Maṣiam-ilī. 8.8 Idi-aḫum. 8.9 In (the eponymy of) Samānim, Aminum took Šaduppûm.
e.g. of Eponym list: 8.1-5; PN e.g. of "In the *līmu* of PN Narr": 8.6 ff. Final colophon where total number of dynastic years, closing event and name of scribe are given.	

This listing of the annually elected *līmu*, attaching to each eponym the important event of that year, continues until the time of the Assyrians taking over the Babylonian throne, at which point they took over the Babylonian system which featured dating by regnal years. The regnal chronicling may be seen at the time of Tiglath-pileser III when the Assyrians gained ascendancy over the Babylonians. Once the Assyrian kings sat on the Babylonian throne, they maintained the Babylonian chronicles, albeit with their annalistic approach, where each regnal year is accounted for annually. In addition to

[586] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 184-189.
[587] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 171-176; pp. 160-161.

the above, the Assyrians have an early king list based on the Sumerian King List,[588] as well as a bilateral boundary contract between Assyria and Babylonia entitled the Synchronic Chronicle.[589] All the following categories are taken from Grayson's *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles:*[590]

Category A

Chronicles and King lists included in Category A [591]

This category includes very early material, consisting of date lists and king lists as well as chronicles: Larsa Date List; Babylon I Date List; Ur-Isin King List; Babylonian King List A; Babylonian King List C; Uruk King List; Babylonian Chronicles 1-17; Astronomical Diaries; Eighteen-year Interval List; Eponym Lists.[592]

The patterns found in Category A [593]

MU Narr. – "The year when…"

The other is the pattern for summarizing the regnal years of a king:

N MU RN - "N (were/are) the years of the king."

Characteristics of Category A

This category extends from the oldest which are the date lists in the third millennium B.C., namely, Ur III (2055-1940 B.C.) right up to the latest, which is the Eighteen-year Interval List in the first millennium B.C. (99 B.C.)

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[588] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 4, 6; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 160-176. (See Category "Unclassified" below)

[589] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 5, 157-170; 50-56; J.-J. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 176-183 (See Category D below)

[590] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 5.

[591] Grayson, *ABC,* pp. 5.

[592] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 196-197.

[593] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 193-197, n.1. MU is Sumerian for "year;" n.2a Narr. = Narrative; Pred. = Predicate: "he ruled."

The largest group in this category is that of the Babylonian Chronicles, ABC 1-13a. Babylonian Chronicles 1-7 starts from the reign of Nabû-nāṣir (747-734 B.C.) through to Nabonidus (556-539 B.C.)[594] After Nabonidus's reign there is a fifty year gap from 539 B.C. to the Late Babylonian Chronicle Series, 8-13a, which is during the period when the Achaemenids (550-330 B.C.) and the Macedonians (334-323 B.C.) were in power. The chronicling resumes in Philip II's time. Following Alexander's death, where the generals divide Alexander's kingdom, there follow the chronicles of the Diadochi (323-312 B.C.) and the Seleucids (312 - 63 B.C.)[595]

There are four Babylonian Chronicles 14-17 which deal with the earlier period of the kings of the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.[596] These are not part of the above series, although they have the same formulaic patterns. They show certain characteristics which, I hope to show, seem to betray an earlier provenance.

Category B

Chronicles and King Lists included in Category B (third–second Millennium)[597]

Sumerian King List; Dynastic Chronicle;[598] King List of the Hellenistic Period; Babylon King List B; Ptolemaic Canon; Assyrian King List.

The pattern found in Category B[599]

RN MU N Pred. – "The king ruled for N years."

[594] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 14-15: The longest Chronicle is ABC 1, covering "the period from the reign of Nabû-nāṣir (747-734 B.C.) to the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin (668-648 B.C.)….The first fully preserved section describes the accession of Tiglath-pileser III to the Assyrian throne…"

[595] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 22-28; 112-124.

[596] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 29-42; 125-138.

[597] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 6.

[598] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 40-42;

[599] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 197-199;

The pattern used for dynastic summaries is:

N LUGAL MU N Pred.[600] – "N Kings ruled for N years"

Characteristics of Category B

These have features of both king lists and chronicles as their mixed titles indicate.[601] Category B dates from third to second millennium: Ur III (c. 2055-1940 B.C.) or Isin-Larsa period (c.2004-1790 B.C.) and is the period which precedes the rise of Babylonia (c.1790 B.C.) then continues to the Ptolemaic Canon in the Ptolemaic Period (their rule lasted for 275 years, 305-30 B.C.).[602]

The Assyrian King List is of interest because it has a combination of features of both king lists and chronicles which begin to add narrative to the basic listings. The list here is not of kings, but of Assyrian *līmus*, listed one after the other, even dating their kings by these annually appointed officials. It is modelled on the Sumerian King List[603] (c. Ur III: 2055-1940B.C.) or Isin-Larsa (c. 2000-1800 B.C.) which extends to the reign of Shulgi (2029-1982 B.C.). It is the earliest in this group.

The Dynastic Chronicle *ABC* 18, which is dependent on the Sumerian King List, is of interest as it has a pre-diluvian origins section. Also it has a new feature, a burial formula: "He (the King) was buried in …" [604]

[600] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 197: LUGAL = King; Pred. = *aka* ("to do)."

[601] Grayson, *ABC,* pp. 5; 199, *J.-J*. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles* adds to this list what he calls "A Parody: The Royal Chronicle of Lagash," p. 144.

[602] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 6.

[603] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 136-145.

[604] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 197-8.

Category C

Chronicles and King Lists included in Category C[605]

Tummal Chronicle MC 7; Weidner Chronicle ABC 19, MC 38; Chronicle of Early Kings ABC 20, MC 49; Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1.[606]

The pattern found in Category C

As Grayson explains, the pattern, while underlyingly a simple RN Narr, is in fact a very complex one as it appears in the Tummal Chronicle, a Sumerian document, with a complex pattern which repeats five times with successive kings (RN_1, RN_2, RN_3) as is shown in his outline, as follows:

> RN_1 built the X of the temple of Enlil
>
> RN_2, son of RN_1 made the Tummal pre-eminent and brought Ninlil to the Tummal.
>
> For the Nth time the Tummal fell into ruin.
>
> RN_3 built the etc. [607]

Characteristics of Category C

This category deals with a very early period: the third millennium to early second millennium B.C. though texts are only preserved in later copies.

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[605] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 40-42.

[606] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 66-67, 199. "The preserved portions of this Chronicle cover the chronological period immediately following that covered at the end of the Tummal Chronicle and Weidner Chronicle (Ur III) and included within the Chronicle of Early Kings."

[607] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 199.

The Tummal Chronicle MC 7, mentioned above, features in Glassner,[608] but not in Grayson. The Weidner Chronicle, covering the same period, also has the RN Narr pattern, and, unusually, has a prologue written in the first person by a deity, not by a king.[609] It does however share the retribution/reward features which appear in the other chronicles in this category.[610] "The description of reigns as "good" or "bad," a practice not common in chronicles, is to be compared to the Akkadian Prophecies, a literary genre in which this is normal."[611] The Weidner Chronicles is similar to the Synchronistic History (see Category D below) in that "both texts had a prologue," and "[s]ince the Synchronistic History (an Assyrian chronicle) has an epilogue, it is also possible that something similar was inscribed at the end of the Weidner Chronicle."[612] The Chronicle of Early Kings has a catchline between the A and B sides of the tablet. It also shows one instance where it has "apparently used the Weidner Chronicle as source material."[613]

Category D

Chronicles and King Lists included in Category D [614]

"Only two documents are known in the fourth category (D), both of which were written during the latter part of the Neo-Assyrian period (c. 783-627 B.C.)."[615] These are the Synchronistic History, ABC 21, and the Synchronistic King List. Chronicle "P," ABC

[608] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 156-159.
[609] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 43.
[610] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 44.
[611] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 44. This is similar to biblical Chronicles which shares this feature.
[612] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 44.
[613] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 45.
[614] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 6.
[615] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 5.

22, is categorized as "Unclassified" but shows synchronicity with the Synchronic History ABC 21.

The pattern found in category D

This is characterized by a synchronistic pattern. Two contemporary rulers of two different countries are put side by side: RN_1 RN_2.[616] Grayson comments: "An interesting feature of these documents is that they consistently add the title 'king of X' after the royal name (RN_1 *šar*... RN_2 *šar*...),"[617] adding a footnote to this: "In the Synchronistic History the introductory pattern RN_1 RN_2 is often preceded by the phrase *ina tarṣi 'At the time of...'* [618] which is "sometimes used in chronicles as a terminus technicus of approximate time when no precise date is known."[619] This phrase is considered in more detail in the section on dating below.

These synchronisms are from the Assyrian point of view so the Assyrian King's name is placed first, then is followed by the Babylonian King's name. There are two exceptions to this, but ["t]he reasons for this are a mystery."[620]

Chronicle "P" is very damaged so it is not possible to see all instances, but where legible, the Babylonian king is named first.[621]

Characteristics of Category D

The Synchronistic History ABC 21 (Assyrian) is so-called because it deals with the Assyrio-Babylonian relations from Puzur-Aššur III (early fifteenth century B.C.) to

[616] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 50-59; 200.
[617] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 200.
[618] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 200 n.58.
[619] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 51 n.5.
[620] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 52 and n.13.
[621] Grayson, *ABC*, pp 170-177. (ABC i.2; 5; iii.23; iv 14, 17.)

Adad Nerāri (810-783 B.C.).[622] The Assyrian and Babylonian kings' names are both cited each time the parties make a new treaty to establish the boundary line between the two kingdoms, or take to battle when the two kingdoms dispute. The setting is the Kassite period, when Babylon was called Karduniaš. These treaties were bound by oaths, settled by dynastic marriages, or enforced by battles. The Synchronistic History is preserved in three copies from the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, copied within a short period from 783-627 B.C.[623] The source appears to be a stele upon which the original inscription is engraved.[624]

Chronicle "P" ABC 22, categorized as "Unclassified" is in such poor condition it is put in the "Unclassified" category. It is mentioned here because it is thought by some, with good reasons, which will be discussed later, to be the Babylonian counterpart of the Synchronistic Chronicle ABC 21. There appear to be two instances of a synchronistic pattern.[625]

Category: Unclassified

Chronicles and King Lists included in the Unclassified Category[626]

Chronicle P (Babylonian) ABC 22; Market Prices ABC 23, MC 50; Eclectic Chronicle, ABC 24 / MC 47; Assyrian Chronicle Fragments ABC 1-4; Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 2;[627] the Walker Chronicle CW 25 / MC 46[628] is not included in Grayson.

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[622] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 6.

[623] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 157.

[624] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 51-56 and p. 52, n.14: "This very boundary" in i 4' and "this very boundary line" in i 7' and 28'.

[625] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 200, n.60: i 2; iii 23f.

[626] Grayson, *ABC,* pp. 6; 200-201.

[627] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 63.

[628] C. B. F. Walker, "Chronicle 25: A Chronicle of the Kassite and Isin II Dynasties," *Zikir-šumim: Assyriological Studies presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, Eds., G. van Driel *et al.*, Studia Francisci Scholten Memoriae Dicata, 5, Brill, Leiden, 1982, pp. 398-417. Also in Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, listed as "Chronicle of the Last Kassite Kings and the Kings of Isin" MC 46, p. 282.

The pattern found in the Unclassified Category

The patterns vary within each Chronicle so cannot be classified in accordance with Grayson's system.[629]

Characteristics of the Unclassified Category

These feature a mixture of formulae types, hence being categorized as Unclassified in Grayson, but of interest here is that the Walker Chronicle 25[630] (not in Grayson), and Eclectic, ABC 24,[631] when put together chronologically have what looks like a shared catchline, which will be examined in detail below.[632] The Market Prices ABC 23 is an example of the wide diversity of list-making tht falls under the classification of "chronicling."

Comparison of Ancient Near Eastern Chronicles and Biblical Chronicles

Five aspects of the formulae in biblical Chronicles have been selected for comparison between the chronicles of Assyria and Babylon and those of biblical Chronicles. I would hope to show that these are a regular part of chronicles, and as such can be used to discover whether biblical Chronicles holds a legitimate place as a chronicle with colophons amongst these ancient Near Eastern chronographic works.

Studies of the contents of the ancient Near Eastern libraries, Borsippa, Esagila in Babylon and others, plus the prevalence of copies across these libraries, has led to a review of the consensual view which was led by Oppenheim on how chronicles can be

[629] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 60-65.

[630] Walker, Chronicle 25: A Chronicle of the Kassite and Isin II Dynasties; Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*: MC 46: p. 282.

[631] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 63.

[632] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 285.

dated. The colophons on some chronicles giving the details of the copyist scribe, amongst other details, tell us nothing about the original chronicles, their authors and the period during which they were originally composed. There is also the problem that traditions related to the formulae can be very persistent over time, J. J. Niehaus shows from rediscovered royal inscriptions that patterns found there can re-emerge to influences the later styles.[633] In response to my failed attempt to obtain a copy of this doctoral dissertation Dr. Niehaus kindly sent me an article of his "The Central Sanctuary: Where and When?"[634] In the e-mail attaching the article he wrote:

> It shows how a document rediscovered in an Assyrian temple could influence style in the time of its discovery: phrases unused for centuries suddenly appear in royal writings after the discovery of the document (inscription) during a temple renovation. This obviously parallels the issue of Hilkiah's renovation and Deuteronomy and Jeremiah….[635]

Chronicles and king lists, which have areas of overlap, form one of the most important groups of the ancient Near Eastern Chronographic writings, deeply concerned with recording events set in time.[636] The five features selected for examination are:

Formulae for Dating in Chronicles on p. 216

Origins and Recapitulation Section on p. 237

Catchlines and Scribal End-Notes on p. 252

Death and Burial Formulae on p. 260

Reward and Retribution in Biblical Chronicles on p. 267

[633] J. J. Niehaus, *The Deuteronomic Style: An Examination of the Deuteronomic Style in light of the Ancient and Near Eastern Literature*, PhD Diss., University of Liverpool, 1985.

[634] J. J. Niehaus, "The Central Sanctuary: Where and When?" TB 43, 1992, pp. 3-30.

[635] J. J. Niehaus E-mail correspondence: 17 May 2016.

[636] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 4.

Grayson's Categories (A-D and Unclassified) are grouped according to the classification of the formulae in the Chronicles, so each of the five features will be sought in each of the categories. Those which exhibit these features will be cited, and comparisons made with the biblical Chronicles.

Whilst not exhaustive, these features should give an adequate overview of the diachronic changes and developments which can be compared with those in biblical Chronicles.

Formulae for Dating in Chronicles

The earliest dating methods are to be found in Sumer and Babylonia from 2400-2350 B.C. approximately, where early Mesopotamians[637] marked noteworthy events in any particular year (e.g. "The year of the earthquake"), then in order to preserve their chronological order, a record of year-names were drawn up.[638]

The next stage, as outlined by Grayson, is when the year-names are grouped according to the kings' regnal years within an established dynasty:[639]

> It appears that when a dynasty had established itself for several decades in a city, scribes began compiling lists of the year-names of that dynasty. At the end of the year-names for each king there was usually a summary stating the total number of year-names in that reign – e.g. "53 (were/are) the years of

[637] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 193 n.3 "Early Mesopotamians" is used for the population of Mesopotamia before the establishment to the first dynasty of Babylon. In this early period, Sumerians and Semites are so inter-mixed that a general term including both is necessary.

[638] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 193. E.g. "Such was the custom in the Ur III period….The formula to be used was determined by royal proclamation which gave the official version of the year name in both Akkadian and Sumerian….[f]or longer periods…scribes compiled chronological lists of these year names….The pattern of these lists was simple: "Year when…" (MU Narr).

[639] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 193, n.5: The word "dynasty" is not used here in its usual sense of "ruling family" but to translate the term bala-*palû* which is a designation for the total number (even if only one) of kings, regardless of descent, of one area at one given period of time.

Ḫammurapi" (N MU RN). Thus these early date lists exhibit two patterns: MU Narr. and N MU RN.

King lists grew out of this practice in a further stage of development, when scribes would:

> [e]xtract the summaries for each reign from the text and list them at the end of the tablet so that a reader might know at a glance which kings were to be found in the list and how many year-names they had….Such a list of summaries is found in a date list of the first dynasty of Babylon (Babylon I Date List). Also note the list found in a date list of the Larsa Date List.[640]

Once year-names began to be replaced by regnal years as a method of recording time these regnal years were found in king lists, which made it possible to fix the order of succession of kings and dynasties stretching from the end of the third millennium to the Seleucid era.[641]

Uniquely in Assyria lists of *līmus*, the high officials annually elected gave their names to that year.[642] Assyria continued thus for a millennium and a half using this dating method in their annals and king lists.

At one stage it was thought that the earliest dating for chronicles, which began to develop from the date lists, was in Nabû-nāṣir's reign (747-734 B.C.) in the eighth

[640] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 194, n.9 and 10.

[641] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 16. Dating by events started in Uruk, Ur and Nippur, eg. "the year in which the high priestess of the god Nanna was chosen by means of the oracular lamb."

[642] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 196-197.

century. It is now known that they began much earlier. Glassner writes in recognition of these early dates for chronicles:

> It was long thought that chronicles appeared only late during the Neo-Babylon period. However the discovery at Mari of eponym chronicles (no. 8) dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century shows that this was not true. We can now see that it is possible to go back even further in time, to the last third of the third millennium. The latest such compositions were composed or copied during the Parthian period, later than the work of Berossus.[643]

Hence, Grayson notes that:

> [B]y the time year-names and date lists were being replaced by dating according to regnal years, (c.1500) the scribes continued to compile such texts…There are no documents from this transitional period (the earliest chronicle of category A deals with the twelfth century B.C.)…."[644]

Dating patterns in Chronicles

Regnal dating patterns of the Babylonians:

Grayson starts with the Babylonian Chronicles (ABC 1-13a) that begin in Nabû-nāṣir's reign (747-734 B.C). In the very earliest stage of Chronicle ABC 1 the chronography is marked by regnal dating which is used for the kings' accession and also for dating significant events.

This is a feature shared with biblical Chronicles, which will be shown below. This early regnal dating has the following features:

[643] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 38.
[644] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 6.

- Regnal *years* only are stated
- There are no named months at all, e.g.Tebet, Nissan, Marchesvan etc.
- There is no *annual* recording of events during the king's reign, but only when there are important events, and at the end of each king's reign
- The number of months are given only if the king's reign is less than a full year[645]

These features of regnal *years* only, with no month-names or days, are only found in the very earliest part of the Babylonian Chronicle *ABC* 1.i.1 to 1.i.24, during the time of Nabû-nāṣir ruling in Babylon just prior to the Assyrian king, Tiglath-pileser III taking over the Babylonian throne, which led to some changes as will be shown below.[646] Only once is the word "month" (without being a named month), mentioned when king Nabu-šumu-ukin reigned for less than a full year. He reigned "for one month and two days" (*ABC* 1.i.17).[647]

However, Šalmaneser V's ascent to the throne heralds the starting point for the use of named months and days (ABC 1.i.27), and thereafter we routinely see named months (Nisan, Iyyar, etc.) with the day of the month usually present too. This continues throughout the whole series, regardless of whether a Babylonian or Assyrian king is on the Babylonian throne.[648]

The following are examples of early regnal summations measured in regnal years taken from "Chronicle Concerning the Period from Nabû-nāṣir to Šamash-šuma-ukin," ABC 1, preserved in three copies in the British Museum:

[645] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 70. Commentary ABC 1.i.1: "According to this chronicle the reigns of Nabû-nāṣir, Nādinu, Mukîn-zēri, and Tukulti-apil-ešarra III (in Babylonia) covered 21 years (the reign of Šuma-ukîn did not cover a full year and therefore is not reckoned)."

[646] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 70: Chronicle ABC 1.i.1 – 1.i.10.

[647] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 72.

[648] Grayson, *ABC,* pp. 72-73.

A…BM92502 (= 84-2-11, 356)
B….BM 75976 (= AH 83-1-18, 1338)
C….BM 75977 (= AH 83-1-18, 1339)

Babylonian Chronicle ABC 1.i.11-15:	
1.i.11 MU XIV ^{d}*Nabû-nāṣir* GIG-*ma ina ēkalli – šú šīmāti*^{meš} 1.i.12 XIV MU^{meš} ^{d}*Nabû-nāṣir šarru-ut Bābìli*^{ki} *īpuš*^{uš} 1.i.13 ^{m}*Na-di-nu mār-šú ina Bābìli*^{ki} *ina kússê ittašab*^{ab} 1.i.14 MU II *Na-di-nu ina si-ḫi-dîk* 1.i.15 II MU^{meš} *Na-din šarru-ut Bābìli*^{ki} *īpuš*^{uš}	1.i.11 The fourteenth year: Nabû-nāṣir became ill and died in his palace. 1.i.12 For fourteen years Nabû-nāṣir ruled Babylon. 1.i.13 (Nabu)-nādin-zeri,[649] his son, ascended the throne in Babylon. 1.i.14 The second year: (Nabu)-nādin-zeri was killed in a rebellion. 1.i.15 For two years (Nabu)-nādin-zeri ruled Babylon

This continues only until the Assyrian kings ascend the Babylonian throne. Nabu-mukin-zeri, the Ammukkanite who deposed Nabu-šuma-ukin, finds himself deposed three years later by the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser, who is the first Assyrian king on the Babylonian throne:

Chronicle from Nabû-nāṣir to Šamaš-šuma-ukin ABC 1.i.22-23:	
1.i.22 III MU^{meš} *Múkîn-zēri šarru-ut Bābìli*^{ki} *īpuš*^{uš} 1.i.23 ^{m}*Tukul-ti-ápil-<<AŠ>>-é-šár-ra ina Bābìli*^{ki} *ina kússê ittašab*^{ab}	1.i.22 For three years (Nabu)-mukin-zeri ruled Babylon. 1.i.23 Tiglath-pileser (III) ascended the throne in Babylon.

Annual Reporting of the Assyrians using Regnal Dating:

By contrast when Assyrian kings ascend the Babylonian throne, the Babylonian chronicles are continued by the Assyrians. However two changes happen, probably

[649] Nādin-zeri is the hypocoristica for Nabu-nādin-zeri. It is a common feature of Akkadian to use nick-names or short-versions of names.

influenced by the fact that Assyrians were known for recording annals and using annually elected officials (*līmus*) in their chronicling. Firstly, as the name, annals, suggests, the reporting was hereafter done annually. Regnal dating continued, e.g. "the fifth year of Tiglath-pileser," but whereas previously only for important events, now it became annual regnal reporting. Secondly, the annual dating began to include named months, initially done somewhat inconsistently,[650] but it becomes so entrenched so that by the time of the last king of Babylon, Nabonidus (556-539 B.C) each year's entry is ruled off with a line on the tablet. Hence, when one year is not recorded, the year is listed and ruled off anyway, e.g. ABC 7.ii.9:

ABC 7.ii.9 MU VIII^{kám}	ABC 7.ii.9 The eighth year [Blank space]

Annual reporting using regnal dating becoming settled once the Assyrian kings took the throne in Babylon (Tiglath-pileser III 745-727 B.C.),[651] initially inconsistently.

[650] A. K. Grayson, *ABC*, p. 73-74. From Nabû-nāṣir's reign, Merodach-baladan's second year on the Babylon throne to the fourteenth year of Sargon II's reign in Babylon (1.i.33 to 1.ii.3')

[651] Annual dating becoming settled: once the Assyrian kings took the throne in Babylon (Tiglath-pileser III 745-727 B.C.), annual reporting takes place, initially inconsistently. Following (Nabu)-mukin-zeri's three year reign, under Tiglath-pileser, the formula changes to include the day and named month:

ABC 1.i.23 Tiglath-pileser (III) ascended the throne in Babylon;
1.i.24 The second year: Tiglath-pileser (III) died in the month Tebet.

The inclusion of the named month is maintained at the accession of the Chaldean Merodach-baladan (721–710 B.C.) to the throne:

1.i.32 In the month Nisan Merodach-baladan (II) ascended the throne in Babylon.

However, in the twelfth year, when Sargon (II), an Assyrian, takes over, surprisingly, the named months are not included thereafter even when an Assyrian succeeds him to the throne:

1.ii.1 The twelfth year of Merodach-baladan (II): Sargon went down [to Akkad] and
1.ii.2 did battle against [Merodach-bala]dan (II).

However, after Sargon, mention is made of month names, only once without a day (ii.40) during the sixth year of Ashur-nadin-shumi, but thereafter quite consistently with the day and the month, e.g:

1.ii.48 On the first day of the month Tishri the arm of Assyria entered Uruk…
1.iii.5 ….For one year – (actually) six months – Nergal-ushezib
1.iii.6 ruled Babylon. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Tishri

In Chronicle 3, Fall of Ninevah Chronicle, and 4, the Chronicle Concerning the Later Years of Nabopolassar, there is annual reporting throughout these two chronicles, e.g. Chronicle 3.52-78, from the fifteenth to eighteenth years and Chronicle 4 from the eighteenth to the twenty-first years of Nabopolassar's reign, with month names given, but no numbered days are cited at all.

Following (Nabu)-mukin-zeri's three year reign the formula changes under Tiglath-pileser III, to include the day and named month:

Chronicle from Nabû-nāṣir to Šamaš-šuma-ukin ABC 1.i.24, 32:	
1.i.24 MU II *Tukul-ti-ápil-é-šár-ra ina* ^{iti}*Ṭebēti šīmāti*^{meš} 1.i.32 *ina Nisanni* ^{md}*Marduk-apla-ìddina ina Bābìli*^{ki} *ina kússê ittašab*^{ab}	1.i.24 The second year: Tiglath-pileser (III) died in the month Tebet. 1.i.32 In the month Nisan Merodach-baladan(II) ascended the throne in Babylon.

Dating Patterns of the Achaemenids and the Macedonians:

When the Achaemenids,[652] (550-330 B.C.) conquered Babylon, they used the annual reporting and regnal dating, but in addition, they began using *"that same day*," "*that same month,"* or "*that same year*" for any second event in a day, month or a year previously mentioned, e.g. ABC 9.6-8.

This is an unusual feature that may be observe only once in the earlier chronicles of the series, (ABC 1.i.3), but from here on appears in the Achaemenid chronicles through to the Macedonian chronicles (ABC 9-13).[653]

Grayson explains this as "probably derived from Astronomical Diaries" without pointing out the connection that the phrase initially has with the regnal year dating system[654] and its subsequent loss of the connection with the original regnal date in ABC 11, 12 and 13 mentioned.

[652] Also called the First Persian Empire, starting with Cyrus 550 B.C.

[653] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 115-119.

[654] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 22, n.143. "It is, in part, because of these minor changes and because of the gap of more than half a century between the last preserved portion of the Neo-Babylonian chronicles (539 B.C.) and the first preserved portion of the Late Babylonian Chronicle Series (c. 485 B.C.) that appear in the later period that it has been deemed advisable to subdivide the series into the two groups."

Notwithstanding the "Astronomical Diary" theory, the situation would appear to be somewhat more nuanced. As mentioned above, the first instance of "*In that same year*" (MU BI...) may be found in the Babylonian Chronicle ABC 1 when, in the third year of Nabû-nāṣir, the first event, namely Tiglath-pileser (III) ascending the throne of Assyria, is regnally dated, but the second event, the king going to Akkad, is recorded as happening "*In that same year*" (1.i.3):[655]

Chronicle from Nabû-nāṣir to Šamaš-šuma-ukin ABC 1.i.3 "*In that same year…*" (MU BI) Referring back to a specified year:	
1.i.3 MU BI [*šār* ^{kur}*Aš-šur*] *ana* ^{kur}*Akkadî*^{ki} ur-dam-ma	1.i.3 *In that same year* [the king of Assyria] went down to Akkad

Then the Achaemenids took up the use of the phrase, "*In that same year/month*" in the same way, namely when a second event occurs in a stated year or month. Following on from them, Philip II (359-336 B.C. and his son Alexander (336-323) of Macedonia continue to use the phrase meaningfully, in this same way.[656] This Macedonian usage continues in the Diadochi ABC 10, both on the Obverse and the Reverse, which makes logical sense and is connected to the earlier stated year or month:

[655] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 71.

[656] e.g. The Chronicle of Artaxerxes III, ABC 9.i, The Diadochi Chronicle ABC 10.Obv.6; 13; Rev.6; 13; 31; 32.

Achaemenid Chronicle of Artaxerxes III ABC 9.4, 6, 7 "*In month X…On X day of that same month* …" Referring back to specified month:	
9.4 [X X I]TI BI UD XIII^{kám} ^{lú}ummāni i-ṣu-tú 9.6 UD XVI^{kám} SAL^{meš} SIG^{meš} *ḫubtu*(sar)^{tú} šá ^{kur}Ṣi-da-nu 9.7 *šá šarru ana Bābili*$_5^{ki}$ *iš-pur*(*u*) UD BI	9.4 [*were brought*] on *the thirteenth day of the same month* 9.6 *On the sixteenth day*…the women, prisoners from Sidon, 9.7 Which the king sent to Babylon on that day
Macedonian Chronicles of Diadochi ABC 10.Obv.10,13; Rev.3, 6 "*In year / month X…that same year/month* …" referring back to specified year/month:	
Macedonian Chronicles of Diadochi: 10.Obv.10 MU VI^{kám} ^{m}*Pi* ^{iti}*Ulūlu* ^{lú}*muma″er*(gal.ukkin) ^{kur}*Akkadî*^{ki} ^{ú}AŠ *kaspu šá* [*kaspi*] […] 10.Obv.13 MU BI ^{m}*Pi-líp-i-si ina* ^{kur}*Ma-ak-ka-du-nu* x […] 10.Rev.3 […] x *iq-bi um-ma* MU VII^{kám} ^{m}*An-ti-g*[*u-nu-su*...] 10.Rev.6 *ēkalla qāt*^{II}*–su ùl ikšud* ITI BI x *kaspu* x x [...]	Diadochi Chronicle ABC 10 10.Obv.10 The sixth year of Philip: In the month Elul the satrap of Akkad… 10.Obv.13 In that same year Philip (III) in Macedon… 10.Rev.3 In the third year Antigonus… 10.Rev.6 he (Seleucus) did not capture the palace. In that same month…
Also in Achaemenid and Macedonian Chronicles: 10.Obv.6; 10.Rev.13; 31; 32.	

Dating Patterns of the Seleucids (312-63 B.C.):[657]

With the Seleucids, who follow the Achaemenids and Macedonians, as seen above, there is a change.[658] The usage of "*In that same year/month*" continues but here the use

[657] The Seleucid period (312 BC to 63 BC) was founded by Seleucus I Nicator, following the division of the Macedonian Empire expanded by Alexander the Great.

[658] Chronicle of Antiochus the Crown Prince *ABC* 11; Chronicle Concerning the end of the reign of Seleucis 1; and Chronicle of the Seleucid Period, *ABC* 12 and 13.

is formal, coming directly after the date as a phrase, derived, probably from the Achaemenid and Macedonian chronicles but now has lost its function, and is formulaic:

Seleucid Crown Prince Antiochus Chr. ABC 11.Obv.3, 10, 12 *"In that same year / month" used formulaically:*	
11.Obv.3 [MU X^{kám} ^{iti}X] ITI BI UD X X^{kám} ^{m}*An-ti-'-uk-su mār šarri* […] 11.Obv.10 […^{uru}] *Bīt-Gu-ra-'* È ^{iti}[X ITI BI UD X^{kám}] 11.Rev.12 [MU X^{kám} ^{i}]^{ti} *Araḫsamnu* ITI BI UD XX[(+ X) ^{kám} X (X)] X BI X *immeru*(udu.nitá) *ana* X […]	11.Obv.3 [In the Nth year: In the month…], <u>in that same month</u>, on the twentieth day, Antiochus, the prince… 11.Obv.10 […] Bit-Gura, went out. In the month […, <u>that same month</u>, on the Nth day] 11.Rev.12 [The Nth year]: In the month Marchesvan, <u>that same month</u>, on the twentieth day
<u>Also found in other Seleucid Chronicles</u>: Chr.11.Obv.2; 11.Rev.12; 16; Chr.12.Obv.3; 12.Rev.1; 4; 8; 9; Chr.13.Obv.12; 13.Rev.9.	

<u>Regnal Dating Patterns in Biblical Chronicles</u>:

In line with the early part of ABC 1 during the Babylonian kingship, biblical Chronicles shares the features of regnal dating, with no named months and no annual reporting, but instead using regnal years to report only when there are important events. These features are found consistently throughout the whole period covered in biblical Chronicles, unlike the Babylonian chronicles, where named months are used, and once the Assyrians take over, there is annual reporting. In Chronicles only numbered months are used. There are no exceptions. Chronicles contrasts with Esther in this regard.

The numbered calendar months in biblical Chronicles have been viewed as an anachronistic affectation in deliberate imitation of a past style. However, as the Talshirs write, Esther, written well into the post-exilic period, possibly later than biblical Chronicles is supposed to be, finds it necessary when using numbered months, to give their meaning in the Babylonian named month system, e.g. Esther 2.16 "And when Esther was taken to King Ahasuarus in the tenth month, which is the month of Tebeth,

in the seventh year of his reign…" Esther 2.16-17. The Chronicler(s) clearly find no necessity to translate the numbered months into named months, as the writer of Esther clearly needed to do.[659] Biblical Chronicles also contrasts with the book of Kings in this regard, as Kings has some named months,[660] but these are never found in Chronicles:

- In biblical Chronicles in the genealogical section, in reference to David's rule in Hebron he "reigned seven years and six months," וַיִּמְלָךְ- שָׁם שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים וְשִׁשָּׁה חֳדָשִׁים (1 Chr 3.4)[661]
- Years only, *never months or days*, are used in connection with the king's accession or death or burial in the biblical book of Chronicles.

Following are examples from biblical Chronicles of regnal summations measured in regnal years,[662] the first one in king Solomon's reign:

[659] Talshir, D. and Z. "The Double Month naming in Late Biblical Books: A New Clue for Dating Esther?" *VT* 54, 2004, pp. 549-555.

[660] There are three named months in biblical Kings: 1 Kgs 6.1: the month *Zib, which was the second month*; 6.38: the month *Bul,* which was the eighth month; and 8.2: the month *Ethanim,* which was the seventh month. In each case the named month is clarified by being translated into the numbered months, as if the named month, most likely of Phoenician origin, were used only temporarily during a time when King Hiram of Tyre and his Phoenician builders played a large role in the building of Solomon's temple.

[661] Similarly, other references in 1 Chronicles only state a specified time with no reference to numbered calendar months: The list of men of the Gadites who served David are mentioned as those who "crossed the Jordon in the first month when the river was overflowing all its banks, and put to flight all those in the valleys…" 1 Chr. 12.15. The ark remains in the house of Obed-edom three months;1 Chr 13.14; David's punishment was three years of famine, three months of devastation by foes, or three days of pestilence, 1 Chr 21.12;

[662] 1 Chr 29.26-28; 2 Chr 9.29; 12.16; 13.23; 16.14; 20.21-21.1 (succession separated from father's death); 21.1 and 21.21; 22.1-2; 24.1reign and 24.27 death and 25.1 son's succession; 26.1-3; 26.23; 27.1,8; 27.9; 28.1, 27; 29.1; 32.33; 33.1; 33.20-21; 35.24 (no year of death); 36.1-2 (three months reign); 36.5; 36.9; 36.11; 36.22.

וַיִּמְלֹךְ שְׁלֹמֹה בִּירוּשָׁלַם עַל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה	2 Chr 9.30 And Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel forty years.
וַיִּשְׁכַּב שְׁלֹמֹה עִם-אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקָּבֵרוּ בְּעִיר דָּוִיד אָבִיו וַיִּמְלֹךְ רְחַבְעָם בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	9.31 And Solomon slept with his fathers; they buried him in the city of David his father; and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead.

The second one in king Rehoboam's reign, and so on, measure the regnal years of each king:

וַיִּתְחַזֵּק הַמֶּלֶךְ רְחַבְעָם בִּירוּשָׁלַם וַיִּמְלֹךְ׃ כִּי בֶן-אַרְבָּעִים וְאַחַת שָׁנָה רְחַבְעָם בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁבַע עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם׃	2 Chr 12.13 So king Rehoboam strengthened himself in Jerusalem, and reigned; for Rehoboam was forty and one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem…

Regnal Dating is also used for important events and for dating the accession or actions of neighbouring kings. To illustrate the parallels of this usage, here is an example from the Babylonian Chronicle ABC 1:[663]

Chronicle from Nabû-nāṣir to Šamaš-šuma-ukin ABC 1.i.33-35:	
1.i.33 MU II ^{d}*Marduk-apla-ìddina Um-ma-ni-ga-áš šár Elámti* 1.i.34 *ina pīḫat Dēr*^{ki} *ṣal-tum ana libbi Šarru-kín šàr* ^{kur}Aš- *šur īpuš-ma* 1.i.35 BALA ^{kur} Aš-*šur iltakan*^{an} *dabdâ-šú-nu ma-'-diš – iltakan*^{an}	1.i.33 The second year of Merodach-baladan (II): Humban-nikash, king of Elam, 1.i.34 did battle against Sargon (II), king of Assyria, in the district of Der, 1.i.35 effected an Assyrian retreat, inflicted a major defeat upon them.

Similarly, this use of the local king's regnal year to date events or accession in neighbouring kingdoms is also a feature of biblical Chronicles:

[663] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 73.

בִּשְׁנַת שְׁלֹשִׁים וָשֵׁשׁ לְמַלְכוּת אָסָא עָלָה בַּעְשָׁא מֶלֶךְ-יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל-יְהוּדָה וַיִּבֶן אֶת-הָרָמָה לְבִלְתִּי תֵּת יוֹצֵא וָבָא לְאָסָא מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה׃	2 Chr 16.1 In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa, Baasha king of Israel went up against Judah and built Ramah that he might not suffer any to go out or come in to Asa king of Judah.

A factor in biblical Chronicles only found once, is the use of the neighbouring king's regnal year to date an event in Judah. The principal of regnal dating remains unchanged but its application is adapted. Here the use of the king of Israel's regnal year could easily suggest that biblical Chronicles has taken this material directly from the book of Kings (1 Kgs 15.1), where Israel and Judah's records are collated synchronistically (this will be discussed below):

בִּשְׁנַת שְׁמוֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה לַמֶּלֶךְ יָרָבְעָם וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֲבִיָּה עַל-יְהוּדָה׃	2 Chr 13.1 In the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam [*of Israel*] began Abijah to reign over Judah.
וּבִשְׁנַת שְׁמֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה לַמֶּלֶךְ יָרָבְעָם בֶּן-נְבָט מָלַךְ אֲבִיָּם עַל-יְהוּדָה׃	1 Kgs 15.1 Now in the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam the son of Nebat began Abijam to reign over Judah.

None of these dating methods in biblical Chronicles is recorded *annually* but only *regnally*. No named months are included.

וַיָּחֶל לִבְנוֹת בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי בַּשֵּׁנִי בִּשְׁנַת אַרְבַּע לְמַלְכוּתוֹ׃	**2 Chr 3.2** And he began to build in the second day of the second month, in the fourth year of his reign…
וַיָּחֵלּוּ בְּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן לְקַדֵּשׁ וּבְיוֹם שְׁמוֹנָה לַחֹדֶשׁ בָּאוּ לְאוּלָם יְהוָה וַיְקַדְּשׁוּ אֶת-בֵּית-יְהוָה לְיָמִים שְׁמוֹנָה וּבְיוֹם שִׁשָּׁה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן כִּלּוּ׃	**2 Chr 29.17** Now they began on the first day of the first month to sanctify, and on the eighth day of the month came they to the porch of the LORD; and they sanctified the house of the LORD in eight days; and on the sixteenth day of the first month they made an end.

In biblical Chronicles unnamed, numbered months specifying the day of religious festivals are used, and the number of months is used for reigns that last less than one year.

The only real overlap of use of regnal years with no months or days mentioned in biblical Chronicles is with the Babylonian Series, ABC 1 at the time of Nabû-nāṣir's reign (747-734 B.C.), with no examples found after this. The later Babylonian chronicles progressively move away from this early style of regnal dating, becoming more idiosyncratic in their usage of the formulae. Especially, one notes the early use of regnal dating for events reported as they occur, rather than annual reporting, and there is no usage of named months at all in biblical Chronicles, and the complete absence of the Achaemenid and Macedonian formulaic usage of "that same month/year" and Seleucid idiosyncratic formulaic usage thereof as part of their regnal dating system.

Vague Dating and Missing Information

Vague Dating (*ana tarṣi and ina tarṣi*) in Babylonian Chronicles:

The following phrases are found regarding vague dating: *ana tarṣi* "At that time,"[664] and *ina tarṣi* "In the time of*"* + king N;[665] as well as *ina ūma*^{mi} or *ina ūma*^{mi}*-šú-ma "*In that time" + deed.[666] These formulae are used for indefinite dates, when a specific regnal date is already stated earlier so not needed, or is perhaps unknown. Scribal

[664] Grayson, *ABC,* "At the time of" *ana tar-ṣi* + king's name (being third year of Nabû-nāṣir): Pp. 69-87; p. 71: Chronicle ABC 1.i.6; pp. 170-177; pp. 176-177: Chronicle "P" ABC 22.iv.12, 17; pp. 178-179: Market Prices Chronicle ABC 23.Obv.1, 4, 7, 8; pp. 152-156 Eclectic Chronicle ABC 24.Rev.2, 3, 4, 5, 7; Early Kings ABC 20.A.37, Obv.B.11.

[665] Grayson, *ABC*: "In the time of" *ina tar-ṣi* + king's name: pp. 170-177; 176-177: Synchronic Chronicle ABC 21.i.8', 18'; ii.9, ii.25', ii.29', iii.1, 22, 25.

[666] Grayson, ABC, *ina ūmi*^{mi} *– šu-ma* "at that time": pp. 90-96; pp. 94, 96: Chronicle of Nineveh ABC 3.44.72., (being fourteenth and seventeenth year of Nabopollasar, + deed); pp. 180-183; p. 180: Eclectic Chronicle ABC 24.Obv.7.

accuracy for copying was essential when dating was so important that it would not allow the copyist or compiler to make any personal contribution or addition, however minimal, even when restoring a known name that had been chipped off.[667]

The use of *ana tarṣi* and *ina tarṣi* with MU NU ZU / ITI NU ZU ^{m}MU.MU "in an unknown year / month" + deed are also found. They are mostly used in the chronicles dealing with earlier materials of the twelfth to ninth centuries B.C., but also with less frequency in the Neo-Babylonian chronicles 1-7.

