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SOCIAL MEMORY, SCRIBALISM, AND THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES

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BY

DOREN G. SNOEK

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for Amber

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Abstract

This dissertation conducts an inquiry into the ways in which the biblical book Chronicles could interact with social memory. It first considers the state of social memory theory in biblical studies and identifies a need for further theoretical and methodological refinement. Then, it relates recent social memory theory to biblical texts through the nexus of scribalism and scribal practices. By taking a diachronic approach, this theoretical framework bypasses some problems that arise for other deployments of memory theory in biblical studies.

The dissertation then explores Chronicles by taking up three case studies, one on the genealogies (1 Chr 1–9), another on Solomon's accession (1 Chr 28–2 Chr 1:1), and a third on the reign of Joash (2 Chr 24). Each case explores a different kind of relationship between Chronicles and its sources. Given Chronicles as a material scribal product, each case study considers how it might have interacted with social memory and, especially, its inherent potential to shape social memory, even if we cannot ascertain whether this potential was ever fully realized. The first case study argues that Chronicles' engagement with social memory is highly varied and that it might have allowed for an extension of ethnic or political identity. The second case study argues that Chronicles made possible a kind of social "forgetting," and it draws a close comparison between the writing process and instances of *damnatio memoriae*. The third case study argues that, even though the writer of Chronicles sometimes followed source texts closely, Chronicles could be read in an environment in which the sources it cites and the stories they told were unknown to the reader.

The conclusion positions this jointly theoretical and textual project with respect to the field and to themes in research on Chronicles, and it calls for a renewed narrative reading of Chronicles.

He even helped me access a quiet space to work in when such spaces were in very short supply.

Besides pointing out the value of a project like this before I could fully grasp it, professor Chavel

helped me to think about how literary and historical inquiry can and cannot interact and to

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with this dissertation, and she bravely read it. I can't imagine a better friend and partner, and it is

a joy to dedicate this dissertation to her.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Anchor Bible	AB
Archaeology and Biblical Studies	ABS
Academia Biblica	AcBib
American Historical Review	*AHR*
Ancient Israel and Its Literature	AIL
American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature	*AJSL*
Alter Orient und Altes Testament	AOAT
Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments	ATANT
Bulletin of ASOR	*BASOR*
Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *The New Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1979)	*BDB*
Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia	*BHS*
Biblica	*Bib*
Biblical Interpretation	*BibInt*
Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium	BETL
Brown Judaic Studies	BJS
Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego	BJSUCSD
Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament	BKAT
Biblische Notizen	*BN*
Biblical Research	*BR*
Biblical Theology Bulletin	*BTB*
Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift	*BTZ*
Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament	BWANT

Biblische Zeitschrift	*BZ*
Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft	BZAW
Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament	CAT
Catholic Bible Quarterly	*CBQ*
Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series	ConBOT
Currents in Biblical Research	*CurBR*
Dictionary of Classical Hebrew	*DCH*
Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies	DCLS
Discoveries in the Judaean Desert	DJD
Dead Sea Discoveries	*DSD*
Early Christianity	*EC*
Early Judaism and Its Literature	EJL
Eretz-Israel	*ErIsr*
Forschungen zum Alten Testament	FAT
Wilhelm Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, 2nd English ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910)	GKC
Handbuch der Orientalistik	HdO
The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament	*HALOT*
Handbuch zum Alten Testament	HAT
Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel	*HBAI*
Hebrew Bible Monographs	HBM
History and Theory	*HistTh*
Hebrew Studies	*HS*
Harvard Semitic Monographs	HSM
Harvard Theological Review	*HTR*

Other Abbreviations

Deuteronomistic History	DtrH
Masoretic Text	MT
note(s)	n
Septuagint	LXX
Samaritan Pentateuch	SP
personal name	PN
toponym	TN

Introduction

The biblical book דברי הימים (Chronicles) is an extensive narrative of the national history of Judah and Israel. It begins with the primeval ancestor (1 Chr 1:1) and extends to a decree by Cyrus II that any person living in exile from Yehud may return there to rebuild the temple of YHWH in Jerusalem (2 Chr 36:22–3). As a literary work, Chronicles is a paradox: derivative, inasmuch as it reproduces the text of its sources, many times letter-for-letter, yet highly original, inasmuch as these texts were in reuse inexorably transmuted into a new whole. In comparing it with other texts in the Hebrew Bible, especially its sources in the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Samuel-Kings, one finds evidence of a whole range of compositional and stylistic techniques; this, in turn, suggests that it is the result of masterful and highly creative scribal work.

This dissertation addresses two related sets of questions, one preliminary and theoretical and another narrowly concerned with Chronicles. The first group of questions begins like this: what is the relationship between social memory and the phenomenon of scribalism? Further, in the production and revision of historiographical works, how might scribal practices, including copying, interpolation, revision, glosses, and free composition, be understood to interact with the ongoing process by which a society constructs and relates to its past? The second group begins like this: how might we understand and articulate this relationship with respect to Chronicles? Further, does understanding Chronicles and the Chronicler as participating in social memory illuminate the work? If so, how?

In response to the first set of questions, this dissertation will argue that where social memory theory and biblical studies are joined, this is accomplished well by contemplating scribes and their scribal products. In fact, scribes mediate shared knowledge of the past;

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arguably, for antiquity, the process of writing is the most highly impactful process in social memory for which we have any evidence. Scribes and scribal practices are, therefore, central.

In response to the second set of questions, this dissertation argues that Chronicles shows highly variable scribal approaches to other texts and, consequentially, that this variegated approach allowed for a whole range of new possibilities, which are illumined by combining the unique theoretical approach taken here with a close reading of the text and its sources. Chronicles is not just a different representation of the same past. I will argue that it created new possibilities for social inclusion, recovered and promulgated little-known stories about grief, loss, and ancient wars, and even created new events. Where it was convenient, the writer's work also allowed parts of Israel and Judah's past to be "forgotten." Finally, regardless of whether it was created for this purpose or not, and regardless of its reception in the Hebrew Bible and Old Testament right alongside its sources, the writing of Chronicles allowed readers to encounter the past without almost any knowledge of those sources. It is a common position that the Chronicler intended his work to be a kind of complement or commentary to Samuel-Kings. I contest claims of this nature, both at the level of their theoretical and conceptual underpinnings and by describing the literary features of Chronicles. The Chronicler created a coherent account of the past that can stand independently.