Missing Information: "in an unknown month/year," "not recorded:" *i-pu-šú ul šá-ṭir*:

When information is not known or indecipherable, the scribe accurately gives information as to the missing information: "in an unknown year/month" MU NU ZU / ITI NU ZU/ ITI NU ZU ^{m}MU.MU; "not recorded/written" i-pu-šú ul šá-ṭir. These would appear to illustrate the care and precision in faithful copying which was employed by scribes in the ancient Near East. They are only found in copies, not originals, and occur where the scribe is unable to read the original probably because the original has been damaged. An example of both the vague dating and the accurate copying combined in one sentence may be seen in Babylonian Chronicle ABC 1.iii.43:

1.i.6 *an-a tar-ṣi* ^{d}*Nabû-nāṣir Bársip*^{ki} 1.i.7 *itti Bābìli* ^{ki} *it-te-kìr ṣal-tum šá* ^{d}*Nabû-nāṣir* 1.i.8 *a-na libbi Bársip*^{ki} *i-pu-šú ul šá-ṭir*	1.i.6 <u>At the time of</u> Nabû-nāṣir, Borsippa 1.i.7 committed hostile acts against Babylon (but) the battle which Nabû-nāṣir 1.i.8 waged against Borsippa is <u>not written</u>.

"In an unknown month" MU NU ZU / "In an unknown month:" ITI NU ZU / ITI NU ZU

[667] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 14.

^{m}MU.MU, ABC 1.iv.14; Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi, 10.Obv.7; MU NU ZU; in an unknown year:

Chronicle from Nabû-nāṣir to Šamaš-šuma-ukin ABC 1.iii.16-18:	
1.iii.16 *ina kússê ittašab*^{ab} MU NU ZU ^{m}*Me-na-nu ummāni* ^{kur}*Elámti* ^{kur}*Akkadî*^{ki} 1.iii.17 *id-ke-em-a ina* ^{uru}*Ḫa-lu-le-e ṣal-tum ana libbi* ^{kur}A*šš*ur 1.iii.18 *īpuš*^{uš}*–ma* BALA^{tum} ^{kur}*Aš-šur iltakan*^{an}	1.iii.16 In an unknown year Humban-nimena 1.iii.17 mustered 1.iii.16 the troops of Elam (and) Akkad 1.iii.17 and 1.iii.18 did 1.iii.17 battle against Assyria in Halule.
Unknown year: MU NU ZU 1.iii.43; Unknown month: 1.iv.14; Diadochi Chronicle ABC Obv.10.7; 1.iv.14; Obv.10.7	

Grayson explains the disordered lines, an explanation which clarifies L. W. King's putting SU instead of ZU. [668]

Vague Dating in Biblical Chronicles:

While there are no examples of precision copying such as "in an unknown month," which is something which goes with the later scribes copying documents, there are examples of vague dating in biblical Chronicles, "at that time / in those times."[669]

Variations of these appear in biblical Chronicles which have led to some scholarly discussion about its significance: Brevard Childs sees it as an occasional time marker when the precise date is unknown or unimportant, employed by successive writers;[670] Geoghegan challenges this, seeing in its use the hand of a redactor bringing together

[668] Grayson *ABC*, p. 80, Commentary note iii.16-18 explaining the disordered section: "This passage is actually a separate paragraph (beginning with MU NU ZU) although the scribes of both A and B have not marked it off with horizontal lines. No syllabic writings of MU NU ZU are known. King has mistakenly copied SU instead of ZU." Grayson is referring here to L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, London, 1907, listed in Grayson, *ABC,* p. xiii.

[669] Also found in: 2 Chr 28.16; 28.22;

[670] B. S. Childs, "A Study of the Formula 'Until This Day," *JBL* 82, 1963, pp. 279-292.

those works included in Noth's Deuteronomistic work. Thus its appearance in biblical Chronicles, viewed as a later revision of Kings, would mean it becomes redundant.[671] However, the wide and common use of the terms, in ancient Near Eastern writings, would lead to a conclusion that supports Childs' viewpoint as a time marker when precise dating is not known or perhaps not needed in a certain context. It would thus also indicate that biblical Chronicles fits well into the ancient Near Eastern chronographic picture.

The unspecified dating, "at that time,": "*ina tarṣi"* and "*ana tarṣi"* are found widely in Mesopotamian chronographic writings and also in biblical Chronicles (בָּעֵת הַהִיא). It is used when a precise date has been stated earlier, or is perhaps unknown, or is not necessary for some reason. Thus, the indefinite dating as found in "*At that time*" (בָּעֵת הַהִיא) fits in with the overall ancient Near Eastern patterns as seen in the above Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles, as may be seen in the following passages amongst others: [672]

בָּעֵת הַהִיא בִּרְאוֹת דָּוִיד כִּי-עָנָהוּ יְהוָה בְּגֹרֶן אָרְנָן הַיְבוּסִי וַיִּזְבַּח שָׁם׃	**1 Chr 21.28** *At that time*, when David saw that the LORD had answered him in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, then he sacrificed there.
וּבָעִתִּים הָהֵם אֵין שָׁלוֹם לַיּוֹצֵא וְלַבָּא׃ כִּי מְהוּמֹת רַבּוֹת עַל כָּל-יֹשְׁבֵי הָאֲרָצוֹת׃	**2 Chr 15.5** *And in those times* there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great discomfitures were upon all the inhabitants of the lands.
וּבָעֵת הַהִיא, בָּא חֲנָנִי הָרֹאֶה, אֶל-אָסָא, מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו בְּהִשָּׁעֶנְךָ עַל-מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם וְלֹא נִשְׁעַנְתָּ עַל-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ עַל-כֵּן נִמְלַט חֵיל מֶלֶךְ-אֲרָם מִיָּדֶךָ׃	**2 Chr 16.7** And at that time Hanani the seer came to Asa king of Judah, and said unto him: 'Because thou hast relied on the king of Aram, and hast not relied on the LORD thy God, therefore is the host of the king of Aram escaped out of thy hand.

[671] J. C. Geoghegan, "'Until this Day' and the Preexilic Redaction of the Deuteronomist History," *JBL* 122, 2003, pp. 53-59.

[672] Examples of vague dating (בָּעֵת הַהִיא): 1 Chr 21.28; 2 Chr 7.8; 13.18; 16.7; 28.16; 30.3; 35.17.

Synchronistic Dating

Synchronistic Features in Assyria and Babylon:

The Assyrian Synchronistic Chronicle ABC 21 is here juxtaposed with the Babylonian Chronicle "P" ABC 22, "Unclassified" in Grayson. The synchronised names of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings who reign concurrently at the time when the boundary treaties are made occur over several reigns.

Grayson places Chronicle "P" ABC 22 in his "Unclassified" group because it is difficult to place under one formulaic category.[673] It is also in poor condition. It has many similarities to the Synchronic Chronicle ABC 21 (Chronicle of the Kassite Kings MC 10), which leads Glassner to write that it is possible that this "P" chronicle "may be a Babylonian copy of Assyrian chronicle 10. The version of the history is identical, narrating the tragic end of Tukultì-Ninurta I, who struck a blow against Babylon."[674] However, it is not merely a translation as it shows different outcomes of war at certain places,[675] and has two places where the synchronism of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings may be clearly read. One cannot make any definite claims, but it would fit with possibility of being the parallel document in the synchronised treaty making in Chronicle ABC 21, the Synchronic History.

The Assyrian Synchronistic History ABC 21/MC 10:

This shows the Babylonian (Karduniash) king's name first, but in succeeding treaties the Assyrian king's name appears first. Chronicle "P" by contrast, shows the

[673] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 56.

[674] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 278.

[675] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 52. The battle at Sugaga is one instance where contradictory evidence is produced, and the one boundary line agreed represents a loss of territory for Assyria.

Babylonian king first then the Assyrian king in each case (ABC 22.i.2-3; iii.23-23) though the poor condition means parts are not legible, or are missing altogether:[676]

Synchronic History ABC.21.i.1'-7':	
21.i.1′ ^{m}*Ka-*[*ra*]-*in-*[*da*]-*áš* [*šar*$_4$] [^{kur}] [*Kar*]-*d*[*u-ni-aš*] 21.i.2′ *ù* ^{m}*Aššur-bēl-nišē*^{meš}*–šú šar*$_4$ ^{kur}*Aššur rík-sa-*[*a-ni*] 21.i.3′ *ina bi-rit-šú-nu a-na a-ḫa-meš ú-ra-ki-*[*su*] 21.i.4′ *ú ma-mi-tu ina muḫḫi mi-iṣ-ri an-na-ma a-na a-ḫa-meš id-di-nu* 21.i.5′ ^{m}*Pu-zur-Aššur šar*$_4$ ^{kur}*Aššur ù* ^{m}*Bur-na-bur-ia-áš* 21.i.6′ *šar*$_4$ ^{kur}*Kar-du-ni-áš it-mu-ma mi-iṣ-ri* 21.i.7′ *ta-ḫu-mu an-na-ma ú-ki-nu*	21.i.1' Karaindash, king of Kard[uniash] 21.i.2' and Ashur-bel-nisheshu, king of Assyria, 21.i.3' between them made a 21.i.2' treaty 21.i.4' and took an oath together concerning this very boundary 21.i.5' Puzur-Aššur (III), king of Assyria, and Burnaburiash (I), 21.i.6' king of Karduniash, took an oath 21.i.7 and fixed this very boundary line.
Synchronising of kings also found in: 21.i.18', 24'; 21.ii.9-10; 21.ii.1-2; 3; 21.ii.14', 25'-26; 21.iii.1-2, 10-11; 22-23; 6'; 21.iv.15.	

Importantly, this is not so much about fixing an exact date for the treaty agreements as it is about establishing the names of the two kings reigning at the same time who are party to the treaty, the king from Assyria and the other from Babylon.

Chronicle "P" ABC 22 places the Babylonian (Karduniash) king's name first from the outset in the synchronised regnal formulae:

[676] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 50: Chronicle P "presents in some instances a version of events that is entirely different from that found in the Synchronistic Chronicle. Thus one has both an Assyrian and a Babylonian version of certain historical periods and these versions disagree."

Chronicle "P" ABC 22.i.1-3:	
22.i.1 […] x a x […] 22.i.2 […] šàr ^{kur}kar-an-dun-ía-[àš] ú ^{m}[^{d}] [...] 11.i.3 [šar ^{kur}Aššur ^{ki} rík-sa-a-ni] [ú]-rak-kis ina bi-ri-šú-nu mi-ṣir a-ḫa-meš ú[k]in-nu	22.i.1 (Lacuna) 22.i.2 […] king of Karduniash and [… 22.i.2 king of Assyria] between them made a treaty (and) together they fixed the boundary-line.
Synchronising of kings also found in: 22.i.5-6 (Marriage contract); (cf. Chr.21.i.18'); 22.iii.23-24 (cf. 21.i.24'-25').	

Synchronicity in the Babylonian Chronicles in the times of Nabû-nāṣir (747-734 B.C.): The regnal date of the Babylonian king here shows a certain type of synchronicity, but it is of a different order from that in the Synchronistic History ABC 21. Here the one king's name is used for dating purposes, namely to date the accession to the throne of the neighbouring kings, in this case the third year of the Babylonian king, Nabû-nāṣir establishes the first year of the neighbouring Assyrian king, Tiglath-pileser III.

While the referencing is synchronic here, this is not about naming the parties to a treaty by putting the two names alongside each other, but about establishing the regnal date of Tiglath-pileser's ascent to the Assyrian throne vis à vis the Babylonian king as may be seen in the following:

Chronicle from Nabû-nāṣir to Šamaš-šuma-ukin ABC 1.i.1,2,9,10:	
1.i.1 [MU X…] *šàr Bābìli* ^{ki} 1.i.2 *Tukul-ti-apil-é-šàr-ra ina* ^{ku}[^{r}] A*š-šur ina kúššê ittašab* 1.i.9 MU V ^{d}*Nabû-nāṣir Um-ma-ni-ga-áš* 1.i.10 ina ^{kur}*Elámti ina kúššê ittašab*^{ab}	1.i.1 [*The third year of Nabû-nāṣir*], King of Babylon: 1.i.2 Tiglath-pileser (III) ascended the throne of Assyria. 1.i.9 *The fifth year of Nabû-nāṣir*: Humbannikash (I) 1.i.10 Ascended the throne in Elam.
Other examples are: ABC 1.i.11; 14-16; 17-18; 19-20.	

Synchronistic features in Biblical Chronicles:

The synchronisms found in the Synchronistic Chronicles show two neighbouring kings' names side by side, indicating they are both parties to the treaty. There is no regnal *dating* that points to the particular years of the kings' reigns relative to each other, though the period of time has to be within the reigns of both kings named

Biblical Chronicles by contrast has neighbouring kings listed for regnal *dating* purposes so both the local and neighbouring kings are listed. It lacks the simple juxtaposing of the names of neighbouring kings alongside each other for treaty purposes or any other non-dating purposes. When the kings of Judah and Israel are mentioned together it is for dating the one king's ascent to the throne vis à vis the other.

The synchronic pattern, while a regular feature in the book of Kings, appears in Chronicles only twice, once with the Israel king named first, with the parallel reference in Kings below (2 Chr 13.1//1 Kgs 15.1), and once with Judah's king first (2 Chr 16.1). In each case one king is dated against the regnal year of the other:

בִּשְׁנַת שְׁמוֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה לַמֶּלֶךְ יָרָבְעָם וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֲבִיָּה עַל-יְהוּדָה׃	**Chr 13.1** In the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam [*of Israel*] began Abijah to reign over Judah.
וּבִשְׁנַת שְׁמֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה לַמֶּלֶךְ יָרָבְעָם בֶּן-נְבָט מָלַךְ אֲבִיָּם עַל-יְהוּדָה׃	**1 Kgs 15.1** Now in the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam the son of Nebat [*of Israel*] began Abijam to reign over Judah**.**
בִּשְׁנַת שְׁלֹשִׁים וָשֵׁשׁ לְמַלְכוּת אָסָא עָלָה בַּעְשָׁא מֶלֶךְ-יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל-יְהוּדָה וַיִּבֶן אֶת-הָרָמָה לְבִלְתִּי תֵּת יוֹצֵא וָבָא לְאָסָא מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה׃	**2 Chr 16.1** In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa [*of Judah*], Baasha king of Israel went up against Judah, and built Ramah, that he might not suffer any to go out or come in to Asa king of Judah.

Biblical Chronicles may thus be seen to have similarities with the earlier Babylonian chronicles, before the Assyrians took over the throne. The Achaemenids, the

Macedonians and the Seleucids introduce the distinctive use of "that same month" which is lacking in biblical Chronicles. There is synchronic dating which is less aligned to the Synchronic History ABC 21, and shares more in common with the Babylonian chronicles ABC 1 following. However, the regnal dating lacks the named months which appear from the time when the Assyrians take over the throne, and lacks the annual reporting which is a marked feature from the Assyrian rule. The similarities place biblical Chronicles firmly in the tradition of ancient Near Eastern formulaic patterns, and the differences position biblical Chronicles nearer to the early Babylonian series, rather than later, once the Assyrians take over the kingship.

Origins and Recapitulation Section

Chronicles which feature Origins sections

Certain parallels can be seen between the earlier Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles with those of the biblical Chronicles as regards the presence of origins sections including early genealogies as well as foundation narratives leading up to the chronicling section. These features disappear from the Neo-Babylonian period from 734 B.C. onwards when Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria begins to rule in Babylon, along with retribution formulae, which will be looked at below. The presence in biblical Chronicles of the genealogy in 1 Chr 1-9.1, may be seen as a variation of these king lists (bearing in mind that Israel lacked kings until the time of Saul and David). As later chronicles did not include origin lists, this feature in biblical Chronicles would set its formulaic patterns earlier than those in the Neo-Babylonian series.

Assyrian and Babylonian Origin Sections:

The Tripartite Division of Chronicles is discussed on p. 281. Some chronicles in Grayson's Category B feature origins and recapitulation sections, such as the Sumerian

King List (SKL), the Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18; or as Glassner classifies the latter, the Babylonian Royal Chronicle, MC 3. In Glassner there is also a further example, the Assyrian Royal Chronicle, MC 5. These, amongst others, start off with the kings listed after another, but also have narrative sections interwoven after the first list of names, which "illustrates quite well the fact that it is impossible to study chronicles in isolation from king lists."[677]

Glassner puts these chronicles under the classification "Continuators," which depends upon a view that the SKL is the primary source from which the Babylonian and Assyrian Royal Chronicles and others are drawn, as Prof. Benjamin Foster pointed out in his very helpful reply to my e-mail enquiring about Glassner's concept of "Continuators" and my query about "Add-ons."[678] His comments will be interspersed throughout this section (with acknowledgement). As far as the Babylonian Royal Chronicle goes, AKL dependence seems a reasonably inference to draw as the SKL would seem to be primary here in several respects, but much less so with the Assyrian Chronicle. The Babylonian Royal Chronicle "Continuator," MC 3, copies the Sumerian Origins material with kingship coming down from heaven in the early stages, and then, with minor adaptations, uses a longer flood tradition, which Glassner suggests may be taken from the Eridu Genesis account (though this looks less likely when a direct comparison is made of the two accounts).[679] By contrast, the Assyrian Chronicle

[677] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 4.

[678] B. R. Foster, very kindly replied to my e-mail enquiring about Glassner's Chronicles called "Continuators," and my question about "Add-ons." 3 Feb 2018.

[679] Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, p. 126. He writes: "The antediluvian section and the flood story were most probably inspired by the so-called Eridu Genesis, Jacobsen 1987:145-150." However there is very little in common between the two accounts apart from them both being longer than that in SKL: p. 131: "The uproar of […kept him awake]. The form […] Ea […] (…) […] held […]. After he had made […] spread over the land, after he had produced […] in the land, […] old […] were dumped into the streets. [Humans] ate […] their seed became widespread […]. Within humanity, the famine (?) ceased […] prospered for heaven. [After they had] made [kingship] com[e down] from heaven, [after kingship] had come down from heaven..." The Eridu Genesis reads: [132'f] "All the evil winds, all stormy winds gathered into one and with them, the Flood was sweeping over the cities of the half-bushel

"Continuator," MC 5 lacks the kingship descending from heaven, omits the flood altogether, and instead starts with two non-regnal lists, the first a list of tent-dwelling forebears then a list of ancestors, both with summations of the number of their years. After the flood the Babylonian dating and dynastic summations are reckoned in regnal years, while the Assyrian kings' reigns are reckoned in eponym years, with no dynastic summations. Unlike the SKL, MC 1, both the Assyrian and Babylonian "continuators" have lines ruling off each reign, and in the case of the Babylonian Chronicles, there are also dynastic reckonings, a feature which is lacking in the Assyrian Chronicle. Kingship no longer comes down from heaven after the flood in the Babylonian Chronicle but instead "the dynastic cycle of [Babylon, Isin, Sealand, etc.] is changed." There is a distinct break from the early material also in that both have sonship included after the flood, though Assyria in addition has "usurpers" and "nobodies" included in the retinue. In the Assyrian Chronicle burial practices are recorded, with what appear to be retribution and reward overtones in the place of burial site. This will be discussed below.

Prof. Foster draws attention to the issue of where the beginning of a Chronicle is, which may in fact differ from its actual starting point is. He writes:

> There are two reasons, I think, that the thesis of continuation is important: First, it argues that the later author was aware of the earlier text and considered it important, and here I should think that Glassner's classification might be open to challenge. The second point would be what you consider the "beginning" of your project….Thus you may not be persuaded by Glassner's idea that

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baskets, for seven days and seven nights. After the flood had swept over the country, after the evil wind had tossed the big boat about on the great waters,
the sun came out spreading light over heaven and earth."
http://www.livius.org/sources/content/oriental-varia/eridu-genesis/? [Accessed: 9 Feb 2018].

privileges SKL as the formative text in the series but it does draw attention to the issue of where you start and why.[680]

This comment as to "what you consider the 'beginning' of your project" is of particular relevance when looking at the first section of SKL which, although it appears at the beginning of the work, is not in fact, the beginning of the work but is an add-on where "the antediluvian portion was added to the SKL to take it back to the beginning of time."[681] This is important when considering biblical Chronicles where the actual chronicling is not at the start of the work, but only begins in 2 Chronicles and continues thereafter to the end of the book.

Here in the SKL kingship comes down from heaven, starting at Eridu; this is followed by the successive king, e.g. the first king, Alulim, is named and he reigned 28,800 years.[682] The total reigns of the kings in each city-based dynasty are totalled. Pre-flood cities, e.g. Eridu, are "abandoned" as the kingship moves to the next city, in this case Bad-Tibira.

When the kingship has moved to Šuruppak, Ubar-Tutu (the father of Ziusudra, in the Babylonian "Continuator") is king when the flood comes. There is a dynastic summation to which is added a narrative section reporting the flood: "Five cities; eight kings ruled 385,200[sic] years. The flood swept over. After the flood had swept over, when kingship had come down from heaven, kingship <was> at Kiš."[683]

[680] Foster, E-mail replying to my query regarding "Continuators" and "Add-ons," 3 Feb 2018.

[681] Foster, E-mail replying to my query, 3 Feb 2018.

[682] These are most likely to be Astronomical numbers working from the base of 60, which, while still giving lengthy pre-flood reigns, reduces the numbers considerably. The fact that all of these large numbers are divisible by 60 lends some support to this notion. See Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 57-58, where he lists the antediluvian Kings are listed with the length of their reigns.

[683] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 120-121.

After the "*abūbu*," ("flood"), the successive cities are no longer "abandoned" but now the word used is "defeated." There are other immediate differences after the flood: the reigns are much shorter, (but long enough to suggest astronomical dating may still be in place) with the fourth king, En-dara-ana's reign being reckoned not only in years (420 years) but also in months (three) and even in half days (three and a half days). By the tenth king, Atab, sonship appears for the first time: Mašda, son of Atab.

Increasingly snatches of narrative appear, such as during Kiš's first dynasty we read: "Etana the shepherd, the one who went up to heaven, who put all countries in order;" and "Enmen-baragesi, the one who destroyed Elam's weapons;" and in Eanna's dynastic rule: Mes-ki'ag-galšer "entered into the sea and disappeared."[684] These would appear to be signs of chronicling developing within the text.

The SKL ends at Isin, though of the sixteen known copies, Glassner presents the manuscript WB 444 (Jacobsen's 1939) from Kiš as being the most complete, which dates back to the second half of the Ḫammurabi dynasty. The considered view of Steinkeller regarding the Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List,[685] is that in this document there is an example of an "add-on" to an existing chronicle. Prof. Foster writes that "the Ur III ms. of the SKL shows that the Isin kings added on to the existing chronicle, so there is one clear example of an add-on," but that mostly it is "the other way around, when the antediluvian portion was added to the Sumerian King List to take it back to the beginning of time."[686] From the above analysis it is possible to see that

[684] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 120: MC 1.(ii).16-18; MC 1.(ii).46-(iii).1-4.

[685] P. Steinkeller, "An Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List", Eds., W. Sallaberger, K. Volk and A. Zgoll, *Literature, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp. 267-292. Mentioned also in Glassner, Mesopotamian *Chronicles*, p. 118.

[686] Foster, E-mail replying to my query, 3 Feb 2018.

the Babylonian Royal Chronicle "Continuator" (MC 3) appears to start with an add-on portion, namely an Origin and Recapitulation section.

It begins with an Origins section leading up to the flood (MC 3(i)1-35), clearly taken from the SKL, with slight modifications, namely the inversion of two cities (Larak and Sippar), and the insertion of Ziusudra's name as the ninth king in the dynastic summation. After the flood section the text is damaged so only three kings of the Kiš dynasty are listed,[687] and would need to be reconstructed using the SKL.

The new material which does not appear in SKL now commences, with kingship in Babylon. Ḫammurapi is the sixth king in this Babylonian dynasty. At the end of the eleven kings in this Babylonian dynasty the changes hereafter are that lines now rule off each list of kings then again the dynastic reckonings; burial sites linked to retribution and reward commence, with Isin, Sealand and Chaldea listed each time the "dynastic cycle of (Babylon, etc) changed."

The continuation from where a previous king list or chronicle left off would seem to affirm what Glassner's "Continuators" seeks to demonstrate, perhaps, as Foster suggests, "borrowing from a concept in classics and the middle ages where someone intentionally began a chronicle at the point someone else ended."[688] However, in this case the Babylonian Chronicle MC 3 commences right from the Origins and Recapitulation sections leading up to the point where Babylon starts with the new material.

[687] Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, pp. 130-131: MC 3 Balîḫ, son of Ditto (=Etana); Enmenuna and Melam-kiš are named. Any corruption of the text before and after does not indicate extensive damage.

[688] Foster, In reply to my e-mail, 3 Feb 2018.

This is important for my thesis as will become clear in the section arguing that biblical Chronicles is tripartite in structure, and the true beginning of the chronicling itself only begins at the start of 2 Chronicles continuing thereafter to the end. In Chapter 4, the tripartite structure of biblical Chronicles is discussed on p. 281, where I suggest that the Origins (the genealogical section) and Recapitulation (taken mostly from the book of Samuel) were separately appended in order to set up a temple chronicle.

The designations of "Origins" and "Recapitulation" used in this thesis would seem to fit quite well into Glassner's description of "Foundation narratives:"[689]

> The Babylonian continuations of the Chronicles, with the passage of time, distanced themselves a little from their model. If the myth and foundation narratives fully retained their place in the Babylonian chronicles (no. 3), the Hellenistic Royal Chronicle (no. 4), on the other hand, abandoned them completely.[690]

In this regard it is interesting to note that both the Babylonian and Assyrian Chronicle "Continuators" end at the same period of Babylonian history, the last words being: [The dynastic cycle of] Ch[a]ldea changed: its kingship went to.…] Then a line is ruled, after which comes the damaged word, construed by Glassner as [Nabonassar(?)…]. The rest of the document is lost. Similarly in the Assyrian Chronicle "Continuator," it is after Nabû-nāṣir's reign (747-734 B.C.) when Tiglath-pileser and his son Šalmaneser have taken over the Babylonian throne that it ends. It is at this point that the Neo-Babylonian chronicles commence, where Nabû-nāṣir's lineage ends and the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser and his son Šalmaneser take over the Babylonian throne.

[689] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 70.
[690] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 70.

It may be seen that there are similarities in these "foundation narratives" to those we find in biblical Chronicles 1 Chr 10-29 as will be discussed more fully below. Also Redford describes what would appear to be a recapitulation section in what he describes as Thutmose III's "retrospective" which is the section leading up to the start of Thutmose III's Karnak "Annals."[691]

The SKL or as Glassner calls it, Chronicle of the Single Monarchy, MC 2, as discussed above, is the ancient text underlying the Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18, with an Origins section with a pre-diluvian king list, complete with regnal years and dynastic summaries, and a description of the flood (ABC 18.i.A.17-18). Thus the missing top six lines in the Dynastic Chronicle may be reconstructed from the Sumerian King List (i.13-38).[692] After the lacuna, several pre-diluvian dynastic kings and the place to which their kingship is transferred are listed (18.i.A.1-16):

The Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18.i.A.1-4:	
[Lacuna] 18.i.A.1 [En.m]e.gal.an.na mu x [in.aka] 18.i.A.2 [Dum]u.zi sipa [mu x in.aka] 18.i.A.3 [III.à]m lugal.e.ne [bala Bàd.ti=bira^{ki} mu x in.aka.meš] 18.i.A.4. [Bàd.ti] bira^{ki} bala.b[i ba.kúr nam.lugal.bi Zimbbir^{ki}.šè ba.túm]	[Lacuna] 18.i.A.1 [Enm]egalanna [ruled - *aka*] N years. 18.i.A.2 [Dum]uzi the shepherd [ruled for N years]. 18.i.A.3 [Three] kings [of the dynasty of Badtibira ruled for N Years. 18.i.A.4 The dynasty of [Bad-ti]bira [was terminated, its kingship was transferred to Sippar.

At the end of several dynasties there is a brief dynastic summation then the flood comes. The text is damaged here so is reconstructed from the Sumerian King List.[693] It has the dynastic summation followed by the account of the flood:

[691] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books*, p. xv.

[692] Grayson, *ABC* 18.i.A.17-19, p. 139. The parallel passage in the Sumerian King List is cited by Grayson as: i.13-38. In Glassner, MC 3.i.35 - 41, p. 121.

[693] Grayson, *ABC,* p. 141, ABC ii.1-4. The parallel passage in the Sumerian King List is ii.20-24.

The Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18.i.A.14, 17-18:	
18.i.A.14 V uru.didli IX lugal.[e].[ne mu X in.aka.meš] 18.i.A.17-18 KA=X=LI . KA=X=LI íb.[…]	18.i.A.14 Five cities, nine kings [ruled for N years. 18.i.A.17-18 The uproar…

In the Dynastic Chronicle from ABC 18.B.v onwards, the text is less damaged so the changes from the post-diluvian period may be observed. The Dynastic Chronicle follows the Sumerian King List's formulae closely. Thus, the pre-diluvian king list's formula is RN MU N Pred., a pattern which "first appears in the Sumerian King Lists,"[694] giving the name of the ruler, the number of years and the verb "he reigned" (*epēšu* - "to do," here "to reign"), with a dynastic summary: RN LUGAL MU N Pred., "N kings ruled N years." When the dynasty changes, there is also a transfer of the kingship to the next city, the formula for which is: "[t]he dynasty of the city A was terminated (lit. changed), its kingship was transferred to the city B."[695] The Dynastic Chronicle:

> [a]lso has dynastic summaries with the same pattern as that exhibited by the Sumerian King List….Further, the Dynastic Chronicle has a change of dynasty formula identical with one of those (no. 3 above) used in the Sumerian King List.

The kings in this early section are named, with details about them being very sparse. In ABC 18.i.A.2 the detail added to this king is that he is "Dumuzi, *the shepherd*…" and in ABC 18.i.A.12 we see a hereditary note of "sonship," namely "Ziusudra, *son of U*[*bartutu*." Such sparse detail as may be found in the pre-diluvian section is focussed

[694] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 197, and n.33.

[695] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 197. Three variations on this dynastic change are given. The one cited here may be seen in example no. 3. The other two variations respectively inform the reader that "City A was smitten with weapons" and "City A was destroyed."

on the number of kings and regnal years in each dynasty before it is terminated and the kingship transferred to the next city.

After the deluge, the next part of the text is damaged and some parts missing, but from ABC 18.B.v.1 onwards the text is in much better condition. Here it is possible to see that the focus now is on the king, with more personal detail, including the manner of his death, the relationship of his successor (sonship or usurper), and the place of his burial. Grayson writes that "the Dynastic Chronicle contains a good deal of information which is chronicle material."[696]

Both the Dynastic Chronicle, ABC 18//MC 3[697] and the Assyrian King List, MC 5[698] start with a king list, then after the flood, develop more chronicling features. In the aspect of an Origins and Recapitulation section, they fit then into the "B" category of Grayson's classification. Below examples from 1 Chr 1-9 are compared with ancient Near East king lists in more detail.

The Assyrian King List which is reckoned in eponym years rather than regnal years has several eponyms of *līmus*, one official's name listed after the other with no narrative attached at all. Thereafter both the narrative and variation in the formula change. This is very like the early part of biblical Chronicles 1.1ff. where the genealogies of the twelve tribes consists of list of names at the start, then change to a chronicling style of narrative, and variation in the formula changes.

[696] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 40.
[697] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 139.
[698] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 160-176.

Origins and Recapitulation in Biblical Chronicles:

It may be seen that there are similarities in these "foundation narratives"[699] to those we find in biblical Chronicles 1 Chr 1-9.1, namely the list of names with no regnal years attached, then the introduction of "sonship" and after that the verb "he ruled" or "he reigned." There are also clear differences, in that years are measured in eponym years in the Assyrian chronicles while biblical Chronicles measure time by regnal years.

MC 5 Continuators: The Assyrian Royal Chronicle (B i) 1-9:	
(B i)1 *Ṭu-di-ia* 2 ^{1}*A-da-mu* ^{1}*Ia-an-gi* 3 ^{1}*Suḫ$_{4}$-la-a-mu* ^{1}*Ḫar-ḫa-ru* 4 ^{1}*Man-da-ru* ^{1}*Im-ṣu*^{35} 5 ^{1}*Ḫar-ṣu* ^{1}*Di-dā-a-nu* 6 ^{1}*Ḫa-nu-ú* ^{1}*Zu-a-*bu^{36} *7* ^{1}*Nu-a-bu* ^{1}*A-ba-zu* 8 ^{1}*Bē-lū-ú* ^{1}*A-za-ra-aḫ* 9 ^{1}*Uš-p-ia* ^{1}*A-pi-a-šal*	(B i) Tudiya, Adamu, Yangi, Suḫlāmu, Ḫarḫaru, Mandaru, Imṣu, Ḫarṣu, Didānu, Ḫanû, Zuabu, Nuabu, Abazu, Bēlū, Azaraḫ, Ušpia, Apišal.
^{10}pap 17 lugal$^{meš\ a\text{-}ni}$ *a-ši-bu-tu kúl-ta-ri*	Total: seventeen kings who dwelt in tents

This is followed with increasing complexity, with firstly sonship then the verb "lugal^{ta}" = "he reigned" being added in. In 1 Chronicles 1.1-10 there is no kingship at this early stage, but there are early genealogies with sonship expressed. Narrative too is added in as certain events are recorded, then the years measured in eponyms (the names of the annually elected *līmus*):

MC 5 Continuators: The Assyrian Royal Chronicle (B i) 22-25: Sonship:	
22 $^{[I]}$*Su-li-li*^{37} dumu ^{I}*A-mi-ni* 23 [^{I}*Ki-i*]*k-ki-a* ^{I}*A-ki-a* 24[*Pu-zu*]*r-Aš-šur* 24 $^{[I]}$*Šal-lim-*pap^{meš} 25 [^{1}*Ilu-š*]*um-ma* pap 6 lugal$^{meš\ ni}$ ^{26}[…] sig$_{4}$ *šā li-ma-ni-šú-nu la-ú-ṭu-ni*	Sulili, son of Aminu, Kikkiya, Akiya, Puzur-Aššur (I), Šalim-ahum, Ilušuma. Total: six kings [whose names are written on(?)] bricks (but) whose eponyms are not known.

After six further kings' reigns, narrative appears when Śamśi-Addu (I) drove Ērišum (II), son of Narām-Sîn, from the Karduniaš (Babylonian) throne, and ruled there thirty-three years, (MC 3.39):

[699] Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, p. 70.

MC 5 Continuators: The Assyrian Royal Chronicle (B i) 27-28 Sonship plus 'he reigned":	
27 [^{I}E-r]i-*šu* dumu ^{I}*Ilu-šum-ma* 28 [*ša li-ma-ni]-šu-ni* 40 mu^{meš} lugal^{ta} dù^{uš}	Erišum (I), son of Ilu-šuma, [whose eponyms] are numbered 40, reigned.

So it may be seen that the Assyrian chronicle MC 5 starts with a list of names with no years attached then additional details, "sonship" and "he reigned" are included as the list continues. This is very similar to the commencement of biblical Chronicles, where 1 Chronicles 1.1-10,19, 20, 23, 27, 29 shows similar patterns:

אָדָם שֵׁת אֱנוֹשׁ	**1** Adam, Seth, Enosh;
קֵינָן מַהֲלַלְאֵל יָרֶד	**2** Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared;
חֲנוֹךְ מְתוּשֶׁלַח לָמֶךְ׃	**3** Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech;
נֹחַ שֵׁם חָם וָיָפֶת	**4** Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.
בְּנֵי יֶפֶת גֹּמֶר וּמָגוֹג וּמָדַי וְיָוָן וְתֻבַל וּמֶשֶׁךְ וְתִירָס	**5** The sons of Japheth: Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.
וּבְנֵי גֹּמֶר אֶשְׁכְּנַז וְדִיפַת וְתוֹגַרְמָה	**6** *And the sons of* Gomer: Ashkenaz and Diphath and Togarmah.
וּבְנֵי יָוָן אֱלִישָׁה וְתַרְשִׁישָׁה כִּתִּים וְרוֹדָנִים	**7** *And* the sons of Javan: Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Rodanim.
בְּנֵי חָם כּוּשׁ וּמִצְרַיִם פּוּט וּכְנָעַן	**8** *The sons of* Ham: Cush, and Mizraim, Put, and Canaan.
וְסַבְתָּא וּבְנֵי כוּשׁ סְבָא וַחֲוִילָה וְרַעְמָא וְסַבְתְּכָא וּבְנֵי רַעְמָא שְׁבָא וּדְדָן	**9** *And* the sons of Cush: Seba, and Havilah, and Sabta, and Raama, and Sabteca. And the sons of Raama: Sheba, and Dedan.
וְכוּשׁ יָלַד אֶת-נִמְרוֹד הוּא הֵחֵל לִהְיוֹת גִּבֹּר בָּאָרֶץ	**10** *And Cush begat Nimrod*; he *began to be a mighty one in the earth.*
וּלְעֵבֶר יֻלַּד שְׁנֵי בָנִים׃ שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פֶּלֶג כִּי בְיָמָיו נִפְלְגָה הָאָרֶץ וְשֵׁם יָקְטָן׃ אָחִיו	**19** And unto Eber *were born* two sons: the name of the one was Peleg; for in his days the earth was divided; and his brother's name was Joktan.
וְיָקְטָן יָלַד אֶת-אַלְמוֹדָד וְאֶת-שָׁלֶף וְאֶת-חֲצַרְמָוֶת וְאֶת-יָרַח	**20** And Joktan *begat* Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah;

וְאֶת-אוֹפִיר וְאֶת-חֲוִילָה וְאֶת-יוֹבָב - כָּל-אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי יָקְטָן :	**23** and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab. *All these were the sons of* Joktan.
אַבְרָם הוּא אַבְרָהָם	**27** *Abram the same is Abraham*.
בְּנֵי אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׁמָעֵאל	**28** *The sons of* Abraham: Isaac, and Ishmael.
אֵלֶּה תֹּלְדוֹתָם ׀ בְּכוֹר יִשְׁמָעֵאל נְבָיוֹת וְקֵדָר וְאַדְבְּאֵל וּמִבְשָׂם	**29** *These are their generations*: the first-born of Ishmael, Nebaioth; then Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam,

The differences here are that Israel never had a monarchy until Saul, so it has simply a genealogical list starting in 1 Chronicles 1ff, similar to the Assyrian King List MC 5 where one ancestor/patriarch is listed after another.[700] Also, biblical Chronicles even within the genealogy shows varied styles of dating formulae. These formulaic variations would arguably reflect different sources:

A list of names: 1 Chr 1.1-4, 24-26: e.g. vv. 1-4: "Adam, Seth, Enoch; Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared; Enoch, Methuselah, Leech; Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth."

"The sons of…" 1 Chr 1.5, 8, 17: "The sons of…" for Japheth, Ham and Shem, in reverse order from the list of their names in v. 4.

"And the sons of…" Between 1 Chr 1.5-17 starting at v. 6 the word "And" is added to the sons of each of Japheth, Ham and Shem.

"And Cush begat…" 1 Chr 1.10 (Cush), 11 (Mizraim), 13 (Canaan), 18 (Shelah, Eber).

Canaan's sons listed as tribes: 1 Chr 1.14: "Canaan was the father of…(14) and the

[700] A genealogical list of the ten name with names only: in 1 Chr 1.24-27 starting from Noah's son: Shem, Arpachshad, Shelah, Eber, Peleg, Re'u, Serug, Nahor, Terah, Abram, that is Abraham. The next ten names up to and including David do not have this listing format, but can be picked out from 1 Chr 2.4,5,9-12,15. See chart above.

Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgashites, (15) the Hivites, the Arkites, the Sinites, (16) the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hamathites.

First Narrative Content: 1 Chr 1.10, 12, 19: Narrative content begins: "*And Cush begat Nimrod*; he *began to be a mighty one in the earth*;" 12: Pathrusim, Casluhim (whence came the Philistines); 19: "*the name of the one was Peleg; for in his days the earth was divided.*"

Three different formulae in a row: 1 Chr 17,19,20: v. 17: A return to "*The sons of*"; introduction of the word "*yeled*" in v. 19: "Unto X were born…" v. 20: A return to "*And X begat*…" (See quote on previous page)

Summation of generations: These are their genealogies / generations (תּוֹלְדוֹת = *tolədôth*): 1 Chr 1.28-29: The sons of Abraham: Isaac and Ishmael. These are their "*tolədôth*": Ishmael and Isaac's generations follow from 1 Chr 1.29b – 31 (Ishmael) and 1 Chr 1.34-37 (Isaac). In 1 Chr 1.32-33b one may observe an *Inclusio* which forms the start and finish of Keturah's genealogy: v. 32: "The sons of Keturah, Abraham's concubine;" and v. 33b: "All these were the descendants of Keturah."

King list of Seir: 1 Chr.1.43 "These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom before any king reigned over the Israelites:" From 1 Chr 1.43b-51 these kings of Seir are listed. Following these are the Edomites, listed as kings, are descendants of Esau son of Isaac. These see a return to the listing of one name after the other: 1

> Chr 51b-54. "The chiefs of Edom were: Timna, Pinon, Kenaz, Teman, Mibzar, Magdiel, and Iram."

The formulae in 1 Chronicles 1.1-10 start of very simply, with just a list of names, then the complexity of the formulae increases, with sonship and narration beginning to be included. There is no attempt to rationalize these successive formulae into one system, which could be seen to reflect the various tribal idiosyncrasies as well as diachronic developments over time with minimal redaction.

Biblical Chronicles compared with ancient Near Eastern Chronicles: Biblical Chronicles shares features with those chronicles which begin with an Origins section.[701] These early features of origins and foundation narratives, which appear in copies of Chronicles that contain material dating back as early as the twelfth century B.C. were gradually abandoned from Nabû-nāṣir's reign (747-734 B.C.) onwards. As Glassner comments:

> [A]utonomous historical discourse in Mesopotamia was not achieved until very late, by the authors of certain Neo-Babylon chronicles. This was a new departure, giving rise to a new form of discourse, a historiography deliberately avoiding tales of origin.[702]

The fact that biblical Chronicles has an Origins section, namely its genealogical section, suggests that it has an earlier rather than later provenance, as later chronicles (e.g. the Neo-Babylonian chronicles) lack this feature. Glassner adds to this:

> If the myth of *origin* and the *foundation narratives* fully retained their place in the Babylonian Chronicle (no 3), the Hellenistic Royal Chronicle (no. 4) on the

[701] See discussion above, in this chapter.
[702] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 4.

other hand, ignored them completely. Similarly the formula used to make the transition from one dynasty to another was slightly modified….This last, moreover, was open to the new fashion of writing history that began in the Neo-Babylonian period.[703] [*My italics*]

Catchlines and Scribal End-Notes

Catchlines link the tablets or document to each other in the correct order in which the documents follow on from each other. The scribe of the earlier work would leave a space at the end for a catchline to be inserted. The new document's opening sentence is then added to the end of the existing document to which a link is desired. Lack of space may explain the unfinished sentence in the first part, or this may be a standard scribal practice with catchlines, but whichever it is, the sentence is found complete in the new document to which it is to be linked.

Wiseman mentions the "space reserved in the last column of certain texts for the insertion of the colophon."[704] This space will be filled when the work to follow requires the linking catchline, which cannot be done until the first words of the next tablet or section (*ṭuppu* or possibly *tuppu* = tablet) have been penned, as the catchline is always drawn from the new tablet to which the existing document is to be linked. This takes on significance when discussing the common verses at the end of 2 Chronicles 36.23 and the beginning of Ezra 1.1-2, where we see a colophonic catchline, featuring the broken sentence at the end of the first document/ tablet, added in to match the new linking document/tablet. Examples of this may be found in the Category A, C and Unclassified Chronicles:

[703] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 70.
[704] Wiseman, "Books in the Ancient Near East and in the Old Testament."

Catchlines in Category A Chronicles

In the Babylonian Chronicles ABC 1-17 there are catchlines between Chronicle ABC 2//3 and ABC 4//5; and what appears to be one part of a catchine in Chronicle ABC 5 but which has no linking verse at the start of Chronicle ABC 6. It may be there is a chronicle or some text missing between Chronicle ABC 5 (which ends in Nebuchadnezzar's eleventh year) and Chronicle ABC 6 (which starts with Neriglissar in his third year) where the catchline would have been, or, less likely, that there just is no catchline here.[705]

There is no catchline between Chronicle ABC 1 and ABC 2. Instead there is a scribal end-note informing us that this copy of Chronicle 1 was the "first section" of a larger work, copied during the reign of Darius (ABC 1.iv.39).[706] There is a scribal end note following the catchline at the end of Chronicle ABC 3 appealing for protection of the tablet:

[705] In Jeremiah 39.13, we learn that Neriglissar was a high ranking officer of Nebuchadnezzar; elsewhere we learn he was also his son-in-law who murders Nebuchadnezzar's son, king for two years, Amel-Marduk (Evil Merodach in Bible). Amel-Marduk was the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (2 Kings 25:26-28; Jeremiah 52:31, 34.) He showed kindness to Jehoiachin, who had been a prisoner in Babylon for thirty-seven years.

[706] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 87: Chronicle ABC 1.iv.39-41: [39]*The first section*, written according to the pattern-tablet, checked and collated; [40]tablet of Ana-Bel-erish, son of Liblutu [41]descendant of Kalba-Sin, written by Ea-nadin, son of…[42]Ana-Be-erish, descendent of Kalbi-Sin, Babylon; [43]the sixth/sixteenth/twenty-sixth [day of the month…], the twenty-second year of Darius, king of Babylon and (all) lands.

Chronicles ABC 3//4: Catchlines, the first with unfinished verse, plus end-note:	
ABC 3.76 Catchline - *unfinished sentence*: 3.76 In [the eighteenth] year: In the month of Elu[l] the king of Akkad *mustered his army….(**unfinished sentence**)* 3.77 (…..) 3.78 Let [the one who] loves Nabu and Marduk keep (this tablet) and not let (it) stray into (other) hands. ABC 3.76 Catchline - *unfinished sentence Akkadian:* *3.76 ina* M[U XVIII^{kám} *ina* ^{iti} *Ulú]li šàr Ak-kadî^{ki} ummāni^{me}-šú id-ke-e-ma* 3.77(…) 3.78 [*šá* ^{d}*Na]bû u* ^{d}*Marduk i-ra-a*[*m-m]u li-iṣ-ṣu-ur ana qāte^{II} úl ušeṣṣi* ***(unfinished sentence)***	ABC 4 Catchline - *finished sentence*: 4.1 The eighteenth year of Nabopolassar: In the month Elul the king of Akkad *mustered his army and* 4.2 *following the bank of the Tigris* 4.3 *he went up* 4.2 *to the mountain of Bit-Hanunya* 4.3 *in the district of Urarta*. ***(finished sentence)*** ABC 4.1-4 Catchline - *finished sentence Akkadian*: 4.1 MU XVIII^{kám} ^{d}*Nabû-ápla-úṣur ina* ^{iti}*Ulūli šàr Akkadî^{ki} ummāni^{me}-šú id-ke-e-ma* 4.2 *aḫ* (*gú*) ^{1d}*Idiqlat irtedi*(uš)*-ma ana šadî^{i} šà Bīt-^{m}Ḫa-nu-ni-ia* 4.3 *píḫat* ^{kur}*Ú-ra-áš-ṭu i-li-ma ālāni^{me} ina šāti* [*iš-ru-up*] ***(unfinished sentence)***

Similarly there is a Catchline one between Chronicles ABC 4//5:

Chronicles ABC 4//5: Catchlines: the first Chronicle ABC 4 with unfinished verse:	
Chronicle (4) Catchline with unfinished sentence: 4.27 The twenty-first year: the king of Akkad stayed home (while) Nebuchadnezzar (II) his eldest son (and) 4.28 the crown prince, *mustered the army of Akkad…* ***(unfinished sentence)*** Chronicle (4) Catchline with unfinished sentence Akkadian: 4.27 MU XXI^{kám} *šàr Akkadî^{ki} ina māti-šú* ^{md}*Nabû-kudurrî-úṣur mār-šú rabû^{ú}* 4.28 *mār šarri šá bīt redu*(uš)*-ú-tu ummāni* ^{kur}*Akkadî^{ki} id-ke-e-ma* ***(unfinished sentence)***	Chronicle (5) Obverse Catchline with finished sentence: 5.1 The twenty-first year]: The King of Akkad stayed at home (while) Nebuchadnezzar (II) his eldest son (and) the crown prince 5.2 mustered [the army of Akkad]. *He took his army's lead and marched to Carchemish which is on the bank of the Euphrates.* ***(finished sentence)*** Chronicle (5) Obverse Catchline with finished sentence Akkadian: 5.1 [MU XXI^{kám}] *ummāni àr Akkadî^{ki} ina māti-šú* ^{md}*Nabû-kudurrî-úṣur mār-šú rabû^{ú}* [*mār*] *šarri šá bīt re-e-du-tu* 5.2 [*ummāni* ^{kur}*Akkadî^{ki} i*]*d-ke-*[*e*]*-ma pa-ni ummāni^{me}-šú iṣ-bat-ma ana* ^{uru}*Gal-*[ga]*-meš šá aḫ*(gú) *Pu rat-tú illik-ma* ***(finished sentence)***

Catchlines in Category C The Babylonian Chronicle of Early Kings ABC 20, (from Sargon I's reign through to Agum III) which is preserved on two tablets, A and B, has a catchline linking 20.A.31-36//20.B.1-7.[707] However, there is an extra line in Tablet A (ABC 20.A.37) which is not in Tablet B. It has an Assyrian King's details inserted, anachronistically, with a different formula, which suggests this verse is a later insert:

Chronicle of Early Kings Tablet 20.A.31-36//Tablet 20B Obverse.1-6: Six identical linking verses which form the catchline:	
20.A.31-36//20.B.Obv.1 ^{MD}*Èr-ra-imitti* (zà.dib) *šarru* ^{md}*En-lil-bāni* ^{lú}*nukaribba* (nu.kiri$_6$) A.32//B.Obv.2 *a-na ṣalam*(nu) *pūḫe*(nig.sal.gil)^{e} *ina* ^{giš}*kušše–šú ú-še-šib* A.33//B.Obv.3 *agâ šarru-ti-šú ina qaqqadi- šú iš-ta-kan* A.34//B.Obv.4 ^{md}*Ér-ra-imitti ina ēkalli-šú pap-pa-su*(B: si) *im-me-tú ina sa-ra-pi-šú im-tu-ut* A.35//B.Obv.5 ^{md}*En-lil-bāni šá*(B: omits) *ina* ^{giš}*kušše ú-ši-bi ul it-bi* A.36//B.Obv.6 *a-na šarru- ú-ti it-taš-kan*	20.A.31//20.B.Obv.1 Erra-imitti, the king, A.32//B.Obv.2 installed A.31//B.Obv/3 Enlil-bani, the gardener, A.32//B.Obv.2 as substitute king on his throne. A.33//B.Obv.3 He placed the royal tiara on his head. A.34//B.Obv.4 Erra-imitti [died] in his palace when he sipped a hot broth. A.35//B.Obv.5,6 Enlil-bāni, who occupied the throne did not give it up (and) A.36//B.Obv.6,7 so was sovereign.
A.37 ^{m}*ilu- šú*[*m*]*-ma šár* ^{kur}*aš-šur a-na tarṣi* ^{m}*su-a-bu* 20.B.8 ^{m}*Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi šar bābìli^{ki} ummāni^{me}-šú id-de-ke-e-ma…*	A.37 Ilu-shumma was king of Assyria at the time of Suabu. [*This verse is not in duplicated passage 20.B.Obv.1-6:*] 20.B.8 Ḫammurapi, king of Babylon, mustered his army and …

[707] Chronicle of Early Kings ABC 20.A and 20.B appear as two separate chronicles in Glassner MC39 and MC40. Grayson points out the source material for the early parts of both A and B "was provided by omens and the Weidner Chronicle….There are two such omen collections known, one from the library of Ashurbanipal and one which is a later Babylonian copy….The former is much better preserved and since the poorly preserved late Babylonian text is a duplicate, the two tablets will be treated as one text." ABC, pp. 45-46.

The extra verse, ABC A.37, which shows Assyrian traits, seems to be added in later, and it does not get repeated in ABC 20.B.1-6. Ḫammurapi's reign which comes before Illušumma (20A.37), only begins to be recorded in the B section (20B.8). This suggests that the intervening verse only found in the ABC 20.A, which was found in Assyria in Ashurbanipal's library, mentioning Illušumma, the Assyrian king, has been inserted under Assyrian influence, probably at a later date.[708] Grayson writes:

> [T]he catch-line about Ilushumma is peculiar in form. It follows a pattern similar to one found in the Synchronitic History, an Assyrian document, which belongs to Category D and not the pattern of the Chronicle of Early Kings which belongs to category C. [709]

Catchlines in Category "Unclassified"

There would also appear to be a possible catchline between the "Unclassified" Chronicles: Eclectic Chronicle ABC 24 and Walker Chronicle CW 25. The Walker Chronicle, (CW 25), is one of the historiographical texts from ancient Babylonia which deals with events during the reign of the kings of the Kassite Dynasty (c.1507-1155 B.C.) and the Second Dynasty of Isin/the Fourth Dynasty of Babylon (1155-1025 B.C.). It contains several duplicate lines with the Eclectic Chronicle (ABC 24, but not listed in Grayson).[710] If we reverse them into chronological order, the common lines between them become apparent, to form what looks like an extended colophonic catchline

[708] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 45.

[709] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 45.

[710] The Walker Chronicle (WC 25) is not listed in Grayson, but it is found in Glassner, listed as the "Chronicle of the Last Kassite Kings and the Kings of Isin," MC 46, pp. 282-284. It is also found in: C. B. F. Walker, "Chronicle 25: A Chronicle of the Kassite and Isin II Dynasties," *Zikir-šumim: Assyriological Studies presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, Eds., G. van Driel *et al.*, Studia Francisci Scholten Memoriae Dicata, 5, Brill, Leiden, 1982, pp. 398-417.

(without unfinished sentence) at Walker CW 25//MC 46.27-34 and Eclectic ABC 24.4-11//MC 47.1-10 (additional lines: ABC 24.6-7//MC 47.4-6):

End of Walker Chronicle (MC 46.26-34// WC 25) Catchline: MC 46.26-34:	Start of Eclectic Chronicle (Catchline: MC 47.1-10// ABC 24.4'-11')
26 …went out on a campaign and.?.> --- 27 Marduk-šapik-zeri, s[on of Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe, rebuilt the wall of Babylon]. 28 [...] kings of the lands he defeated. [During his reign, the people of the land] enjoyed abundance and prosperity. --- --- 29 The Arameans and a usurper rebelled against [Adad-apla-iddina, descendant of Itti-Mard]uk-balāṭu, 30 and [profaned the holy cities, as many as there were in the country]. They destroyed Akkade, Dēr, Dur Anki) (Nippur), 31[…, Šip]par, Parsa (Dūr-Kurigalzu). 32 [The Suteans took the offensive] and carried [the booty] of Sumer and Akkad into their country. 33 He made frequent visits to the [temples of Marduk] and appeased the heart of Bēl and the son of Bēl. 34 [.?.] he totally restored their cults.	(…) 1' he took large [boot]y. --- 2' Marduk-šapik-zeri, so[n of Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe, rebuilt the wall of Babylon]. 3' He conquered the … kings of the lands. [During his reign, the people of the country] enjoyed [abundance and] prosperity. --- Two additional lines not in MC 46: 4' He concluded a mutual accord and a peace with King Aššur-bēl-kala of Assyria. 5' At that time, the king went from Assyria to Sippar. --- 6' The Arameans and a usurper rebelled against Adad-apla-iddina, descendant of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, 7' and profaned all the holy cities, as many as there were in the land. They destroyed Der, Nippur, 8' Sippar, and Dur-Kurigalzu. They demolished. The Suteans took the offensive and carried the booty of Sumer and Akkad into their country. 9' He made frequent visits to the shrines of Marduk and appeased his heart. He totally restored his cult.

CW 25/MC 46.27-34 (Akkadian)	ABC 24/MC 47.1'-10 (Akkadian)
26′[…^{I}*Tukul-ti*-a-*é-š*[ar^{kur} Aš-*šu]r*^{ki} zi-ma	1′ […šál-la-t]u dugud^{tú} *iš-lul*
---	---
27′[^{Id} Amar.utu.dub.numun dumu ^{Id}A]mar.utu-*na-din*-šeš[^{meš} bàd T]in.tir^{ki} *eš-šiš i-pu-uš*	2′ ^{Id}Amar.utu.dub.numun du[mu ^{Id}Amar.utu-na-din-šeš^{meš} bàd Tin.tir^{ki} *eš-ši*]*š* dù^{uš}
28′ […za lugal^{me} *šá* kur.kur *im-ḫa*]*ṣ ina* bala–*šú* un^{me} kur ḫé.nun *u ṭuḫ-du* igi^{meš}	3′…za lugal^{me} *ša* kur.kur *i[m-ḫaṣ ina* bala-*šu* un^{me} kur ḫé.nun] u ḫé.gal igi^{meš}
---	---
	4′ du$_{10}^{tú}$ *u su-lum-mu-ú* ki ^{Id}*Aš-šur*-en-*k*[*a-la ša*]*r* ^{kur}Aššur *iš-kun*
29′ [^{Id}]Iškur.eduru.mu a ^{I}Ki.^{d}Amar.u]tu.tin *A-ra-mu u* lugal im.gi *is-ḫu-šú-ma*	5′ *ina* u$_4$-*mi-šú-ma* man ta ^{kur}*Aš-šur-ana Šip-par* gin^{kám}
30′ [*ma-ḫa-zu ka-la šá* kur *ú-šal*]*-pi-tu A-kà-d*	---
31′ […Zimb]ir^{ki} *u Pàr-sa-a* šub^{meš}	6′ ^{Id}Iškur.eduru.mu a ^{I}Ki.^{d}Amar.utu.din ^{kur}*A-ra-mu u* lugal. im.gi
32′ [^{kur}Su-tu-u zi-*ma šál-lat* ^{kur}zi-*ma šal-lat* ^{kur}Š[*u-me-ri u* Uri^{ki} *ana* kur-*šú ú*-še-ṣi	7′ *is-ḫu-šú-ma ma-ḫa-zu ka-la šá* kur [*ú-šal-pi-t*]*u De-ri Dur-an-ki*
33′[*áš-rat* ^{d}Amar.utu *iš-te-'e*]*-em lìb-bi* ^{d}En *u* dumu ^{d}*En ú-ṭi-ib*	8′ *Si*[*p-par u Pàr-sa-a id-du-ú* ^{kur}Su-tu-u zi-*ma šál-lat* ^{kur}*Šu-me-ri u* Uri$^{[ki]\ i}$
34′ […*par*]*-ṣi-šú-nu ú-šak-lil*	9′*ana* kur-*šú ú-še-ṣi áš-rat* ^{d}Amar.utu ki[n-*m*]*a lìb-bi-šú* [du]
	10′garza-[*šú-ú]-šak-lil*

A point of further interest is that the end of the Eclectic ABC 24, when placed *after* the Walker CW 25, may be seen as having a catchline which links both of these chronicles prior to the first of the Babylonian series, at the start of Chronicle ABC 1:

End of Eclectic Chronicle ABC 24 Reverse 18-20//MC 47.35'-38'	Start of Chronicle ABC 1 Obverse i.1-2, 27-28//MC 16.1-2, 24-25
35 [… Nabû-n]āṣir 36 […] … 37 […Tiglath-pilese]r (III), king of Assyria, ascended [the thro]ne. 38 [… Šalmaneser V, king of Assyria,] ascended [the thro]ne. Lacuna End of Eclectic Chronicle ABC 24 Reverse18-20//MC 47.34-38' Akkadian 35 [… ^{Id}Nà-n]a-ṣir 36 […] 37 […^{I}*Tukul-ti*-ibila.É. šar.r]a *šar*$_4$ ^{kur}*Aš-šur ina* ^{giš}gu.za dúr 38 […*ina* ^{giš}gu].za dúr^{ab} (…)	1 [*the third year of Nabû-nāṣir*,] King of Babylon: 2 Tiglath-pileser (iii) ascended the throne in Assyria. 27 On the twenty-fifth day of the month Tebet Šalmaneser (v), in Assyria 28 ascended the throne. He ravaged Samaria. Start of Chronicle ABC 1 obverse i.1-2//MC 16.1-2, 26-27 Akkadian 1 ^{i}[mu 3 ^{d}na.kúr] *šàr* tin.tir^{ki} 2 [tukul-ti-a-é-šar-ra] ina$^{ku]r}$ Aššur-ina aš.te dúr 27 ^{iti}Ab u$_4$ 25 *Šul-man-a-ša-red ina* ^{kur}*Aš-šur* 28 <*u* Uri>^{ki} *ina* aš.te dúr^{ab} ^{uru}*Šā-ma-ra-'-in iḫ-te-pi*

The text in both chronicles is in poor condition, so it is not very clear. An unusual feature is the premature listing of Šalmaneser V, who arrives later at ABC 1.Obv.i.27-28, suggesting a précis of the anticipated contents as much as a catchline. These two lines appear as the last two kings listed at the end of the Assyrian Royal Chronicle MC 5.(C iv)24, 25.

Catchline in Biblical Chronicles

Biblical 2 Chronicles 36.22-23//Ezra 1-3: The significance of these catchlines is that they have features that match the one found at the end of the biblical Chronicles and the first three verses of Ezra. 2 Chr 36.22-23 ends with the unfinished verse, "let him go up…" which is then found completed in the connecting document, Ezra 1.1-3.[711]

[711] A further example is in Nehemiah 8.10//1 Esdras 9.

2 Chr 36.23c: Whoever is among you of all his people, may the Lord his God be with him, *let him go up…(**unfinished sentence**)*	Ezra 1.3: "Whoever is among you of all his people, may his God be with him, and *let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and rebuild the house of the Lord* and God of Israel–he is the God who is in Jerusalem. ***(finished sentence)***

Death and Burial Formulae

Death and Burial Formulae in Category A

The Babylonian chronicles following Nabû-nāṣir in 747 B.C usually mention the burial place of the kings. The number of years on the throne is given then the place of death. Usually the cause of death is stated in Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian chronicles 1-13a. However, no burial site and no retribution or reward summations are mentioned for any of the kings in the Neo-Babylonian period:

Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18.v.2-v.4	
1.i.11 MU XIV ^{d}*Nabû-nāṣir GIG-ma ina ēkalli-šú šimāti*^{meš} 1.i.12 XIV MU^{meš} ^{d}*Nabû-nāṣir šarru-ut Bābìli*^{ki} *ípuš*^{uš} 1.i.13 ^{m} *Na-di-nu mār-šu ina Bābìli*^{ki} *ina kússê ittašab*^{ab}	1.i.11 The fourteenth year: Nabû-nāṣir became ill and died in his palace. 1.i.12 For fourteen years Nabû-nāṣir ruled Babylon. 1.i.13 (Nabu)-nadin-(zeri), his son, ascended the throne in Babylon.

When the first Assyrian king, Tiglath-pileser, comes to the Babylonian throne, the chronicling continues. However at the death and burial of king Tiglath-pileser the year and also the named month of his death are recorded, not just the regnal year as the Babylonians did previously. This formula states the length of years on the throne, giving the year and the named month in which the death occurred, but no burial place is mentioned.

1.i.24 MU II *Tukul-ti-ápil-é-šár-ra ina* iti*Ṭebēti šīmāti*meš 1.i.25 <X> meš *Tukul-ti-ápil-é-šár-ra šárru-ut* kur*Akkadî* ki	1.i.24 The Second year: Tiglath-pileser (III) died in the month Tebet. 1.i.25 For eighteen years Tiglath-pileser (III) ruled Akkad.

The Babylonian chronicles from Nabû-nāṣir from 747 B.C. onwards give no trace of retribution or criticism. They are notable for their lack of retributive features, especially as compared with earlier chronicles. These Neo-Babylonian chronicles 1-13a do not give any burial places. This is unlike the biblical Chronicles where the burial place is generally seen as being linked causally to the king being deemed a good or a bad king, examples of which will be examined below.

To find burial formulae which parallel those in the biblical Chronicles we need to look at those chronicles grouped as Category B where there is a more elaborate death and burial formula, with the burial place according to the merit of the king. These are more reminiscent of the burial formulae in the biblical Chronicles.

Death and Burial Formulae in Category B

The Dynastic Chronicles ABC 18,[712] the Babylonian version of the Sumerian Chronicle, features an origins section, and deals with the earlier period of eleventh and tenth century B.C. kings. Here the cause of death is only described once, but not retributively. However, the burial place would appear to match the merits of the king. Six deaths and burials follow each other in section v, the burial place suggesting honour or disgrace, reward or punishment:[713]

[712] Grayson, *ABC*, pp. 139-144.

[713] Grayson, *ABC*, pp.139-144; p. 142: ABC 18.v.4 the knight buried at Sargon's Palace; p. 143: ABC 18.v.6 Ea-mukin-zeri, the usurper, buried in the swamp; ABC 18.v.7, Kashshu-nadin-ahi buried in the palace of ?...; ABC 18.v.9 [E]ulmash-shakin-shumi buried in palace of Kar Marduk; v11 [Shirikti]-Shuqamuna buried in the palace of ?...; ABC 18.v.14 [Mar-biti-apla-usu]r buried in the palace of Sargon, p. 144: In ABC 18.v.i there are no records of the kings' burial sites.

Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18.v.2-v.4	
ABC 18.v.2 aga.uš lú.tuš.a [kur.a.ab].ba.ke$_4$ ^{m}*Sim-bar-ši-ḫu* dumu ^{m}*Eri-ba-*^{d}*Sîn* 18.v.3 erín bala *Damqi-ili-šú* giš.tukul.ta ba.an.sìg.gi.in mu XVII in.aka 18.v.4 *ina* é.gal *Šarru-kîn* qí-bir †	18.v.2 The knight, resident of Sealand, Simbar-shihu, son of Eriba-Sin, 18.v.3 soldier of the dynasty of Damqi-ilishu, was slain with the sword. He ruled for seventeen years. 18.v.4 He was buried in the palace of Sargon.†

By contrast the burial place of the next king being a swamp was not intended to honour him:

Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18.v.5-v.6	
ABC 18.v.5 ^{md}É-*a-mu-kin-zéri* lugal im.gi dumu ^{m}*Ḫaš-mar* iti III in.aka 18.v.6 *ina raq-qa-ti šá Bīt-*^{m}*Ḫaš-mar qí-bir*	18.v.5 Ea-mukin-zeri, the usurper, son of Hashmar, ruled for three months 18.v.6 He was buried in the swamp of Mit-Hashmar.

The four remaining kings were buried in the palace of Sargon (18.v.7-14) suggesting an honourable burial.[714]

Death and Burial Formulae in Biblical Chronicles

Biblical Chronicles' death and burial formulae differ from those in the Neo-Babylonian chronicles, the latter of which are notable for their regularity and simplicity.

[714] Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle ABC 18.7-14; p. 143: ABC 18.v.7, v.9, v.11, v.14.

In biblical Chronicles there are parallels to the Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18.2-11. The places of burial of Judah's kings also seem linked to retribution and reward up to the end of Hezekiah's reign. The following is the burial formulae for Jehoram of Judah, deemed a very bad king:

בֶּן-שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁתַּיִם הָיָה בְמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁמוֹנֶה שָׁנִים מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלָם וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה וַיִּקְבְּרֻהוּ בְּעִיר דָּוִיד וְלֹא בְּקִבְרוֹת הַמְּלָכִים :	**2 Chr 21.20** Thirty and two years old was he [Jehoram] when he began to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem eight years; and he departed joyless; and they buried him in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings.

By contrast, this is the burial formula for Hezekiah, who was deemed a very good king:

וַיִּשְׁכַּב יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ עִם-אֲבֹתָיו וַיְקַבְּרֻהוּ בְּמַעֲלֵה קִבְרֵי בְנֵי-דָוִיד וְכָבוֹד עָשׂוּ-לוֹ בְּמוֹתוֹ כָּל-יְהוּדָה וְיֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלִָם וַיִּמְלֹךְ מְנַשֶּׁה בְנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו :	**2 Chr 32.33** And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the ascent of the sepulchres of the sons of David; and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at his death. And Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

Following Hezekiah's reign, the retribution element being linked to the burial site appears more ambivalent. In Kings both Manasseh, a king who repents of his sins, though this repentance is not recorded in Kings (709-643 B.C.) and his son Amon (643-c.640 B.C.), are both deemed bad in Kings, and both get buried, not in the tombs of David, but instead in the Garden of Uzza. In Chronicles, Manasseh, whose repentance is noted, gets buried "in his own house" (where the Garden of Uzza seems to have been, according to 2 Kings 21.18), but no burial place is mentioned at all for the wicked Amon, only the place where he is slain by his servants, namely "in his own house." Manasseh's death and burial (2 Chr 33.20//2 Kgs 21.18 are compared here, first citing 2 Chr 33.24:

וַיִּשְׁכַּב מְנַשֶּׁה עִם-אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקְבְּרֵהוּ בְּיתוֹ וַיִּמְלֹךְ אָמוֹן בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	**2 Chr 33.20** So Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried him in his own house; and Amon his son reigned in his stead.
וַיִּשְׁכַּב מְנַשֶּׁה עִם-אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקָּבֵר בְּגַן-בֵּיתוֹ בְּגַן-עֻזָּא וַיִּמְלֹךְ אָמוֹן בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	**2 Kgs 21.18** And Manasseh slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza; and Amon his son reigned in his stead.

Manasseh's death and burial (2 Kgs 21.26):

וַיִּקְשְׁרוּ עָלָיו עֲבָדָיו וַיְמִיתֻהוּ בְּבֵיתוֹ׃	**2 Chr 33.24** And his (Amon's) servants conspired against him, and put him to death in his own house.
וַיִּקְבֹּר אֹתוֹ בְּקִבְרָתוֹ בְּגַן-עֻזָּא וַיִּמְלֹךְ יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ בְנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	**2 Kgs 21.26** And he (Amon) was buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza; and Josiah his son reigned in his stead.

The apparent shame of being buried in the garden of Uzza may simply be a matter of space in the burial ground of David or one of several other possibilities which are intriguingly explored in an article by Diana Edelman.[715] She writes that Solomon was known for his gardening abilities which became "a later enhancement of his royal image that builds upon the earlier memory of him as a renowned king."[716] There is also the link to the garden of Eden:

> Biblical memory emphasizes YHWH's palace complex, either heavenly, earthly, or both (Gen. 2.15). Biblical memory emphasized YHWH's role as a gardener of his chosen city, Jerusalem (e.g. Isa 31.5; 37.35; 51.3), and of the Promised Land, which he planted, pruned and weeded/uprooted as though it

[715] D. V. Edelman, "City Gardens and Parks in Biblical Social Memory," Eds., D. Edelman and E. Ben Zvi, *The City in Biblical Memory*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2013, pp. 1-35.

[716] Edelman, "City Gardens," pp. 4-5; p. 4.

were a huge park containing cultivated garden areas adjoining his early palatial residence.[717]

There is no hint of punishment connected with these gardens, or any mention of the famous hanging gardens connected with royalty in Babylon. It can also be noted that Manasseh went into exile and it is possible that in Babylon he may have been inspired by the royal gardens he found there, so set one up for himself.

The very name the Garden of Uzza (גַּן-עֻזָּא), which Edelman deals with linguistically, leads her to suggest that this could pertain to Uzziah, the leper king, or to Perez-Uzza who died when he touched the Ark in transport (2 Sam 6.3, 6; 1 Chr 13.7, 9-11).[718]

However, she notes that the book of Kings has no recollection of King Uzziah building such a garden,[719] which raises several questions such as: Does it pertain to Uzziah and his unclean leprous state? If so why the odd spelling and why were he and his son Jotham not buried in this same Garden of Uzza? Could it pertain to Perez-Uzza, and his ritually unclean state at death as he touched the Ark? Is this a way of associating the two most evil kings, Manasseh and Amon, with a place of separation from the tombs of their ancestral fathers?

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יְהוֹיָקִים וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃ הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה׃	**2 Kgs 24.5** Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?
וַיִּשְׁכַּב יְהוֹיָקִים עִם-אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּמְלֹךְ יְהוֹיָכִין בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	**6** So Jehoiakim slept with his fathers; and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead.

[717] Edelman, "City Gardens," pp. 10, 16-18.
[718] Edelman, "City Gardens," p. 17.
[719] Edelman, "City Gardens," p. 15.

Manasseh and Amon are the two most evil kings and both of them are buried in the Garden of Uzza. There is no final way of deciding whether this was because of their being regarded as too evil to be in the tombs of their fathers. The Garden of Uzza is not mentioned in connection with Jehoiakim's burial in Kings, and does not appear in Chronicles at all, except, as Edelman points out, in the Septuagint, where, in rather arbitrary fashion, it is inserted into 2 Chr 36.8 in order, seemingly, to link the evil king Jehoiakim to the wickedness of Manasseh and Amon, buried in their place of punishment and shame.

However, the Septuagint, in this instance,[720] may also be the means to bring some clarity to the problem. As Macy points out, the MT text in 2 Chr 36.8 is to be preferred to that in the Septuagint.[721] However, the Septuagint adding a third evil king to the burial spots in the Garden of Uzza may serve here to show that the interpretation put upon the Garden of Uzza was viewed by the translators of the Septuagint as a wholly negative one, a totally unfavourable place to put bad kings.

If this is indeed a reasonable interpretation to put upon it, then the argument above stands, that the burial spot was also a part of the reward and retribution, as is found in the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles. Today it is perhaps possible to see this retribution process in a democratised form, and possibly for the same reasons, in the case of notorious evil, to avoid desecration of the grave.[722]

[720] The passage in LXX 2 Chr 36.8 is compared with MT 2 Chr 36.8//2 Kgs 24.5-6 as the subject of my paper given in EABS, Berlin, 2017, "Editing, Authorship or Chronicling in the book of Chronicles?" where MT Chronicles has the normal citation formula referring to the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel" and Kings has the normal reciprocal citation referring to the book of "Chronicles of Kings of Judah." However, in the LXX the citation found in MT Chronicles has been replaced by the citation in Kings, as well as the "Garden of Uzza" being inserted as Jehoiakim's burial place (LXX 2 Chr 36.8), a Garden not in MT Chronicles at all and in Kings only cited for Manasseh and Amon's burial sites (MT/LXX 2 Kgs 21.18,26). See Chapter 2, the section on dating of chronicles.

[721] Macy, *Sources of Chronicles,* p. 138.

[722] Burial sites associated with wickedness may be seen even today: In a Telegraph news report on 3 Nov, 2017 it was reported that the Moors Murderer Ian Brady's ashes were buried at sea in the

Retribution and Reward Formulae

This feature is found in the ancient Near Eastern chronicles, explicitly in Category C, but implicit in Category A, the Neo-Babylonian texts. As Glassner points out, whether explicit or not, the underlying understanding is that the deities work in the affairs of man.[723]

Retribution and Reward in Category C

Biblical Chronicles is commonly cited as having a strong retribution theme running through it. What is not always noted is that the same king can go from good to bad or bad to good, whereupon retribution or reward follows as appropriate. Babylonian chronicles of a later date occasionally give information as to how a king may have died, and the death may be gruesome indeed,[724] but it is neither linked to a retribution or reward formula, nor to an honouring or dishonouring burial place.

To find something similar in Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles it is necessary to turn to Category C, the Weidner Chronicle ABC 19, and the Chronicle of the Early Kings ABC 20. In the Weidner Chronicle, for example, Ku-Baba, the inn keeper, the only queen listed in the Sumerian King List, and Sargon I (2234-2279 B.C.) cup bearer to her grandson successor, Ur-Zababa, pleased the Sumerian deity (Enlil) and were

middle of the night, under police escort, after a secret cremation without ceremony in Southport the previous night. No music or flowers were allowed. After the incineration, Brady's ashes were placed in a weighted biodegradable urn, driven to Liverpool Marina and later dispatched at sea on Thursday, October 26, at 2.30am. Press Association:
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/11/03/moors-murderer-ian-brady-buried-sea-middle-night-secret-cremation/ [Accessed: 3 Nov 2017]

[723] Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 25-27.

[724] Grayson, *ABC*, P79. From Chronicle ABC 1.iii onwards the manner of death may be given, e.g. 1iii.8 the king of Elam was killed in an uprising of his subjects, ABC 1.iii.20-21 king of Elam paralyzed so he could not speak; 1.iii.34-35 Sennacherib murdered by his son.

rewarded with rulership. Marduk is anachronistic here, as Enlil has been displaced.[725] Sargon's fish and water offerings at the Temple Esagil earned him kingship bestowed by Bel Marduk (ABC 19.46-49), but later he incurred wrath:

Chronicle ABC 19.43-45, **Ku-Baba**:	
19.43 ^{SAL}*Kù-*^{d}*B*[*a-ba$_6$ a-na* [*šu*]-*ḫa-da-ku aka=lē*^{meš} *id-din mê*^{meš} *id-din* x x x x […] ṬU *a-na É-sag-íl uš-ta*[*ḫ*(?)-*miṭ*(?)] 19.44 *be-lum rabû*^{û} [^{d}] *Marduk ḫa-diš ip-pa-lis-si-ma um-ma ši-i lu-ki-a-a*[*m*] 19.45 a-na ^{SAL}K*ù-*^{d}*Ba-ba$_6$ šarru-ut kiš-šat mā=tāti (*kur.kur*) ug-dam-mir-*[*ši*]	19.43 Ku-Baba gave food and water to the [fi]sherman …[…] the fish he delivered with h[aste] to Esagil. 19.44 The great lord, Marduk, looked upon her with joy and said, "So be it!" 19.45 He handed over to Ku-Baba sovereignty over all lands.

Later Shulgi too incurred the wrath of Marduk, but at this point the text breaks off:

Chronicle ABC 19.63-64, **Shulgi:**	
19.63 [*a-na* ^{d}] *Šul-gi mār* ^{d}*Ur-*^{d}*Nammu šarru-ut kiš-šat mātāti* (kur!. kur) *id-din- šum-*[*ma*] 19.64 [x x] x *ul ú- šak-lil šu-luḫ-ḫi- šu ú-le-ʼi-ma an-na- šú* […] ***but here the text breaks off***	19.63 He (Marduk) gave Shulgi, son of Ur Nammu, sovereignty over all lands. 19.64 He (Shulgi) did not perform his (Marduk's) rites fully, and he profaned Marduk's purification ritual, and his sin… ***but here the text breaks off***

The Chronicle of Early Kings, ABC 20 starting in Sargon I's reign, equally holds examples of direct retribution and reward for "good" and "bad" deeds. Here we can learn Shulgi's fate as an evil king, as the text here is in good repair (20.A.28-30):

[725] M. Jastrow, "Marduk," ed., H. Chisholm, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, (11th edition), CUP, Cambridge, 1911, p. 697. "Marduk's absorption of the power and prerogatives of Enlil of Nippur was at the expense of the latter's prestige. Babylon became independent in the early nineteenth century B.C., initially overshadowed by Isin, Larsa and Assyria. However, after Ḫammurapi in the eighteenth century B.C. turned Babylon into the dominant state in the south, the cult of Marduk eclipsed that of Enlil."

Chronicle ABC 20.A.28-30. **Shulgi**:	
20.A.28 ^{md}*Šul-gi mār* ^{m}*Ur-*^{d}*Nammu Eridu*(nun)^{ki} *šá aḫ*(gú) *tam-tim ra-biš iz-nu*[*n*] 20.A.29 ^{SAL}*lemutta*(ḫul) *iš-te-'e-ma makkūr É-sag-íl u Bābíli*^{ki} 20.A.30 *ina šil-lat uštēṣi* ^{d}*Bēl* igi x ma *pa=gar*(adda)- *šú u-šá-kil* dù tú bad šú	28 Shulgi, son of Ur-nammu provided abundant food for Eridu, which is on the seashore 29-30 But he had criminal tendencies and took away the property of Esagil and Babylon as booty. Bel caused…to consume his body…killed him.

Reward and Retribution in Biblical Chronicles

What has been seen in the biblical Chronicles as immediate retribution, characteristic of the post-exilic Chronicler's thirst for vengeance against evildoers, when placed into a chronographic context of the earlier chronographic writings, takes on a much more prosaic character, that of conformity to the colophonic requirements of punishment or praise for reigns as a formulaic feature of chronographic writing in this earlier period. Later chronicles in Babylon and Assyria, Persia and Greece, do not have this.

Biblical Chronicles is commonly cited as having a strong retribution theme running through it. What is not always noted is that the same king can go from good to bad, or bad to good, whereupon retribution or reward follows as appropriate, but never without evaluating the deed and its immediate consequences for the king himself. Asa, overall a good king, was punished for his reliance on the Syrians rather than on the Lord, which earned him the rebuke of Hanani the seer, and the punishment of continual wars (2 Chr 16.7). His health too suffered:

וַיֶּחֱלֶא אָסָא בִּשְׁנַת שְׁלוֹשִׁים וָתֵשַׁע לְמַלְכוּתוֹ בְּרַגְלָיו עַד-לְמַעְלָה חָלְיוֹ וְגַם-בְּחָלְיוֹ לֹא-דָרַשׁ אֶת-יְהוָה כִּי בָרֹפְאִים׃	**Asa: 2 Chr 16.12** And in the thirty and ninth year of his reign Asa was diseased in his feet; his disease was exceeding great; yet in his disease he sought not to the LORD, but to the physicians.

Jehoram of Judah, a thoroughly evil king who was given no funereal honours, faced even worse wealth, family and health issues than Asa:

וְאַתָּה בָּחֳלָיִים רַבִּים בְּמַחֲלֵה מֵעֶיךָ עַד-יֵצְאוּ מֵעֶיךָ מִן-הַחֹלִי יָמִים עַל-יָמִים׃	**Jehoram: 2 Chr 21.15** and thou shalt have great sickness by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out by reason of the sickness, day by day.'
וַיָּעַר יְהוָה עַל-יְהוֹרָם אֵת רוּחַ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים וְהָעַרְבִים אֲשֶׁר עַל-יַד כּוּשִׁים׃	**16** And the LORD stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians that are beside the Ethiopians;
וַיַּעֲלוּ בִיהוּדָה וַיִּבְקָעוּהָ וַיִּשְׁבּוּ אֵת כָּל-הָרְכוּשׁ הַנִּמְצָא לְבֵית-הַמֶּלֶךְ וְגַם-בָּנָיו וְנָשָׁיו וְלֹא נִשְׁאַר-לוֹ בֵּן כִּי אִם-יְהוֹאָחָז קְטֹן בָּנָיו׃	**17** and they came up against Judah, and broke into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives; so that there was never a son left him, save Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons.
וְאַחֲרֵי כָּל-זֹאת נְגָפוֹ יְהוָה בְּמֵעָיו לָחֳלִי לְאֵין מַרְפֵּא׃	**18** And after all this the LORD smote him in his bowels with an incurable disease.
וַיְהִי לְיָמִים מִיָּמִים וּכְעֵת צֵאת הַקֵּץ לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם יָצְאוּ מֵעָיו עִם-חָלְיוֹ וַיָּמָת בְּתַחֲלֵאִים רָעִים וְלֹא-עָשׂוּ לוֹ עַמּוֹ שְׂרֵפָה כִּשְׂרֵפַת אֲבֹתָיו׃	**19** And it came to pass, that in process of time, at the end of two years, his bowels fell out by reason of his sickness, and he died of sore diseases. And his people made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers.

This overview forms a background to the next chapter where the formulae of the Biblical Chronicles, having been measured against five points found commonly in chronographic writings of the ancient Near East, are now examined within the Biblical context. While no one chronicle in the ancient Near East contains all five points, each group or sometimes overlapping groups shared some feature(s) with the formulae in biblical Chronicles.

Regnal Dating: Biblical Chronicles shares in common with all ancient Near Eastern chronicles a desire for chronological ordering, but the use of regnal dating, using regnal years and numbered months, differs from the Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian chronicles, especially once the Assyrians take over the Babylonian throne, in several

way, especially where the later chronicles have regnal years, increasingly annually recorded, together with named months. By the time of the Achaemenids, Macedonians and Seleucids, idiosyncratic differences to the formula phrase, "in that same month," increase the differences between the late Babylonian chronicles and the Biblical Chronicles, where in the latter these features are entirely lacking.