In the first chapter, I problematize studies of social memory produced by scholars of the Hebrew Bible. I argue that, although they label such approaches as "memory studies," scholars covertly resort to other theories and exercise methodological approaches common in biblical studies. Some theologically freighted modes of interpretation are presented as studies of social memory. Additionally, studies of social memory are either closely associated with tradition-historical approaches or, in some cases, become indistinguishable from such approaches. I

further point out that, in the field, theorizations of writtennness or scribalism and social memory are very limited. Even when scholars explicitly invoke scribal processes as having some significance in terms of social memory, the underlying theoretical frameworks are sparse and narrowly specified to a single textual case or a small set of cases. Within the field, a theoretical framework in which to relate writtenness or scribal practice to social memory has not been adequately articulated. This inarticulacy obtains despite the presence of some voices in the field and beyond calling for careful theoretical and methodological reflection around social memory studies.

The second chapter addresses theories of social memory and relates them to scribalism. I will argue that media, media reception, and scribes should be held closely together within a theoretical framework. Doing so allows one to avoid some of the problems confronted by other approaches to social memory and biblical texts; it also allows one to fully integrate insights of critical biblical scholarship. I offer a model in which to integrate, by way of social memory theory, the study of scribes (as historical human agents) and their products with the literary reading of biblical texts.

Following this theoretical chapter, three case studies approach Chronicles within this framework. Each one takes seriously the historical question of the media to which the writers had access—in every case, scrolls—and discusses the outcomes of incorporating parts of those media within a new national history, i.e., Chronicles. This scribal process resulted in what I call the "mnemonic potential" of Chronicles. (Mnemonic potential is a shorthand for referring to the ways in which Chronicles might reshape shared knowledge of the past, i.e., collective memory.) This potential arises from its materiality, its literary features, and its social location, inasmuch as

each of these may be characterized. Mnemonic potential can and arguably must be characterized apart from questions of authorial intent.

In the third chaper, I discuss the first major section of Chronicles, a daunting nine chapters of genealogy. I argue that it is possible to discern that some embedded anecdotes were preserved in those chapters from sources now lost. By attending to fine details of how the writer treats such anecdotes and the peculiar ideological features that arise when the writer edits them, I develop some criteria that show how the writer tends to either summarize such genealogical anecdotes or copies them directly and in detail. Several anecdotes show a high level of detail but lack strong ideological fingerprints: the prayer of Jabez (1 Chr 4:9–10), the Simeonite expansions (1 Chr 4:33b–43), the first Reubenite/Hagrite battle (1 Chr 5:9–10), and the story of Beriah and Sheerah (1 Chr 7:20–25). I suggest that the story of Beriah and Sheerah was incorporated because of a perceived lacuna in social memory, which is suggested by the almost complete lack of biographical details about Ephraim in other texts. I also suggest that the story of the Simeonite expansions might be seen as responding, in part, to a particular social situation, namely, the presence of mixed populations in Idumea/Edom, southeast of Jerusalem. Because the Simeonite expansion is said to result in a continued Israelite population in these regions, the reasons for which these stories were preserved. They might a) reflect what was already "known" by the writers about these populations, and/or b) provide a means by which to identify Israelites/Judeans beyond the current borders and, therefore, can extend the identity of Israel. Whatever the reason, the outcome of the scribal work that resulted in incorporating all of these anecdotes was to resignify them as of importance for the national history of Judah.

The topic of the fourth chapter is Solomon's accession in Chronicles. I open this chapter with a careful comparison of the stories of Solomon's rise to the throne in Samuel-Kings (i.e., in

the "Succession Narrative") and in Chronicles. While scholars have noted these differences, it has been widely claimed that the account in Chronicles is a theological framework, a commentary, or a polemic against Samuel-Kings and was intended by its writers as such. In these claims, Chronicles assumes the characters and events of Samuel-Kings even while it undermines the story presented there. In response, I argue that the account in Chronicles achieves such a high level of coherence that it does not need to be read alongside Samuel-Kings. In keeping with the separation of intent and mnemonic potential proposed in the second chapter, I suggest that Chronicles makes possible the loss of knowledge about Solomon's accession as it is presented in Samuel-Kings. Whatever the intent of its author, because this account does not emplot some of the events presented in the Succession Narrative—or even sets up its story in ways that would make those events impossible—it has formal parallels with other practices of cultural "forgetting." Chronicles thus made possible a lapse of knowledge about, for example, Absalom's and Adonijah's attempts on the throne, or David's old age—even if we cannot know whether such a lapse of knowledge ever occurred. I also suggest that the preservation of Chronicles alongside Samuel-Kings obscures this mnemonic potential by predisposing us to understand Solomon's accession in Chronicles as dependent on the Succession Narrative in Samuel-Kings.

The fifth chapter, on the reign of Joash in 2 Chronicles 24, treats another kind of relationship between Chronicles and its source texts. There is much more textual overlap with the source text in this account than in the case of Solomon's accession. Despite this extensive textual reuse, the account in Chronicles achieves a high level of coherence; arguably, the divergences from the source text result in a story with an even tighter system of references to other events within itself. In this case, when Chronicles evokes its source, it does so in a manner

that does not disrupt this internal referential system. The reader does not need the source text, and the reference does not need to be understood as directing the reader to a source to which they had access or even knew by the name it is called. I approach these topics through the work of Benjamin Harshav, whose concepts of internal and external frames and fields of reference are clarifying for the situation in Chronicles.

In the conclusion, I reconsider the place of social memory theory in biblical studies and considering whether using social memory in biblical studies constitutes a new kind of tradition history. The discussion then turns to a synthetic account of the case studies, discussing the scribal techniques, the textual and literary relationship of Chronicles to Samuel-Kings, and the mnemonic potential of Chronicles, and closes with a call for reading Chronicles, as much as possible, on its own terms.