While biblical Chronicles shares with Babylonian chronicles the vague dating when dating is unknown or unimportant, it does not share the scribal copying phrases about "unknown months," or the library notations, etc., which are a sign of a copyist of an earlier work, trying to be accurate.

Biblical Chronicles share in common with the Synchronic History and the Babylonian chronicles the dating of one king by a neighbouring king.

The Origins and Recapitulation formulae: Biblical Chronicles are similar to some of the older chronicles in the Ancient Near East where they have Origin lists, then narrative added in, including mention of the Deluge, prior to the actual Chronicling. These features are lacking in the later Neo-Babylonian chronicles and thereafter.

The Catchlines: Several catchlines fature in Babylonian chronicles, appearing during the Neo-Babylonian series. It is possible this feature happens earlier. If the Walker CW 25 and ABC 1 share a catchline, this would put the Walker earlier than the first of the Babylonian series. The catchline at the end of biblical Chronicles and at the beginning of the book of Ezra would fit into the period when the Babylonian chronicles also contained this feature, namely, Judah's post-exilic period. It was shown that the examples from the ancient Near East match closely the one at the end biblical Chronicles.

The Death and Burial Formulae: Naming the manner of death and place of burial are a feature of earlier chronicles, so that burial spot may even be seen as part of the retribution and reward formula, a place of punishment or reward. This feature is shared with biblical Chronicles. However, the later chronicles, while they give the manner of death of the king, sometimes quite luridly, do not mention the burial place, nor attach comments about the king's deserving his fate. This is not at all like the earlier chronicles, biblical or ancient Near Eastern.

The Retribution and Reward Formulae: This feature disappears in the Neo-Babylonian chronicles, and thereafter, but it is a regular feature of earlier ones from the twelfth to the ninth centuries, which also includes the period covered by biblical Chronicles where retribution and reward are one of its hallmarks.

In summary: Overall, these features examined above show a great deal of commonality between biblical Chronicles and the ancient Near Eastern chronicles, and show good evidence for a running account of Babylonian history being kept. Several parallels have been found, particularly in the earlier chronicles dating back to the early Babylonian chronicles from the twelfth–seventh centuries B.C.

Equally importantly, there are also some divergences, where biblical Chronicles does not fit in, particularly once the Assyrians took over the Babylonian throne and thereafter. The colophonic scribal notes, giving the name of the scribe, the library for which or from which he is copying the document and other such details, which feature at the end of many of the early documents of the ancient Near East, indicate they are copying older documents. The Assyrian King Ashurbanipal set up such a library in Nineveh, from where he sought documents from far and wide.

The above points that are examined show more commonality between the early ancient Near Eastern chronicles and Biblical Chronicles. A break between the twelfth to ninth centuries chronicles, as compared with those after Nabû-nāṣir in the eight century would seem to occur, to which van der Spek draws attention.[726] If it were rewritten after being destroyed in Babylon as Langton suggests, it lacks such features of colophonic scribal copyist's intervention as seen in Assyrian and Babylonian library copies of earlier documents.

If evidence of biblical Chronicles being a re-written document is to be adduced from the type of colophonic end-notes by scribal copyists as found in Babylonian and Assyrian chronicles, then there is a lack of such evidence in biblical Chronicles. However, evidence from the repeating formulae at the end of each king's reign does seem to point to an early running account, beginning from the early monarchy. Does it start with David or Solomon or later? In the next chapter, we turn to evidence from the inner biblical witness where Chronicles' repeating formulae may be examined in the context of Samuel and Kings. Here, the formulaic citations of the biblical Chronicles will be compared with those of the book of Kings in an inner-biblical examination of colophonic-type formulae.

[726] Van der Spek, Review of Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p. 3.

CHAPTER 4

Chronicles' Citation Formulae in the Biblical Context

Certain factors have been examined in the previous chapter which make it possible now to examine the different elements of Chronicles within a wider ancient Near Eastern understanding. What is to be considered here is the possibility that the citation formulae of the book of Chronicles are colophonic references positioned at the end of each king's reign, in a running account of temple records. This would necessarily mean that these Chronicles were set up in the time of Solomon when the first temple was built, maintained by scribes and priests for the temple archives. These, it will be argued, were maintained concurrently with the book of Kings. The book of Kings is not a chronicle set up for temple purposes, but rather may be seen as collection of prophetic writings, collated over time from both the northern and southern kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

Chronicles, with its temple and priestly focus, and Kings, which collects and collates prophetic writings, operate independently yet co-operatively, each from its own perspective, recording and responding to the events of each king's reign under the prophetically delivered guidance of Yahweh's rule. When the kingdom is divided into the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the book of Chronicles also divides into the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." Each of these separately cross-reference with the book of Kings which maintains a double

synchronisation with the northern kingdom of Israel and with the southern kingdom of Judah, both maintaining their records separately and independently.[727]

The approach taken here to the biblical citation formulae in Chronicles will be examined under four headings to see how these function within Chronicles and in the inner biblical texts of Samuel and King in particular:

- The Importance of Taking the Citation Formulae Seriously in the Details
- The Tripartite Division of Chronicles
- The "Messy" Citations in Chronicles versus the "Orderly" Citations in Kings
- Diachronic and Synchronic Development of the Formulae in Chronicles and Kings

The Importance of Taking the Citation Formulae Seriously in the Details

There has been a long-standing scholarly reluctance to take the citations[728] in Chronicles seriously which can partly be attributed to the post-exilic dating imposed onto Chronicles in the late nineteenth century, but also to the differences from those in Kings, and the relative complexity of the Chronicles' citations. Glatt-Gilad puts it this way:

> The sheer number of seemingly overlapping sources cited by the Chronicler has rendered the source citation the most controversial element of all the regnal

[727] The book of Chronicles does not acquire the name of the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה) until after the united kingdom of Israel is divided into Judah and Israel. The Chronicles of the Kings of Israel (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) will be discussed more fully below.

[728] Cambridge Dictionary and New Oxford Dictionary: Citation – "A quotation from or reference to a book, paper or author, especially in a scholarly work." https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/citation. [Accessed: 13th June 2018] The citations in Chronicles refer to other works, and it is these that are the focus of investigation in this section.

> formulae in C, inasmuch as it impinges directly on the question of the Chronicler's reliability as a historian. The large variety of sources cited by the Chronicler has evinced on the one hand, an appreciation for the Chronicler's developed consciousness of the status of sources, and on the other hand a heavy scepticism regarding the authenticity of the cited sources, particularly those of putatively prophetic origin.[729]

This has had a "knock on" effect as to how Chronicles is understood generally and how the citations are viewed in particular. There have been other scholars too, such as Macy, Bin-Nun, Halpern and Vanderhooft, [730] who have attempted to redress the situation in Kings and Chronicles, contributing valuably to the understanding of these citation formulae, which they suggest should be taken seriously on various grounds. However the problems remain for Chronicles, because Kings, believed to be the earlier work, is thereby deemed to be more accurate than Chronicles.

There are indications that Kings shows signs of being written later than Chronicles in some parts, which are sometimes attributed to later redactions, but Auld's solution is to propose that Chronicles and Kings were written concurrently in the post-exilic period, both drawing their information from an underlying document common to both.[731] This solution puts Kings and Chronicles on a level playing field where Kings is regarded as "no less partisan than the Chronicler."[732] This post-exilic late-dating may be seen as necessitating the proposal of this earlier common document underlying Kings and Chronicles, a logical adjunct to support the post-exilic late-dating hypothesis.

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[729] Glatt-Gilad, "Regnal Formulae," pp. 184-209; p. 199.

[730] Macy, *Sources of Chronicles,* 1975; S. R. Bin-Nun, "Formulas from Royal Records of Israel and of Judah" *VT* 18, 1968, pp. 414-432; B. Halpern and D. S. Vanderhooft, "The Editions of Kings," 1991, pp. 179-244.

[731] Auld, *Kings without Privilege,* p. 10.

[732] Auld, *Kings without Privilege,* p. 4.

Auld thus appeals to Eichhorn, who first mooted the idea of this common document in the early period of modern Old Testament criticism prior to de Wette, to support his theory of a common document behind both Kings and Chronicles.[733] However, the postulated "underlying document" has not been identified and lacks any suggested title, so it falls within the realm of hypothesis. Whether then we take the generally held view that Kings is earlier than Chronicles and therefore "privileged" or take Auld's view that Chronicles and Kings should be viewed on an equal footing, we still face two problems:

Firstly, in Auld's system with an underlying document informing Kings and Chronicles, both works are open to the accusation of being tendentious, but there is no means to decide either way. This contrasts with the current view where Kings is generally privileged by being deemed the original work, so that all in Kings is assumed original, while Chronicles is deemed by default to be the bearer of tendentious additional writing or omitted matters.

Secondly, as regards Chronicles' citation formulae, we are no further forward, as Auld does not attempt to account for the fact that the citations in Kings and Chronicles are never the same. This seems to stem from the fact that, despite Auld's apparent even-handedness with regard to Kings and Chronicles, he still deems the Chronicler to be an "unreliable ancient historian."[734]

[733] Auld, *Kings without Privilege*, p. 3. The specific information about Eichhorn was kindly given to me by Prof. Auld in an e-mail responding to my query on 17 November 2015 (shortened): "I was wondering what you were referring to specifically when you mentioned the pre-de Wette influence (Introduction, p. 3), about the document underlying both Kings and Chronicles." Prof. Auld's reply on 18 November 2015: "Thanks for your enquiry. I had not followed the issue back to the medieval commentators you mention [*My note: I mentioned Kimḥi, Langton, Abrabanel and Spinoza*]. As far as I understand, the immediate target of de Wette's critique was Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, who had left Jena (for Göttingen) before de Wette began his studies there. Eichhorn had explained the agreements between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles on the basis of shared ancient sources: a life of David, a life of Solomon, and many others."

[734] Auld, *Kings without Privilege*, pp. 3-4.

However, if we consider the possibility, as postulated by Auld, that Kings is no more likely to be the source of Chronicles than *vice versa*, and that both works were written at much the same time, this opens the opportunity to view these two pieces of work as being synchronised. Auld's thesis is valuable in the details of the argument, where, for example, he demonstrates that sections of Kings are of later provenance than the parallel section in Chronicles,[735] which logically requires either a postulated later redactor or synchronicity to explain.

He cites Trebolle Barrera's research on "omissions" as being as important as the "additions" in Chronicles. Drawing on this research Auld observes that the material shared between Kings and Chronicles is less variable in transmission than the material found uniquely in Kings.[736] Also, the common material is drastically reduced, even skeletal, as illustrated in Auld's diagram,[737] where he shows three columns, one with Kings' unique material, the other with Chronicles' unique material, and a surprisingly small amount of common material as all that is to be found in the underlying supposed original document. This implies either the relegation of large chunks of both works into theological irrelevancy, being nothing more than creative writing, or a large document from which each drew some common and some unique material. While the findings of my thesis are sympathetic to the idea of putting Kings and Chronicles

[735] Auld, *Kings without Privilege*, p. 5, writes that we can view the common material as having a source common to both Kings and Chronicles, which reconfigures substantially the issues; p. 9. Citing A. C. J. Verheij, *Verbs and Numbers*, Studia Semitica Neerlandica, 28, 1990, where the supposed "later" verbs are found in Sam-Kgs; and J. Barr, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*, Schweich Lectures, Oxford: for the British Academy, 1989, outlines how Chronicles uses fewer of the supposed later *plene* verbs and Sam-Kgs uses more than this is usually recognised.

[736] Auld, *Kings without Privilege*, p. 6. Auld discusses Trebolle Barrera's research on transmission history, particularly noting the important agreement between Chr and the postulated Lucianic tradition in Kgs; also the larger part of Kgs material which is not paralleled in Chronicles. Auld cites Trebolle Barrera's comment: "Old Latin, witness to an older Greek, witness to the oldest Hebrew,"' where Barrera insists on textual and editorial issues being studied together. More recently, he has added further evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

[737] Auld, *Kings without Privilege*, Diagram: pp.16-19.

alongside each other, when it comes to the "underlying document," this still leave unanswered questions:[738]

If we move away from the assumption that Chronicles is dependent on Kings, and look seriously at Auld's proposed "underlying document," it becomes clear that this postulated common source for both Kings and Chronicles is only necessitated by the post-exilic dating which Auld attributes to both Kings and Chronicles. If the late-dating requirement is removed, is there any need to postulate this "underlying document" which cannot be shown to have ever existed? If it did exist, from where did it draw its material? Occam's razor would seem to require that we cut out the middle man, the purported "underlying document," and instead view the two documents we actually have, namely Kings and Chronicles, as being themselves copies of earlier documents from the pre-exile, similar to those of the ancient Near East at that time, on the strong basis that these two documents, Kings and Chronicles, actually exist.

This raises the problem of the referencing system: Chronicles' source citations, already viewed as tendentious when Kings is deemed to be the earlier work, in Auld's system, where Kings and Chronicles are viewed as being written at the same time in the post-exilic period, the formulaic citations are ignored altogether. In fact, they would be a hindrance to his scheme, because no sense can be made of these citations, supposedly

[738] Further questions include: Was this "underlying document" written before, during or after exile? If written in the exile or post-exile, was it compiled from earlier materials or from memory? If from memory, how could the citation information be recalled so accurately several centuries later? If from earlier written materials, from where did these earlier materials come? Did this proposed "underlying document" contain citations, and if so which ones, those in Kings or those in Chronicles, or different ones altogether? What possible explanation is there for these citations in Kings and Chronicles to differ from each other in post-exilic documents if they are indeed referring to the same material in the "underlying document"? If referring to each other, where did the detailed information about obscure prophets come from in the post-exilic period? If the information contained in the citations is so detailed as to demand a very early and on-going pre-exilic source, and if Auld's proposed "underlying document" contained such accurate citation information, does this not suggests a running account of events over time?

referring to a common document, as both Kings and Chronicles, where they both share similar or even identical subject matter, in *every* case refer to different sources.

The challenge then is to explain the common material in Kings and Chronicles without recourse either to Auld's "underlying document" on the one hand or to Chronicles' assumed dependence upon Kings on the other, while explaining how the citations in both Chronicles and Kings, differing from each other in each case as they do, can both accepted as genuine citations sources that can be taken seriously. Difficulties with Auld's proposal have been addressed by several scholars.[739] The fact that there is no attempt by Auld to account for the citations in Kings and Chronicles never being the same, means that the topic remains wide open for a fresh investigation into these repeating citation formulae as to whether they are genuine formulaic references, either those in Kings or those in Chronicles, or both, or neither. If both prove genuine, then the nature of Auld's "underlying document" needs reassessment, and the synchronicity of shared information which he demonstrates needs to find its explanation from another direction. Auld stops short of suggesting cross-referencing of the citations, as it is in fact an impossibility in his scheme.

If the citations of Kings and Chronicles are both genuine, as this thesis postulates, then amidst Auld's otherwise strong defence of the similar dating of Kings and Chronicles, then this is where the real difficulty in his theory lies. In a scholarly climate where the

[739] H. G. M. Williamson, "A Response to A. Graeme Auld*," JSOT* 8, 1983, pp. 36–37; G. Knoppers, "*Review of Auld*, *Kings Without Privilege*," *Ashland Theological Journal*, 27, 1997, pp. 118–21; I. Kalimi, "Kings *with* Privilege: The Core Source(s) of the Parallel Texts between the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic Histories," *RB,* 2012, pp. 498-517; M. S. Heizer, "Review of G. Auld, *Kings without Privilege*," *JETS* 48, March 2006, pp. 137-204; R. P. Carroll, "JewGreek GreekJew: The Hebrew Bible is all Greek to me: Reflections on the Problematics of Dating the Origins of the Bible in Relation to Contemporary Discussions of Biblical Historiography," ed., L. L. Grabbe, *Did Moses Speak Attic? JSOTS* 317, 2001, pp. 91-107.

citations in Chronicles have already widely been rejected as tendentious, Auld's position in this regard fits into the generally acceptable scholarly picture, but, if these citations are genuine, then this means Auld has, inadvertently, drawn attention to the important question of how the citation formulae in Kings and Chronicles, even where there are textual parallels, can differ in each case. This is the question which is in great need of being addressed more fully.

In Chapter two on dating Chronicles, the proposition was put forward that that there is no logical or theological necessity to place the dating of Chronicles within its current three hundred year post-exilic range. The same arguments may be applied to the book of Kings. In other words, there is no reason for Chronicles or Kings to languish in the post-exilic period. Additionally, this freedom to look at the two works alongside each other is Auld's valuable contribution to the current debate on the Kings and Chronicles scholarship.

The Tripartite Division of Chronicles

Some of the ancient Near Eastern chronicles show similar elements to the tripartite division of Biblical Chronicles. These are discussed in the Origins and Recapitulation Section on p. 237. There would appear to be three sections which make up the book of Chronicles: the Origins, the Recapitulation, and the Chronicling section. The Origins section takes the history of mankind back to Adam at the beginning of the world with a focus on the early genealogy of Israel. The Recapitulation gives an overview of the monarchy starting with the Saul's death, David's kingship and the temple plans leading up to Solomon's reign. The Origins and Recapitulation sections would be set up from previous records to form an overview leading up to the current period when the

Chronicling is to begin. The chronicling starts at the time of the dedication of the temple under the reign of Solomon.

The problem with Chronicles and Kings being treated as "histories" has been considered, where it was argued that neither is, strictly speaking, a history, though both can be used for historiographical purposes. Kings is apparently a prophetic collation of southern and northern kingdoms' prophetic writings, whilst Chronicles was set up, as "Chronicles" are designed to do, as a running account maintained within the precincts of the temple.

The books of Samuel and Kings were originally seen as one work, and the two books of Chronicles also were originally seen as one work. This tends to obscure the inner structure of these works. For example, the points of division in Samuel are not random, but each section deals with one monarchical reign. To a modern eye it looks odd to see the death of the predecessor begin the section of the succeeding king, but it is the relationship with the predecessor which establishes, whether through sonship, divine appointment, popular acclamation, conquest or a combination thereof, the successor. Hence each new king's section starts with the predecessor's death.[740] In this way the successor's accession to the throne is affirmed. 1 Samuel records Samuel's life as prophet and judge and also Saul as the first king of Israel. 2 Samuel records David's kingship, and his deathbed appointment of Solomon as his successor. This brings us to the book of Chronicles and the early chapters of Kings.

In Chronicles, the Origins section (1 Chr 1-9) is followed immediately by the Recapitulation section. The full text of 1 Samuel 31 is repeated in 1 Chronicles 10,

[740] M. J. Suriano, *The Politics of Dead Kings: Dynastic Ancestors in the book of Kings and Ancient Israel*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2, Reihe 48, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany, 2010, p. 29.

showing the start of the Recapitulation section which comprises the whole 1 Sam 31 chapter, with a couple of retribution verses added in at 1 Chr 10.13,14. There is no repeated material between Samuel and King as they appear to form a continuum. This fits in with the idea that originally Samuel and Kings may have formed one united document maintained by the prophets, divided into four sections in the Septuagint which names I and II Samuel and I and II Kings as Kingdoms I-IV.

The book of Chronicles, originally classified as one document, is now divided into 1 and 2 Chronicles where David's reign ends and Solomon's reign is established, at the point where the chronicling section begins. Again, the divisions are not random; the divisions in biblical Chronicles are as follows:

The Origins Section

In the case of Biblical Chronicles, which Chronicles the monarchical period, the Origins section is taken not from early king lists but from earlier genealogical lists, as there could not be a king list in Israel until the monarchy began at the time of Saul. The Origins are positioned at the start of the work, in 1 Chr 1-9, which start from Adam, in a simple list of names, with no dates or other additional information. After the list of names with which 1 Chronicles begins (paralleled in the Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18/MC 3, though the names in each list differ), there is gradual development to the text, where the verb "he reigned" or "he ruled" and "sonship" are added. The next step is when narrative sections, which appear very briefly and early, begin to become more of a feature, as the genealogical list' features develop towards chronicling of the kings' reigns. Each tribe's genealogy is reckoned, where the tribal chief is named, and his sons are then listed. Thereafter this is followed by more complexity and sections of brief narrative appear. The lists are specified as being the twelve sons of Israel:

אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ רְאוּבֵן שִׁמְעוֹן לֵוִי וִיהוּדָה יִשָּׂשכָר וּזְבֻלוּן׃	**1 Chr 2.1-2** These are the sons of Israel: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun;
דָּן יוֹסֵף וּבִנְיָמִן נַפְתָּלִי גָּד וְאָשֵׁר׃	**2** Dan, Joseph, and Benjamin, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher.

The whole list is rounded off at the end of the monarchical period, [741] and thereafter the post-exilic records are added on following this (1 Chr 9.1):

וְכָל-יִשְׂרָאֵל הִתְיַחְשׂוּ וְהִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה הָגְלוּ לְבָבֶל בְּמַעֲלָם׃	**1 Chr 9.1** So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel; and Judah was carried away captive to Babylon because of their transgression.

The similarity of patterns in 1 Chr 1-9 and other ancient Near Eastern works can be discerned, while the very presence of an Origins section (absent in later ancient Near Eastern Chronicles) most plausibly puts the format of biblical Chronicles into the twelfth to ninth century B.C. range. This does not fix Chonicles into this time frame, as chronicling is a continuing process sometimes over several centuries. However it raises the question as to why there is no mention of the flood. A possible answer requires that Genesis be in existence before Chronicles. Genesis 6-9 tells the story of the flood, and then the genealogy of Genesis 10 (source of 1 Chr 1) begins, mentioning the Noahic flood:

וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת בְּנֵי-נֹחַ שֵׁם חָם וָיָפֶת וַיִּוָּלְדוּ לָהֶם בָּנִים אַחַר הַמַּבּוּל׃	Genesis 10.1 Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and unto them were sons born after the flood.

[741] Lists of genealogical names: e.g. 1 Chr 2.1-2 (and also: 1 Chr 3.1-6 (including David's regnal summation for Hebron); 1 Chr 4.1 (Sons of Judah), etc.

The section ends with an *inclusio*, or a colophonic end-note which also mentions the flood, at Genesis 10.32:

אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפְּחֹת בְּנֵי-נֹחַ לְתוֹלְדֹתָם בְּגוֹיֵהֶם וּמֵאֵלֶּה נִפְרְדוּ הַגּוֹיִם בָּאָרֶץ אַחַר הַמַּבּוּל׃	Gen 10.32 These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations; and of these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.

In 1 Chronicles 1 the list of names are akin to those in Genesis but are reduced to a list of ten names with no narrative at all, omitting even the colophonic note at the end of Noah's genealogy (Genesis 10.32). Colophons have often been chopped off the end, so this is not strange in itself, but it means in this case the flood gets no mention. This is at best a partial attempt at an answer that merits more focused research than can be done here.

The format changes indicate fidelity to the original style or recording patterns, with narrative and slight increasing of formulaic complexity gradually but not consistently being added in. This is discussed above in the Assyrian and Babyonian Origins and Recapitulation sections found on p. 237.

Genealogies of the generations הִתְיַחֵשׂ לְתוֹלְדוֹתָם are like Birth or Marriage Registers which get updated on an ongoing basis. From time to time when a census is taken, these genealogies are used for population censuses. This may be seen to be an ongoing process in 1 Chronicles 1-9:

וְהִתְיַחְשָׂם לְתֹלְדוֹתָם רָאשֵׁי בֵּית אֲבוֹתָם גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל עֶשְׂרִים אֶלֶף וּמָאתָיִם׃	**1 Chr 7.9** And they [the sons of Benjamin] were reckoned by genealogy, after their generations, heads of their fathers' houses, mighty men of valour, twenty thousand and two hundred.

This updating is mentioned in several passages (e.g. 1 Chr 4.41 “These were written by name in the days of Hezekiah;” 1 Chr 5.36-41 where Jehozadak, the priest in Solomon’s temple, went into captivity “by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar;” and 1 Chr 9.1 “So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies and behold, they are written in the book of the Kings of Israel[.] and Judah was carried captive by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar,” and 1 Chr 9.2 “Now the first inhabitants that dwelt in their possessions in their cities were: the Israelites, the priests, the Levites, and the Nethinim.”

It my be seen then that these sections are genealogical updates to an existing document, one at Hezekiah’s time, and the others, from records kept during the exile, added on to the pre-existing genealogical records which we learn is the book of “the kings of Israel (and Judah) after returning from exile” (1 Chr 9.1).

The tribe of Shimei who lived in villages around Beersheba had maintained their genealogy:

וְכָל-חַצְרֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבוֹת הֶעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה עַד-בָּעַל זֹאת מוֹשְׁבֹתָם וְהִתְיַחְשָׂם לָהֶם׃	**1 Chr 4.33** and all their villages that were round about the same cities, unto Baal. These were their habitations, and they have their genealogy.

In Gad’s genealogy we learn that genealogical reckonings were done during both King Jotham of Judah and King Jeroboam of Israel’s reigns (1 Chr 5.17):

כֻּלָּם הִתְיַחְשׂוּ בִּימֵי יוֹתָם מֶלֶךְ-יְהוּדָה וּבִימֵי יָרָבְעָם מֶלֶךְ-יִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**1 Chr 5.17** All these were reckoned by genealogies in the days of Jotham king of Judah and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel.

Those in Moab of David’s lineage had maintained genealogies that were noted for being ancient (1 Chr 4.22):

וְיוֹקִים וְאַנְשֵׁי כֹזֵבָא וְיוֹאָשׁ וְשָׂרָף אֲשֶׁר-בָּעֲלוּ לְמוֹאָב וְיָשֻׁבִי לָחֶם וְהַדְּבָרִים עַתִּיקִים׃	**1 Chr 4.22** and Jokim, and the men of Cozeba, and Joash, and Saraph, who had dominion in Moab, and Jashubi-lehem. And the records are ancient.

Ezra 2.25 and Nehemiah 7:29, 36, also update their genealogical records, which is when the last census by the people of Israel and Judah appears to have happened. The Septuagint would appear to have added in later updates to the genealogy than MT has done, e.g. 1 Chr 6.15, which would perhaps give an idea of when the canon was closed in each case. See Chapter 2 in the section on dating of Chronicles where this is discussed more fully.

The Recapitulation Section

The recapitulation section gives the impression that the book of Chronicles is an historiographic work, but is in fact a review of the period leading up to the chronicling section. It changes abruptly in style from the Origins section. In the case of Chronicles we can trace the selections which have been made from Samuel, to form the temple material prior to the chronicling (1 Chr 10-29). The sections in Samuel from which Chronicles has drawn begin from 1 Samuel 31, which describes King Saul's death and the end of his reign, followed by selections drawn from 2 Samuel 1-29, giving the background of early monarchical Israel. This selective choice of passages is to fulfil the requirements of the temple chronicle in Solomon's time, as detailed below. Each selection may be generally seen to serve a purpose in sanctioning the temple and establishing Solomon as the appointed King whom David has entrusted with the task. A key difference from the chronicled section in 2 Chronicles is that the Recapitulation section, 1 Chr 10-29, lacks dating and source references except for the uni-directional reference at the end (1 Chr 29.29). There is also the uni-directional reference at the end

of the Origins section calling this section the book of the "Kings of Israel (and Judah)" (1 Chr 9.1).

These points of division highlights clearly the structure of the chronicle in a form which would place it amongst other comparable ancient Mesopotamian Chronicles, such as the Babylonian Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18, which has an Origins section featuring a dynastic king list terminating with the flood, then there follows a king list of rulers, though the tablet is too damaged to say much about them except the kings appear to be dynastically listed.

Developmental elements of the formulae commence with sons inheriting the kingship from their fathers. This section adds in the new material starting from the Babylonian kingship, which includes the cause of death and burial place of the king which form part of the regnal summations. Dynastic years are still reckoned, and sonship (or usurper) is now included.

This tripartite pattern with Origins sections in the ancient Near Eastern chronicles fall between the twelfth and ninth centuries B.C.[742] It is this pattern that we find in biblical Chronicles too. These are not found in the later Neo-Babylonian Chronicles after Nabû-nāṣir's reign (747-734 B.C.). This may be seen in more details on p. 237.

[742] These are discussed in Chapter 3, under the titles: Origin Section and Recapitulation Section. Chronicles which feature Origins sections, for example, are: Origin lists with king lists: Dynastic ABC 18/MC 3; Weidner ABC 19/MC 38; Early Kings ABC 20/MC 39/41; Tummal MC 7; Uruk Chronicle of the Kings of Ur MC 48; ABC 24/MC 47; Walker Chronicle WC 25/MC 46; Eclectic ABC 24/MC 47; Religious ABC 17/MC 51; Assyrian Eponym List second Millennium, Grayson, *ABC*: p. 276/MC 8; the Weidner Chronicle ABC 19, the Assyrian King List, MC 136; The Sumerian King List MC 117 is the ancient text underlying these, including the Dynastic Chronicle ABC 18.

The Chronicling Section

If this whole work can be viewed as a temple document, Solomon's *chef d'oeuvre*, which is the seal upon establishing his kingship, then the structure of Chronicles becomes clear. The Recapitulation ends at 1 Chr 29.29,30 and the Chronicling begins in 2 Chronicles 1ff. with Solomon's reign, establishing Solomon as son and successor (2 Chr 1.9).

Generally, in the ancient Near East, the colophonic formulaic records (whether annals or chronicles) of the successor to the previous leader, judge or king, begin with the death and burial notice of the previous leader followed by the naming of his appointed successor, who is to rule in his place, usually his son. This effectively legitimates the appointment of the successor and confirms the successor in his new status as king or ruler.[743]

Kings would thus, in this sense, start out as Solomon's records, possibly his Annals. So when Macy, in his chart, puts 1 Kings 2.11 as belonging to part of David's story, this is not strictly speaking correct. It is part of Solomon's accession account, where it may be seen to be following the ancient Near Eastern pattern of the death of the king being the prelude to the succession of the new king. Seen in this light it really forms part of Solomon's story, legitimating his succession.

[743] Suriano, *The Politics of Dead Kings,* p. 29 and 173. Suriano divides the repeating formulae into prologues and epilogues, as he asks the important question, which his monograph addresses, "why was it imperative to close out a king's reign in such a structured and formulaic literary-style?" He concludes that "the purpose of these epilogues, as governed by the opening statement (the dynastic notice), was ultimately to present a progressive perspective on the narrative history of the Israelite monarchies, framing this narrative with a political ideology that legitimized David and his heirs. This progressive aspect in Kings compares with similar genealogica perspectives that guided the narratives in Genesis and Chronicles, and it contributed to an ideology of ancestral identities that is directly related to the political landscape of the Levant during the Iron Age," p. 173.

וְהַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ דָּוִד עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה׃ בְּחֶבְרוֹן מָלַךְ שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים וּבִירוּשָׁלַם מָלַךְ שְׁלֹשִׁים וְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים׃	**1 Kgs 2.11** And the days that David reigned over Israel were forty years: seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty and three years reigned he in Jerusalem.
וּשְׁלֹמֹה יָשַׁב עַל-כִּסֵּא דָּוִד אָבִיו וַתִּכֹּן מַלְכֻתוֹ מְאֹד׃	**12** And Solomon sat upon the throne of David his father; and his kingdom was established firmly.

The counterpart to this in Chronicles is to be found in the Recapitulation section: 1 Chr 29.26-30; vv. 28, 29:

וַיָּמָת בְּשֵׂיבָה טוֹבָה שְׂבַע יָמִים עֹשֶׁר וְכָבוֹד וַיִּמְלֹךְ שְׁלֹמֹה בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	**28** And he [David] died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honour; and Solomon his son reigned in his stead.
וְדִבְרֵי דָוִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-דִּבְרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל הָרֹאֶה וְעַל-דִּבְרֵי נָתָן הַנָּבִיא וְעַל-דִּבְרֵי גָּד הַחֹזֶה׃	**29** Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold, they are written in the words of Samuel the seer, and in the words of Nathan the prophet, and in the words of Gad the seer;

Here we see the Recapitulation section ends at 1 Chronicles 29 with David's death and Solomon's accession, finishing with the colophon referring back to the source of the information in 1 Chronicles 10-29. 2 Chr 1ff. continues then with Solomon's accession accomplished.

וַיִּתְחַזֵּק שְׁלֹמֹה בֶּן-דָּוִיד עַל-מַלְכוּתוֹ וַיהוָה אֱלֹהָיו עִמּוֹ וַיְגַדְּלֵהוּ לְמָעְלָה׃	**2 Chr 1.1** And Solomon the son of David was strengthened in his kingdom, and the LORD his God was with him and magnified him exceedingly.

The Citations

Chronicles' dependence on the books of Samuel as part of the Recapitulation section is acknowledged in the uni-directional referencing from Chronicles to Samuel (1 Chr

29.29), as compared with Kings where there is cross-referencing between Kings and Chronicles from the early sections of both (1 Kgs 11.41//2 Chr 9.29). When the kingdoms divide at the start of Rehoboam's reign, the cross-referencing continues with Kings but from here it continues bilaterally between both the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (first example: 1 Kgs 14.19//No counterpart in Chr) and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (first example: 1 Kgs 14.29//2 Chr 12.15). This cross-referencing continues from Rehoboam's reign until 721/2 B.C. when the northern kingdom of Israel goes into exile (last reference to Chr of "Kgs of Israel" 2 Kgs 15.31//No counterpart in Chr). Thereafter the cross-references are between Kings and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" in the southern kingdom of Judah only. The cross-referencing between Kings and Chronicles of Judah continues almost through to the Judaic exile, getting somewhat erratic as the southern kingdom of Judah weakens. See Appendix A, Chart 2, p. 404, "References/Cross-References between Chronicles and Samuel/Kings." In this chart Kings which is on the left hand side of the chart, refers bilaterally to the two respective Chronicles. In the column on the right hand side, there are *never* counter-references in the book of Chronicles (or as I suggest is its full title, the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah") when Kings refers to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel." These are *always* blank in the Chronicles column. By contrast, when the references in Kings are to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" there is always a corresponding reference to a prophet, a prophetic work or in the majority of cases to the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel" (or "Kings of Israel and Judah" on three occasions).

The dependence of Chronicles on Samuel in this scheme is entirely within the recapitulation section where the referencing goes uni-directionally from Chronicles to Samuel, as compared with Kings where there is cross-referencing between Kings and Chronicles almost to the end.

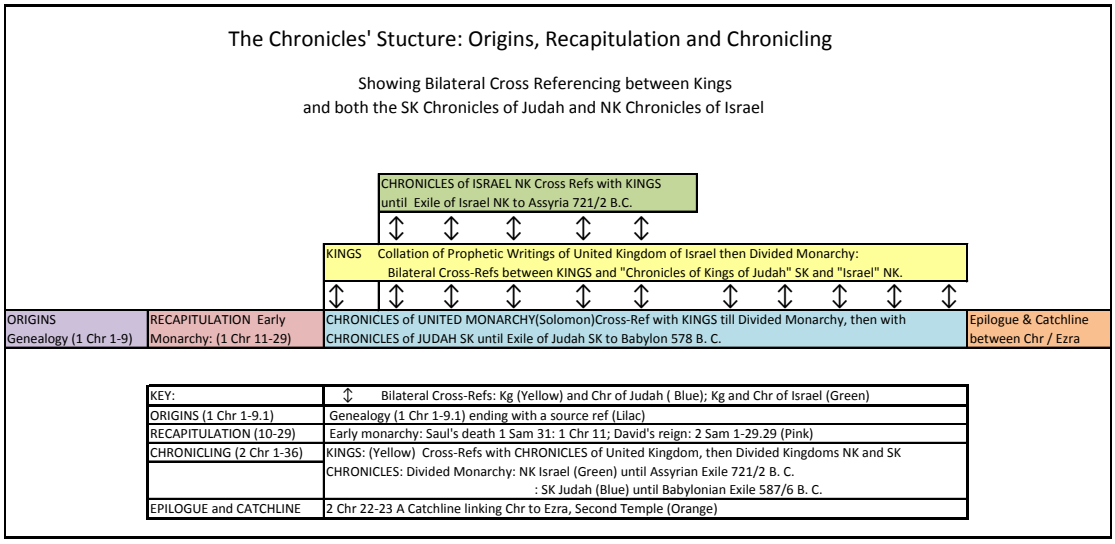
A Double Cross-Referencing System centred in the Book of Kings

The unique feature of the biblical books of Kings and Chronicles is that they not only cross-reference each other, but Kings, once the kingdom divides, may be seen also to cross-reference the northern kingdom Chronicles of the Kings of Israel,[744] though we lack this northern kingdom document so only see one half of the cross-referencing, the other part of which can be reasonably surmised. The pattern of the biblical Chronicles may be seen in: Appendix A Chart 1: "Tripartite Structure in Chronicles and the bilateral cross-referencing in Chronicles and Kings," on p. 281.

The Chart illustrates Chronicles' tripartite structure with the Genealogy (Pink) and Recapitulation (mostly drawn from Samuel) (Lilac) followed by the Chronicling section. It may be seen that the cross-referencing only begins in the United Monarchy under Solomon when the temple is built. After the Kingdom divides, the Chronicling continues, but now bilaterally cross-referencing between the book of Kings ("Kings of Judah and Israel") (yellow) with both Chronicles ("Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" SK (Blue) and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" NK (Green). King's cross-references with the northern kingdom of Israel ("Chronicles of the Kings of Israel") cease at the time of the exile (721/2 B.C.), but continue with Judah, with increasing irregularity, until the exile of Judah to Babylon (587/6 B.C.).

[744] References in Kings to the book of "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel:" 1 Kgs 14.19; 15.31; 16.5, 14, 20, 22.39; 2 Kgs 1.18; 9.24; 10.34; 13.8ff, 12; 14.15, 28; 15.12, 15, 21, 26, 31.

The Bilateral Cross-Referencing of Chronicles and Kings



The above chart may be seen enlarged in Appendix A, Chart 1 on p. 403, but is used here to show the outline of the discussion that will be followed. It shows the directional flow of the citations: firstly, the uni-directional citations in the Origins and Recapitulation sections from Chronicles to the older sources, namely, the book of Samuel (1 Chr 29.29) and the source(s) of the Origins section, the genealogical section which is referred to unilaterally (1 Chr 9.1). The first synchronic cross-referencing appears between Kings and Chronicles during the United Monarchy under Solomon. After the Kingdom of Israel is divided into the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah, Kings records the information from both the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, NK and the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, SK, which are cross-referenced in both directions; this continues until NK is taken into exile, whereupon the referencing continues only between Kings and the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.

For those who credit the source citations as genuine, cross-referencing would solve the problem of explaining how two works, Kings and Chronicles, with similar material or

even exactly the same material could refer to different works. Indeed Glatt-Gilad writes:

> The sheer number of seemingly overlapping sources cited by the Chronicler has rendered the source citation the most controversial element of all the regnal formulae in C, in as much as it impinges directly on the question of the Chronicler's reliability as a historian.[745]

If we take the וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי "the rest of…" part of the formula seriously, then we would need to find where "the rest of" the information might be found. A logical explanation which would fit the facts would be if both Chronicles and Kings, both sharing similar information yet citing, in King's case, two sources, and in Chronicles' case, one major work to which prophetic names or works are linked, which we then find in Kings as part of its collation of prophets. In every instance where the reader is invited to find "the rest of…" the shared information that both Kings and Chronicles refer to, we find the same subject matter in the other work. This looks very like cross-referencing of each other. This is certainly the understanding of Kimḥi and Langton, as has been examined in Chapter two under the dating section on p. 46. There is also a precedent for such cross-referencing in the Egyptian day-books, as discussed in Chapter 3, p. 187. Indeed, Van Seters gives details about a Day-book kept in Thutmose III's palace, where the rest of the information that cannot fit onto the Temple pillar is kept.[746]

I suggest therefore that "*wəyeter*" is entirely meaningful in its context, indeed a code-breaking key to help understand how the citations work together. Instead of Auld's

[745] D. Glatt-Gilad, "Historiographic Devices in the book of Chronicles," *RB*, 2001, pp. 184-209; p. 199.

[746] Van Seters, *Search of History,* p. 147: Regarding Thutmose III's annals they were to be set up on a pillar in the temple to Amen-Re recording his seventeen Campaigns. The text clearly acknowledges abbreviations of the account at certain points "in order not to multiply words." The reader is referred to "a Day-book in the palace" for more complete information.

"underlying document," the material to which both Kings and Chronicles refer is taken from the prophetic reporting and writings which are current and shared between them. The nature of any postulated "underlying document" would thus rather be a multiplicity of prophetic messengers, to which both have access, but from which each has selected materials according to the remit of temple or prophetic requirements. The incoming reports would be received by a central point, disseminated, edited at each point of recording, referenced, rather as in journalism today from the Reuters agency. Materials would be selected according to the editorial purpose or politico-religious position of each recipient.

With Kings and Chronicles it would seem that news would come in, perhaps by letter, or prophecies would be spoken with a scribe writing them down, possibly on writing boards, or on small scrolls, bringing reports mostly by prophets,[747] which would then be used by the scribes of both the book of Kings and the Chronicles, each using what pertained to their purposes. The nearest to this position would be Mazar, who does not assume any underlying document but "takes it for granted that the Annals of the kings were similar in every respect to the Annals of other kings of the Ancient East."[748]

The Structure of the Book of Chronicles

The structure of Chronicles follows the outline as shown in this diagram which falls into five sections. However, only 1 Chronicles 1-29 which covers the first two

[747] The many references to scribes, recorders, secretaries in Sam, Kgs, and Chr confirm the general state of the early periods that writing was available. This has been discussed in Chapter 2. The slight possibility of a scroll comes from Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, p. 14. "Regarding the Assyrian annals, a mural painting at Til Barsip represents two "military" scribes watching a battle…one of them is writing on a tablet in cuneiform, with a stylus, while the other is writing with a pen on a scroll, probably in Aramaic script." It seems possible that these two methods were available in the ancient Middle East, including Judah and Israel.

[748] B. Mazar (Maizler), "Ancient Israelite Historiography," *IEJ* 2, 1952, pp. 82-88. Cited in Bin-Nun, "Formulas," pp. 414-432; p. 417.

divisions, Origins and Recapitulation, will be discussed in this section. The Chronicling section, (2 Chronicles 1-36) forms a separate discussion, consisting of the synchronising in the united monarchy and then the bilateral synchronising after the divided kingdom, take place:

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES:
ORIGINS: 1 Chr 1-9.1---------→1-way Source Citation to book of "Kings of Israel"
RECAP : 1 Chr 29.29----------→1-way Citation: 1 Sam 31 (Saul); 2 Sam (David)
UNITED KINGDOM: To 2 Chr 12.15 ←----------→1 Kgs 1-14.29 (Rehoboam)
DIVIDED KINGDOM: To 2 Chr 32.32± ←=→ 2 Kgs 1- 17ff (Hoshea to NK Exile)
KINGDOM OF JUDAH: 2 Chr 36.17 ff. ←-------→2 Kgs 25 (Hezekiah to SK Exile)

In the Origins and Recapitulation sections we see the uni-directional flow of the citations in Chronicles referring back to the older sources, principally, the book of Samuel (1 Chr 29.29) and of the sources of the Origins section, the genealogical section which is also a uni-directional citation (1 Chr 9.1). Then follows the first synchronic cross-referencing between Kings and Chronicles appearing during the United Monarchy under Solomon; then after the Kingdom of Israel is divided into the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah, Kings records the information from both the Chronicles of Israel, NK, and the Chronicles of Judah, SK which are cross-referenced in both directions; this continues until NK is taken into exile, whereupon NK references cease entirely, and the cross-referencing continues only between Kings and the Chronicles of Judah.

ORIGINS: 1 Chr 1-9.1-----→1-way Source Citation to book of "Kings of Israel"

The formulaic citation at the end of the Origins section in Chronicles is as follows:

וְכָל-יִשְׂרָאֵל הִתְיַחְשׂוּ וְהִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה הָגְלוּ לְבָבֶל בְּמַעֲלָם׃	**1 Chr 9.1** So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel; and Judah was carried away captive to Babylon because of their transgression.

The first citation in Chronicles at the end of the genealogy (1 Chr 9.1) could be interpreted to read, according to the punctuation, the book of the "Kings of Israel and Judah," or simply the book of the "Kings of Israel. And Judah…." Either would make a certain amount of sense. The book of the Kings of Israel would be the expected title for the monarchy over all twelve tribes of Israel. This would fit into the idea that the genealogical records of Israel were taken by Solomon for his new temple still within the united kingdom of Israel, patterned on other ancient Near Eastern king lists of the time. However, this raises the question as to why there is a plural verb following the new sentence thus formed: "And Judah *were taken into exile* (plural verb) in Babylon because of *their* (third pers. pl. pronoun suffix) unfaithfulness."[749]

Alternatively, Ezra or someone else, for example, returning to Judah to set up the records for the Second Temple in the post-exilic period, could have taken the existing records that could be found, or created new documents from old records, adding to them to get them up to date, where it would be only natural to add in Judah's name to the title, in recognition of the changed status of the returned exiles to Judah, hence "Kings of Israel and Judah."

[749] B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax,* Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990.

In this case the problem lies in the words "and Judah" appearing only once, which suggests haplography whereby the second "and Judah" would have been left out in scribal error. Waltke does not see the plural verb after Judah as a problem grammatically, "Judah (they) were taken" as collective nouns tend to take on plural verbs over time by metonymy,[750] so "Judah," in this view, would replace "the inhabitants of Judah," rendering the plural as grammatically insignificant, and making haplography a choice to accord with one's point of view.

In the Masoretic text, the presence of an 'athnach in the word Israel (יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל) gives support to the disjunctive view, marking a division in the sentence at this point.[751] Either way, it appears as a genealogical record, set up to maintain the whole of Israel and Judah, being updated from time to time alongside, and yet as part of, the overall chronicling of the kings' reigns. The changing style of the recording of the earliest genealogical records, even differences between the recording of the different tribal records, also reflect differences according to how well maintained the genealogies have been. This would be in keeping with the ancient Near East Chronicles, which have an antediluvian "origins" record, in some cases simply a list of names[752] which becomes more detailed and begin to include regnal dating as the records become more recent.

The reference then in 1 Chr 9.1 would be a uni-directional reference to what has gone immediately before, suggesting that 1 Chronicles 1-9.1 itself is the actual book of the

[750] Waltke and O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax,* p. 109.

[751] W. D. Barrick, "The Masoretic Hebrew Accents in Translation and Interpretation," 2004, pp. 1-2: **"**There are two major categories of Masoretic accents: the disjunctive accents and the conjunctive accents. As their names indicate, the first creates disjunction or division and the second creates conjunction or connection. The disjunctive accents are dominant in the Masoretic Text because they are employed to show where the thought is broken or where a pause is taken in the reading." In the non-poetic books "the 'Athnach marks the principal division of the verse—the logical mid-point." https://drbarrick.org/files/papers/other/HebrewAccentsrev.pdf [Accessed 22 June 2018]

[752] e.g. The Assyrian chronicles (2nd Millennium and 1st Millennium) had eponym lists of annually elected officials called *līmus*. See Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp. 160 – 176.

"Kings of Israel." This indeed has been suggested by Hilprecht, in the light of "an early Sumerian chronicle entitled '*Nam-lugal,*'" that this means "literally 'royalty, kingship,'" probably translatable into Hebrew as מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל = Kings [of Israel], "which we may render more intelligently in English by translating 'Book of the Kings.'"[753] This citation, the book of the "Kings of Israel," fits well with the idea of a king list in the biblical book of Chronicles.[754] As an active document (rather like a Birth Register), it would be updated as required. This copy now attached to the start of Chronicles but probably a separately managed document to begin with, would in all probability have been set up by Solomon for the temple, using existing records and genealogies maintained by various families, and thereafter maintained as an active document to be updated from time to time. Perhaps it was a copy of a separate work, which eventually became prefixed to the book of Chronicles. There is no way to know, except that it has been referenced as the book of Kings of Israel (and Judah, possibly), as will be discussed in the next section.

As examined in Chapter 3, p. 248, the 1 Chronicles 1 selections showed that there are similar patterns to those found in the king lists of other ancient Near Eastern king lists except that ancient Near Eastern king lists attribute kingship to the antediluvian kings, which, while there is a full account of the flood in Genesis 5–8, kingship is not a feature of Israel's genealogical lists.[755] It is only in Samuel's time that the people call for a king, so that prior to that, the patriarchs and judges are not regarded as kings. A king list would only be set up once the monarchy was established, as part of the archival

[753] H. V. Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story and the Temple Library of Nippur* (1910), KLR , University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1910, P. 29.

[754] H. V. Hilprecht, *Babylonian Deluge Story*, p. 29.

[755] Origin lists with king lists: Dynastic ABC 18//MC 3; Weidner ABC 19//MC 38; Early Kings ABC 20//MC 39/41; Tummal MC 7; Uruk Chronicle of the Kings of Ur MC 48; Walker ABC 25 / MC 46; Walker Chronicle WC 25/MC 46; Eclectic ABC 24/MC 47; Religious ABC 17 /MC 51; Assyrian Eponym List second Millennium, Grayson, *ABC*, p. 276 / MC 8.

contents of the temples or palaces. This would mean that it could well have been set up in Solomon's time at the dedication of the temple.

Also in the Chronicles genealogy there is no mention of the flood either. This seems surprising unless Genesis is regarded as the source for the genealogy in Chronicles (1 Chr 1). Following the genealogical listings in Genesis 10.1ff there is a colophonic summation in the closing verse of Genesis (Gen 10.32) where the flood is mentioned:

אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפְּחֹת בְּנֵי-נֹחַ לְתוֹלְדֹתָם בְּגוֹיֵהֶם וּמֵאֵלֶּה נִפְרְדוּ הַגּוֹיִם בָּאָרֶץ אַחַר הַמַּבּוּל׃	**Genesis 10.32** These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations; and of these were the nations divided in the earth <u>after the flood.</u>

The question then, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, would be which is the more original, the Genesis record or 1 Chronicles 1 record in which the genealogy is listed in accordance with Genesis 10, but the final colophonic summation mentioning the flood is omitted.[756]

RECAPITULATION : 1 Chr 29.29---------→1-way Source Citation: Bk Samuel

In our biblical Chronicles we have both the source document (Samuel) and the recapitulation taken from it (Chronicles) where we can compare directly what has been added, omitted and altered. Knowing the purpose for which it was done, as a temple document for Solomon's new temple, makes all the selections entirely comprehensible.

[756] V. P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis, Chapters 1-17*, NIV Commentary on the Old Testament, 1966, P. 6. In the context of examining the colophons of Genesis, in the light of P. D. Wiseman's *Ancient Texts and the Book of Genesis*," Hamilton writes, "Two key factors emerge from Hunger's study. One, the author's name is absent in the Akkadian colophons; and two, the colophon always comes at the end of the text." Aligning Genesis with the Semitic Akkadian means Genesis is also seen in this light, hence the colophon summing up the Table of Nations in Genesis 10.

When we get to Kings and Chronicles, this is when the Chronicling section begins, which will be discussed below.

The source material for the recapitulation section in Chronicles (1 Chr 10-29) is selected from the final chapter of 1 Samuel (1 Sam 31), and then from the whole of 2 Samuel (2 Sam 1-24). It may be observed that the only part of Saul's whole reign is the manner of his death, dealt with in the final chapter, 1 Sam 31. It may be viewed as an unusually extended colophonic catchline, linking 1 Samuel with 1 Chronicles 10, which is where the Recapitulation starts from. 1 Chr 10 has abruptly changed from genealogicical writing to this connecting narrative, which gives some support to this idea. The two verses added to 1 Chr 10.13-14 contain an example of the retribution formula so typical of the chronicles of the whole period running from the twelfth to the ninth century B.C. This fits in exactly with this early period where retribution or reward formulae are routine assessments of the deity's view of the matter, but are not to be found in later ancient Near East chronicles, as van der Spek points out:

> A minor difference with the chronicles of the recent past[757] is that the chronology was less precise: by reigns rather than by years of reign. The topics are the same in both: wars, the accession of kings, the death of kings, civil disturbances, and the interruption and alteration of cult practices. A major difference is that the authors of the chronicles of the remote past wanted to explain events. They were not satisfied with simply mentioning numerous facts. The explanans is the retributive will of Marduk. In other words, the chronicles exemplify an attempted interpretation of events of human history, according to

[757] Here he is referring to the Neo-Babylonian chronicles, seventh century B.C., as compared with those of the earlier ones of the twelfth-ninth centuries.

which they were the consequences of divine anger aroused by some impious deed of a human ruler.[758]

There are the two verses which do not appear in Samuel, but which are added into Chronicles as a retribution statement, in line with temple requirements:

וַיָּמָת שָׁאוּל בְּמַעֲלוֹ אֲשֶׁר מָעַל בַּיהוָה עַל-דְּבַר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא-שָׁמָר וְגַם-לִשְׁאוֹל בָּאוֹב לִדְרוֹשׁ׃	**1 Chr 10.13** So Saul died for his transgression which he committed against the LORD, because of the word of the LORD, which he kept not; and also that he asked counsel of a spirit, to inquire thereby,
וְלֹא-דָרַשׁ בַּיהוָה וַיְמִיתֵהוּ וַיַּסֵּב אֶת-הַמְּלוּכָה לְדָוִיד בֶּן-יִשָׁי׃	**14** and inquired not of the LORD; therefore He slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse.

The rest of 1 Chronicles (1 Chr 11-29), the Recapitulation section, takes selections suited to the requirements of temple records principally from 1 Sam 31 and finishes at 2 Samuel 24, *all* of which highlight David's right to the throne, Solomon as his successor, prophetically acclaimed, and Solomon's commission to build the temple.

<u>The importance of the formulaic reference 1 Chr 29.29</u>:

This is an important indicator of the use of a citation, not just to inform where the material has come from, but to refer back to the previous work, upholding and perpetuating the book of Samuel. The arguments that Chronicles ignores or cuts out important personages and events can be countered by noting that this linking source citation draws in all that has gone before. Saul's reign is not thereby neglected or

[758] Van der Spek*, Review of Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles,* p. 3.

ignored, but linked to Chronicles colophonically by the citation reference in 1 Chr 29.29.

It not only serves the purpose of joining the recapitulation section directly to what has gone before in the older prophetic records of Samuel but also indicates the end of the recapitulation prior to starting the chronicling for the temple records.

These selections taken from Samuel form the Recapitulation section in Chronicles and culminate in a colophonic citation as to where the material comes from (1 Chr 19.29):

וְדִבְרֵי דָוִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-דִּבְרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל הָרֹאֶה וְעַל-דִּבְרֵי נָתָן הַנָּבִיא וְעַל-דִּבְרֵי גָּד הַחֹזֶה׃	**1 Chr 29.29** Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold, they are written in the words of Samuel the seer, and in the words of Nathan the prophet, and in the words of Gad the seer;

In this citation formula (1 Chr 29.29) which forms the closing of the Recapitulation section, the first thing to notice about it is that it is not a cross-reference. It is the uni-directional reference Chronicles gives, acknowledging the source(s) from which the selections are drawn, material drawn selectively from 1 Sam 31 (Saul's death) and 2 Samuel.[759] The names of the contributing prophets are listed as Samuel, Nathan and Gad, whether before or after their writings were collated into the book of Samuel it is not possible to say, but as the Talmud believes,[760] these three prophets are subsumed into what we now call the book of Samuel. The unevenness of the narrative of Samuel certainly suggests two or more writers contributing, with little or no effort to iron out

[759] This presupposes Samuel being earlier than Kings and Chronicles. Samuel is prophetic writing, a collection and collation of prophetic writings. It is also possible that it was the source for or contained the annals of Saul and David. It is the natural precursor to Kings which continues in this prophetic tradition; Chronicles is – for Israel and Judah – a new beginning, a *sui generis* for Israel and Judah, a part of the requirements for a brand new Temple, namely the Temple of Solomon.

[760] Babylonian Talmud *b. Baba Bathra* 13a, 14b.

any editorial inconsistencies.[761] There is no corresponding reference in Samuel linking back to Chronicles, as the flow of information is uni-directional with Chronicles taking information from Samuel. The heavy reliance on Samuel, which is well-recognised, recapitulates the monarchy from the death of Saul and his sons (1 Sam 31) followed by a full coverage of the rise of David as king. The three prophets mentioned in the above citation formula are:

Samuel: His name is mentioned 123 times in 1 Samuel where he is the central figure; none in 2 Samuel or Kings; and of the six times in Chronicles, five of these instances are found in 1 Chronicles starting with 1 Chr 6.28 in the genealogy of the Origins section; 9.22 David's service, 11.3 Samuel's prophecy fulfilled, and culminating in the final citation formula in 1 Chr 29.29 cited above. The only mention in 2 Chronicles 35.18 is in connection with Josiah's Passover.

Nathan: There are eleven mentions of Nathan's name in 2 Samuel, all with Nathan as David's seer. There is no mention of Nathan prior to Samuel's death, 1 Samuel 25.1. The significant mentions of Nathan in Chronicles are as follows:

2 Sam 7.2-17//1 Chr 17.1-15 The building of a house for God where it features prominently in Chronicles' recapitulation, where Nathan reveals to Solomon Yahweh's intention that Solomon should reign after David and that he, Solomon, and not David, should build the temple. In 1 Chronicle 29.29 Nathan's name appears as part of the one-way reference to 1 Samuel, where Samuel, Nathan and Gad are referenced.

[761] E.g. 2 Sam 16-17, where Samuel anoints David, who is then taken into the service of Saul to play the harp for him, but in the next chapter when David slays Goliath, Saul enquires as to who this lad might be, as if he had never met him. Both tales are placed alongside each other and left unedited. There is no need to suppose any great time lapse between the two writings. The parallel passage in the Septuagint shows an attempt to iron out these inconsistencies, which it does by removing the verses in 1 Sam 16.12-32, thus eliminating the apparent contradiction between the two chapters.

2 Chr 9.29: This is the first cross-reference between Chronicles and Kings with its counterpart at 1 Kgs 11.41. The kingdom is still united, which may be observed in the mixture of northern kingdom and southern kingdom sources cited: Nathan (SK), Abijah from Shiloh (NK) and Iddo (seemingly NK, as he wrote about Jeroboam, NK).

2 Chr 29.25: David and Nathan's authority is invoked regarding the Levites being stationed in the house of God.

Gad: The sections in Samuel which have parallels in Chronicles reveal his prophetic significance as far as the building of the temple is concerned. Gad tells David to choose one of the three punishments after David sinned in numbering Israel.

It is Gad who sees the angel halt the plague at the threshing floor of Ornan (Araunah), and tells David to build the temple at that site, giving significant prophetic legitimisation to the temple site and building thereof (2 Sam 24.18//1 Chr 21.18).

וַיָּבֹא-גָד אֶל-דָּוִד בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ עֲלֵה הָקֵם לַיהוָה מִזְבֵּחַ בְּגֹרֶן אַרְנִיָּה (אֲרַוְנָה) הַיְבוּסִי׃	**2 Sam 24.18** And Gad came that day to David, and said unto him: 'Go up, rear an altar unto the LORD in the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite.'
וּמַלְאַךְ יְהוָה אָמַר אֶל-גָּד לֵאמֹר לְדָוִיד׃ כִּי יַעֲלֶה דָוִיד לְהָקִים מִזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה בְּגֹרֶן אָרְנָן הַיְבוּסִי׃	**1 Chr 21.18** Then the angel of the LORD commanded Gad to say to David, that David should go up, and rear an altar unto the LORD in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite

As shown above, all three, Samuel, Nathan and Gad are all mentioned by name within the Samuel narratives. Samuel himself dies (1 Sam 25), but before his death Gad is mentioned once in 1 Sam 22.5, prior to Samuel's death (1 Sam 25). Gad warns David to flee from his stronghold and go to Judah, so David left and came to the Forest of Hereth within Judah's borders:

וַיֹּאמֶר גָּד הַנָּבִיא אֶל-דָּוִד לֹא תֵשֵׁב בַּמְּצוּדָה לֵךְ וּבָאתָ-לְךָ אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה וַיֵּלֶךְ דָּוִד וַיָּבֹא יַעַר חָרֶת׃	**2 Sam 22.5** And the prophet Gad said unto David: 'Abide not in the stronghold; depart, and get thee into the land of Judah.' Then David departed, and came into the forest of Hereth.

However, mention of Nathan's prophecies occurs only after Samuel's death. There were possibly three originally separate collections of prophecies, collected and collated into the work we now know as Samuel.

It is these two prophets, Gad and Nathan, who feature predominantly during David's rise to power, after Samuel's death. It is possible to glimpse their separate contributions when their writings are put alongside each other, sometimes not quite seamlessly. However the very lack of any attempt to reconcile the reports suggests faithful transmission of what had been reported by each:

For example in 1 Sam 16.14-23 David is sent for to be introduced to Saul and becomes his armour bearer, but in 1 Sam 17.17ff.[762] Jesse sends his son David to take provisions to his older brothers fighting against the Philistines in Saul's army, where he distinguishes himself by killing Goliath, which leads to him being accepted into Saul's service.

Two accounts of Saul's taking David into his service suggest two writers, whose names, if we accept the 2 Chr 29.29 source citation as referring to the book of Samuel, are specifically referenced by name in 1 Chr 29.29, along with Samuel's name, as being

[762] The Septuagint in this passage, 1 Sam 17.17ff omits verses 12-32, in what appears to be a crude attempt at reconciling of the two contradictory accounts (1 Sam 16.14-23; 17.17ff). If the Septuagint were the original, it would be surprising if the MT should go to lengths to introduce an obvious contradictory story. A simpler explanation is that there were two accounts by two different scribes placed together with no attempt at reconciling them.

Gad and Nathan, with their names appearing from time to time right through to Kings as seer and prophet respectively, both in David's service.

It should also be noted that in 1 Chr 27.24 in the Recapitulation section, there is the one and only mention of "Chronicles," not in a formulaic reference but in connection with the "Chronicles of King David" referring to the non-recording of the census details in that work: (דִּבְרֵי-הַיָּמִים לַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִיד).

In 2 Sam 18.5 there is mention of a census being taken, and again, in 2 Sam 24.1ff. No tally of the census is given in either place. Of note is that Chronicles is referring to David's Chronicles, a separate work from itself, not included in the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" or the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel."

יוֹאָב בֶּן-צְרוּיָה הֵחֵל לִמְנוֹת וְלֹא כִלָּה וַיְהִי בָזֹאת קֶצֶף עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא עָלָה הַמִּסְפָּר בְּמִסְפַּר דִּבְרֵי-הַיָּמִים לַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִיד׃	**1 Chr 27.24** Joab the son of Zeruiah began to number, but finished not; and there came wrath for this upon Israel; neither was the number put into the account in the Chronicles of king David.

It is the first use of the words (דִּבְרֵי-הַיָּמִים) which is always translated here as "Chronicles." It is possible that the chronicled reference deems 2 Samuel to be David's Chronicles, or else it is a separate work, which we no longer have. This reference is not included in the main analysis.

Analysis of Chronicles material selected from Samuel[763] To illustrate the above, the following chart shows the selections from Samuel chosen for and omitted from the Recapitulation section in Chronicles:

[763] Adapted from Macy, *Sources of Chronicles*, p. 44.

Shared with Sam	Independent	Omitted
Saul:		
1 Sam 31.1-13//1 Chr 10.1-12 Saul and Jonathan's death	1 Chr 10.13-14 Retribution	2 Sam 1-4 David's rise to kingship
David:		
2 Sam 5.1-3//1 Chr 11:1-3 Israel Tribes to David at Hebron	1Chr11.6,10,41b-47; Appointing David's Chiefs	
2 Sam 5.4-5//1 Chr 29.26-27 Summation of David's reign		
2 Sam 5.6ab,7, 9,10//1 Chr 11. 4-5,7-9: David captures city of David from Jebusites	1 Chr 11.6,10 Joab is first to smite Jebus	2 Sam 5.6b, 8 Blind and lame remarks
2 Sam 23.8-9,11c-39//1 Chr 11.11-41a : List of mighty men who support David.	1 Chr 11.41b-47 Extended list of warriors	
2 Sam 6.1, 3, 5-11//1 Chr 13.6- Ark to Obed-Edom after bearer's death	1 Chr 13.1-5 All Israel esp. Priests & Levites to fetch Ark	2 Sam 6.20-23 Details of Michal's comments & curse
2 Sam 5.11-14//1 Chr 14.1-2 Hiram helps David build palace		
2 Sam 5.15-16//1 Chr 14.3-7 List of David's wives, children		
2 Sam 5.17-25//1 Chr 14.8-16 Defeat Philistines:Balsam Trees	1 Chr 14.17 David's fame -->nations fear	
2 Sam 6.1-19a //1 Chr 15.25-29; 16.1-3 David/Israel fetch Ark	1 Chr 15.1-24 Levites to carry ark	
	1 Chr 16.4-42 Appointees, Psalm, Duties	
2 Sam 6.19b, 20a//1 Chr 16.43 People sent home after Ark celebrations		
2 Sam 7.1-29 // 1 Chr 17.1-27 Nathan: David wants to build God a house		
2 Sam 8.1-18 // 1 Chr 18.1-17 Victory over Philistines		2 Sam 9 Saul's son-2 yr reign; David blesses Saul's line
2 Sam 10.1-6b, 7-9//1 Chr 19.1-6, 8-9 New Ammonite king rejects David and ambassadors	1 Chr 19.7 Joab's role	
2 Sam 11.1//1 Chr 20.1b-3 Spring wars: David at Jerusalem	1 Chr 21.1b amah seige: Joab beats Ammonites	

2 Sam 20.1//2 Chr 10.16 No portion in David/Jesse		
2 Sam 21.18-22//1 Chr 20.4-8 Philistine giants defeated		
2 Sam 24.10b-16a//1 Chr 21.2-13: God entices David to order census//Satan entices David to order census.	1 Chr 21.1, 16, 26b-30 Gad tells David choices of punishment for census-taking	
2 Sam 24.16b-25 Araunah is "the king" 2 Sam 24.23	1 Chr 21.15- 30 Ornan the Jebusite not called "the king"	1 Chr 22.1, 6-17 David tells Solomon to build temple on Ornan's site
	1 Chr 29.26,27//1 Chr 18.14 Inclusio	
	1 Chr 29.29-30 Colophonic catchline	
1 Kgs 2.11//1 Chr 29.27 Time of David's reign(s)		1 Chr 29.27//1 Chr 18.14 Inclusio; 1 Chr 29.29 Catchline

Macy includes 1 Kgs 2.11//1 Chr 29.27 with David's reign but it fits better as Kgs-Chr.[764] After the last chapter of Samuel, 2 Sam 24//1 Chr 21, where Araunah's field is chosen as the temple site, the chapters 1 Chr 22-29 that follow are not to be found in the book of Samuel, so comparisons with 1 Chronicles cannot be made. Macy has not included these chapters in his analysis. 1 Chr 22-29 consists of census lists and priestly courses, as well as provisions for the temple building and in the last two chapters, Solomon's appointment as King David's successor, commissioned to build the temple. The possibility exists, though this is not established, that this material (1 Chr 10-29), was part of or perhaps all of the forbidden census material, excluded from David's Annals, but now included in Chronicles, as mentioned in 1 Chr 21.24:

[764] If Kings is the start of Solomon's annals, then it would start with David's death and appointment of Solomon as successor, so in this sense, 1 Kgs 2.11 should not be included as part of David's records in 2 Samuel, but as part of Solomon's records in 2 Chronicles.

יוֹאָב בֶּן-צְרוּיָה הֵחֵל לִמְנוֹת וְלֹא כִלָּה וַיְהִי בָזֹאת קֶצֶף עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא עָלָה הַמִּסְפָּר בְּמִסְפַּר דִּבְרֵי-הַיָּמִים לַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִיד׃	**1 Chr 21.24** Joab the son of Zeruiah began to number, but finished not; and there came wrath for this upon Israel; neither was the number put into the account in the Chronicles of king David.

Macy's chart has been used above, and adjusted to meet the different needs here as follows:

An extra column has been added on: the first column shows the shared content of Samuel and Chronicles, the second column shows the additional material in Chronicles which is not found in Samuel, and the third column shows the matters omitted from Chronicles.[765]

A further adaptation is that the subject matter has been added to each of the references; the third column containing the major omissions from the Chronicles text reveals some interesting insights which will be discussed below; some extra parallel sections are included, e.g. where Macy does not show David's census as being a parallel text in Samuel and Chronicles, because the *texts* differ, whereas in the above chart it is shown as being parallel in the overall *context:* while this is not an attempt to gloss over the theological or editorial significance of whether Satan or God tempts David, if we are considering the matter contextually, whether David was incited to sin by God or Satan is of no great moment where the important thing to note is that both contain overall the same narrative content. Indeed, Chronicles which always seek to glorify Yahweh, would understandably adjust the Samuel text so that Satan rather than Yahweh tempts

[765] The adaptations have been necessary as Macy's chart was devised to suit his thesis, namely his concern is for the *sources* of Chronicles, whereas the concern here is with the *source citations* of Chronicles. In order to give a broad overview of the recapitulation process I have made several changes to Macy's format, though remain highly indebted to him for the original content and layout.

David. This would fit in with the overall argument here that Chronicles are temple documents.

The omissions and additions in I Chronicles 9-31 vis à vis 1 Samuel 31 and 2 Samuel: These may be seen to be selected in the light of the overriding requirements for setting up temple documents that would meet the requirements to glorify Yahweh, uphold the line of David as Yahweh's divine choice, to validate Solomon as David's successor, and to give royal as well as divine, prophetically proclaimed sanction to Solomon's commission to oversee the building of the temple. Anything extraneous to these purposes is omitted.

Seen in this light, the scholarly perception that David is being glorified to plaster cast sainthood in Chronicles, as is sometimes mentioned, is not possible to uphold when Chronicles' recapitulation section is examined regarding the omissions and selection of material from Samuel. David is in no way glorified in the way Yahweh Himself is glorified. Recognition of human failure is acknowledged, albeit always accompanied by the retribution suffered as a consequence of sin. An example of this is David tempted by Satan commanding a census and the serious consequences flowing from it leading to Gad's angelic vision and prophetic utterances (1 Chr 21.18).

It is true that Chronicles omits most of the sins of David, namely, the sin with Bathsheba, the plot to kill Uriah, the rape of his daughter Tamar by his son Amnon, and the treachery of Absalom. However, equally excluded are his zealous loyalty towards Saul as God's anointed, his mourning for his death, all his great acts of clemency towards Saul's family, his noble treatment of Abner, his statesmanship in uniting Israel, and his faithful prayers to God. These are on record in Samuel, guarded by the linking reference in 1 Chr 29.29, but are not needed for the purpose of creating temple records

which are chosen to meet temple requirements, which invariably uphold the glory of Yahweh, the magnificence of the temple and the legitimacy and power of Israel's kingship.

The revelation in Chronicles of David's sinfulness in the matter of the census serves two purposes: firstly, it explains the reasons for choosing Araunah/Ornan's (אֲרַוְנָה / אָרְנָן) land as the site for the temple, and secondly, it gives the reason for Solomon to be building the temple instead of his father. The blood on David's hands is not only from wars but the 70,000 people who died as the punishment for David's sin. As these records would have been set up at the time of the temple building by Solomon, everything from the older document of Samuel that is included is to uphold the legitimacy of Solomon's claim to the throne, and his right to build the temple, while the exclusions are because they are irrelevant to these temple-centred purposes.

UNITED KINGDOM: To 2 Chr 1-9.29 ←----------→1 Kgs 1-14.29 (Rehoboam)

The division of 1 and 2 Chronicles is at the end of David's reign and the beginning of Solomon's reign. The first cross-referencing between Kgs and Chr has as its citation source in 1Kgs 11.41 called the Acts of Solomon:

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְחָכְמָתוֹ הֲלוֹא-הֵם כְּתֻבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה׃	**1 Kgs 11.41** Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon?

2 Chr 9.29 refers to another group of prophets, Nathan, Ahijah the Shilonite and Iddo, the latter two seemingly of northern provenance in the time of the monarchy dividing.

וּשְׁאָר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל-דִּבְרֵי נָתָן הַנָּבִיא וְעַל-נְבוּאַת אֲחִיָּה הַשִּׁילוֹנִי וּבַחֲזוֹת יעדי (יֶעְדּוֹ) הַחֹזֶה עַל-יָרָבְעָם בֶּן-נְבָט׃	**2 Chr 9.29** Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last, are they not written in the words of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Jedo (Iddo) the seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat?

David's wish to build a temple is fulfilled by Solomon his successor. This is the basis for the chapters chosen for the temple chronicles from Samuel. Solomon's need to secure his succession, especially in light of his older brother Adonijah's attempted coup, was of primary importance.

The Chronicles cross-reference to Kings lacks a special designation for Kings itself, but instead simply refers to each of the referenced prophets by name (1 Chr 9.29//1 Kgs 11.41). These are a mixture of northern and southern prophets, prior to their combined works being given a formal title in Kings as the book of "Kings of Judah and Israel."

The first Kings cross-reference (1 Kgs 11.41//1 Chr 9.29) is to the "Acts of Solomon." This suggests that the temple records are not yet established, and these "Acts of Solomon" may in fact be his Annals which become the basis for the temple records, subsumed into the "*dibrê hayyāmîm*" (or as Jerome later translates these words, the "Chronicles").

DIVIDED KINGDOM: To 2 Chr 32.32± ←=→ 2 Kgs 1- 17ff (Hoshea NK Exile)

What we know as the second book of Chronicles is where the actual chronicling section begins. It follows directly on from the source citation in 1 Chr 29.29 referring back to the book of Samuel. It begins as the united monarchy under Solomon. When Rehoboam dies the kingdom splits into two. Thereafter the book of Kings collates the Chronicles of Israel and the Chronicles of Judah.

This thesis argues that the Chronicles of Judah are in fact our biblical book of Chronicles, support for which may be found in the citations, which cross reference from this time onwards with the book of Kings, listed in Chronicles as the book of Kings of Judah and Israel. This will be discussed below.

KINGDOM OF JUDAH: 2 Chr 36.17 ff. ←----→2 Kgs 25 (Hezekiah to SK Exile)

Once the northern kingdom of Israel goes into exile in 721/2 B.C. all references to the Chronicles of Israel cease. This may be seen graphically in Appendix A Chart 2, "References/Cross-References between Chronicles and Samuel/Kings" on p.404.404 We do not know what happened to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel." Hereafter the cross-referencing between Kings and Chronicles continues, becoming more erratic as the kingdom of Judah comes under threat of exile. This too will be discussed below.

The "Messy" Citations in Chronicles Versus the "Orderly" Citations in Kings

The argument presented here is that the Chronicling section (2 Chr 1-36) begins after the Origins or genealogical section (1 Chr 1-9) and the Recapitulation section (1 Chr 10-29. Both these latter sections end with a uni-directional citation, the first one referring to the book of "Kings of Israel" (1 Chr 9.1) and the other found at the end of the Recapitulation section (1 Chr 29.29). The material in the Recapitulation section is mostly sourced from Samuel (1 Sam 31-2 Sam 1-29). After these two sections, then begins the Chronicling section (2 Chr 1-36). From this point onwards the formulaic citations appear to form a cross-referencing system between Kings and Chronicles, which starts during the united monarchy of Israel under Solomon (2 Chr 9.29//1 Kgs 11.41). When in Rehoboam's reign the kingdom is divided into Israel and Judah, a double cross-referencing system begins. Hereafter, Kings maintains an exchange of

information with two Chronicles, the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה) and with the newly formed "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (לְמַלְכֵי דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים יִשְׂרָאֵל).

The Chronicles' formulaic citations have been regarded as haphazard because they are lacking in apparent order. The mention of so many prophets of minor significance listed in the citations while major prophets are ignored, plus the problem that the source citations do not match those in Kings for the same narrative, means they have been downplayed or disregarded. Macy comments:

> The source notices in Kgs and Chr superficially appear to be quite similar. They are placed at the end of each king's reign and serve the similar function of informing the reader of where information about this king is recorded. However a closer examination reveals marked differences between the Kgs and Chr notices which lessen the apparent similarity.[766]

He goes further, writing that "it should be clearly noted that the formulaic phrases used by Kings and Chronicles are never identical."[767] In this Macy is quite correct. The citations in Chronicles differ in every case from those in Kings. This raises the question of the citations' authenticity. If Chronicles is dependent upon Kings, or, if both are dependent upon a common source document as Auld suggests, then one would expect the citations to be the same where the subject matter is textually or contextually the same. This has been a matter of consternation for scholars who accuse the chronicler of carelessness or tendentiousness.[768]

[766] Macy, *Sources of Chronicles*, p. 152.
[767] Macy, *Sources of Chronicles*, P. 152.
[768] Macy, *Sources of Chronicles*, p. 151.

If they are synchronised with each other, each copying those materials relevant to their purposes from incoming reports or letters or prophetic writings, then it makes a great deal of sense for Kings and Chronicles to refer to each other in a cross-referencing system as each one having "the rest of" the information. If Kings and Chronicles are referencing each other then we would expect these citations to be different in Kings as compared with those in Chronicles in every instance, as indeed is the case.

What is clear upon inspection is that Chronicles' citations do indeed appear to be "random" and "messy" as compared with the neat, orderly citations found in the book of Kings.[769] It will be argued here that, in a synchronizing system with cross-referencing, the villain behind the apparent "messiness" is not Chronicles at all, but may be seen instead as the book of Kings (or the prophetic groups that contributed to the book of Kings from both Israel in the north and Judah in the south).[770]

Here we will examine the possibility proposed by Auld's suggestion of the synchronicity of Chronicles and Kings, to put the two works alongside each other, and to view the citations as cross-referencing each other. The supposed "messiness" of the Chronicles citations then arises from Kings and its contributing prophets, and by the same token, Kings' "orderly" citations would then derive from the temple-based Chronicles. In this view then, contrary to the surface appearance, the apparent "messiness" in the one (Chronicles) actually proceeds from the other (Kings), whilst the "orderliness" in Kings emanates from Chronicles.

[769] Noth, *Deuteronomistic History,* pp. 133,138. Cited in Macy, *Sources of Chronicles*, p. 151.

[770] To illustrate the point: There is a tale of a woman who moved to a small remote town where there were only two hairdressers. She looked at the quality of hairdressing of one whose hair was poorly styled, then at the other whose hair was stylish and well-coiffured. Which hairdresser did she choose? She chose the one with the poorly styled hair because, she reasoned, they had to cut each other's hair. We face a similar situation when we look at Chronicles and Kings.

If we take these citations as genuine, when Chronicles and Kings are synchronised, we find there are unexplored explanations for the apparent "messiness" of Chronicles' citations, which indeed *never* match those in Kings. What also can be seen is that the references from Kings to the northern kingdom "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" consistently, with no exceptions, lack a counterpart in Chronicles, whilst those referring to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" regularly find a counterpart in Chronicles.

In fact, once the synchronisation and cross-referencing pattern between 2 Chronicles (the Chronicling section) and Kings is identified by being placed alongside each other, it becomes possible to determine Chronicles and Kings' titles by the fact that they never self-reference. Thus we do not find any citations in Chronicles to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," nor do we find in Kings any references to the book of "The Kings of Judah and Israel" for that would mean they were self-referencing.

Instead the cross-referencing from Chronicles generally refers to the "Kings of Israel and Judah" (or prophets or prophetic groups) while the book of Kings refers consistently to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel." As we lack a copy of the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," it may reasonably be conjectured that this work too may have contained the same type of cross-referencing with the book of Kings.

The chart in Appendix A, Chart 2 on p. 404, where it may be seen alongside Appendix A Charts 3, 4 and 5, gives detailed analyses of the Chronicles/Kings citations so that differences and similarities may be examined. It shows all the references and cross-references between Chronicles and Samuel/Kings, colour-coded for clarity, to show the bilateral cross-referencing of Kings with both the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and with the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah (the biblical book of Chronicles). It is deliberately short on detail so that the overall picture can be seen.

Also in Appendix A, Charts 3, 4, and 5 (See pp.405, 406, 407., there are analyses of Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, as well as Kings citations to give a fuller picture with details of the wording differences and similarities as discussed above. The following points may be noted about Appendix A, Chart 2:

The Citations from 2 Chronicles during the United Monarchy

Of particular note here is the first appearance in both Kings and Chronicles of the "*wəyeter*," ("and the rest of…") which will be argued below is the regular indication of cross-referencing, although noting that it is missing in some instances in Chronicles (e.g. 2 Chr 12.15; 16.11) but not in Kings. This lends some support to the idea of gradually developing citations. In this first cross-reference both Kings and Chronicles have the question form "Are they not written in…?" which is the form normally found in Kings while hereafter Chronicles normally makes a statement which includes its "trademark" phrase: "from first to last, behold," plus the statement "they are written in…"

The Divided Kingdom of Israel and Judah

At the start of Rehoboam's reign, the kingdom divides into Israel in the north and Judah in the south. There are a total of nineteen kings of Judah listed in Kings where the references (except in four instances where they are absent[771]) are completely regular and always to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." There are also nineteen kings of Israel cited in Kings where the references are always to "the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel." Kings maintains this bilateral system of cross-referencing between the

[771] No cross-referencing for four kings of Judah in Kings and Chronicles: Ahaziah (2 Kgs 9.27-28//2 Chr 22.7-10); Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 23.31-33//Chr 36.1-3); Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24.12-15//2 Chr 36.9); Zedekiah (2 Kgs 25.6//2 Chr 36.19, 20).

"Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" until Israel goes into Assyrian exile. Thereafter Kings maintains the cross-referencing with just the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, until Judah goes into Babylonian exile some 134 years later. In the following, issues relating to this system will be analysed and illustrated.

In Kings' references to Israel, there is one king with two references, Joash/Jehoash (2 Kgs 13.12 and 14.15), while the last king, Hoshea at the exile 721/2 B.C. lacks a formal citation (2 Kgs 17.6; 18.9). This suggests that the information in Kings regarding Hoshea's reign was not sourced from those responsible for maintaining the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" in this instance, understandably in a politico-military scene of considerable turmoil, but without further information this can only be conjecture. This same phenomenon happens to the last few kings in Judah before Judah goes into exile in 587 B.C.

The first cross-reference in the divided kingdom is in Kings, referring to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel." It may be seen in 1 Kgs 14.19 at the end of Rehoboam's reign, referring to the newly formed Israel in the northern part of the divided kingdom, with King Jeroboam on the throne.

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יָרָבְעָם אֲשֶׁר נִלְחַם וַאֲשֶׁר מָלָךְ׃ הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**1 Kgs 14.19** And the rest of the acts of Jeroboam, how he warred, and how he reigned, behold, they are written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.

The repeating reference in the book of Kings to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" which continues until the time of the exile of the northern kingdom of Israel, 721/2 B.C., never appears in Chronicles at all. This means that Chronicles in Judah never

communicates with its counterpart in Israel in the northern kingdom at any point. From Jeroboam's reign onwards we find in Kings' regnal citations "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," all the northern kings (except the last king Hoshea, who goes into exile). After the exile of Israel there are no further references to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" at all. However, the references in Kings to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" which begin at the end of Solomon's reign, continue after the northern kingdom of Israel goes into exile, and continue for the duration of the kingdom of Judah, albeit with some increasing irregularity, until the exile of Judah itself into Babylon in 578 B.C.