Chapter One:
Social Memory in Studies of the Hebrew Bible

This chapter will review approaches to social memory common in biblical studies.[1] Even though I prioritize the way that these methods relate to the study of Chronicles, scholars have invoked social memory in dealing with a wide range of biblical literature; because this dissertation participates generally in scholarly discourse about memory studies, a number of these publications and approaches are brought into the discussion below. I argue that, presently, studies deploying social memory as an analytical framework are insufficient to address some important research questions—especially questions associated with textual transmission and revisionary composition. In the most widely proliferated model of memory studies, textual production is subordinated to reader-centered concerns and cannot be adequately addressed within the associated synchronic methodological frameworks. I also observe that a range of other problems with such studies complicates using memory to approach revisionary composition. In

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[1] Memory is also evoked with respect to a range of phenomena other than social memory. For example, scholars have described the highly individual cognitive processes associated with oral transmission or the copying of texts, that is, "scribal memory." While this dissertation occasionally touches on these topics, especially in the second chapter, its primary concern is modeling the relationship between scribes and collective memory—a different phenomenon. On the text-critical problems or phenomena that may arise as a result of scribal memory, see Raymond F. Person Jr., "The Role of Memory in the Tradition Represented by the Deuteronomic History and the Book of Chronicles," *Oral Tradition* 26 (2011): 537–50; Jonathan Vroom, "A Cognitive Approach to Copying Errors: Haplography and Textual Transmission of the Hebrew Bible," *JSOT* 40 (2016): 259–79; idem, "The Role of Memory in *Vorlage*-Based Transmission: Evidence from Erasures and Corrections," *Textus* 27 (2018): 258–73; John Screnock, *Traductor Scriptor*, VTSup 174 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017); idem, "Is Rewriting Translation? Chronicles and Jubilees in Light of Intralingual Translation," *VT* 68 (2018): 475–504. Other studies extend beyond the links between scribal memory and the oral/written interface to discuss social or collective memory: see Travis B. Williams, *History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Shem Miller, "Traditional History and Cultural Memory in the Pesharim," *JSJ* 50 (2019): 348–70; idem, *Dead Sea Media: Orality, Textuality, and Memory in the Scrolls from the Judean Desert*, STDJ 129 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019).

some cases, biblicists seem to be merely relabeling other approaches under the "memory" banner. At the same time, studies evoking memory suffer from a lack of integration with other historically important methodologies, for example, textual criticism or redaction-criticism. Where scholars interact with such methods, the category "memory" is often imported without serious theoretical work and without due consideration of the significant evidentiary problems that biblicists encounter—that is, biblicists find themselves at a comparative disadvantage to cultural theorists who have studied collective memory in more recent periods and who have, by comparison, an archival abundance. This constellation of terminological, methodological, and theoretical issues unnecessarily impedes social memory studies from being a fruitful tool for the study of revisionary compositions like Chronicles. At a larger scale, the field suffers from a lack of an adequately articulated theoretical framework that would allow one to bring together social memory and the significant diachronic issues that arise in studies of the Hebrew Bible.

In this chapter, I review work on memory by biblicists. Because studies of social memory have been terminologically fragmented since their inception,[2] I first provide some definitions to orient the discussion. Then, since the remainder of this dissertation is concerned with the book of Chronicles, I explore scholarship on social memory and that book before turning to memory discourse in the field more broadly construed. Because the general history of memory studies is

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[2] Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1925).

well-rehearsed elsewhere in both a very wide-ranging manner[3] and in a field-specific way,[4] I

provide this history as background only when it has value in framing the work of biblicists.

Similarly, in my discussion of biblical scholars, the goal is not to provide a comprehensive

review of memory studies in the field but to make a claim about its current state with respect to

the relationship between social memory and scribal activity generally, namely, that scholars

deploying social memory have not yet adequately theorized this relationship and so cannot

provide a robust account of social memory and revisionary scribal compositions like Chronicles.

Terminological Problems in Memory Studies

Studies of social memory have been encumbered with terminological problems since

Halbwachs' first publications.[5] Because it resulted in a proliferation of terminology: social

memory, collective memory, cultural memory, etc., the rise of memory in humanistic discourse

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[3] Olick and Robbins "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 105–40 is exhaustive. Kerwin Lee Klein, *From History to Theory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), 112–37 argues that the most common accounts of the rise of memory studies are mistaken. Academic discourse about "memory" is tied to the rise of identity politics and/or constitutes a reaction to post-structuralism.

[4] The best early accounts are Gerdien Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance: The Dead, Tradition and Collective Memory in Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) and Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, Beck'sche Reihe 1307 (München: Beck, 2000), 34–48. For New Testament and early Christian studies, see Chris Keith, "Social Memory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part One)," *EC* 6 (2015): 354–76; idem, "Social Memory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part Two)," *EC* 6 (2015): 517–42.

[5] Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux* (1925); idem, *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte; étude de mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1941); idem, *La mémoire collective*, ed. Jeanne Alexandre, Bibliothèque de sociologie contemporaine (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950). See also Jack Lawrence Weinbender III, "Remembering and Rewriting: Reframing Rewritten Bible through Memory Studies" (PhD Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2019), 60–70.

has compounded this problem.[6] Moreover, the scientific understanding of memory has continued

to develop alongside the rise of memory discourse in the humanities. I therefore provide a

definition of memory, unqualified, along with the three qualified terms social memory, collective

memory, and cultural memory. I also briefly discuss how one can meaningfully refer to

collective memory, a perennial problem[7] that has import for discourse in biblical studies and for

the remainder of this dissertation.

Until recently, memory was understood as the storage and retrieval of static information.[8]

Advances in neuroscience and cognitive theory have allowed for better models that are oriented

toward cognitive processes and complex neural systems, although the older paradigm has

remained influential.[9] Memory is a cognitive process that allows conscious or unconscious

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[6] Keith, *EC* 6 (2015), 374–75; Siegfried J. Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance: A Consructivist Approach," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, Media and Cultural Memory/Medien Und Kulturelle Erinnerung 8 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 191; Sandra Hübenthal, "Social and Cultural Memory in Biblical Exegesis: The Quest for an Adequate Application," in *Cultural Memory in Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Pernille Carstens, Trine Bjørnung Hasselbach, and Niels Peter Lemche, PHSC 17 (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2012), 177–81.

[7] See the critique of Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, "Collective Memory - What Is It?" *History and Memory* 8 (1996): 30–50, especially 47, where they conclude that "collective memory is but a myth." Their critique of Halbwachs is helpful inasmuch as it reveals the way in which collective memory, in his formulation, limits a historiographer's ability to construct an account of the past and minimizes the role of individual recall. The argument made by Gedi and Elam rests on the premise that "collective memories" amount to no more than stereotyped individual memories (i.e., narratives conforming to a particular *Gattung* or type scene), while at the same time they neglect that common knowledge of several such narratives is necessary for such stereotypes to be rhetorically effective.

[8] Until the 1900s, studies of memory were devoted to this single mental exercise. See Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance* (1995), 6–16.

[9] Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance" (2008), 191–92. See also Matthew M. Walsh and Marsha C. Lovett, "The Cognitive Science Approach to Learning and Memory," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Science*, ed. Susan E.F. Chipman (New York: Oxford University

representation of past experience in varying degrees of abstraction. Rather than being physiologically localized, as a discrete entity, memory is a distributed function of a complex "neuronal system" that constructs the past even though this is not the only function of such structures.[10] Any memory process relies on such a distributed neuronal system, which is in turn entangled with other structures associated with perception or sensation, emotion, and muscle control; memory has to do with the "[establishment] of relevant and enduring cognition structures which serve to constitute order in the brain."[11] These structures are especially reliant upon repeated experience. That is, cognition structures arise and endure as a result of the brain experiencing again and again similar sensory inputs.[12] Perceptions of order, value, emotion, or repeated experience all play a role in the formation of these structures. While the scientific and theoretical bases for understanding memory as a phenomenon of human experience have developed, early theorists of social memory worked primarily with memory in the older paradigm, that is, as a system for information storage and retrieval. As innovative as Maurice Halbwachs' work was, he too worked within this paradigm.

Halbwachs' most significant claim is that memory is socially conditioned. In articulating this claim and arguing for it, he used several overlapping terms, simultaneously inaugurating studies of social memory and setting a precedent for their predilection for profligate and obtuse

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Press, 2014), DOI 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199842193.013.19, "memory processes are a subset of the psychological processes engaged by learning."

[10] Paraphrasing Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance" (2008), 192.

[11] Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance" (2008), 192.

[12] In the case of expert performance, these perceptions are generated through repeated practice. See Walsh and Lovett, "The Cognitive Science Approach to Learning and Memory" (2014).

expressions. Halbwachs claimed that a person does not, indeed cannot, remember alone; rather, individual recall is conditioned by the social frameworks within which that person is situated.[13] Besides socially conditioned individual memory, there is another kind of memory that is also contingent upon social conditioning and is itself a social construct: "c'est en ce sens qu'il existerait une mémoire collective et des cadres sociaux de la mémoire, et c'est dans la mesure où notre pensée individuelle se replace dans ces cadres et participe à cette mémoire qu'elle serait capable de se souvenir."[14] Halbwachs' use of these expressions ("collective memory," "social frameworks of memory") and related ones ("social memory") can be confusing, even though he does show some consistency in usage. When Halbwachs uses *cadres sociaux*, he has in mind "the ways that group ideologies inform individual memories," while "collective memory" refers to "memories shared and passed down by groups."[15] The distributed and shared recollections of past events make up "collective memory" and have to do with a shared, "actively managed" construction of the past.[16] While Halbwachs is consistent in his use of the qualifier *social* for group influence, it is important to note that authors commonly deploy the phrase "social

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[13] Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, réédition, Archontes 5 (Paris: Mouton, 1975), XVI, "c'est dans la société que, normalement, l'homme acquiert ses souvenirs, qu'il se les rappelle, et, comme on dit, qu'il les reconnaît et les localise."

[14] Ibid.

[15] Anthony Le Donne, *The Historiographical Jesus: Memory, Typology, and the Son of David* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2009), 42 n8.

[16] See Keith, *EC* 6 (2015), 360–61. There, he further provides a useful framework: "one could theoretically conceptualize individual memory and collective memory as two poles on a spectrum. At one end, individual memory recalls and reconstructs the past on the basis of shared social frameworks but in forms that are unique to the individual; at the other end, collective memory recalls and reconstructs the past in public forms that are unique to a current group." Social frameworks operate in each case.

memory" as a blanket term covering collective memory, Halbwachs' *cadres sociaux*, cultural memory, etc.[17]

Jan and Aleida[18] Assmann expanded Halbwachs' terminology by offering two more terms, *kommunikative* and *kulturelle Gedächtnis* (communicative and cultural memory).[19] The former deals with the recent past.[20] Jan Assmann describes cultural memory as a subset of collective memory. Cultural memory deals not only with the sharing of content, but the way in which that content is tied to group identity[21] and socialization over long periods of time. So, Assmann's "cultural memory" is an expansion of Halbwachs' "collective memory," which, even

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[17] Keith, *EC* 6 (2015), 374–75. I, too, adopt this expansive use of "social memory" throughout the dissertation because a) the boundaries between "communicative" and "cultural" memory, defined immediately below, can be unclear, b) a single term encompassing the two is therefore helpful, and c) using terminology closely associated with Halbwachs allows us to maintain some continuity from the most important theorist through to the present discussion.

[18] Aleida Assmann is often excluded from the discourse among biblicists but was influential in the development of Jan's ideas and, moreover, has discussed cultural memory in many of her own publications, for example, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011). See further below, chapter 2.

[19] Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (2000), 50.

[20] Assmann depends on Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1985) to set a limit beyond which communicative memory cannot operate. Because communicative memory deals with the events of the recent past, its transmission is diffuse and egalitarian. See Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (2000), 54.