<u>There are seven cross-references between Kgs and Chr with full titles given:</u> Chronicles refers to Kings as the book of "Kings of Judah and Israel" and Kings refers to Chronicles as the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." Of these, for no discernible reason other than scribal choice perhaps, Jotham and Josiah's citations (2 Chr 27.7 and 35. 27 respectively) have the title with a reversal of Judah and Israel, so it reads the "Kings of Israel and Judah;" two have a cross-reference with the prophet Isaiah being named as being within the book of "Kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chr 32.32; 35.25, 27). The seven references to the Kings of Judah and Israel are:

1 Kgs 15.23//2 Chr 16.11 Asa: The book of "*Kings of Judah and Israel*"

2 Kgs 14.18//2 Chr 25.26 Amaziah (Uzziah): "*Kings of Judah and Israel*"

2 Kgs 15.36//2 Chr 27.7 Jotham: "*Kings of Israel and Judah* "reversed

2 Kgs 16.19//2 Chr 28.26 Ahaz: "*Kings of Judah and Israel*"

2 Kgs 20.20//2 Chr 32.32 Hezekiah: *Isaiah b. Amoz* <u>in</u> "*Kgs of Jud & Isr*"

2 Kgs 23.28//2 Chr 35.25,27 Josiah: *Laments + "Kgs of Isr & Jud"* reversed

2 Kgs 24.5//2 Chr 36.8 Jehoiakim: "*Kings of Israel and Judah*" reversed

The cross-referencing is straightforward with some details that suggest scribal preferences or idiosyncrasies. Hezekiah's reign is found in 2 Kgs 18–20//Chr 29-32 and in Isaiah 36–39. Kings follows Isaiah closely in 2 Kgs 18//Isaiah 36: Sennacherib of Assyria attacking the fortified cities of Judah; the confrontation between the Rabshakeh and Hezekiah; 2 Kgs 19//Isaiah 37: Isaiah's prophecy against Assyria and its fulfilment; 2 Kgs 20//Isaiah 38 Hezekiah's illness and Isaiah's prophecy of his recovery for fifteen more years; Hezekiah's foolishness in showing the Babylonian delegates and Isaiah's prophecy of their return to rob, but peace in Hezekiah's lifetime. Chronicles, as might be expected, focuses on temple matters: i.e. in 2 Chr 29 Hezekiah comes to the throne, and his first act is to call the Levites and priests to sanctify the temple; in 2 Chr 30 he calls for a Passover inviting all the northern tribes to join; in 2 Chr 31 all the high places are torn down; in 2 Chr 32 after all this faithfulness, Sennacherib attacks Judah, so Hezekiah blocks the water conduit, encouraging all that God will be faithful; the rest of the chapter summarizes briefly all that is in 2 Kgs 18-20, mentioning briefly his illness and the loss of the wealth to the Babylonian visitors.

The citations of Kings and Chronicles make brief mention of the items not covered in depth in each one's text: Kings cites Isaiah's prophetic words and ministry very fully and the encounters with Rabshakeh while Chronicles focuses on the temple cleansing and the Levitical appointments, the Passover, and destruction of high places, plus the protection of the city's water supply in the face of the Assyrian threat of war. Leading up to the Chronicles cross-reference to Kings is a brief summation of the content of Kings (2 Chr 32.20-31) mentioning Hezekiah's prayer with Isaiah, his humbling himself before the Lord, exceeding wealth in gold and silver, cereal and cattle, and Isaiah's prophecies, while the cross-reference from Kings to Chronicles mentions Hezekiah's might, and the pool and conduit of water he made:

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי חִזְקִיָּהוּ וְכָל-גְּבוּרָתוֹ וַאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֶת-הַבְּרֵכָה וְאֶת-הַתְּעָלָה וַיָּבֵא אֶת-הַמַּיִם הָעִירָה הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה׃	**2 Kgs 20.20** Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made the pool, and the conduit, and brought water into the city, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?
וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ וַחֲסָדָיו הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים בַּחֲזוֹן יְשַׁעְיָהוּ בֶן-אָמוֹץ הַנָּבִיא עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי-יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**2 Chr 32.32** Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and his good deeds, behold, they are written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, and in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.

If we consider Isaiah's prophetic ministry, it covers the reigns of Azariah (Uzziah), Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah as a group, so we would need to include for the moment 2 Kgs 15.6//2 Chr 26.22 Azariah (Uzziah) which has only *Isaiah b. Amoz* in the reference: these four references are noteworthy in that the first and fourth refer to the book of "Isaiah b. Amoz," the middle two revert to the pattern of referring to the book of the "Kings of Israel and Judah" (2 Chr 27.7) and "Kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chr 28.26) respectively, and in the fourth case (2 Chr 32.32) there is a combination of both: "The visions of Isaiah b. Amoz in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel." The linking of the prophetic work of Isaiah and the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel" would seem to confirm the cross-referencing between the two existing books, Kings and Chronicles.

The two cases of the reversed "Kings of Israel and Judah" citations, one in Isaiah's time and the other in Jeremiah's time, also suggests flexibility and formality according to the prophet writing the information and the scribe copying it. There would seem to be no further significance to it as it would appear to be referring to the same sources.

There are eight further References/Cross-references between Kings and Chronicles:

These feature the totally regular and invariable Kings references to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" while Chronicles features "messy" citations all the way through to the exile of Judah in 587 B.C.:

From the start of the chronicling section in Chronicles, (2 Chr 9.29 onwards), there is a mixture of prophets being named with no reference to a larger work, then there is one prophet mentioned along with the book of the "Kings of Israel" and on one occasion, with the book of "the Seers." Here it may be seen that these references in Chronicles are never to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" as there is no cross referencing between the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" and "the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel." Instead the references are to prophets or prophetic works.

1 Kgs 14.29//2 Chr 12.15 Rehoboam *Acts of Shemaiah and Iddo*

1 Kgs 15.7//2 Chr 13.22 Abijah *Account (Midrash) of Iddo (wəyeter)*

1 Kgs 22.45//2 Chr 20.34 Jehoshaphat *Acts of Jehu b. Hanani* in "*Kgs of Isr"*

2 Kgs 12.19//2 Chr 24.27 Joash *Account (Midrash) of the book of "Kings"*

2 Kgs 15.6//2 Chr 26.22 Azariah (Uzziah) *written by Isaiah b. Amoz*

2 Kgs 20.20//2 Chr 32.32 Hezekiah *Vision of Isa b. Amoz "Kgs of Jud & Isr"*

2 Kgs 21.17//2 Chr 33.18,19 Manasseh *Bks of* "*Kgs of Isr*" & "*of the Seers*"

2 Kgs 23.28//2 Chr 35.25,27 Josiah "*Laments*" & "*Kgs of Isr & Jud"* rev.

The first thing to note about all of these is that with two exceptions ("the account of the book of "Kings" 2 Chr 13.22) and 2 Chr 33.18,19, Chronicles makes reference to prophets or to prophetic writings.

Of the above citations, 2 Kgs 20.20//2 Chr 32.32 have been discussed in the previous section, which are both in Hezekiah's reign: and refer to "the vision of Isaiah b. Amoz in the Kings of Judah and Israel." The prophet Isaiah is cited in two of the four references during his lifetime, in one of them with just his name (2 Chr 26.22) and the other citing the "visions of Isaiah" as being in "the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chr 32.32). The other two (2 Chr 27.7 and 2 Chr 28.26) are routine references to the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel" or "Israel and Judah." These paint a picture of how the prophets may have carried news between Israel and Judah sharing the information with priests and prophetic groups alike, and give an indication of how this shared work could have led to the need for a cross-referencing system between the prophetic and priestly/regnal groups.[772] The first two in Rehoboam and Abijah's reigns give just the prophets' names, without the "Kings of Judah and Israel" designation for Kings yet. It is suggested these were at an early developmental stage, very possibly before the prophetic collation was designated "the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel." Also in 2 Kgs 23.28//2 Chr 35.25,27 Josiah: *the Laments plus "Kings of Israel and Judah"* there is a double reference, not one which is subsumed by the other, but as separate references. The next one to consider is in Joash's reign, 2 Chr 24.27 which reads as follows:

וּבָנָיו ורב (וְרֹב) הַמַּשָּׂא עָלָיו וְיסוֹד בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֲמַצְיָהוּ בְנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	**2 Chr 24.27** Now concerning his sons, and the multitude of the burdens against him, and the rebuilding of the house of God, behold, they are written in the account (midrash) of the book of the kings. And Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.

[772] A. F. Rainey, "The Chronicler and His Sources – Historical and Geographical," Eds., M. P. Graham, K. G. Hoglund and S. L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler as History*, JSOTS 238, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1997, pp. 70-32.

In Chr 24.27 Joash at the age of seven years old, who follows on from Athaliah, is anointed to be king by Jehoiada the priest. While Jehoiada has influence over him, Joash keeps Yahweh's ways, but when Jehoiada dies, he listens to the "princes" (הַשָּׂרִים). When Joash objects to the prophecies of Jehoiada's son Zechariah, at the king's command, the people murder Zechariah (2 Chr 24.20, 21). Kings does not report this account, but has a reference to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" where one can find "the rest of…" the information. By contrast Chronicles lacks this "And the rest of…" and instead references as its source as being in the "*midraš* (account) of the book of kings" (עַל-מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים). The word Midrash here has not acquired its later meaning of "commentary" or "interpretation," but means an "account." "Midrash" also appears in 2 Chr 13.22 in Abijah's reign, where this may be seen more clearly than here, because the prophet's name rather than a book is mentioned, hence "Iddo's account" would convey a more "neutral" meaning of the "Midrash of Iddo."[773]

The last of these references that needs comment is where Jeremiah laments for Josiah, where the singers speak of Josiah in their lamentations too. What is referred to here is "*their* lamentations," not those of Jeremiah but of the singers:

וַיְקוֹנֵן יִרְמְיָהוּ עַל-יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל-הַשָּׁרִים וְהַשָּׂרוֹת בְּקִינוֹתֵיהֶם עַל-יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ עַד-הַיּוֹם וַיִּתְּנוּם לְחֹק עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-הַקִּינוֹת׃	**2 Chr 35.25** And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing men and singing women spoke of Josiah *in their lamentations*, unto this day; and they made them an ordinance in Israel; and, behold, they are written in the lamentations.

There is no suggestion that these are Jeremiah's lamentations being referred to here, though the name of Lamentations of Jeremiah may have found its inspiration from

[773] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation,* p. 4, n.14: 2 Chr 13.22; 24.27: "Since in these two texts it obviously has the meaning 'account' and not the later meaning 'interpretation of Scripture'…."

laments of this nature. The second part of the reference in 2 Chr 25.27, 28 thus forms the standard cross-reference along with the others above, except for the reversal of the Israel and Judah, which may be attributed to prophetic or scribal choice.

The "*wəyeter*" is absent in four places:

The fact that the "*wəyeter*" is missing is unusual in this context so bears comment. It is missing in the following references: 2 Chr 12.15 Rehoboam and 2 Chr 24.27 Joash, and in 2 Chr 35.25 and also 27. In the double reference in 2 Chr 35.25 and 27, the "*wəyeter*" is absent only for Jeremiah's Laments but not for the second part, the "Kings of Israel and Judah." These will be looked at below:

The first cross-reference where Chronicles refers to "the Kings of Judah and Israel:

Asa's regnal formula is the third cross-reference between Kings and Chronicles in the divided monarchy, but this is the first one which shows both Kings and Chronicles given their designated names.

וְיֶתֶר כָּל-דִּבְרֵי-אָסָא וְכָל-גְּבוּרָתוֹ וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְהֶעָרִים אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה הֲלֹא-הֵמָּה כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה רַק לְעֵת זִקְנָתוֹ חָלָה אֶת-רַגְלָיו׃	**1 Kgs 15.23** Now the rest of all the acts of Asa, and all his might, and all that he did, and the cities which he built, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah? But in the time of his old age he was diseased in his feet.
וְהִנֵּה דִּבְרֵי אָסָא הָרִאשׁוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים לִיהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**2 Chr 16.11** And, behold, the acts of Asa, first and last, lo, they are written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.

Kings has from the start of the divided kingdoms regularly referred to Chronicles as the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," but until now Chronicles has not had a set name for Kings or perhaps Kings has not yet collected and collated the prophetic works sufficiently formally for it to be designated with a name. However, here in Chronicles

for the first time the Chronicles cross-reference cites the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel." No prophet's name is attached to this.

Four places in Chronicles and Kings where bilaterally three kings lack cross-referencing:

2 Chr 22.7-10//2 Kgs 9.27-28 Ahaziah is slain in Israel

2 Chr 36.2//2 Kgs 23.31-33 Jehoahaz is taken to Egyptian exile

2 Chr 36.19//2 Kgs 24.12-15 Jehoiachin is taken into Babylonian exile

2 Chr 26.19-20//2 Kgs 25.6 Zedekiah is taken into Babylonian exile

The factor in common here is that the deaths of these four kings occurred outside of Judah, and only one king's death (Ahaziah's) is actually reported. In the other three cases the actual deaths are not recorded as these kings are all taken into exile, where there is no possibility of their deaths culminating in a burial in Jerusalem. However these three exiled kings were also in the period when Judah as a nation was coming to an end, with exile round the corner, so the lack of references in the latter three kings may be more to do with the normal scribal practices being disrupted through political distress rather than the matter of violent deaths or deaths abroad.

Two places in Chronicles which lacks a reference but where Kings has references to "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah":

2 Chr 21.4-20//2 Kgs 8.23 Joram not buried in king's tomb

2 Chr 33.20b-25//2 Kgs 21.25 Amon slain, Josiah made king

One could postulate a connection between the lack of referencing on Chronicles' part because these two kings were wicked, but there were other wicked kings where cross-referencing appears. It is more likely that the scribal system over time broke down or

became erratic at certain periods of Judah's history, which led to irregularities in the system. The fact that it picked up again would seem to be consistent with this.

Three mentions of the book of "the Kings of Israel":

The first of the three mentions of the book of the "Kings of Israel" would appear to be referring to an earlier and separate genealogical collection, which is what I have called the Origins section, or one collated at the time of the building of Solomon's temple, as indicated by the reference at the end of the genealogy (1 Chr 9.1). As with a Birth, Death and Marriage Registers, it would be set up, and then updated from time to time. In its initial stages it may have been more rudimentary, with later additions throughout the monarchy, and updated for the second temple records. There are syntactical questions as to whether this is the book of the "Kings of Israel" or the "Kings of Israel and Judah," which will be examined below.

The other two references to the book of the "Kings of Israel" appear in the chronicling section, after the kingdom of Israel has divided (2 Chr 20.34 and 33.18). The first one has the words עַל-סֵפֶר ("*āl-sēfer*"), the second one as עַל-דִּבְרֵי ("*āl-dibrê*"). The RSV translates both "*dibrê*" and "*sēfer*" as "Chronicles" but this is inconsistent with "*dibrê hayāmmîm*" which exclusively refers to and is always translated uniquely as "Chronicles." Furthermore, this phrase only appear in the book of Kings, never in the Chronicling section of Chronicles (2 Chr), and only once in the Recapitulation section of Chronicles. With 2 Chr 20.34 and 33.18, the first one, the acts ("*sēfer*") of the "Kings of Israel" עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is linked to the prophet Jehu b. Hanani and the second one, using the word "*dibre,"* עַל-דִּבְרֵי מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is used in connection with the seers in Israel.

The use of the "*sēfer*" or "*dibrê*" would not seem to be other than scribal preference over time, but the "Kings of Israel" used both in connection with seers and prophets could possibly be the same work.

There would seem to be no justification for the RSV's translation of the word as "Chronicles" in 2 Chr 33.18 as the "*dibrê hayāmmîm*" is absent here. In fact it would be quite wrong, as this blurs the distinction between the "*dibrê hayyāmîm*" as meaning "Chronicles," when "acts" or "words" do not carry the chronicling connotation of *dibrê hayyāmîm*:

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים בְּדִבְרֵי יֵהוּא בֶן-חֲנָנִי אֲשֶׁר הֹעֲלָה עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**2 Chr 20.34** Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold, they are written in the words of Jehu the son of Hanani, which is inserted in the book of the kings of Israel.

The first mention in Chronicles of the "Kings of Israel" is linked to events in the northern kingdom in which the prophet Jehu b. Hanani's words are recorded, while the information coming from the second mention in Chronicles of "Kings of Israel" would also appear connected with the northern kingdom of Israel, and is most likely the same collection of prophetic writings in the northern Israel, both of these citations seemingly reaching Chronicles of Judah before being collated into the book of Kings where both the southern and northern prophetic writings are collected under the title, the book of the 'Kings of Judah and Israel" (or Israel and Judah").

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי מְנַשֶּׁה וּתְפִלָּתוֹ אֶל-אֱלֹהָיו וְדִבְרֵי הַחֹזִים הַמְדַבְּרִים אֵלָיו בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנָּם עַל-דִּבְרֵי מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**2 Chr 33.18** Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that spoke to him in the name of the LORD, the God of Israel, behold, they are written among the acts of the kings of Israel.

The "Words/Acts of the Seers" would also seem to be collected works put into the same book of "the Kings of Israel." This appears to be a northern kingdom collection of prophetic works, a separate entity maintained in the northern kingdom of Israel, and which, possibly on an on-going basis, was submitted to form part of the combined collection of prophetic works of both Israel and Judah. Once the "Words/Acts of the Seers" is included in this combined work it becomes subsumed (with citation reference) into what we call the book of "Kings," or according to its full appellation, the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel."

Throughout it is possible to see that these citations are not used carelessly, but with precision and purpose, so I would argue that it is not possible that the use of "the Kings of Israel" is just careless use or "shorthand" for "Kings of Israel and Judah" or "Kings of Judah and Israel" but rather that Chronicles got the information from the north, in this instance, before it reached Kings where it would thereafter have been shared and incorporated into the book of Kings too.

The "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" disappears after the exile in 721/2 B.C. The complete disappearance of this particular reference in Kings at the time when Israel goes into exile is an indicator that this work was held in Israel and not Judah. Furthermore, it bolsters the proposition that there actually was a Chronicle of the Kings of Israel that derived from the north kingdom, and that it was regularly referred to in Kings. Additionally, the fact that the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" continued until the exile of Judah, gives strength to this argument.

However, it would appear that prophetic activity between the two nations may have continued if these citations have been rightly analysed and understood, and thus the prophetic works, e.g. the book of the "Kings of Israel" or "the Seers" would still

continue. The significance of the book of the "Kings of Israel" hailing from the northern kingdom of Israel, deduced from the narrative context being set in Israel rather than Judah in both "Kings of Israel" citations, is that the "Acts of the Seers," which reappears in 2 Chr 33.19 purports to give a full list of Manasseh's prayer, how God received his entreaty, all his sin and faithlessness, and the sites on which he built high places for the Asherim and idols before he humbled himself.

While no definitive conclusion may be drawn as to how these seers obtained this information, there is a possibility of communications filtering in from those in exile to prophets still free to send letters providing information about Manasseh's repentance. Whatever the case, this is not the same source as the northern "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," as the formula is not the same. There is no trace of this Chronicle after the exile of 721/2 B.C.[774]

Anson Rainey's article is instructive regarding this question, as he argues quite cogently that there would appear to have been two schools of prophets at the time of the divided monarchy, one consisting of prophets of the northern kingdom of Israel, and the other consisting of prophets of the southern kingdom of Judah. While he has not distinguished between Chronicles as temple and priestly works on the one hand and Kings as a collation of prophetic works on the other, his comments are useful in that he bases his findings, not on narrative content but on chronology, and discovers that there are two prophetic schools:

[774] It is important to note that the existence of the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" as cited in Kings is not an unprovable assumption, but is contingent upon and revealed through the cross-referencing system of Kings with two sets of Chronicles, one in Israel and one in Judah, at which point it gains further support from the appearance of this source at the moment when Israel and Judah monarchies are divided, and its disappearance at the time when the northern kingdom of Israel goes into exile; it gains further support from the lack of any corresponding material or cross-references in the book of Chronicles, which does chronicling for the kingdom of Judah.

The chronological fabric of our book of Kings actually provides insights concerning the two circles of prophets, which preserved the respective Chronicles in the north and in the south from reign to reign. [775]

One question that always arises regarding Manasseh's reign is whether Kings and Chronicles contradict each other, as their reports are so different. The report about Manasseh in 2 Kgs 21.1-10 and 2 Chr 33 1-10 are, with minor differences, parallel, but thereafter the prophecies spoken in Kgs (2 Kgs 21.11-16) become the actuality of Yahweh's punishment of Manasseh (2 Chr 33.11-13):

וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה בְּיַד-עֲבָדָיו הַנְּבִיאִים לֵאמֹר׃	**2 Kgs 21.10** And the LORD spoke by His servants the prophets, saying:
וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל-מְנַשֶּׁה וְאֶל-עַמּוֹ וְלֹא הִקְשִׁיבוּ׃	**2 Chr 33.10** And the LORD spoke to Manasseh, and to his people; but they gave no heed.

In the next three verses in Chronicles we learn of Manasseh's Assyrian captors who take him in fetters to Babylon where he repented:

וַיָּבֵא יְהוָה עֲלֵיהֶם אֶת-שָׂרֵי הַצָּבָא אֲשֶׁר לְמֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר וַיִּלְכְּדוּ אֶת-מְנַשֶּׁה בַּחֹחִים וַיַּאַסְרֻהוּ בַּנְחֻשְׁתַּיִם וַיּוֹלִיכֻהוּ בָּבֶלָה׃	**2 Chr 33.11** Wherefore the LORD brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, who took Manasseh with hooks, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon.
וּכְהָצַר לוֹ חִלָּה אֶת-פְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו וַיִּכָּנַע מְאֹד מִלִּפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָיו׃	**12** And when he was in distress, he besought the LORD his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers.
וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל אֵלָיו וַיֵּעָתֶר לוֹ וַיִּשְׁמַע תְּחִנָּתוֹ וַיְשִׁיבֵהוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם לְמַלְכוּתוֹ וַיֵּדַע מְנַשֶּׁה כִּי יְהוָה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים׃	**13** And he prayed unto Him; and He was entreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him back to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the LORD He was God.

[775] A. F. Rainey, "The Chronicler and His Sources," pp. 30-72; p. 40. Rainey mentions two schools of prophets, one in the north and one in the south.

There follows two verses of his deeds upon his return, getting rid of the false gods and idols, culminating in the laudatory citation (2 Chr 33.19, 20):

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי מְנַשֶּׁה וּתְפִלָּתוֹ אֶל-אֱלֹהָיו וְדִבְרֵי הַחֹזִים הַמְדַבְּרִים אֵלָיו בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנָּם עַל-דִּבְרֵי מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**2 Chr 33.18** Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that spoke to him in the name of the LORD, the God of Israel, behold, they are written among the acts of the kings of Israel.
וּתְפִלָּתוֹ וְהֵעָתֶר-לוֹ וְכָל-חַטָּאתוֹ וּמַעְלוֹ וְהַמְּקֹמוֹת אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה בָהֶם בָּמוֹת וְהָעֲמִיד הָאֲשֵׁרִים וְהַפְּסִלִים לִפְנֵי הִכָּנְעוֹ הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל דִּבְרֵי חוֹזָי׃	**19** His prayer also, and how [God] was entreated of him, and all his sin and his transgression, and the places wherein he built high places, and set up the Asherim and the graven images, before he humbled himself; behold, they are written in the Acts/Words of the Seers.

The problems here are two-fold:

Firstly, the reports between Kings and Chronicles have been seen as contradictory rather than complementary, with each referring to the other for the "rest of" the information. The "*wəyeter*" in 2 Kgs 21.17 point to "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" for the rest of the acts of Manasseh (2 Chr 33.18,19) which in turn points to the acts of the "Kings of Israel" for "the rest of" the information. Neither Kings nor Chronicles' citations here claim to be complete. Both start off for the first ten verses as almost identical, with a few minor differences, then diverge so that the prophetic section in Kgs 21.10-16 is absent from Chr, and the report of the captivity, repentance and return to Judah, is absent from Kings. The "rest of" the information in Chronicles comes from the northern kingdom prophetic source of the "Acts of the Kings of Israel," (דִּבְרֵי) and should not to be confused with the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים) which no longer exists, and also should not to be seen as an abbreviation of the acts of the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel," as this would be unprecedented. Nowhere

else are these accurately recorded citations abbreviated or altered in this way. If the "*wəyeter*" is taken at face value there is no problem of contradiction here, just a continuity which Chronicles records.[776]

Secondly, Manasseh's captivity by Assyrians to Babylon rather than the Assyrian capital, Nineveh presents a problem. The report of Manasseh's captivity may be viewed two ways: either it may be seen as proof of late dating as an anachronism is regarded as evidence for a late date of composition and ignorance of the Chronicler(s), or it can be seen as a confirmatory detail which casts light onto the ancient Near Eastern situation which could only be known by witnesses of the actual events. The dating is not clear here as to whether it was Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.), or his son Ashurbanipal (669-627 B.C.) ruling at the time of Manasseh's captivity. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria reigned eleven years approximately (680-669 B.C.) coming to the throne when Manasseh had reached approximately eighteen years of age, a period when Manasseh's atrocities presumably began to occur.

Whilst Rawlinson[777] and Brinkman[778] opt for Manasseh's exile during Esarhaddon's reign, there are those who equally strongly favour Ashurbanipal. The biblical story of Manasseh's captivity gives no indication of chronological cross-references, and the dates calculated for Manasseh's capture are on the borderline between the end of

[776] One could speculate on many reasons for Kings not receiving this report (i.e. Kings did not accept the story into its prophetic reporting: did not see it as prophetic, or as being more relevant for the Temple to have a redemption story, or that Chronicles obtained the report belatedly, directly from a northern source) but for my thesis, the fact is that Kings lacks this redemption story. However, Kings refers to Chronicles for the "rest of" the information so would appear to be aware of this content.

[777] G. Rawlinson, *Historical Evidences of the Scripture Records Stated Anew: With Special Reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of Modern Times*, John B. Alden, New York, 1885.

[778] J. A. Brinkman, "Babylonia in the shadow of Assyria (747–626 B.C.)," *Cambridge Ancient History*, 1991, pp. 1-70, p. 40. Online publication date: March 2008: https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521227179.002 [Accessed: 12th August 2018]

Esarhaddon's reign and Ashurbanipal's accession to the throne of Assyria.[779] The capture of Manasseh is not recorded in Esarhaddon's records as were all his other campaigns; and both Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal give a list of vassal kings paying them tribute which include Judah listed in both,[780] so this is not decisive either. Esarhaddon, having gained ascendancy over Babylon, was said to be the one Assyrian king who spent part of his time in Babylon holding court, so the presents a reasonable time-frame within which Manasseh's Assyrian captivity could take place and he could also have been taken to Babylon.

This close connection of Assyria and Babylon, which led to Esarhaddon's two sons ruling over the two capitols, suggests Esarhaddon already held sway over Babylon's throne. Esarhaddon, having gained ascendancy over Babylon, was said to be the one Assyrian king who spent time in Babylon holding court. In Chronicle ABC 1.iv.32-33 we read: "[32]For twelve years Esarhaddon ruled Assyria. [33]Shamash-shuma-ukin (and) Ashurbanipal, his two sons, ascended the throne in Babylon and Assyria respectively."[781]

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[779] Manasseh was born 709 B.C. began his rule at 12 years old. Thiele suggests this was a co-regency with his father, Hezekiah, beginning 697 B.C., coming to full kingship in 687BC when Hezekiah died. The co-regency would begin seven years before Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C) came to the Assyrian throne. Esarhaddon ruled 12 years, so Manasseh would have been about 28 years old when Ashurbanipal (669-627 B.C.) came to the throne. Two years later, his brother, Shamash-shuma-ukin (667-648 B.C.) ascended the Babylonian throne. It is possible that it was at this time that Manasseh was taken to Babylon.

[780] H. B. Pritchard, Ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating To The Old Testament* Third Edition with Supplement, Princeton University Pres, New Jersey, 1969, pp. 291, 294. Section (c) The Syro-Palestinian Campaign (4) From the Prism B, published by R. Campbell Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal*, London, 1931. Translation : R. Campbell Thompson, *ibid*. ; and Th. Bauer, ZA, XLII (NF viii), pp. '7' ff. Translation : *ibid*., pp. 25 f. (v 54-vi r):, Esarhaddon: "And I assembled the kings of the land of Hatti, and the marge of the sea, Baal king of Tyre, Me-na-si-e (or Mi-in-si-e) king of Ya-u-di (*i.e.,* Judah), Qa-us-gabri, king of Edom….Altogether, twenty-two kings of the land of Hatti [Syria], the coast of the sea, and the middle of the sea, all of them, I caused to hasten…." Assurbanipal has left a list which is identical with that of Esarhaddon, except that it gives different names for the kings of Arvad and Ammon. It thus appears that Manasseh paid tribute to both Esarhaddon and to his son, Ashurbanipal.

[781] Grayson, *ABC*, p. 86: Chronicle ABC 1.iv.32-33.

Manasseh was taken captive when he was about twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old, having ascended the throne at the age of twelve years (2 Kgs 21.1). According to Thiele's chronology this would bring the date to approximately two years into Ashurbanipal's reign, the time when his brother was on the throne of Babylon.[782] So Ashurbanipal could also be a possible captor of Manasseh.

Manasseh's exile raises questions as to the genuineness of the report of his return from exile pardoned by his captors. To support this idea, there is the question of the precedent case of Ashurbanipal returning a king from captivity. During Ashurbanipal's reign when, after invading Egypt in 667/666 BC, taking several conspiring rulers captive, he unexpectedly pardoned Necho I and reinstated him in Sais, returning his possessions and adding other territories.[783]

About 666–665 B.C. Ashurbanipal not only restored Necho as governor of Sais but he later installed Necho's son, Psamtik I, under an Assyrian name [Nabusezibanni, in Akkadian], as ruler of Athribis in the Nile delta.[784]

It is true that the original deportation was to Nineveh, not Babylon, but the close ties between the two make the possibility of the Babylonia captivity a possibility. However such a precedent as occurred in Egypt could be viewed from another angle: Ashurbanipal may have been inspired by the example set by his father, Esarhaddon's

[782] E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, Zondervan, 3rd Edition, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1983, pp. 173-174. "From 686, the last year of Hezekiah, to 597 is eighty-nine years. The Hebrew rulers during this time… [add up to] ninety-nine years, six months." The reigns of these kings were too short or were not appointed as successor by the ruling king. "That leaves only Manasseh, and everything points to his having spent ten or eleven of his fifty-five years on the throne as coregent with Hezekiah. It is on the basis of a coregency of Manasseh with Hezekiah from 696 to 686 that we will proceed with the dates of Judah's kings for the last century of Judah's history."

[783] P. James, *et al.*, *Centuries of Darkness, A Challenge to the Conventional Chronology of Old World Archaeology*, Rutgers University Press, New Jersey, 1991, p. 208.

[784] Encyclopaedia Britannica, http://www.britannica.com/biography/Necho-I [Accessed: 15 Feb 2016]

returning his vassal king Manasseh to Jerusalem, so this could be argued both ways. Either way, the result led to the vassal kings resuming allegiance to the powerful kings. The lists of vassal kings paying tribute, both to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, together with Ashurbanipal's actions with Psalmtik as above, make the story about Manasseh's captivity credible, though it is not possible to say which king was involved in his captivity.

Citations with Prophets' names, with or without a cited work:

In 2 Chronicles there is a mixture of prophets being named with no prophetic work accompanying it, or together with the book of the "Kings of Israel" and on one occasion, the book of "the Seers" added in. It is to be noted that this is not the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," as "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" and the "Chronicle of the kings of Judah" never cross-reference with each other at all:

1 Kgs 14.29//2 Chr 12.15 Rehoboam *Acts of Shemaiah and Iddo*

1 Kgs 15.7//2 Chr 13.22 Abijah *Account (Midrash) of Iddo (wəyeter)*

1 Kgs 22.45//2 Chr 20.34 Jehoshaphat *Acts of Jehu b. Hanani* in "*Kgs s of Israel*"

These three cross-references are between the "orderly" Kings and "messy" Chronicles of Judah. The first "pair" are at the end of Rehoboam's reign (1 Kgs 14.29//2 Chr 12.15) and the second "pair" at the end of Abijah's reign (1 Kgs 15.7//2 Chr 13.22):

וְדִבְרֵי רְחַבְעָם הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים בְּדִבְרֵי שְׁמַעְיָה הַנָּבִיא וְעִדּוֹ הַחוֹזֶה לְהִתְיַחֵשׂ וּמִלְחָמוֹת רְחַבְעָם וְיָרָבְעָם כָּל-הַיָּמִים׃	**2 Chr 12.15** Now the acts of Rehoboam, first and last, are they not written in the acts of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer, after the manner of genealogies? And there were wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually.
וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי רְחַבְעָם וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃ הֲלֹא-הֵמָּה כְתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה׃	**1 Kgs 14.29** Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?

Here the "orderly" Kings refers to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," which it does thereafter, except where, on two occasions there are no references in Ahaziah's reign (2 Kgs 9.27-28) and Hoshea's reign (2 Kgs 7.6). The "messy" Chronicles by contrast mentions two prophets, Shemaiah and Iddo, whose writings may be postulated to form the narrative content in Kings and thereon referred to in Chronicles. Chronicles' citations thus continue "messy" with no settled designation yet for the book of Kings, still only referring to the individual prophets. In Abijah's brief reign Chronicles refers to Iddo's "Midrash." Here again, I take the word to mean "account."[785]

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי אֲבִיָּה וּדְרָכָיו וְדִבָרָיו כְּתוּבִים בְּמִדְרַשׁ הַנָּבִיא עִדּוֹ׃	**2 Chr 13.22** And the rest of the acts of Abijah, and his ways, and his sayings, are written in the account (*midraš*) of the prophet Iddo.
וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי אֲבִיָּם וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הֲלוֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה וּמִלְחָמָה הָיְתָה בֵּין אֲבִיָּם וּבֵין יָרָבְעָם׃	**1 Kgs 15.7** And the rest of the acts of Abijam, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah? And there was war between Abijam and Jeroboam.

One could postulate that these prophets had their own separate works, an idea given some support by the fact that we have Isaiah's prophecies attributed to Isaiah in the citations cited in Chronicles and Kings (2 Chr 25.26//2 Kgs 14.18, 2 Chr 32.32//1 Kgs 20.20); and similarly in Jeremiah's prophecies (2 Chr 35.25//2 Kgs 23.28) where both the prophet's names plus the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel" or "Kings of Israel and Judah" are in the same citation. What seems likely is that the contribution of other prophets, such as Iddo and Shemaiah, would now be lost entirely except for the fact that their contents or part thereof are found in Chronicles and Kings as revealed through

[785] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation,* p. 4, n.14: 2 Chr 13.22; 24.27.

the cross-referencing citations. A later generation would not, and could not have known this sort of detail if inserting these citations at a later date. Macy writes:

> Göttsberger therefore proposes one large work encompassing all the source references in Chr…prior to both Sm-Kgs and Chr….Sometimes Chr may carry the tradition more faithfully than Sm-Kgs, and at other times Sm-Kgs may be more faithful than C.[786]

However this brings us back to Auld's proposal of an "underlying document" where the fact that the parallel source citations are different in every case between Kings and Chronicles cannot, in this theory, make sense of the source citations.

It is therefore quite possible that these prophets named in the citations could have been cited by Chronicles before their works were included into Kings being where prophetic writings of both Israel and Judah were collected and collated. In other words "messy" Chronicles is dealing with "orderly" Kings in its formative stages, while being itself already established as temple Chronicles.

Chronicles' citations throughout reflect the variability of the manner in which prophetic writings came to be chronicled, some already in Kings, some direct from the prophet concerned. This "messiness" stems from the variability of the prophetic sources, unlike those of the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" which are both completely regular after the divided kingdom under Rehoboam.

[786] J. Göttsberger, *Die Bücher der Chronik oder Paralipomenon*, Eds., F. Feldmann and H. Herkenne, Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes, Vol. 4, Peter Hanstein Verlagsbuchhandlung, Bonn, 1939, pp. 6-10. Cited in Macy, *Sources of Chronicles*, p. 10.

Overall Assessment of "Messy Chronicles" and "Orderly Kings:"

The uni-directional formula from Chronicles to Samuel, when understood as being a reference to the book of Samuel, reveals that Chronicles does not exclude Saul and Samuel from the temple history, but incorporates it through the linking colophonic system.

While Chronicles' citations are somewhat "messy" it may be seen that this is due to the "messiness" of its source of information rather than its own inherent lack of order. The orderly references in Kings indicate the temple standards of order and consistency. Indeed, in Chronicles, one might think that the very regularity of these citations in Kings indicates a late date for the Kings citations. The missing citations sometimes in both Kings and Chronicles, sometimes unilaterally, and the variation in other aspects of the formulae indicate an ongoing knowledge of current matters. The citations in Chronicles usually point to Kings for further information, but sometimes this information comes directly from the prophet or a group of prophetic works before being incorporated into the collective work of "Kings of Judah and Israel."

Diachronic and Synchronic Formula Development in Chronicles and Kings

To see how these formulae developed, it is important to examine their roots. Macy, in his examination of the succession formulae, looks at some of the formulaic differences from a historical point of view as he compares repeating phrases in Kings with those found in Chronicles. He finds himself in agreement with Bin-Nun's explanation regarding Judah's succession formulae in the book of Kings which are distinctly different from those of the kings of Israel in the northern kingdom. He writes:

> The consistent distinction between the two systems can neither be explained away as accidental nor can it be attributed to the author…It must therefore be admitted that he took the different formulas from different sources, the one type from Judean records, the other one from records of Israelite origin. On the basis of old, well known formulas the two states seem to have developed two different systems of chronistic records.[787]

Bin-Nun suggests that the origin of the different formulae for the northern kingdom of Israel stems from formulae about judges (Jg. 9.22; 10.2, 3; 12.7, 11, 14) and those of the southern kingdom of Judah develop from notices about Saul, Ishbosheth and David (1 Sam.13.1; 2 Sam 2.10; 5.5).[788]

Macy and Bin-Nun's views thus concur not only in noting a northern and southern kingdom difference in origins of the formulae, but, importantly for this thesis, that the differences in these citations also point to their genuineness. However, this thesis will go further to suggest that there are also differences between the formulae in the book of Kings as compared with those in the book of Chronicles. Further, it is also noticeable that in cross-referencing each other, this has influenced the formulae in both Kings and Chronicles' citations to some extent. These changes should not be over-stressed, as some may be scribal idiosyncrasies, leading to minor changes over time, but some do seem to indicate cross-referencing influences in both directions.

In the case of the book of Kings the referencing is always to these same two works, the book of the "Kings of the Chronicles of Judah" or to the book of the "Kings of the Chronicles of Israel." This never varies. Knoppers notes that in Chronicles, "The

[787] Macy, *Sources of Chronicles,* p. 116.
[788] Bin Nun, *Formulas*, also cited in Macy, *Sources of Chronicles*, p. 117.

citations appear precisely at the same point in the narration of a monarch's reign as they appear in Kings,"[789] even "in those instances in which the source citations in Kings appear anomalously (not at the end of a monarch's reign), Chronicles follows suit."[790] This is not surprising if a cross-referencing system is in place. Chronicles' references to the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel" on its own or accompanied by the name of the contributing prophets or prophetic works as well as the Kings' references to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" are characterized by the phrase (וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי). I propose that it is used in this way to indicate a mutual referencing system, and is an indicator of cross-referencing to where the "rest of" the information on the same king and his activities may be found.

Indeed, the missing book of the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" in the northern kingdom may also be postulated to contain these cross-references, because of the "*wəyeter*" in the Kings reference to this same work. If ever the missing "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" come to light, I venture to suggest, unprovable thus far, but based on the repeating cross-references between Kings and Chronicles beginning "*wəyeter dibrê*" (וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי), that they would be recognisable as the missing Chronicles of Israel in the northern kingdom by their formulaic "*wəyeter dibrê*" plus a reference to "Kings of Israel and Judah," cross-referencing those in the book of Kings.

There are three exceptions where "*wəyeter*" ("And the rest of the acts…" וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי) or its one cognate, "*še'ar*" (וּשְׁאָר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה), are not to be found in Chronicles. These are in the citations for Rehoboam (2 Chr 12.15); Asa (2 Chr 16.11) where instead of

[789] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, p. 125: 1 Chr 29.29; 2 Chr 9.29; 12.15; 13.22; 16.11; 20.34; 24.27; 25.26; 26.22; 27.7; 28.26; 32.32; 33.18, 19; 35.27; 36.8. There is no parallel citation in Kings to 1 Chr 29.29 so while included in Knoppers' listing would not be part of the cross-referencing pattern. This also applies to 1 Chr 9.1, which also lacks "*wəyeter*" and are therefore not cross-referencing.

[790] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, p. 125: 1 Chr 16.11; 20.34; 25.26.

"*wəyeter*" the word "behold" is used twice (דִּבְרֵי אָסָא וְהִנֵּה and הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר); and Joash (2 Chr 24.27) where both "*wəyeter*" and "*dibrê*" are absent, and the reference is to the account ("*midraš*") of the book of Kings (עַל-מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים). The violent manner of Joash's death outside of Judah could partly explain the idiosyncratic reference.[791]

Chronicles: "first and last" (הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים) and Kings: "and all that he did" (וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה)

The use of "first and last" is unique to Chronicles. The phrase "first and last" (הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים) first appears in Chronicles during the united monarchy period in David's citation (1 Chr 29.29), and next in Solomon's citation (2 Chr 9.29). It appears thereafter in Chronicles during the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah in seven further instances, thus a total of nine times, while not appearing in eight other references in Chronicles, particularly in the latter references.[792] In Kings the phrase "first and last" never appears at all. It is unique to Chronicles.

In the same way the phrase found in Kings, "and all that he did…" never appears in Chronicles. While these phrases "first and last" and "all that he did" appear

[791] Violent death in both Chronicles and Kings seem to result in not being buried in the tombs of the forefathers. B. Halpern and D. Vander Hooft examine this phenomenon in the book of Kings, "The Editions of Kings in the 7th – 6th Centuries B.C.E.," pp. 183-184 together with a Chart on p. 189 with the Death and Burial Formulae in the book of Kings laid out, showing the contrast of violent deaths with peaceful deaths: in all peaceful deaths the formula עִם-אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקָּבֵר בְּעִיר דָּוִד appears,(1 Kgs 2.10; 11/43; 15.8; 15.24; 22.51; 2 Kgs 8.24; 15.7; 15.38; 16.20; 20.21; 21.18; 24.6) which contrast with violent deaths וַיָּמָת…וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ בִקְבֻרָתוֹ עִם-אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד (2 Kgs 9.27-28; 11.16; 12.21-22; 14.19-20; 21.2326; 23.29-30;) except in three cases where there is no burial recorded (Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah(23.34; 24.15; 25.7b);

[792] Refs to "First and Last" found uniquely in Chronicles: 1 Chr 29.29 (David); 2 Chr 9.29 (Solomon); 2 Chr 12.15 (Rehoboam); [Abijah's Reference lacks this: 2 Chr 13.22]; 2 Chr 16.11 (Asa); 2 Chr20.34 Jehoshaphat; [*No references in 2 Chr 21.4-20, Jehoram or 2 Chr 22.7-10, Ahaziah* }; 2 Chr 25.26 (Amaziah);2 Chr 26.22 (Uzziah); 2 Chr 28.26 (Ahaz); [*Not in Refs for 2 Chr 32.32, Hezekiah; 2 Chr 33.18-19, Manasseh; No Ref for 2 Chr 33.20b—25, Amon*]; 2 Chr 35.26-27 (Josiah); [*No Refs for the last three kings: 2 Chr 36.8, Manasseh; 2 Chr 36.9, Jehoiachin and 2 Chr 36.19-20, Zedekiah*]. In LXX the reference from 2 Kgs 24.5 has been inserted into the place of 2 Chr 36.8 replacing the MT reference for Jehoiakim with the one in Kings. This means that LXX has not understood the referencing, as Chronicles would then be self-referring and not cross-referencing with Kings.

superficially dissimilar, they may be seen to be equivalent phrases which broadly cover the same meaning and function within the formulae. [See Appendix A Chart 3, 4 and 5 "Analysis of Chronicles/Kings Citations" see pp.405, 406, 407.