[21] He opens a short discussion of his categories precisely by discussing the relationship between memory and identity: "memory is the faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level. Identity, in its turn, is related to time… on the *inner level*, memory is a matter of our neuro-mental system… on the *social level* memory is a matter of communication and social interaction… Memory enables us to live in groups and communities, and living in groups and communities enables us to build a memory." See Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Asgar Nünning (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 109.

though it accounts for transmission over periods of time, tends to remain focused on the more immediate past.[22] The term "cultural memory" and accompanying theory attempt to remedy the indeterminate nature of Halbwachs' "collective memory" by accounting for the way that it is maintained over long periods of time. It also concentrates on particular, important points in a group's history.[23] It is worth noting that Jan and Aleida Assmann's model of cultural memory is very process-oriented inasmuch as it associates the formation of cultural memory with other societal processes; this is more closely analogous to the definition of memory above (i.e., as a complex cognitive process tied to sense/perception processes).[24]

Terminology aside, one of the central problems in discourse about collective memory lies in the sense in which memory can be shared or collective. Whether understood as information storage alone or as a complex cognitive process, the physiological basis of memory cannot be shared. In the introduction to *Perceptions of Jewish History*, Amos Funkenstein succinctly states

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[22] Ibid., 110: "the term "communicative memory" was introduced in order to delineate the difference between Halbwachs's concept of 'collective memory' and our understanding of 'cultural memory…' Cultural memory is a form of collective memory, in the sense that it is shared by a number of people and that it conveys to these people a collective, that is, cultural identity. Halbwachs, however, the inventor of the term 'collective memory,' was careful to keep his concept of collective memory apart from the realm of traditions, transmissions, and transferences which we propose to subsume under the term 'cultural memory.' We preserve Halbwachs's distinction by breaking up his concept of collective memory into 'communicative' and 'cultural memory,' but we insist on including the cultural sphere, which he excluded, in the study of memory. We are, therefore, not arguing for replacing his idea of 'collective memory' with 'cultural memory;' rather, we distinguish between both forms as two different *modi memorandi*, ways of remembering." See also Keith, *EC* 6 (2015), 364.

[23] In his inaugural publication on collective memory, Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (2000), 54, uses exclusively biblical examples: the patriarchal history, exodus, desert wanderings, conquest, exile.

[24] Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance" (2008) is even more closely analogous.

the problem, "consciousness and memory can, after all, be attributed only to individuals who act, are aware, and remember. Just as a nation cannot eat or dance, it cannot speak or remember. Remembering is a mental act, and therefore absolutely and completely personal."[25] Funkenstein is correct. A collective cannot remember or have a memory.[26] Making a comparison to Saussurean linguistic theory, Funkenstein goes on to demonstrate that collective memory may be meaningfully used within certain limitations. Language is an abstract system, partially reified and innovated in speaking. So too, collective memory is an abstract system but is partially reified and innovated in individual acts of remembering.

> This distinction should be useful in the attempt to define collective memory. The latter, like "language," can be characterized as a system of signs, symbols, and practices: memorial dates, names of places, monuments and victory arches, museums and texts, customs and manners, stereotype images (incorporated, for instance, in manners of expression), and even language itself (in de Saussure's terms). The individual's memory—that is, the act of remembering—is the instantiation of these symbols, analogous to 'speech'; no act of remembering is like any other. The point of departure and frame of reference of memory is the system of signs and symbols that it uses.[27]

Funkenstein has here drawn a useful analogy. Collective memory, like "language," is necessarily an abstraction, and it is ever only partially reified—and simultaneously innovated—in discrete acts of recall.[28] Any one artifact or point in collective memory is like a linguistic entity,

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[25] *Perceptions of Jewish History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 4.

[26] Ian Douglas Wilson, *Kingship and Memory in Ancient Judah* (Oxford: University Press, 2017), 24. See also the cautionary approach outlined by Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies," *HistTh* 41 (2002): 185–86. Kantsteiner argues that it is a serious category error to import features of individual memory (remembering, forgetting, repressing) to collective memory, because collective memory does not have the same properties as a set of collected individual memories.

[27] Wilson, *Kingship and Memory* (2017), 6.

[28] Funkenstein might have picked up even more of Saussure's discussion (in Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, ed. Charles Albert Sechehaye, Charles Bally, and Tullio De Mauro [Paris: Payot, 1972], 30) of langage as a socially filled store or treasure: "si

distributed but concretely existing only in individual use.[29] In this way, collective memory can

have a meaningful referent, in the same way that "language" can. Funkenstein's contribution

here is to summarily and coherently describe the kind of interaction that can happen between

individuals and collective memory. At a high level of abstraction, this interaction frames the

topic of this dissertation. It has been largely neglected in studies of social memory and the

Hebrew Bible.[30]

Memory Studies and the Hebrew Bible: A Very Brief History

As an analytical category, memory has just recently appeared in studies of the Bible and

ancient Near Eastern literature. In the 1960s, it seems likely that the combination of Halbwachs'

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nous pouvions embrasser la somme des images verbales emmagasinées chez tous les individus, nous toucherions le lien social qui constitue la langue. C'est un trésor déposé par la pratique de la parole dans les sujets appartenant à une même communauté, un système grammatical existant vituellement dans chaque cerveau, ou plus exactement dans les cerveaux d'un ensemble d'individus; car la langue n'est complète dans aucun, elle n'existe parfaitement que dans la masse."

[29] Recall that it is with precisely these more fixed points that the Assmanns' "cultural memory" has to do.

[30] Two scholars have paid some attention to this matter. Daniel Pioske's published (and ongoing) work on Chronicles acknowledges the interactions of its author with the landscape and with knowledge of the past; see *David's Jerusalem: Between Memory and History*, Routledge Studies in Religion 45 (New York: Routledge, 2015), 132–76. Angelika Berlejung, "Erinnerungen an Assyrien in Nahum 2,4–3,19," in *Die unwiderstehliche Wahrheit: Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie (Festschrift für Arndt Meinhold)*, ed. Rüdiger Lux and Ernst-Joachim Waschke, Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 23 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2006), offers some theorization about the relationship between collective memory and authors. She suggests that there is a circulating fund of stories about the past upon which individuals could draw when constructing narratives—this fund of stories is a collective memory that individuals draw from in authoring new literary works. Berlejung's work works in the right direction, and in the second chapter I will offer a more extensive framework that contemplates not just circulating stories but the materiality and media implicated. I will also theorize how changes in collective theory occur; on these points, the theory advances past that offered by Berlejung.

work and the appearance of a variety of mnemotechnics for both persons and the deity in biblical

literature[31] triggered the publication of two early lexical inquiries, dealing, of course, with the

root ז״כר.[32] While these publications did not trigger a cascade of studies like that of the past two

decades, it is worth noting that Brevard Childs' book anticipated two themes of later studies.