In the early cross-references there are no embellishments in Chronicles or Kings giving detailed evaluations within the citation for David, Solomon and Rehoboam's regnal acts. Abijah in Chronicles substitutes "from first to last," with "and his ways and his sayings," and reverts to the original Davidic statement form. Kings in the early stages are initially simple "and all that he did" (וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה) but then they become more detailed. From Abijah onwards we can note the first move away from "first and last" in Chronicles, but Kings continues faithful to its formula, with "and all that he did" with details of each succeeding king's deeds beginning to be added:

KINGS:	CHRONICLES:
1 Kgs 11.41 Solomon: וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְחָכְמָתוֹ ("all that he did and his wisdom")	1 Chr 29.29 David; 2 Chr 9.29 Solomon הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים ("first and last") No regnal evaluation
1 Kgs 15.7 Abijam: וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה ("and all that he did")	2 Chr 13.22 Abijah: (Lacks "first and last") …וּדְרָכָיו וּדְבָרָיו ("and his ways and his sayings")
1 Kgs 15.23 Asa: וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה ("and all that he did")	2 Chr 16.11 Asa: הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים ("first and last") No regnal evaluation
1 Kgs 22.45/H46 Jehoshaphat: דִּבְרֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט וּגְבוּרָתוֹ אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה וַאֲשֶׁר נִלְחָם (The deeds of Jehoshaphat and his might that he showed and how he warred")	2 Chr 20.34 Jehoshaphat: הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים ("first and last") No regnal evaluation

There are no cross-references in Chronicles and Kings for Jehoram and Ahaziah, but starting from Joash's reign Kings and Chronicles both regularly list royal deeds.

In Joash's citation (2 Kgs 12.19/H20): Kings states succinctly: וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה ("and all that he did") while 2 Chr 24.27 has a bit more to say:

וּבָנָיו ורב (וְרֹב) הַמַּשָּׂא עָלָיו וְיסוֹד בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים... ׃	**2 Chr 24.27** Now concerning his sons, and the multitude of the burdens against him, and the rebuilding of the house of God…

Amaziah lacks any comments beyond the basic formulae in both Kings and Chronicles (2 Kgs 14.18//2 Chr 25.26). Hereafter comments on the regnal deeds from both Kings and especially Chronicles are regular features, though Chronicles almost entirely abandons the use of "first and last…" using instead "his words and his ways…." One exception is in Ahaz, both phrases are used in a new order: "his words and his ways, first and last…:" Kings adds in Hezekiah's might, and the pool he made (1 Kgs 20.20), but Chronicles (2 Chr 32.32) only mentions his good deeds:

2 Kgs 15.36 Jotham: אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה ("which he did")	2 Chr 27.7 Jotham: (No "first and last") but instead: וְכָל-מִלְחַמֹתָיו וּדְרָכָיו ("all his wars, and his ways")
2 Kgs 16.19 Ahaz: אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה ("which he did")	2 Chr 28.26 Ahaz: וְכָל-דְּרָכָיו הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים ("his words and his ways, first and last…")
2 Kgs 20.20 Hezekiah: וְכָל-גְּבוּרָתוֹ וַאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֶת-הַבְּרֵכָה ("all his might, and how he made the pool")	2 Chr 32.32 Hezekiah: No "first and last" וְחַסְדָּיו ("and his good deeds")

A further change occurs after the northern kingdom of Israel goes into exile (721/2 B.C.), where the Kings citations become fairly brief, whilst those in Chronicles, when present, are fulsome either in praise or condemnation, especially those of Manasseh and Josiah. Manasseh (2 Chr 33.18) has a more fulsome citation in Chronicles:

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי מְנַשֶּׁה וּתְפִלָּתוֹ אֶל-אֱלֹהָיו וְדִבְרֵי הַחוֹזִים הַמְדַבְּרִים אֵלָיו בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנָּם עַל-דִּבְרֵי מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**2 Chr 33.18** Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the two seers that spoke to him in the name of the LORD, the God of Israel, behold, they are written among the acts of the kings of Israel.
וּתְפִלָּתוֹ וְהֵעָתֶר-לוֹ וְכָל-חַטָּאתוֹ וּמַעְלוֹ וְהַמְּקֹמוֹת אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה בָהֶם בָּמוֹת וְהָעֲמִיד הָאֲשֵׁרִים וְהַפְּסִלִים לִפְנֵי הִכָּנְעוֹ הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל דִּבְרֵי חוֹזָי׃	**2 Chr 33.19** His prayer also, and how [God] was entreated of him, and all his sin and his transgression, and the places wherein he built high places, and set up the Asherim and the graven images, before he humbled himself; behold, they are written in the words of the seers.

Compared with Chronicles, the Kings version of Manasseh is briefer (2 Kgs 21.17):

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי מְנַשֶּׁה וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְחַטָּאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא׃ הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה׃	**2 Kgs 21.17** Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?

This same fulsomeness may be seen in 2 Chr 35.25 in Josiah's death, and here again with the "first and last" being put at the end again as in that of Ahaz:

וַיְקוֹנֵן יִרְמְיָהוּ עַל-יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל-הַשָּׁרִים וְהַשָּׁרוֹת בְּקִינוֹתֵיהֶם עַל-יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ עַד-הַיּוֹם וַיִּתְּנוּם לְחֹק עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-הַקִּינוֹת׃	**2 Chr 35.25** And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing men and singing women spoke of Josiah in their lamentations, unto this day; and they made them an ordinance in Israel; and, behold, they are written in the lamentations.
וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ וַחֲסָדָיו כַּכָּתוּב בְּתוֹרַת יְהוָה׃	**26** Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and his good deeds, according to that which is written in the Torah of the LORD,
וּדְבָרָיו הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרֹנִים׃	**27** and his acts, first and last…

By comparison, Kings limits its comments on Josiah's virtues to the five brief formulaic words (2 Kgs 23.28):

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃	**2 Kgs 23.28** Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and all that he did...

The same may be seen in Jehoiakim's notice in 2 Chr 36.8, though minus "first and last": "and the abominations which he did and that which was found in him" (וְתֹעֲבֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה וְהַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו), as compared with 2 Kgs 24.5 where Jehoiakim's lack of virtue is summed up as: "and all that he did" (וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה).

The Chronicles citations thus may be seen to start off with only "first and last" with no deeds mentioned in the citation of Kings David, Solomon and Rehoboam. This contrasts with Kings which puts "and all that he did" often with a specific mention of the kingly deeds. However Chronicles becomes more like kings in giving more fulsome regnal summations, especially in the period after the exile of Israel in the north, but by then Kings becomes very much briefer.

Chronicles' use of "first and last" becomes less frequent, but does not take on Kings' phrase: וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה ("and all that he did"). Instead Chronicles uses the phrase...וּדְרָכָיו וּדְבָרָיו ("all his words and all his deeds") and variations on that, such as with Ahaz: וְכָל-מִלְחַמֹתָיו וּדְרָכָיו ("all his wars, and his ways"). Overall then, we see the patterns in Kings and Chronicles change over time. While Kings becomes brief to the point of terseness, Chronicles becomes more fulsome in listing the kingly deeds, good or bad. Chronicles usually uses the statement form but here and there used the interrogative form found usually in Kings. Kings tends to stay more faithful to its formula, but, with the last six kings of Israel there is an inexplicable use of what would be the Chronicles' normal statement form instead of Kings' normal question form. Without wishing to over-stress this point, what we see here is two formulae being

established at the start, one in question form the other in statement form, and over the period swopping with each other, from time to time, and then reverting back to type.

This is what one would expect in formulae that were put in over time, but not what one would expect if a later scribe inserted them all at one time. If these were put in later, one would tend to expect this uniformity throughout.

Statement or Question form in the Formulaic citations?

Kings: Interrogative form: "Behold, are they not written…? הֲלוֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים

Chronicles: Statement form: "Behold, they are written…." : הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים

In Chronicles typically the statement form, "behold, they are written…." (כְּתוּבִים הִנָּם) is used, while in Kings the interrogative form, "behold, are they not written…?" (הֲלוֹא-הֵם כְּתֻבִים) is generally used.

The Chronicles' pattern is seen first in David's citation (1 Chr 29.29) in the statement form: "behold, they are written…" (הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים). In Chronicles there are three exceptions to this usual statement form: two are found in the first two cross-references, at the end of Solomon's reign and at the end of Rehoboam's reign (2 Chr 9.29; 2 Chr 12.15), In these two references we find Chronicles joins Kings in using the interrogative form (הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים) asking "Behold, are they not written…? The only other lapse Chronicles makes from the statement form (הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים) may be found at the end of Amaziah's reign (2 Chr 25.26), which is only a partial lapse, where the interrogative form of Kings (הֲלֹא) is used, but the typical Chronicles' word for "behold" (הִנָּם) is retained, thus the phrase reads: הֲלֹא הִנָּם, whereas Kings uses הֲלֹא-הֵם.

Whilst still using the statement form, Chronicles has two exceptions to the use of "behold" which are: (i) at the end of Asa's reign there are two "beholds": the first one, הִנֵּה, replaces the expected "*wəyeter*," the next one comes after "first and last" (הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים) which reads הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים (2 Chr 16.11); and (ii) at the end of Uzziah's reign (2 Chr 26.22) which has "*wəyeter*," but lacks "behold" altogether. Elsewhere in Chronicles' citations the presence of the "behold" is consistent.

The picture in Kings, by contrast with Chronicles, usually uses the question form הֲלֹא-הֵם, as may be seen at the end of Solomon's reign (1 Kgs 11.41). However Kings lapses into the statement form as usually found in Chronicles (הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים) for the first northern king, Jeroboam's citation (1 Kgs 14.19). Thereafter Kings keeps consistently to the question form, whether referencing the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah or the Kings of Israel, until the last six references to the kings of Israel in the northern kingdom, leading up to the exile, where four of these last kings of Israel are referenced with the statement form commonly used in Chronicles, namely, "behold they are written…" (הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים), with only Menahem retaining the question form "behold, are they not written…?" (הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים), and Hoshea, the last king, lacking any reference at all.

Kings thus uses the question form (הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים)[793] twenty-nine times out of a total of thirty-four, with five exceptions. Chronicles uses the statement form (הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים) twelve times out of a total of fifteen, with three exceptions. It may be seen then that

[793] Kings uses הֲלֹא-הֵמָּה on three occasions in Rehoboam, Asa and Ahaziah (1 Kgs 14.29; 1 Kgs 15.23 and 2 Kgs 1.18), which I take to be an orthographical difference of the same basic הֲלוֹא-הֵם of no major significance.

the overall pattern of the interrogative form for Kings הֲלֹא-הֵם and the statement form for Chronicles emerges fairly clearly in this analysis.

Thus it may be seen that the Kings and Chronicles formulae, which on the surface, appear very similar, are different in certain particulars, but that these differences may at certain points, "cross to the other side" from time to time. Chronicles' unique "first and last" all but disappears in the latter stages.[794] Kings "and all his deeds" becomes expanded to include details of royal acts. These kingly deeds increasingly become more detailed in Chronicles too, seemingly under Kings' influence, but the more expansive the later regnal deeds formulae in Chronicles become, correspondingly, Kings regnal comments becomes very brief. This lack of complete regularity would fit in with records being updated over time in a running account, with scribal variation and a certain amount of mutual influence between the two works along the way. These variations between Kings and Chronicles also tends to give support to "*wəyeter*" being "the rest of" the information that may be found in a system of cross-referencing operating between these two books.

Bin-Nun makes the following comment with regard to the gradual development of the formulae pertaining to the first kings both of Israel and Judah, with which I concur:

> From the many variations in the scheme of the first kings, both of Israel and of Judah, it may be concluded that no fixed system had been arrived at until after several generations. All formulas need time to be developed. Had the whole scheme been invented by the redactor, he would have started his fixed formulas

[794] Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon and Jehoiakim (2 Chr 32.32; 33.18; 33.19; 36.8) lack the phrase "first and last" (הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים); with Josiah as the exception (2 Chr 35.26-27); before the kingdom is divided eight references have הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים while three kings, Abijah, Joash and Jotham, lack this feature (2 Chr 13.22; 24.27; 27.7).

> with the first kings. The deviations may serve as indications that the formulas reflect the actual development of the recording methods at the royal courts of Israel and of Judah.[795]

I would go further to say that the formulae, even though there are fairly fixed points in both works, show a certain amount of fluidity over the full period over which these citations span. There is the length of time it took for the book of Kings' title to be settled upon as the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel," then the veering back and forth between Kings and Chronicles as to the interrogative or statement form, the gradual but never total loss of "first and last," the occasional omission of the "*wəyeter*," the subtle differences in orthography in the word "behold," all suggest an adherence to a general pattern with scribal variations, and an inter-relationship between the two works where "borrowing" and "swopping back and forth" appears to take place.

[795] Bin-Nun, "Formulas," p. 428.

CHAPTER 5

Summary and Conclusions

This thesis sought to address three questions:

1. What are the nature, purpose and function of the formulaic "source notices" in the books of Chronicles?
2. How do the biblical Chronicles' citation formulae compare and contrast with those of the ancient Near Eastern epigraphic materials where colophons feature in chronographic writings, and also other Hebrew Biblical books with similar citations?
3. In what ways would this influence our current knowledge of the isagogic elements of the book of Chronicles, such as genre, authorship and dating?

The repeating formulaic phrases and source citations in the Books of Chronicles are generally considered in the scholarly consensus to be at best literary adornments and at worst, tendentious lies. There is good reason for this, as the source citations in Chronicles differ from those in the book of Kings in every single instance, even where the adjoining text is identical or very similar. As the book of Chronicles is seen as a later work than Kings it is considered less reliable than Kings.

There is no post-exilic period into which Chronicles fits satisfactorily, so theories abound. Today scholarly attention focuses on the literary value of Chronicles, with a limited acknowledgement that, on a case by case basis, there may be some historical value in some sections. There is no consensus at all on dating, genre and authorship within the post-exilic context.

Several scholars such as Bin-Nun, Macy, Haran, Kofoed, Halpern and Vanderhooft, looking at either Kings or Chronicles, have found on examination and on various grounds that these citations are genuine formulae pointing to real works, and not tendentious literary adornments.[796] However, the question remains as to how these citations in Chronicles which differ from those in Kings at the same narrative points can possibly be genuine.

Auld places Kings and Chronicles alongside each other, and sees them as synchronising works in the post-exile, based on an underlying document. This does not help to explain why the citation formulae differ in Kings and Chronicles but it does have the merit of putting Chronicles and Kings' citation formulae on the same footing as far as being equally open to either validation or the accusation of tendentiousness. There has to be an explanation for Kings and Chronicles both referring to the same source material and yet each giving different source citations. Either Kings or Chronicles must be wrong or both are wrong, but both cannot be correct, unless another explanation is forthcoming. This thesis offers an attempt to offer such an explanation.

The early Rabbis thought the isagogical elements of dating, genre and authorship in the book of Chronicles could be dated to Ezra's lifetime. This belief was later given support by the influence of the nineteenth century promulgation of the CHW hypothesis (Chronistic History Work),[797] where Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles were viewed as the work of one and the same author. Since Japhet and Williamson's challenge to this view on authorship in the 1970's, the prevailing scholarly view, which theoretically

[796] See Chapter 4.

[797] F. C. Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen überdie biblische Chronik. Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung indas alte Testament*, Bonn; L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt. Ein Beitrag zur Alterhumskunde und biblischen Kritik, sur Literature – und Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1832.

could have gone in any direction: pre-exilic, exilic or post-exilic, moved further into the post-exilic period, mostly on linguistic grounds advanced by Japhet and later Williamson. The prevailing view today is that Chronicles was written by one author, probably a priest or Levite, during the post-exilic period, within a range of three hundred and fifty years, covering the Persian, Greek and Hasmonean periods, but thus far no consensus has been reached.[798]

In a three step approach the first step was to assess the isagogic elements. In order to focus primarily on these formulaic source citations rather than the sources themselves, those factors that coloured the discussion, namely the isagogic factors of authorship, dating, and authorship, were not assumed *a priori*, but were each reassessed separately.[799]

Mention of the CHW hypothesis, very much a factor up until the 1970's when Japhet and Williamson wrote, was examined for the possibility of its lingering influence on Chronicles, despite no longer being in scholarly favour. A look at a more recent question, as to whether Chronicles shows signs of authorship, editing, or chronicling, focussed on the methodological questions which need to be addressed to make a more meaningful discussion about these isagogical possibilities.

It was found here that there are several factors invoked to confirm the post-exilic dating of Chronicles, such as identifying Chronicles' Hebrew as Late biblical Hebrew rather than Classical Biblical Hebrew. Some aspects of Hurvitz's approach has come under a strong challenge today in the scholarship of Rezetko and others, showing that the

[798] K. Peltonen, "Function, Explanation and Literary Phenomena : Aspects of Source Criticism as theory and method in the History of Chronicles Research," Eds., P. P. Graham and S. L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, JSOTS 263, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1999, pp. 18-69.

[799] See Chapter 2.

philological arguments do not stand alone as arguments for late dating of Chronicles, but rely on Higher Critical arguments to uphold them. While Rezetko himself would still date Chronicles post-exilically, the argumentation used provides leeway to explore earlier possibilities for Chronicles' dating. The case Rezetko presents is convincing regarding the circularity of the argumentation used to support the late-dating and also the reliance on other lines of argumentation to lend support. Other arguments, such as the last date of the last entry in Chronicles being the two verses shared with the opening lines of the book of Ezra; the use of the anachronistic word "daric," (1 Chr 29.3-5), a post-exilic coinage; David's genealogy in 1 Chr 3.1-2 which includes Shealtiel as the son of Jehoiachin (1 Chronicles 3:17) and the father of Zerubbabel (Ezra 3:2; 5:2; Nehemiah 12:1; Haggai 1:1, etc.) which extends into the post-exilic period; and Uzziah's siege machines (2 Chr 26.15). These and other commonly given reasons for late-dating Chronicles into the post exilic period have been examined in Chapter 2 in the section on dating of Chronicles, and found to be inadequate to the task of maintaining a post-exilic date for Chronicles. It will be seen that the difficulties are generally readily and logically explained within a chronographic approach.

The investigation into the genre of Chronicles revealed a wide range of literary and historical scholarly research investigating where Chronicles fits. It was found that there were almost as many genres proposed as scholars who have contributed to the debate. With this wide proliferation of choices, one group of genre choices was notably absent, namely those within the ancient Near Eastern chronographic writings, which share a number of common features with biblical Chronicles, in particular the repeating formulae at the end of each king's reign.

It was argued therefore that the less than certain reasons for the post-exilic dating, the lack of genre attribution, and the uncertainty of authorship,[800] meant that Chronicles could be reassessed without the current view on isagogics setting the limits of where the investigation might lead.

The second step for Chronicles, now set free from the aftermath of the CHW hypothesis and post-exilic dating, therefore, was to examine it against its ancient Near Eastern background, focusing in particular on the Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, but also with a brief overview of Persian, Greek, and Egyptian chronographic writings. The task was facilitated by not having the isagogic restraints, enabling biblical Chronicles to be aligned where there was commonality, and noting where this was absent.

Chronicles was found to have a tripartite structure consisting of an Origins section, a Recapitulation section and then the Chronicling section. Origin sections giving genealogies are not found in the later Neo-Babylonian Chronicles at and after the reign of Nabû-nāṣir (747-734 B.C.) but fit better within those of the twelfth to ninth centuries B.C. where an Origins section is more commonly found. Also the retribution and reward formulae, so prevalent in these earlier ancient Near Eastern chronicles, is a feature which completely disappears by the Neo-Babylonian chronicling. The passion for making lists, not just king lists, is from this earlier period too, and 1 Chronicles 1-9 was examined to show a fine example of a king list which develops from a listing of successive names into formulaic phrases and then narrative begins to get added in. In the colophonic reference to the original document, it is referred to in 1 Chr 9.1 as the book of "Kings of Israel." As aforesaid, Hilprecht relates this to "*Nam-Lugal*" the title

[800] R. K. Duke, "Recent Research," *CBR* 8, 2009, pp. 10-50; p. 30.

of an ancient Sumerian chronicle, which he translates as "Book of the Kings." He writes regarding a forthcoming publication he was planning:

> It will deal with "Early Historical Inscriptions from the Temple Library of Nippur," including fragmentary chronicles of Narâm-Sin and other ancient rulers and two good-sized though much mutilated fragments (joined) of a still earlier Sumerian chronicle entitled "*Nam-lugal*," literally "royalty, kingship," which we may render more intelligently in English by translating "Book of the Kings."[801]

The Egyptian day-books (*hrwyt*), or "Roll of Days," from the few surviving examples appear to have been common at the time. Redford mentions one of these as being the annals of Thutmose (1485 B.C. approximately) where, in at least three places, there are references as to where to find "the rest of" the information not in the inscription.[802]

The case for early writing in Israel in this period needed to be investigated or the whole hypothesis would fail. The works of Millard, Rollston, Lemaire, Carr, Person, Hess, Niditch, Waerzeggars, Barkai and Deutsch, among others, has been consulted.[803] The research into early writing and literacy has developed tremendously in the last few decades, along with the many advances in archaeology, epigraphy and palaeolinguistics which give support to this research. However, these findings of early writing and literacy are still not sufficiently integrated into biblical studies in Chronicles. As Knoppers writes, despite "such welcome advances in epigraphy, art history and

[801] H. V. Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story and the Temple Library of Nippur* (1910), KLR , University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1910, P. 29.

[802] Redford, *Pharaonic King lists, Annals and Day-books*, p. 98.

[803] See Chapter 2, the last section.

archaeology," these "have not materially affected the debates about the date of the Chronicler's work."[804]

Macy, writing much earlier in the 1970's, found even then that despite all the ongoing investigations in the ancient Near East which have confirmed the long history of literacy in that area, even impacting on many areas of Old Testament studies, the theories about biblical Chronicles have "escaped almost entirely unharmed.[805] Chronicles' study by contrast has been not only harmed but scholarship has not been able to progress as it should.

Chronicles' formulae, from the comparison with those of the ancient Near East were seen to fit well into those found in some chronographic writings, especially those of ancient Near Eastern chronicles. By virtue of biblical Chronicles' content, generally viewed as a priestly document, it may readily be viewed as a temple document in line with those in the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian chronicles. Chronicles' formulae show a double synchronising system, one which is a form of dating using the regnal year of one king measured against the regnal date of the neighbouring kings, and the other, which is rare in ancient Near East, source citations such as in the Synchronic Chronicle, where two kings' names are placed together, without specifying regnal dating.

It was also seen that in the Egyptian day-books there was a form of cross-referencing so that the rest of the information, not kept in one document, could be found in another named document. Though this is much more sporadic and *ad hoc* compared with the regnally based cross-referencing system between Kings and Chronicles referring the

[804] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, p. 102.
[805] Macy, *Sources of Chronicles,* pp. 18-19.

reader to where the rest of the information may be found, nevertheless, the notion is not unknown in the wider ancient Near East.

Chronicles has cross-referencing of sources, with no dating implications, between Kings and Chronicles. The complexity of the Chronicles-Kings cross-referencing is compounded after the kingdom of the united monarchy divided after Solomon's reign, where it becomes a bilateral cross-referencing of the sources, centred in Kings. Here the information from the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" are cross-referenced with that in Kings, the short name for the "Kings of Judah and Israel." We lack the northern Chronicles, having only the southern Chronicles, our biblical Chronicles, where the cross-referencing system between Kings and Chronicles may be seen. After the exile of the northern monarchy of Israel, the double cross-referencing in Kings ceases altogether. There are no further references in Kings to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel." Only the cross- references between Kings and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" continue.

Within chronographic writings the differences between chronicles and annals are not always understood or made clear, which has enabled an unjustifiable attribution of the characteristics of one to the other. Thus while chronicles may use material from annals, chronicles are generally briefer. The distinctive feature of annals is that these are palace documents, overseen by the king, usually written as if by him in the first person singular. They are re-written annually (or periodically) over just the one king's reign, making multiple changes each year, leaving out earlier material, or adding in new, according to political expediency. This is not the case with chronicles which form a running account of all the successive kings' reigns being reported one after the other. The running account thus may seem to include contradictions which will not be ironed out, because what is written does not change, nor harmonised with what follows.

Samuel and Kings' influence on Chronicles

If the analysis of Chronicles is upheld, namely that Samuel is earlier than both Kings and Chronicles, which from early on run concurrently, then an important consequence of this is that the influence of Samuel on Chronicles needs to be examined from that perspective, while the approach to Kings and Chronicles would be viewed differently. Samuel, being part of the Recapitulation as a pre-existing work, has clear selections drawn from it, motivated by Solomon's temple document requirements. The purpose of Chronicles is to give an overview, a justification for the temple building and the right of Solomon to embark on the project. The linking colophon in 1 Chr 29.29 to the three prophets, Samuel, Nathan and Gad can be seen as an important link back to earlier works. Kings as a prophetic document, if Chronicles' references are an indication of the prophetic contributions, written synchronically with Chronicles, has the cross-referencing informing the reader where the rest of the information pertaining to the matter in hand may be found. Thus Chronicles does the temple chronicling, while the Deuteronomistic work of Kings records the prophetic matters.

Omissions and Additions

Juha Pakkala, who examines the omissions as well as the additions in biblical works, goes against the prevailing assumption based on a seventeenth century dictum "*lectio brevior potior*" (the shorter text is stronger) when he writes that while it is true that additions were made to edited works, it is also equally to be noted that omissions were made too. This is confirmed independently by the findings of this thesis, with qualifications,[806] namely that scribal accuracy will not be compromised, and the

[806] J. Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted: Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible,*

findings here are not multiple layers of redaction over centuries, but on the contrary, the reason for the selections here is clearly to make a temple record from older sources, and a reference is given to show where the information came from (1 Chr 29.29). Further, in a chronicling situation, the additional layers are no more than new information as new events occur.

Pakkala gives Chronicles a late date compared with the date of Kings so for him the stream of information is only one-way, with Chronicles taking material from both Samuel and Kings, adding and omitting in accordance with a post-exilic purpose. However, the selected material from Samuel into Chronicles, once the latter is viewed as a temple document being made for Solomon's new temple, enables one to understand the reason for these selections as matters pertaining to the requirements of the temple. These include the site of the temple as bought by David, where David's fault in the matter is not concealed, but is entirely purposive, as it underlies the reason for the site chosen for the temple. The additional information, which is not contained in Samuel such as 1 Chr 23-27, allocates temple duties for the priests and Levites dividing them up into twenty four courses.[807]

The Formulaic Notices in the ancient Near East and in Biblical Chronicles

A comparison between the citation formulae of the biblical Chronicles and those of the ancient Near East, in particular those of Assyrian and Babylon show several important similarities, which would go well beyond what could be called a coincidence of general

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2013; J. Pakkala, R. Müller, B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, SBL, Atlanta, 2014. Pakkala *et al.,* find additions and also omissions.

[807] H. G. M. Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Courses: A Study of 1 Chronicles XXIII-XXVII," ed., J. A. Emerton, *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament, VT* 30, 1979, pp. 251-268.

writing patterns of the time. It is even possible to see that some patterns fit into particular centuries and do not fit into other centuries at all. In light of the findings of this thesis, the citation formulae follow the pattern of those in the chronographic writings identified as being between the twelfth and ninth centuries B.C. If then the chronicling began at the time of Solomon's Temple, the formulae and chronicling standards would reflect patterns found at that time. Furthermore, these would tend, as J. J. Niehaus[808] has shown, to be maintained over the period of the chronicling, albeit with minor changes of scribes over time. There are fewer similarities with the Neo-Babylonian chronicles, for example, the regnal dating which is so characteristic of biblical Chronicles is only to be found in the early part of Chronicle ABC 1 in the Babylonian Series in the first part where Nabû-nāṣir reigns (747-734 B.C.).[809] Thereafter Chronicle ABC 1 changes to using the Assyrian annual regnal dating with days and months also featuring more generally.

Also, once the Assyrians take over the Babylonian throne (734 B.C.) they implement features that appear in their annal writing, which as the name implies, is updated annually (or, in practice, periodically). There are further divergences by the time of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic, with formulaic phrases which are unique to these chronicles.[810] Once the Assyrians take over the Babylonian throne they introduce days and named months. Named months are *never* found in the biblical Chronicles, which uses, exclusively, numbered months. Only with the writings influenced by Babylon are named months used, which we see in Ezra (named months in the regnal exchanges, and numbered months in the religious matters; Nehemiah uses named months exclusively and Esther used numbered months giving the Babylonian named month equivalent in

[808] J. J. Niehaus, "The Central Sanctuary: Where and When?" *TB* 43, 1992, pp. 3-30.
[809] Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle ABC 1, p. 70.
[810] Greek Chronicles: Discussion in Chapter 3 on p.164.

each case. Some see the book of Chronicles' use of numbered months as an artifice, but this view is only necessary if one insists on a post-exilic composition, because the Babylonian named months did not occur in biblical literature until the exilic period. There are named months in 1 Kgs 8, but these appear to be Phoenician month names, during the time of the temple building when Phoenician builders were used, so this may be some early use in Kings, but it does not appear in Chronicles at all.

The burial notices hold much in common with the earlier chronicles, whereas these are not found in the later chronicles of the Neo-Babylonians starting from Nabû-nāṣir's reign. The retribution formulae, mandatory at the time of the earlier chronicles, rewards and punishments meted out by the gods, whilst a feature of biblical Chronicles, do not appear in Neo-Babylonian chronicles or thereafter.

The last section of 2 Chronicles (2 Chr 36.22-23), which if dated according to a running account would date to the time of the post-exilic return to Judah at the time of the temple being rebuilt (after 539 B.C.) is typical of a catchline as examined in other ancient Near East documents of the period. A catchline is used to link an earlier document to a new one. As it mentioned Cyrus and the returnees from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem, this would fit well with a continuing chronicle for the new Second Temple records.

Once a chronicle is set up it tends to maintain its initial formulae, a conservative process, which means dating later parts of the work cannot be identified from the formulae except in minor deviations appearing over time.[811]

[811] J. J. Niehaus *The Deuteronomic Style: An Examination of the Deuteronomic Style in light of the Ancient and Near Eastern Literature*, Diss. Liverpool University Press, 1985; "The Central Sanctuary: Where and When?" *TB* 43, 1992, pp. 3-30.

Isagogic Elements of Genre, Authorship and Dating

The findings that Chronicles' formulaic features were similar or identical to those in other ancient Near Eastern chronicles meant that Chronicles may be seen to fit more comfortably into the First Temple period rather than the Second Temple period. The comparison also put the genre of chronicles into the chronographic rather than the historic or literary genre. The authorship too, with chronicling being definitionally a running account, would mean a variety of scribes over a lengthy period rather than one author. The dating and genre and authorship were examined separately, though there are inevitable overlaps to which attention was drawn.

The invoking of medieval scholarship was justified on several grounds, citing Kalimi who also finds value in them. The critical method has been so upheld that it has not taken into account its own ideological underpinnings and limitations, particularly as regards its assumed evolutionary viewpoint, its nineteenth century optimism, and its Hegelian view of nature to history, into which the Hebrew Bible was clothed like an ill-fitting garment, whilst at the same time rather over-emphasising the supposed uncritical and dogmatic nature of medieval scholarship. Today we can critically assess both, but also need to be aware of the lingering influences in our own post-modern era.

The research here would lead to the date of Chronicles to be set free from its current positioning in the post-exile, with consequences for its genre and authorship. If it is allowed to be viewed as a chronographic work, a running account, the unity of purpose is also revealed. What we currently have is Chronicles being viewed as a literary or historical document which means dating is done from the last date of the last entry in the work. Methodologically, as seen from the ancient Near East chronicles or indeed any running account, the dating requires a punctuated approach, where, according to

the formulaic dating at the end of each king's reign, early is dated early, and late is dated late. Thus, if biblical Chronicles is a chronographic work, the dating procedure requires this punctuated approach too.

Overall, this examination of the formulaic citations in Chronicles, taking them seriously in all their details, may be seen to be uniquely useful as a dating tool, as well as giving a better understanding of the close relationship these formulae have in many ways with those of the chronicles in the ancient Near East. These repeating formulae operate colophonically as time markers, placed at the end of each king's reign. The book of Chronicles, when viewed as a temple document set up in the time of Solomon's temple, would need to reflect the majesty of Yahweh, the magnificence of the temple and the might of the king, can be shown in this view as not being "deceptive" but "selective," where the passages taken from Samuel fulfil this purpose in the Recapitulation section. Similarly, in the shared information between Kings and Chronicles, the choices made in Chronicles of chronicling items for each reign also uphold the temple, the law, the priesthood and the king. Chronicles was postulated to be a running account versus an historical work, with evidence adduced from the ancient Near Eastern chronographic epigraphy, and from inner biblical evidence.

The above studies have made some demonstration that the Chronicles of the Bible may be fittingly established within the ancient Near East as a "chronicle," with all that this definition entails, namely a running document over several kings' reigns, most probably a temple chronicle, and if the isagogic features of genre, authorship and dating may be loosed from their post-exilic moorings, then it becomes possible to look at the citation sources alongside other biblical writings, especially Kings, to gain new insights and perspective on the citations themselves as well as Chronicles as a whole.

We see that the three questions underlying this thesis may be answered now:

1. The formulaic notices in the biblical Chronicles share many features with those of Assyria and Babylon, and even selectively those of the Egyptian day-books. They would, on this examination, deserve to be classified as colophonic in the ancient Near Eastern sense of the word, when defined broadly to include formulaic time-markers measured in regnal years, rather than narrowly as scribal copyists and library categorising. This has implications for the genre and dating.

2. The purpose of these colophons and how they function in Kings and Chronicles finds counterparts in aspects of the Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, particularly the earlier ones where the patterns are fairly constant over the twelfth to ninth centuries B.C. Biblical Chronicles is uniquely complex in that it shows a double synchronizing of the dating, one the readily found regnal dating formulae between neighbouring countries, but the other, only seen in rudimentary form in the Synchronic Chronicle and P Chronicle, and in some of the Egyptian writings, synchronizes information, naming the sources of shared information.

3. This influences our current understanding of the isagogic elements, such as genre, authorship and dating of the document/s. It enables a reassessment of dating options, which may include the pre-exilic period, especially when seen as a running document recording events and reigns over time. The genre re-assessment as a chronicle, which records events over time as a running account explains the "heterogeneity" of composition and viewpoint inevitably changing over time.

Assessment of the views reached regarding the nature, purpose and function of Chronicles' formulae and citation notices, and their impact on dating, genre and authorship of the books of Chronicles have been outlined above in this summation. The usefulness of this approach for further studies may be seen in the attribution of the genre of a chronicle to the biblical book of Chronicles. In this understanding, the work is necessarily a running account, which means a different way of dating from the time of the first temple in the time of Solomon through until the exile. The gap in chronicling throughout the exile may be explained by the fact that there was no temple, so no need to maintain temple records in the absence of a temple, but presumably other writing would have been done during this period.

Potential for further research following this thesis

Whilst not underestimating the valuable work done in examining Chronicles on its own merits, the reintegration of Chronicles to where it belongs, alongside the book of Kings for the Chronicling section, and dependent on Samuel for its Recapitulation section, opens up several avenues for further investigation.eg: the light shed on Child's and Geoghegan's work on "At that time" formula;[812] a re-evaluation of the Deuteronomistic redactor; re-evaluation of the place of the law as preceding both Chronicles and Kings, and as a foundation for Chronicles and an inspirational foundation and framework for the prophetic writings.

There are several avenues of investigation that I would like to follow up on, emanating from this research. The nature of biblical Chronicles as a chronicle after the patterns of those in the ancient Near East holds consequences for other biblical books, namely

[812] B. S. Childs, "A Study of the Formula 'Until This Day,"' *JBL* 82, 1963, pp. 279-292; J. C. Geoghegan, "'Until this Day' and the Preexilic Redaction of the Deuteronomist History," *JBL* 122, 2003, pp. 53-59.

Ezra-Nehemiah as a text of the Second Temple period, with its linking colophonic catchline, which signifies the continuity of the Second Temple chronicle to the First Temple chronicle. Ezra and Nehemiah both hold first person sections which may point to their being personal annals, or even potentially being sections within documents intended for chronicling.

The view reached here as shown by the uni-directional colophonic references that the Samuel material is earlier than that in Kings, where cross-referencing was found, has implications for the idea of a Deuteronomistic History. Investigation into this is outside the remit of this thesis, but is an important if unintended finding of the research conducted here, and would be an important area of potential future research.

Further, it is hoped that this research will provide a fruitful basis for engagement at a deeper level with archaeology and especially chronographiy within the pre-exilic period where it is likely to yield rich results.

The re-examination of the isagogics of Chronicles, especially arguing that the genre is chronographic, in particular a chronicle, provides a basis for a different approach to textual criticism, especially how we look at the omissions and additions found in various texts vis à vis earlier texts. Pakkala's arguments are heavily dependent on existing dating assumptions and even subjective assessments of the theology of the Septuagint, so a more nuanced approach is needed, with a reassessment of the methodological approach used, both for the overall relationship of Chronicles with Samuel and Kings, as well as examining the examples given on a case by case basis.[813]

[813] This is outlined in Chapter 4.

Several scholars' research would allow Chronicles to be interpreted in a pre-exilic direction, such as that of Rezetko and Young, linguistically, Cross, Campbell, Weippert, Rainey in Hebrew Bible studies, and Barkai, Deutsch and Van der Veen in palaeography along with Millard, Rollston, Hess and Niditch in the advances made in early writing and literacy. It is hoped that as this thesis has drawn support from this argumentation, this will give further grounds to support the co-operation between biblical studies and the archaeological research in the ancient Near East and Levant.

In this view then, the citation formulae need to be re-evaluated in Chronicles as deserving of high regard and great usefulness. The book of Chronicles, as regards its chronicling choices taken from the book of Samuel, may be viewed then not as being "deceptive" but purposively "selective." As regards its relationship to the book of Kings, it may be seen as sharing information with the Kings in such a way that Chronicles maintains a record of the kings and the realm from the priestly and temple point of view, while the book of Kings does the same for the prophetic records. The period of the original building of Solomon's temple would be the appropriate and expected time for the establishment of temple chronicles. These would serve to extol the majesty of Yahweh, the magnificence of the temple and the might of the king.