These two are the association of memory with tradition history[33] and the validity for the reading

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[31] It is useful to say that as regards the Hebrew Bible, memory can be deployed as either an emic or an etic category. Social memory is an etic category, but "to remember" is an emic one inasmuch as the Hebrew Bible contains both many adjurations to "remember" (זכ״ר imperative) and many mnemonic devices. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Memory, Tradition, and the Construction of the Past in Ancient Israel," *BTB* 27 (1997): 76–82, discusses such mnemonics, which benefit both humans and the deity, and cultural memory. Michael V. Fox, "The Sign of the Covenant: Circumcision in Light of the Priestly 'ôt Etiologies," *RB* 81 (1974): 557–96, has observed that signs (אותות) in the Hebrew Bible can function as cognition signs, either identifying something or someone as belonging to a particular category or reminding the observer of some important information. For example, the rainbow is a mnemonic sign that reminds Yʜᴡʜ not to destructively flood the world. Jeffrey Stackert, "How the Priestly Sabbaths Work: Innovation in Pentateuchal Priestly Ritual," in *Ritual Innovation in the Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism*, ed. Nathan MacDonald, BZAW 468 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 79–111, critiques and develops Fox's work, arguing that the Sabbath in the Priestly document should be understood as a mnemonic sign (אות) for the deity. The Israelites' work stoppage reminds Yʜᴡʜ of his own, reminding him to boost agricultural productivity.

Alexandra Grund, *Die Entstehung des Sabbats: seine Bedeutung für Israels Zeitkonzept und Erinnerungskultur*, FAT 75 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 182–87, also discusses the Sabbath (in the decalogue, not P) as a part of Judean cultural memory. On the basis of the Assmanns' theory of cultural memory, she argues that with the loss in the postexilic period of sites that were important for shaping Judean identity—not least Jerusalem and the temple complex—the Sabbath became important as a means of shaping Judean identity, and that its codification in the Decalogue reflects this increased importance.

[32] Brevard S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel*, SBT 11 (Naperville: Allenson, 1962); Willy Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im alten Orient und im alten Testament: die Wurzel zākar im semitischen Sprachkreis*, WMANT 15 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1964).

[33] See Carol A. Newsom, "Selective Recall and Ghost Memories: Two Aspects of Cultural Memory in the Hebrew Bible," in *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity: A Conversation with Barry Schwartz*, ed. Tom Thatcher, SemeiaSt 78 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 41–56, esp. 41, where she suggests that tradition history is a form of "cultural memory." Tradition history is multiform project but in its essence deals with the methods and

community of the biblical texts' pluriform traditions. Childs understood tradition as Israel's

memory.[34] That memory was, regardless of whether it preserved over the course of writing and

rewriting any historical kernel, a valid witness to Israel's history with God.[35] The biblical texts

are layers of tradition and they are all valuable in the reading community.[36] The following

discussion will demonstrate that these two themes—the close ties between memory and tradition

history and the value of a multi-layered text for the reading community—are also present in

more recent memory studies.

Again, though, the recent spate of memory-focused scholarship by biblicists is not due to

Childs' influence. Inquiry along lexical lines and into the role of memory in Israelite religion has

continued,[37] but Childs' book, while cited in histories like this one, does not seem to have

means (*traditio*) by which cultural materials (a text, a story, a saying, the *traditum*) are transmitted; depending on the particular scholar, this might have to do with the transmission of oral materials, their passage from orality to writtenness, compositional stages in a text (with or without relating those to a historical account of the development of religion), etc. See especially Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel*, 3rd ed., SBLStBL 16 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2006), 5–25. Notably, Knight identifies Child's work as essentially a part of a tradition-historical project (ibid., 8); because tradition-history grapples with transmission, the capacity of a person or group to hold a *traditum* in memory comes into play.

[34] Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel* (1962), 84, "in the memory of the tradition..."

[35] Ibid., 89, "the remembered event is equally a valid witness to Israel's encounter with God as the first witness."

[36] See Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel* (1962), 89. The repeated practice of remembering biblical events results in the "peculiar character" of the texts, which "consist of layer upon layer of Israel's reinterpretation of the same period of her history, because each successive generation rewrites the past in terms of her own experience with the God who meets his people through tradition."

[37] Bernd Janowski, "Schöpferische Erinnerung: Zum „Gedenken Gottes" in der biblischen Fluterzählung," *JbT* 22 (2007): 63–89; Barat Ellmann, *Memory and Covenant: The Role of Israel's and God's Memory in Sustaining the Deuteronomic and Priestly Covenants*, Emerging Scholars (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013).

contributed much to the growth in popularity of memory studies. That rise is rather due to a kind

of synergy between a broadening popularity across the humanities and a field-specific problem,

the crisis of biblical historiography. In the 1980s and 1990s, the humanities witnessed a kind of

"memory boom,"[38] and studies evoking memory theory began to appear in fields adjacent to

biblical studies[39] or directly implicating some biblical accounts.[40] It is difficult to demonstrate

the direct influence of these publications on Hebrew Bible scholarship in a tidy manner,[41] but in

2001-2002 a quartet of influential scholars published on memory, articulating the relevance of

memory studies to the Hebrew Bible and exploring its usefulness with a variety of case studies.[42]

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[38] See especially Klein, *From History to Theory* (2011), 113.

[39] To my knowledge, Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance* (1995) is the first for cuneiform literature. Here, I speak broadly of biblical studies because the trajectory is rather similar for the Hebrew Bible and New Testament scholarship. See Keith, *EC* 6 (2015) who describes an early contribution in 1971, then sporadic publications in the 1990s, with rapid growth in the 2000s.

[40] For example, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982); Funkenstein, *Perceptions* (1993); Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1997); Blenkinsopp, *BTB* 27 (1997); Daniel Fleming, "Mari and the Possibilities of Biblical Memory," *RA* 92 (1998): 41–78. Often overlooked are Uri Rappaport, "Apocalyptic Vision and the Preservation of Historical Memory," *JSJ* 23 (1992): 217–26 and Nadav Na'aman, "Historiography, the Fashioning of Collective Memory, and the Establishment of Historical Consciousness in Israel in the Late Monarchical Period / היסטוריוגרפיה, עיצוב הזיכרון הקיבוצי ויצירת תודעה היסטורית בעם ישראל בסוף ימי הבית הראשון," *Zion* 60 (1995): 449–72.