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APPENDIX A: The References between Chronicles and Kings

Key to Chart 1……..The Tripartite Structure of Chronicles and Bilateral Cross-Referencing in Chronicles and Kings

Key to Chart 2…….....The References and Cross-References between Chronicles and Kings

Key to Charts 3, 4 and 5….....The Citations in Chronicles and Kings analysed

Appendix A Chart 1:……The Tripartite Structure in Chronicles and the Bilateral Cross-Referencing in Chronicles and Kings

Appendix A Chart 2:…….The References and Cross-References between Chronicles and Kings

Appendix A Chart 3.....……Analysis of Source Citations in Chronicles and Kings

Appendix A Chart 4…….……Analysis of Source Citations in Chronicles

Appendix A Chart 5……Analysis of Source Citations in Kings

Keys to Appendix A Charts 1-5

Key to Appendix A Chart 1: The Tripartite Structure in Chronicles and the Bilateral Cross-Referencing in Chronicles and Kings (see Chart 1 where Key is included):

KEY:	↕ Bilateral Cross-Refs: Kg (Yellow) and Chr of Judah (Blue); Kg and Chr of Israel (Green)
ORIGINS (1 Chr 1-9.1)	Genealogy (1 Chr 1-9.1) ending with a source ref (Lilac)
RECAPITULATION (10-29)	Early monarchy: Saul's death 1 Sam 31: 1 Chr 11; David's reign: 2 Sam 1-29.29 (Pink)
CHRONICLING (2 Chr 1-36)	KINGS: (Yellow) Cross-Refs with CHRONICLES of United Kingdom, then Divided Kingdoms NK and SK CHRONICLES: Divided Monarchy: NK Israel (Green) until Assyrian Exile 721/2 B. C. : SK Judah (Blue) until Babylonian Exile 587/6 B. C.
EPILOGUE and CATCHLINE	2 Chr 22-23 A Catchline linking Chr to Ezra, Second Temple (Orange)

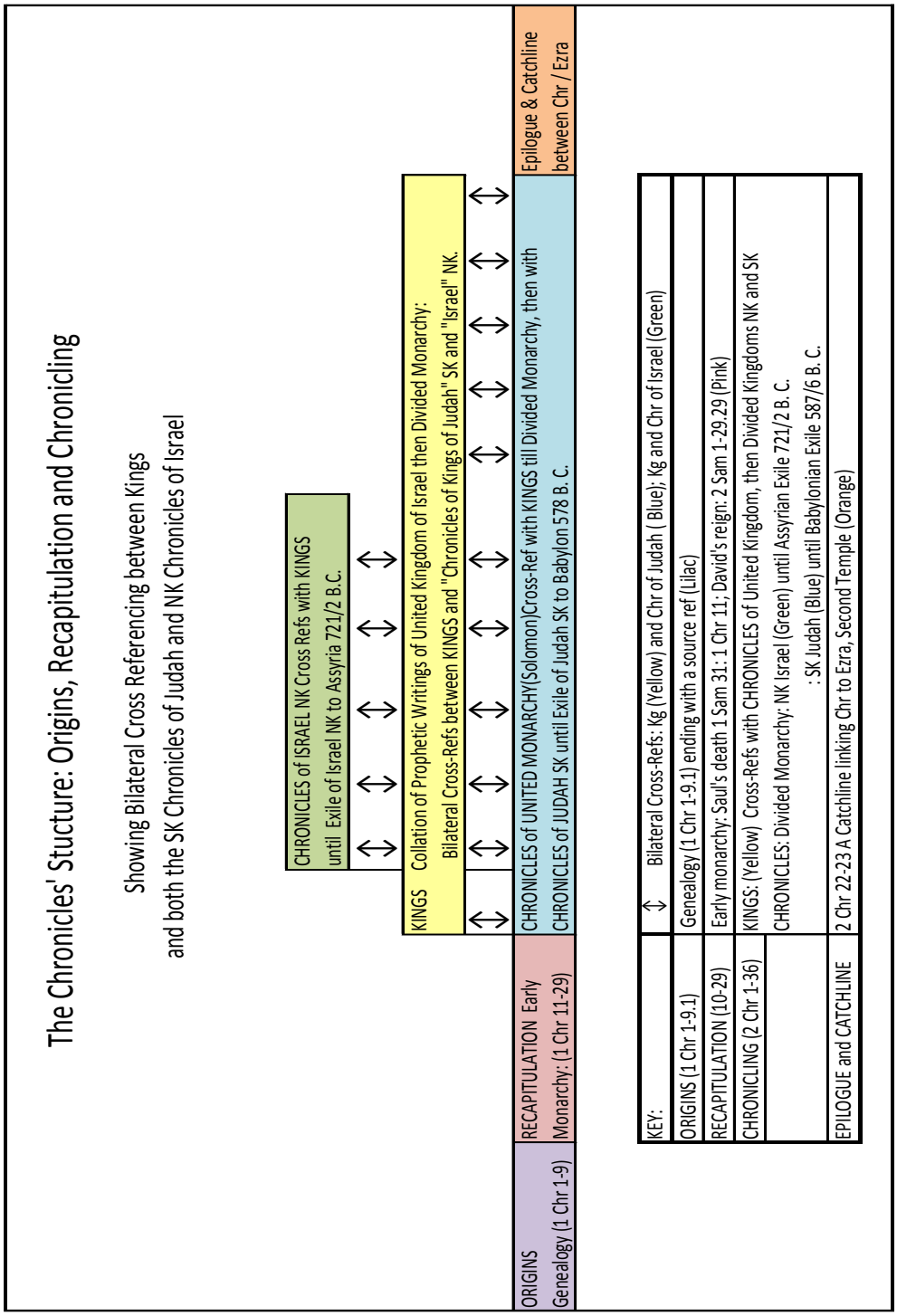
Key to Appendix A Chart 2: References/Cross References between Chronicles and Samuel/Kings:

KEY TO CHART A.2: References/Cross References between Chr and Sam/Kgs	
Cross-Ref Between Kgs & Chr = <->	UK = Ref to United Monarchy
No Cross Ref = ><	NK = Ref to Chronicles of Israel
1-Way Ref = <- or -> = Points to...	SK = Ref to Chronicles of Judah
Notes on Translations:	
Midrash means "Account;" only later did it mean "commentary"	
Dibrê Translated as Deeds/Acts/Annals (of Kings), Words (of Prophets' writings)	
Dibrê hayyāmîm Lit. "Matters of the Days" translated as "Chronicles"	

Key to Appendix A Charts 3,4 and 5: Analysis of Citations in Kings and Chronicles:

Key:	**Key Cont'd:**	**Notes:**
NL = Genealogy : Kgs Israel	No Ref = ><	Midrash means account; only later did it come to mean commentary
SM = Ref to 1 Sam 31 & 2 Sam	Cross-Ref = <->	Dibre Translated as Acts throughout; Alt: Words, Matters, Chronicles, Story, History
UK = Ref to United Monarchy	1-Way Ref = <-or->	Dibre hayammim Matters of the Days is translated here as Chronicles throughout
NK = Ref to Chronicles of Israel	RN = King's name	Spelling Significance of the same king having two spellings to his name - sources?
SK = Ref to Chronicles of Judah	? = Question form	Lilac: 1st to Last; Yellow: *h'lo hem* : Olive: *w'hinnam* ; Mauve: King's Deeds ;
J&I = Ref to Kgs of Isr and Jud		White 1: Chr Refs: Prophets; White 2: Chr Ref ; Kgs J & I; White 3:: Ref Chr : Kgs Isr;
		Grey 1 : Kg Refs: *D'vre Hayyamin* Kg Israel; Grey 2: Kg Judah;

Appendix A Chart 1: The Tripartite Structure in Chronicles and the Bilateral Cross-Referencing in Chronicles and Kings:[403]



Appendix A Chart 2: The References and Cross-References between Chronicles and Kings:

REFERENCES / CROSS REFS between SAM/KINGS and CHRONS		
UNITED MONARCHY OF ISRAEL		
JUDAH Southern Kingdom		ISRAEL Northern Kingdom
1-WAY REFERENCING FROM CHRONICLES TO 1 & 2 SAMUEL and book of KINGS OF ISRAEL		
Genealogies (1 Chr 1-9):		<-1 Chr 9.1 *Refers to the book of Kings of Israel*
RECAPITULATION of MONARCHY of ISRAEL: SAUL'S DEATH and DAVID'S REIGN		
1 Sam 31; 2 Sam	SAUL/DAVID	<- 1 Chr 29.29 *Acts of David in acts of Sam, Nathan and Gad*
FROM SOLOMON's TEMPLE CROSS REFERENCES BEGIN		
1 Kg 11.41 *The Book of the Acts of Solomon*		<-> 2 Chr 9.29 *Acts of Nathan, prophet, Prophecy of Ahijah, Shiloni*
(Later renamed the Chronicles of Judah)	SOLOMON UK	*& Visions of Iddo the Seer re Jeroboam, S. of Nebat*
DIVIDED KINGDOM: CHRONICLES OF ISRAEL & CHRONS OF JUDAH		
1 Kg 14.19 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	JEROBOAM NK	
1 Kg 14.29 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	REHOBOAM SK	<-> 2 Chr 12.15 No "*v'yeter*", *Acts of Shemaiah & Iddo - לְהִתְיַחֵשׂ*
1 Kg 15.7 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	ABIJAH SK	<-> 2 Chr 13.22 *Midrash [=account] of Iddo*
1 Kg 15.23 *Chronicles of the KIngs of Judah*	ASA SK	<-> *2 Chr 16.11* No "*v'yeter* ", *bk of the Kgs of Judah & Israel*
1 Kg 15.31 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	NADAB NK	
1 Kg 16.5 *Chronicles of the King of Israel*	BAASHA NK	
1 Kg 16.14 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	ELAH NK	
1 Kg 16.20 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	ZIMRI NK	
1 Kg 16.27 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	OMRI NK	
1 Kg 22.39 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	AHAB NK	
1 Kg 22.45 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	JEHOSHAPHAT SK	<-> 2Chr 20.34 NK REF: *Acts Jehu b. Hanani הָעֲלָה אֲשֶׁר bk Kgs of Isr*
2 Kg 1.18 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	AHAZIAH NK	
2 Kg 8.23 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	JORAM SK	-> ONE-WAY REF 2 Chr 21.4-20: not buried in kgs' tomb *Elijah*
2 Kgs 9.24-26 NO REF	JEHORAM NK	
2 Kgs 9.27-28 NO X-REF	AHAZIAH SK	>< NO X-REF 2 Chr 22.7-10: Ahaziah buried in NK by Jehu
2 Kg 10.34 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	JEHU NK	
2 Kg 12.19 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	JOASH SK	<-> 2 Chr 24.27 *Midrash of Bk of Kings:* not buried in tombs
2 Kg 13.8ff. *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	JEHO'AHAZ NK	
2 Kg 13.12 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	JOASH NK	
2 Kg 14.15. *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	JEHOASH=Joash NK	
2 Kg 14.18 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	AMAZIAH SK	<-> 2 Chr 25.26 *Bk of Kings of Judah & Israel*
2 Kg 14.28 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	JEROBOAM NK	
2 Kg 15.6 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	*spelt:* AZARIAH SK	<-> 2 Chr 26.22 : *Bk of Isaiah s. of Amoz* spelt: UZZIAH SK
1 Kg 15.12 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	ZECHARIAH NK	
2 Kg 15.15 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	SHALLUM NK	
2 Kg 15.21 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	MENAHEM NK	
2 Kg 15.26 *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*	PEKAHIAH NK	
2 Kg 15.31 *Chronicles of the K ings of Israel*	PEKAH NK	
2 Kg 15.36 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	JOTHAM SK	<-> 2 Chr 27.7 *Bk of Kings of Israel & Judah (* reversed) *
2 Kg 16.19 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	AHAZ SK	<-> 2 Chr 28.26 *Bk of Kings of Judah & Israel:* not buried in tombs.
2 Kg 17.6; 18.9 NO REF: Last Kg of Israe's exile	HOSHEA NK	
SEIGE OF SAMARIA 722 BC ISRAEL NK EXILE TO ASSYRIA		
2 Kg 20.20 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	HEZEKIAH SK	<-> 2 Chr 32.32 *Vision of Isaiah b. Amoz in Kgs of Judah & Israel*
2 Kg 21.17 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	MANASSEH SK	<-> 2 Chr 33.18,19 *Acts of the Kings of Israel; Acts of Seers*
2 Kg 21.25 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	AMON SK	-> ONE-WAY REF: 2 Chr 33.20b-25 Amon Slain; Josiah made king
2 Kg 23.28 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	JOSIAH SK	<-> 2 Chr 35.25,27 *Jeremiah's lament; Bk of Kgs of Isr & Judah**
2 Kg 23.31-33 NO X-REF: Jeho'ahaz' exile	JEHO'AHAZ SK	>< NO X REF: Necho takes Jeho'ahaz into exile.
2 Kg 24.5 *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*	JEHOIAKIM SK	<-> 2 Chr 36.8 *Bk of the Kings of Israel & Judah**
NO FURTHER CROSS REFERENCES		
2 Kgs24.12-15 NO X-REF: Jehoiachin's exile	JEHOIACHIN SK	>< NO X REF: 2 Chr 36.9 NO X-REF Jehoiachin to Babylon exile
2 Kgs 25.6 NO X-REF: Zedekiah's exile	ZEDEKIAH SK	>< NO X REF: 2 Chr 36.19,20 NO X-REF Those not slain into exile
JUDAH INTO EXILE 586 B.C. - PALACE & TEMPLE BURNED DOWN		

Appendix A Chart 3: Analysis of Source Citations in Chronicles and Kings:

ANALYSIS of SOURCE CITATIONS in CHRONICLES and KINGS

Ref / X-Ref / None	Kings	Prophets	Dibre+RN	W yeter/	First to last	Are they not?	Behold…	Kings' Deeds, absent in David	Ref Chr: Prophets	Ref Chr: Kgs 1 & 2	Kgs Israel	Ref: Kg Isr	Ref: Kg Judah
<- / -> / <> / ><	בקצור-ים	בדברי הימים ואמירתם	דברי הימים/	יתר-דברי	בתחילתם/באחרונים	הלא-הם כתובים ?	הנם / והנה	עלי-דברי-ספר	עלי-דברי	עלי-דברי	ישראל ויהודה	עלי-ספר-דברי	דברי הימים
UNITED KINGDOM OF ISRAEL													
1 Chr 9.1	-> UK	Genealogies											
1 Chr 27.24	-> UK	King David	בספר דברי										
1 Chr 29.29	-> UK	Sam, Nathan, Gad	דברי הימים										
AFTER SOLOMON'S TEMPLE CROSS REFERENCING STARTS													
2 Chr 9.29	<-> UK	Nat, Ahijah, Iddo		יתר	מעשה	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
1 Kg 11.41	<-> UK	"		יתר		הלא-הם כתובים ?							
THE DIVIDED KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH BILATERAL CROSS REFERENCING STARTS													
1 Kg 14.19	<- NK	Jereboam	Abijah		דברי		חקם						
2 Chr 12.15	<-> SK	Rehoboam	Shemaiah, Iddo		דברי	הלא-הם כתובים מאודים							
1 Kg 14.29	<-> SK	"			דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 13.22	<-> SK	Abijah			מדרש								
1 Kg 15.7	<-> SK	Abijam (ep)			דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 16.11	<-> SK	Asa	Hanani/ Elijah		דברי								
1 Kg 15.23	<-> SK	"			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
1 Kg 15.31	<- NK	Nadab			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
1 Kg 16.5	<- NK	Ba'asha			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
1 Kg 16.14	<- NK	Elah			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
1 Kg 16.20	<- NK	Zimri			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
1 Kg 16.27	<- NK	Omri			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
1 Kg 22.39	<- NK	Ahab			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 20.34	<-> SK	Jehoshaphat	Jehu b. Hanani		דברי	הראשונים והאחרונים	חקם						
1 Kg 22.45/46	<-> SK	"			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 1.18	>< NK	Ahaziah			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים?							
2 Chr 21.20	>< SK	Jehoram/Jonam	No Ref										
2 Kg 8.23	<- NK	Jehoram/Jonam	Elijah		דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 9.24,29	<- NK	Jehoram/Jonam	Jehoram killed by Jehu and put in Naboth's field										
2 Chr 22.7-10	>< SK	Amaziah	Ahaziah killed by Jehu who buried him - in NK?										
2 Kg 10.34	<- NK	Jehu	Elisha										
2 Chr 22.10-12	>< SK	Athaliah	No Ref										
12 Kg 11.1-3	>< SK	"	No Ref										
2 Chr 24.27	<-> SK	Joash			דברי		חקם						
2 Kg 12.19/20	<-> SK	"			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 13.8	<- NK	Jehoahaz			דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 13.12	<- NK	Joash)	Two Refs for		יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 14.15	<- NK	Jehoash)	same kings		דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 25.26	<-> SK	Amaziah			דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 14.18	<-> SK	"			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 14.28	<- NK	Jeroboam II			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 26.22	<-> SK	Uzziah	Isaiah s. Amoz		יתר	הראשונים והאחרונים							
2 Kg 15.6	<-> SK	Azariah=Uzziah			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 15.11	<- NK	Zechariah			יתר		חקם						
2 Kg 15.15	<- NK	Shallum			יתר		חקם						
2 Kg 15.21	<- NK	Menahem			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 15.26	<- NK	Pekahiah			יתר		חקם						
2 Kg 15.31	<- NK	Pekah			יתר		חקם						
2 Kg 15.36	<-> SK	Jotham			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 27.7	<-> SK	"			יתר		חקם						
2 Kg 15.36	<-> SK	"			דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 28.26	<-> SK	Ahaz			יתר	הראשונים והאחרונים							
2 Kg 16.19	<-> SK	"			דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Kg 17.6-18.9	<- NK	Hoshea	No Ref				חקם						
In 9th yr Hoshea king of Assyria took Samaria and carried Israel into exile													
NK EXILE 721/2 B.C.													
2 Chr 32.32	<-> SK	Hezekiah			דברי		חקם						
2 Kg 20.20	<-> SK	"			דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 33.18	<- SK	Manasseh	2 Refs:		דברי		חקם						
2 Chr 33.19 2 0 <- SK		"	2nd lacks "D'vre"				חקם						
2 Kg 21.17	>< SK	"	Isaiah dies		דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 33.20,25	<- SK	Amon	No Ref										
2 Kg 21.25	>< SK	"	Ref		דברי	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 35.26-27	<-> SK	Josiah	Jeremiah: 2 Refs		דברי	הראשונים והאחרונים							
2 Kg 23.28	<-> SK	"			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?	חקם						
2 Chr 36.1	>< SK	Jehoahaz	No X-Ref										
2 Kg 24.1	>< NK	"	As above										
2 Chr 36.8	<- SK	Jehoiakim	Jeremiah		דברי		חקם						
2 Kg 24.5	<-> SK	"			יתר	הלא-הם כתובים ?							
2 Chr 36.9	>< SK	Jehoiachin	No X-Ref			After 3 mth 10 day reign Nebuchadnessar took Jehoiciim to Babylon exile							
2 Kg 24.8,12	>< SK	"	As above			After 11 yr reign King of the Chaldeans took Zedekiah to Babylonian Exile							
2 Chr 36.11-21	>< SK	Zechariah	No X-Ref										
2 Kg 25.6	>< SK	"	As above										
SK EXILE 586 B.C.													

Appendix A Chart 4: Analysis of Source Citations in Chronicles:

ANALYSIS of SOURCE CITATIONS in CHRONICLES OF JUDAH

Ref /X -Ref / None	Kings Isr UK	Prophets	Dibre+RN	W'yeter	First to last	Are they not?	Behold…	Kings' Deeds, absent in David	Chr Ref: Prophets/Mi	Chr Ref: Kgs J & I	Chr Ref: Kgs Isr	Kg Ref: Isr	Kg Ref: Judah
<- / -> / <-> / ><	NK: & SK		or: בְּמִסְפַּר	וַיֹּאמֶר:שש	הָאַחֲרוֹנִים וְהָאַשְׁרֵי	הֲלֹא-הֵם/הֵן ?	וְהִנֵּה / הִנֵּה	כָּל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה	עַל-דִּבְרֵי/בְּדִבְרֵי rash	מִלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה	מִלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל		דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים
1 Chr 9.1 -> NU	Genealogies								...in the record of the Acts of Solomon		...עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה .... וַתִּכָּתֵב		וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה
1 Chr 27.24 -> SM	King David	Sam, Nathan	בְּמִסְפַּר לִמְנֹת				וְהָיָם		...in the Chronicles of David		עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה		
1 Chr 29.29 -> SM	"	and Gad	דִּבְרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ		הָאַחֲרוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים		x 2 הָיָם		Samuel, Nathan & Gad		עַל-דִּבְרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל הָרֹאֶה וְעַל-דִּבְרֵי נָתָן הַנָּבִיא וְעַל-דִּבְרֵי גָּד הַחֹזֶה		
AFTER SOLOMON'S TEMPLE BUILT													
2 Chr 9.29 <-> UK	Solomon	Nat, Ahijah, Iddo	דִּבְרֵי	הָאַחֲרוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים וְהָאַשְׁרֵי		הֲלֹא-הֵם ?			Nathan, Ahijah, Iddo...הַחֹזֶה				עַל-דִּבְרֵי נָתָן הַנָּבִיא וְעַל-נְבוּאַת אֲחִיָּה הַשִּׁילֹנִי וּבְחָזוֹת עִדּוֹ (עִדָּי) הַחֹזֶה
THE DIVIDED KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH													
2 Chr 12.15 <-> SK	Rehoboam	Shemaiah, Iddo	דִּבְרֵי	הָאַחֲרוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים		הֲלֹא-הֵם ?			שְׁמַעְיָה וְעִדּוֹ				
2 Chr 13.22 <-> SK	Abijah		דִּבְרֵי	וְיֶתֶר				וּדְרָכָיו וְדִבָרָיו	בְּמִדְרָשׁ הַנָּבִיא עִדּוֹ				
2 Chr 16.11 <-> SK	Asa		דִּבְרֵי	הָאַחֲרוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים			וְהִנֵּה/ הִנָּם			הַמְּלָכִים לִיהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל			
2 Chr 20.34 <- SK	Jehoshaphat	Jehu b. Hanani	דִּבְרֵי	הָאַחֲרוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים	וַיֶּתֶר		הִנָּם		בְּדִבְרֵי יֵהוּא בֶּן-חֲנָנִי		מִלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל		
2 Chr 21.20 <- SK	Jehoram	No Ref	Jehoram killed all his siblings so died with no regret										
2 Chr 22.7-10 >< SK	Ahaziah	No X-Refs	Ahaziah killed by Jehu who buried him - in NK?										
2 Chr 22.10-12 >< SK	Athaliah	No Ref	After a six year reign Athaliah is deposed and killed										
2 Chr 24.27 <-> SK	Joash		דִּבְרֵי				הִנָּם	וְנִבְנוּ רֹב מַשָּׂא …	עַל-מִדְרָשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים				
2 Chr 25.26 <-> SK	Amaziah		דִּבְרֵי	הָאַשְׁרֵי וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים	וַיֶּתֶר	הִנָּם הֲלֹא?				מִלְכֵי-יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל			
2 Chr 26.22 <-> SK	Uzziah	Isaiah	דִּבְרֵי	הָאַחֲרוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים	וַיֶּתֶר	הֲלֹא-הֵם ?			כְּתַב יְשַׁעְיָהוּ בֶּן-אָמוֹץ				
2 Chr 27.7 <-> SK	Jotham		דִּבְרֵי		וַיֶּתֶר		הִנָּם	וְכָל-מִלְחַמְתּוֹ וּדְרָכָיו		מִלְכֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה			
2 Chr 28.26 <-> SK	Ahaz		דִּבְרֵי	הָאַחֲרוֹנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים	וַיֶּתֶר		הִנָּם	דִּבְרֵי וְכָל-דְּרָכָיו		מִלְכֵי-יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל			
NK EXILE 721/2 B.C.													
2 Chr 32.32 <-> SK	Hezekiah	Isaiah	דִּבְרֵי	וַיֶּתֶר			הִנָּם	וְחִזְקִיָּהוּ	בְּחִזּוֹן יְשַׁעְיָהוּ בֶּן-אָמוֹץ	מִלְכֵי-יְהוּדָה, וְיִשְׂרָאֵל			
2 Chr 33.18 <-> SK	Manasseh	Two Refs, 2nd	דִּבְרֵי	וַיֶּתֶר			הִנָּם	וְתִפְלָתוֹ אֶל-אֱלֹהָיו …			מִלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל		
2 Chr 33.19.20 <-> SK	"	lacks "Divre"					הִנָּם		עַל דִּבְרֵי חוֹזָי				
2 Chr 33.20-25 <- SK	Amon	No X-Ref	Murdered by servants, Josiah appointed king by people										
2 Chr 35.26-27 <-> SK	Josiah	2 Refs: Jeremiah		דִּבְרֵי	הָאַשְׁרֵי וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים	וַיֶּתֶר	הִנָּם	וְחַסְדָּיו כְּמוּכְתָּב בְּתוֹרַת יְהוָה וְדִבָרָיו	עַל-קִינוֹת	מִלְכֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה			
2 Chr 36.1 f >< SK	Jehoahaz	No X-Ref	After 3 mth reign Neco took Jehoahaz to Egyptian exile										
2 Chr 36.8 <-> SK	Jehoiakim			דִּבְרֵי	וַיֶּתֶר		הִנָּם	וְתֹעֲבֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה וְהִמָּצֵא עָלָיו		מִלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה			
2 Chr 36.9 >< SK	Jehoiachin	No X-Ref	After 3 mth 10 day reign Nebuchadnessar took Jehoichin to Babylon exile										
2 Chr 36.11 ff. >< SK	Zedekiah	No X-Ref	After 11 yr reign King of the Chaldeans took Zedekiah to Babylonian Exile										
SK EXILE 586 B.C.													

Appendix A Chart 5: Analysis of Source Citations in Kings:

ANALYSIS of SOURCE CITATIONS in KINGS

Ref/X-Ref/None <- / -> / <> / ><	King	Prophets	Dibre+RN	"The rest of" עתר / ושאר	First to last	Are they not? הלוא-הם/הן ?	Behold... והנה / הנם	Kings' Deeds	Chr Ref: Prophets/ על-דברי/בדבי	Chr Ref: Kgs J & I על-ספר	Chr Ref: Kgs Isr על-ספר	Kg Ref: Isr:	Kg Ref: Judah: דברי הימים
1 Chr 9.1 -> NL		Genealogies								in the record of the Acts of Solomon...			עלמה דבי יעד
1 Chr 27.24 -> SM	King David										עלי-ספר דברי קעלמה in the Chronicles of David...	ויכלמרו ... עלי-עלמה דבי ספר	
1 Chr 29.29 -> SM	"								Samuel, Nathan & Gad ...				ודברי דוד המלה...עלי-דברי שמואל הראה ועלי-דברי נתן הנביא ועלי-דברי גד חוזה
UNITED KINGDOM OF ISRAEL AFTER SOLOMON'S TEMPLE BUILT													
2 Chr 9.29 <-> UK	Solomon	Nat, Ahijah Iddo	דברי	ושאר	קראשנים והאחרנים	? הלוא-הם			Nathan, Ahijah, Iddo ...				
1 Kg 11.41 <-> UK	Solomon		דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם			Theacts of Sol. in the acc of the Acts of Solomon ...				
THE DIVIDED KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH													
1 Kg 14.19 <- NK	Jereboam	Ahijah	דברי	ויתר			הנם	אשר נלחם ואשר מלך				ישראל	
1 Kg 14.29 <-> SK	Reholboam		דבר	ויתר		הלוא-הנמה ?		וכל-אשר עשה					יהודה
1 Kg 15.7 <-> SK	Abijam		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		וכל-אשר עשה					יהודה
1 Kg 15.23 <-> SK	Asa		דברי-	ויתר		הלוא-הנמה ?		וכל-הגבורה כל-אשר עשה...					יהודה
1 Kg 15.31 <- NK	Nadab		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		וכל-אשר עשה				ישראל	
1 Kg 16.5 <- NK	Ba'asha		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		אשר עשה ואת גבורתו				ישראל	
1 Kg 16.14 <- NK	Elah		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		וכל-אשר עשה				ישראל	
1 Kg 16.20 <- NK	Zimri		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		ומרדו אשר עשה				ישראל	
1 Kg 16.27 <- NK	Omri		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		אשר עשה וגבורה אשר עשה				ישראל	
1 Kg 22.39 <- NK	Ahab		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		וכל-אשר עשה וגבורתו אשר בנה				ישראל	
1 Kg 22.45/II46 -> SK	Jehoshaphat		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		וגבורתו אשר עשה-עשה מלחמה					יהודה
12 Kg 11.1-3 >< SK	Athaliah	No Ref	After a six year reign Athaliah was deposed and killed.										
2 Kg 1.18 <- NK	Ahaziah		דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-תמה		אשר עשה				ישראל	
2 Kg 8.23 -> SK	Jehoram/Joram	Elijah, Micah	דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם		וכל-אשר עשה					יהודה
2 Kg 9.24-26 >< NK	Jehoram/Joram	No Ref: Elijah	Jehoram NK killed by Jehu and buried in Naboth's field										
2 Kg 9.27-28 >< SK	Ahaziah	No X-Ref: Elisha	Ahaziah mortally wounded by Jehu, fled to Megiddo; servants took body to bury in Jerusalem										
2 Kg 10.34 <- NK	Jehu	Elisha	דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם		וכל-אשר עשה וכל-גבורתו				ישראל	
2 Kg 12.19/H20 <-> SK	Joash		דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם		וכל-אשר עשה					יהודה
2 Kg 13.8 <- NK	Jehoahaz		דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם		וכל-אשר עשה וגבורתו				ישראל	
2 Kg 13.12 <- NK	Joash	Two Refs	דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם		וכל-אשר עשה וגבורתו אשר נלחם				ישראל	
2 Kg 14.15 <- NK	Jehoash	" "	דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם		אשר עשה וגבורתו אשר נלחם				ישראל	
2 Kg 14.18 <-> SK	Amaziah		דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם							יהודה
2 Kg 14.28 <- NK	Jeroboam II		דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם		וכל-אשר עשה וגבורתו אשר-נלחם				ישראל	
2 Kg 15.6 <-> SK	Azariah=Uzz.		דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם		וכל-אשר עשה					יהודה
2 Kg 15.11 <- NK	Zachariah		דברי	ויתר			הנם					ישראל	
2 Kg 15.15 <- NK	Shallum		דברי	ויתר			הנם	וקשרו אשר עשה				ישראל	
2 Kg 15.21 <- NK	Menahem		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		וכל-אשר עשה				ישראל	
2 Kg 15.26 <- NK	Pekahiah	Hosea	דברי	ויתר			הנם	וכל- אשר עשה				ישראל	
2 Kg 15.31 <- NK	Pekah		דברי-	ויתר			הנם	וכל-אשר עשה				ישראל	
2 Kg 15.36 <-> SK	Jotham		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		אשר עשה					יהודה
2 Kg 16.19 <-> SK	Ahaz		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		אשר עשה					יהודה
2 Kg 17.6-18.9 >< NK	Hoshea	No Ref	In 9th yr Hoshea king of Assyria took Samaria and carried Israel into exile										
NK EXILE 721/2 B.C. : ONLY JUDAH REMAINING													
2 Kg 20.20 <-> SK	Hezekiah		דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		וכל-גבורתו ואשר עשה את-הברכה ...					יהודה
2 Kg 21.17 <-> SK	Manasseh	Isaiah killed	דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		וכל-אשר עשה וחטאתו אשר חטא					יהודה
2 Kg 21.25 -> SK	Amon	Nahum	דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		אשר עשה					יהודה
2 Kg 23.28 <-> SK	Josiah	Jeremiah	דברי	ויתר		הלוא-הם ?		וכל-אשר עשה					יהודה
2 Kg 23.31f. >< SK	Jehoahaz	No X-Ref	After 3 mth reign Neco took Jehoahaz to Egyptian exile										
2 Kg 24.5 <-> SK	Jehoiakim		דברי	ויתר		? הלוא-הם		וכל-אשר עשה					יהודה
2 Kg 24.15 >< SK	Jehoiachin	No X-Ref	After 3 mth 10 day reign Nebuchadnessar took Jehoichin to Babylon exile										
2 Kg 25.6 >< SK	Zechariah	No X- Ref	After 11 yr reign King of the Chaldeans took Zedekiah to Babylonian Exile										
SK EXILE 580 B.C. : 2 KG 25. 6-9 KING of JUDAH INTO EXILE AND TEMPLE DESTROYED													

APPENDIX B: Mesopotamian Chronicles

Appendix B Chart 1: The Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles[814]

Key: In the table below, yellow = Sumerian text; pink = Assyrian; blue = Babylon.[815]

ABC	CM	CW*	**Chronicles**
	CM 1+2		Sumerian King List
ABC 18	CM 3		Dynastic chronicle
	CM 5		Assyrian King List
	CM 6		Royal chronicle of Lagaš
ABC 19	CM 38		Weidner chronicle
ABC 20	CM 39-41		Early kings chronicle
	CM 7		Tummal chronicle
	CM 48		Uruk chronicle concerning the kings of Ur
	CM 8		Assyrian Eponym List (second millennium)
ABC 23	CM 50		Market prices chronicle
ABC 21	CM 10		Synchronic history
ABC 22	CM 45		Chronicle P
	CM 11		Enlil-nirari chronicle
	CM 12		Arik-den-ili chronicle
ABC 25	CM 46	CW	Walker chronicle
	CM 13		Tukulti-Ninurta chronicle
	CM 14		Aššur-reša-iši chronicle
	CM 15		Tiglath-pileser I chronicle
ABC 24	CM 47		Eclectic chronicle
ABC 17	CM 51		Religious chronicle
	CM 9		Assyrian Eponym List (first millennium)
	CM 52		Chronographic document re Nabu-šuma-iškun
ABC 1	CM 16		Period from Nabu-Nasir to Šamaš-šuma-ukin
ABC 1B	CM 17		Period from Nabu-Nasir to Esarhaddon
ABC 14	CM 18		Esarhaddon chronicle
ABC 15	CM 19		Šamaš-šuma-ukin chronicle
ABC 16	CM 20		Akitu chronicle
ABC 2	CM 21		Early Years of Napopolassar chronicle
ABC 3	CM 22		Fall of Nineveh chronicle
ABC 4	CM 23		Late years of Nabopolassar chronicle

[814] Livius, http://www.livius.org/sources/about/mesopotamian-chronicles/ Page created 2004; last modified on 4 April 2018. [Accessed: 13 August 2018] Added in: ***CW***=Walker Chronicle.

[815] A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian & Babylonian Chronicles* (1975 =***ABC***); J.-J. Glassner, *Chroniques Mésopotamiennes* (1993 = CM) transl. *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, 2004= ***CM***); I. Finkel & R. J. van der Spek, *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period* (= ***BCHP***); C. B. F. Walker, "Chronicle 25: A Chronicle of the Kassite and Isin II Dynasties," *Zikir-šumim: Assyriological Studies,* pp. 398-417 (1982 = Walker Chronicle = ***CW****).

ABC 5	CM 24		Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar chronicle
ABC 6	CM 25		Third year of Neriglissar chronicle
ABC 7	CM 26		Nabonidus chronicle
	CM 53		Chronographic document concerning Nabonidus
			Cyrus Cylinder
ABC 9	CM 28		Artaxerxes III chronicle
ABC 8	CM 29	BCHP 1	Alexander chronicle
		BCHP 2	Alexander and Arabia chronicle
ABC 10	CM 30	BCHP 3*	Diadochi chronicle
	CM 31	BCHP 4	Alexander and Artaxerxes Fragment
ABC 11	CM 32	BCHP 5*	Antiochus I and Sin temple chronicle
		BCHP 6*	Ruin of Esagila chronicle
ABC 13A	CM 36	BCHP 7*	Antiochus, Bactria, and India chronicle
		BCHP 8*	Juniper garden chronicle
ABC 12	CM 33	BCHP 9*	End of Seleucus I chronicle
ABC 13	CM 34	BCHP 10*	Seleucid Accessions chronicle
		BCHP 11*	Invasion of Ptolemy III chronicle
ABC 13B	CM 35	BCHP 12*	Seleucus III chronicle
		BCHP 13*	Politai chronicle
		BCHP 14*	Greek Community chronicle
		BCHP 15*	Gold theft chronicle
		BCHP 16*	Document on land and tithes
	CM 37	BCHP 17*	Judicial chronicle
		BCHP 18A/B*	Chronogr. doc. conc. Bagayasha B/A
		BCHP 18C*	Chronogr. doc. conc. Bagayasha C
		BCHP 19*	Chronicle concerning an Arsacid king
		BCHP 20*	Euphrates chronicle
			Additional documents
	CM 42		Kings of the Sealand
	CM 43		Samsuiluna fragment
	CM 44		Another Samsuiluna fragment
	CM 27		Fragment of a Neo-Babylonian chronicle
			Nabonidus Cylinder from Sippar
			Dynastic Prophecy
		*	Antiochus Cylinder
	CM 4	*	Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period
			Uruk King List
			Astronomical diaries
			Diary concerning Artaxerxes II Mnemon
			Diary conc. Gaugamela
			Diary conc. the second year of Philip Arridaeus
			Diary conc. the 7th year of Alexander IV
			Diary conc. SE 66
			Diary fragment on Demetrius and Arabia
			Diary fragment on "messengers of the politai"
			Arsacid diary fragment on politai

Appendix B Chart 2: Periods of Babylon and Borsippa Chronicles[816]

Akkad Dynasty	2334-2154
Third Dynasty of Ur	2112-2004
Larsa Dynasty	2025-1763
First Dynasty of Isin	2017-1794
Old Assyrian Period	ca. 1900-1750
First Dynasty of Babylon	1894-1595
First Dynasty of the Sealand	unknown
Middle Assyrian Period	ca. 1300-1100
Kassite Dynasty	1374?-1155
Second Dynasty of Isin	1157-1026
Second Sealand Dynasty	1025-1005
Bazi Dynasty	1004-985
Elamite Dynasty	984-979
Uncertain Dynasties	978-748
Neo-Assyrian Dynasty	744-612
Neo-Babylonian Dynasty	626-539
Persian Empire	538-331
Macedonian Rulers	330-307
Seleucid Dynasty	305-65 B.C.
Arsacid Dynasty	250 B.C.-228 A.D.

[816] Information retrieved from M. Wessels, *The Babylonian chronicles The chronicles from Babylon and Borsippa in a Comparative Perspective,* M.A. Diss., 2016, p. 4. https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/42897/Scriptie_wessels.pdf? [Accessed: 14 August 2016]

APPENDIX C: MT and LXX Texts Compared in Chronicles and Kings[817]

E.g. of the Chronicles and Kings Formulaic Source Citations Compared:

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרָיו וְכָל-דְּרָכָיו הָרִאשֹׁנִים וְהָאַחֲרוֹנִים הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי-יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל׃	**2 Chr 28.26** Now the rest of his acts, and all his ways, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.
וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי אָחָז אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃ הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה׃	**2 Kgs 16.19** Now the rest of the acts of Ahaz which he did, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?

Note: Chronicles' citations refers to the book of the "Kings of Judah and Israel" and Chronicles *never* uses the uniquely Kings citation referring to the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," nor *vice versa*.

Omissions and Additions and Changes: Comparison of Hebrew and Masoretic Texts in Chronicles 36.1-10[818]

E.g. 1:

Hebrew Text: 2 Chronicles, Chapter 36.4
Greek Septuagint: 2 Chronicles, Chapter 36.4
Hebrew & Greek: 2 Kings, Chapter 23.34

E.g. 2:

Hebrew Text: 2 Chronicles, Chapter 36.8
Greek Septuagint: 2 Chronicles, Chapter 36.8
Hebrew & Greek: 2 Kings, Chapter 24.5-6

E.g. 1: Comparison: 2 Chr 36.4 Hebrew/Septuagint and 2 Kgs 23.34:

[817] Excerpt from Paper I presented at EABS-ISBL 2017, BERLIN 7-11 August 2017 : "Editing, Authorship or Chronicling: Seeking an Empirical Methodology for Biblical Chronicles in light of the Repeating Formulae."

[818] Macy, *Sources of Chronicles,* p. 138.

וַיַּמְלֵךְ מֶלֶךְ-מִצְרַיִם אֶת-אֶלְיָקִים אָחִיו עַל-יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם וַיַּסֵּב אֶת-שְׁמוֹ יְהוֹיָקִים וְאֶת-יוֹאָחָז אָחִיו לָקַח נְכוֹ וַיְבִיאֵהוּ מִצְרָיְמָה׃	**2 Chr 36.4 (MT)** And the king of Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem, and changed his name to Jehoiakim. And Neco took Joahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt.
2 Chr 36.4 καὶ κατέστησε φαραὼ Νεχαὼ τὸν Ἐλιακὶμ υἱὸν Ἰωσίου βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰούδα ἀντὶ Ἰωσίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ μετέστρεψε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰωακίμ· καὶ τὸν Ἰωάχαζ ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε φαραὼ Νεχαώ, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ.	**2 Chr 36.4 (LXX)** And Pharao Nechao made Eliakim the son of Josias king over Juda in the room of his father Josias, and changed his name [to] Joakim. And Pharao Nechao took his brother Joachaz and brought him into Egypt, and he died there.
וַיַּמְלֵךְ פַּרְעֹה נְכֹה אֶת-אֶלְיָקִים בֶּן-יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ תַּחַת יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ אָבִיו וַיַּסֵּב אֶת-שְׁמוֹ יְהוֹיָקִים וְאֶת-יְהוֹאָחָז לָקַח וַיָּבֹא מִצְרַיִם וַיָּמָת שָׁם׃	**2 Kgs 23.34** And Pharaoh Necoh made Eliakim the son of Josiah king in the room of Josiah his father, and changed his name to Jehoiakim; but he took Jehoahaz away; and he came to Egypt, and died there.

E.g. 1 cont'd: Comparison: 2 Chr 36.4 Hebrew/LXX and 2 Kgs 23.34:

2 CHR 36.4 (MT)	2 CHR 36.4 LXX)	2 KINGS 23.34
The king of Egypt	Pharo Necho	Pharoah Neco
His brother	The son of Josias	The son of Josiah
In Judah and Jerusalem	In Juda -----	-----
-----	In the room of Josias his father	In the place of Josiah his father
Neco took Joahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt.	Pharao Nechao took his brother, Joachaz and brought him into Egypt	He took Jehoahaz away and he came to Egypt
-----	And he died there	And he died there

Note: Chronicles LXX adds in details from Kings seemingly to fill in missing details in Chronicles, thus, as per MT and LXX Kings, "his brother" becomes "the son of Josias"; "in the place of his father" is added in, as well as the fact that "his brother, Jehoahaz "died there." The LXX would seem to be trying to clarify the reference in MT Chronicles with all the additions taken from Kings.

E.g. 2: Comparison: 2 Chr 36.8 Hebrew/Septuagint and 2 Kgs 24.5-6:

וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יְהוֹיָקִים וְתוֹעֲבֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה וְהַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו הִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה וַיִּמְלֹךְ יְהוֹיָכִין בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו׃	**2 Chr 36.8 (Masoretic)** Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and his abominations which he did, and that which was found in him, behold, they are written in the book of the Kings of Israel and Judah; and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead.
2 Chr 36.8 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωακὶμ καὶ πάντα, ἃ ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα **ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰούδα**; καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωακὶμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Γανοζὰ μετά τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰεχονίας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.	**2 Chr 36.8 (Septuagint)** And the rest of the acts of Joakim, and all that he did, behold, [are] not these things written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda? And Joakim slept with his fathers, *and was buried with hi fathers in Ganozae:* and Jechonias his son reigned in his stead.
וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יְהוֹיָקִים וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃ הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים, עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה׃	**2 Kgs 24.5-6** Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?
וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יְהוֹיָקִים וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃ הֲלֹא-הֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל-סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה׃	**6** So Jehoiakim slept with his fathers; and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead.

E.g. 2 cont'd: Comparison: 2 Chr 36.4 Hebrew/LXX and 2 Kgs 24.5-6:

2 CHR 36.8 (Hebrew)	2 CHR 36.8 (Gk. LXX)	2 KINGS 24.5-6
And his abominations which he did, and that which was found in him	And all that he did	And all that he did
Behold, they are written in....	Behold, [are] not these things written in…?	Are they not written…?
The book of the kings of Israel and Judah.	The book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda?	The book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah?
-----	And Joakim slept with his fathers,	So Jehoiakim slept with his fathers----
-----	and was buried with his fathers in Ganozae[819]	-----

Note: The Chronicles LXX has taken from Kings, aiming, no doubt for clarity, but in fact, lacking understanding of how the citation work. Hence, the citation formula uniquely used in Kings, "The Chronicle of the Kings of Judah" is now in Chronicles LXX, so it appears to be self-referring. Further, the burial formula only found in Kings for the burials of Manasseh and Amon (2 Kgs 17.21, 26) is now attributed to Jehoiakim, possibly for theological reasons, to associate him with two wicked kings.

[819] Ganozae = Garden of Uzza is mentioned only in 2 Kings 21:18, 26 in connection with Manasseh and Amon's reigns. It is not found in MT Chronicles at all.