[41] Though see Mark S. Smith, "Remembering God: Collective Memory in Israelite Religion," *CBQ* 64 (2002): 631–51, 632 n2.

[42] Marc Zvi Brettler, "Memory in Ancient Israel," in *Memory and History in Christianity and Judaism*, ed. Michael A. Signer (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 1–18; Ronald S. Hendel, "The Exodus in Biblical Memory," *JBL* 120 (2001): 601–22; Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Book of Chronicles: Another Look," *SR* 31 (2002): 261–81; Smith, *CBQ* 64 (2002): 631–51.

These publications firmly established memory as an analytical category for scholars of the Hebrew Bible, and in their wake, biblical studies has witnessed a rapid growth of projects dealing with memory in some way. The remainder of this chapter notes some trends in these studies, after first surveying the treatment of memory studies and Chronicles.

Chronicles and Memory Studies

Chronicles, more than any other biblical book, has attracted the attention of scholars interested in social memory.[43] Because of the wide range of methods and theoretical assumptions in practice, the studies produced for Chronicles are useful as a proxy for memory studies in the field. Here, I discuss the work of four scholars who take differing approaches to the book of Chronicles. This work can be situated along a continuum associated with the degree of concern for synchronic and diachronic issues.[44] The most synchronically oriented studies of social memory, like those produced by Ehud Ben Zvi and Ian Wilson, are characterized by a high degree of concern for the texts as read and have little room, methodologically, for consideration of their production or of scribal involvement in that process. These studies, I will argue, show a high level of affinity with canonical interpretation, portraying writers and readers of the Persian/Hellenistic period as having assumptions just like those present in canonical readings. That is, such approaches to social memory offer a vision of social memory in the period that is essentially a canonical reading. Daniel Pioske, approaching the texts with questions about the relationship between cultural memory and history, takes a more nuanced view of the

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[43] For a similar claim, see Weinbender, "Remembering and Rewriting" (2019), 99 n10.

[44] For similar categorization, see Ian Douglas Wilson, "History and the Hebrew Bible: Culture, Narrative, and Memory," *RPBI* 3.2 (2018): 42–48.

Chronicler's interaction with collective memory. At the same time, he shares several assumptions with Ben Zvi and Wilson and does not fully theorize the relationship between collective memory, writtenness, and the process of revisionary composition. Jack Weinbender's approach to Chronicles is the most diachronic and methodologically integrative, and he makes significant theoretical advances that allow for diachronic discussion of collective memory. At the same time, by integrating graph network theory, he preserves some of the insights about social memory as a kind of symbolic web or array present in Ben Zvi's and Wilson's work. This allows Weinbender to discuss "sites" of memory, as do Ben Zvi and Wilson, but with a much greater diachronic sensitivity. However, none of these approaches to Chronicles, each with different theoretical influences and working assumptions, adequately theorizes or describes the relationships between scribe, compositional processes, and social memory.

Ehud Ben Zvi and Ian Wilson

Ehud Ben Zvi, more than any other biblical scholar, has integrated theories of social memory with his studies of biblical texts; here, I consider his methodology and especially his approach to the book of Chronicles. His former student, Ian Wilson, follows a similar approach.[45] While he is the most prolific biblicist working on social memory, Ben Zvi has not published a single comprehensive outline of his methodology.[46] As a result, his most important assumptions and definitions are dispersed throughout a substantial body of work. Ben Zvi

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[45] Wilson, *Kingship and Memory* (2017).

[46] Wilson, on the other hand, has. See ibid., 22–40 and Wilson, *RPBI* 3.2 (2018), 21–34. For Ben Zvi, the closest that one comes is his "Introduction," in *Social Memory among the Literati of Yehud* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 2. There, he mentions what appears to be the reason no such manifesto exists, which is the prioritization of case studies.

prioritizes readership within a small community of "literati"[47] in the late Persian/early Hellenistic period. In addition, he accepts and develops the importance of topography and social memory, especially regarding the concept of "sites of memory." He draws certain conclusions about the reading community, especially, that within it there was a preference for polyvocality/multivocality—to the point of tolerating incoherence; finally, he eschews diachronic approaches in favor of a multifaceted portrait of the reading community in a narrow historical period.

Ben Zvi carefully differentiates his approach from other biblicists who have deployed memory studies. It is possible to level a critique at the work of some biblicists by arguing that their work amounts to tradition history in new guise.[48] Ben Zvi explicitly rejects the claim that memory studies necessarily constitute a new kind of tradition history that seeks to uncover some historical kernel in biblical accounts of the past. So, he writes that

> scholars like myself who follow the type of approach exemplified time and again in this volume are not focused on finding 'historical' kernels in, for instance, stories in which Abraham, Joshua, David or for that matter Josiah serve as the main human characters, but on discussing with the help of these texts how a later community construed and remembered these periods, and why. But such an approach is certainly not a rejection of history; rather, it is a necessary step for studying the history of thought of the remembering community.[49]

The community in which Ben Zvi is most interested is the "literati" of the later Persian and early Hellenistic period. For that community, he says, historiography had an important social function.

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[47] The term literati is adopted to better capture the idea that there may have been persons besides scribes involved in the composition and reception of biblical texts in the Second Temple Period. See Wilson, *Kingship and Memory* (2017), 10–14.

[48] See below, and for an example of the critique see ibid., 32.

[49] "Introduction" (2019), 7.

A main social role of the Yehudite historiographic writings in late Persian/early Hellenistic Yehud/Judah was to encode, evoke, and contribute to processes of shaping social memory. The latter served important roles for identity formation, communal social reproduction and provided tools and concepts to explore and 'make sense' of the world. To be sure, it was the historiographic writings as 'read' texts that evoked and shaped social memory.[50]

Historiographical texts are important in a manner that depends on their being read, or, as Ben Zvi very often says, "read and reread." The importance of readership in his schema is not to be underestimated, and I return to it below.

When Ben Zvi speaks of social memory, he refers to a whole web of interconnected people, places, and events that permits the promulgation of a cohesive social order. So, in a discussion of Chronicles and Samuel-Kings, he writes this:

One may perhaps pragmatically define such a comprehensive social memory as a multivalent, shifting array of multiple sites of memory informing and construing each other in multiple ways that, as a whole, provides a mechanism for socialization and social reproduction that is consistent with and supportive of the general goals and worldview of the institutions and sectors at the center of a particular community.[51]

Social memory is a web or network, with nodes that inform one another, and it aids in the maintenance of a social fabric comprising not only individuals but a particular community's institutions. In this quotation, Ben Zvi mentions "sites of memory," a concept most closely associated with Pierre Nora. Nora, a historian, developed Halbwachs' ideas about the importance

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[50] "Chronicles and Samuel-Kings: Two Interacting Aspects of One Memory System in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Period," in *Social Memory among the Literati of Yehud*, BZAW 509 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 317.

[51] "Chronicles and Social Memory," *ST* 71 (2017): 78.

of particular places where events are commemorated,[52] editing a massive volume on French

national history.[53] He described his approach in the following way.

> The point of departure, the original idea… was to study national feeling not in the traditional thematic or chronological manner but instead by analyzing the places in which the collective heritage of France was crystallized, the principal *lieux*, in all senses of the word, in which collective memory was rooted, in order to create a vast topology of French symbolism.[54]

The goal of Nora's approach is not to generate an account of the past but rather to describe a web

of symbolism, tied to different locales and ideas, which supported societal recall of the national

past. Besides geographical places, Nora considered even "immaterial" and "ideal" sites (like

"legacy" and "glory") as important intersections in this web.

Ben Zvi applies the concept of *lieux de mémoire* in his analysis of social memory and

biblical texts; on the basis of his observations about these things, he draws significant

conclusions about the social memory among the literati. Just as in Nora's system of *lieux de*

mémoire, sites of memory can be actual places but just as well persons or impersonal subjects.

So, David, Moses, Jerusalem, and the temple can all be sites of memory. The literati shared a

limited number of "central communal sites" of memory; this strongly informs a conclusion he

draws about the literati having a tolerance for—or even a preference for—multiple conflicting

voices. So, for example, he writes that

> it is particularly noteworthy in this context that the literati's main sites of memory tended to include and express multiple voices and that all of these voices were often embodied in

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[52] Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire* (1941).

[53] *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols., *Bibliothèque illustrée des histoires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984).

[54] Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, eds., *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), I:xv.

and communicated by one mnemonic figure, and thus interrelated and integrated. For instance, the Moses remembered by a community of readers of the late Persian/early Hellenistic period spoke in both D and P and said a variety of things that may be [sic] seem in logical tension, but the community associated them all with Moses; in fact, Moses was the embodiment of them all. The same tendency held true for the literati's implied authors. These observations point to a crucial characteristic of the social mindscape of these literati, namely a tendency to favor, within limits, integrative and integrated diversity and the related sense of fuzziness without which the latter cannot exist.[55]

The premises here are A) that Moses, a "site of memory," as expressed textually in the Pentateuch, subsumes conflicting historical accounts and law codes (D and P), and B) the implied authors also had a tendency to incorporate conflicting historical accounts or other "facts." Therefore, because D and P conflict, the literati construed Moses as a figure who could say conflicting things—and they construed the authors of other accounts in the same way. Ben Zvi concludes that the literati favored such accounts and tolerated a certain amount of "fuzziness." Elsewhere, he suggests that there are sociological reasons why this might be the case. In groups that face no immediate threat and are not anxious about their continuation as a group: "tendencies towards fuzziness, multivocality, acceptance and promotion of seeming inconsistency are all characteristic of societies that lack a sense of strong existential anxiety."[56]

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[55] Ben Zvi, "Chronicles and Samuel-Kings" (2019), 318.

[56] *ST* 71 (2017), 74. The strongest argument that Ben Zvi presents for characterizing the society of Yehud as being relatively secure, i.e., having a sense of "communal (ontological) security," in which the most significant threats to the community arise not from without but from within, is in Ehud Ben Zvi, "On Social Memory and Identity Formation in Late Persian Yehud: A Historian's Viewpoint with a Focus on Prophetic Literature, Chronicles and the Deuteronomistic Historical Collection," in *Social Memory among the Literati of Yehud*, BZAW 509 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 28–79 (at 39–45). There, Ben Zvi argues that recollection of the destruction fo Jerusalem by the Babylonians was far enough removed that Yehud likely did not face any significant "existential" risk in the late Persian period. Further, some remnant of "Israel" endured through the destruction and remained present in Yehud. He also characterizes studies from social sciences showing the presence of victimhood motifs when there is a sense of external threat and he argues that such motifs are absent from the Hebrew Bible. This last use of

Ben Zvi approaches the book of Chronicles with all these considerations in mind. He is interested in Chronicles primarily as it was read. And his emphasis on the way in which biblical literature and Yehudite social memory could tolerate or even prefer polyvocality, even in spite of contradictory claims, is fully in play. He claims that Chronicles was read not as a replacement history but as a complementary account for that in Samuel-Kings. He rejects arguments that Chronicles was read as a replacement history by rejecting two premises upon which he says any such position must rest: that there are "differences and contradictions" between the Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles, and that one must posit the existence of "two socially separate, antagonistic groups, each with his [*sic*] own version of the 'history' of Israel, involved in a mnemonic and social struggle."[57] Regarding the first, he states that Chronicles is not itself entirely consistent ("Chronicles, as is well-known, explicitly rejects consistent consistency"),[58] and further, that what characterizes the textual collection of the literati and their discourse (see above regarding Moses in D and P and implied authors) is inconsistency. So "seeming or logical contradictions between Chronicles and [Samuel-Kings]" cannot be grounds for the former being read as a replacement for the latter.[59] It is, rather, a textual feature consonant with what occurs in the body of other literature being read by the literati. As for the second premise, that Chronicles being read as a replacement account would require competing social groups, he argues that it

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textual evidence is similar to the discussion of Moses as speaking with conflicting voices (D and P) in that it characterizes what is present in the "library" of texts and then uses it as the basis for an argument about how the literati read those texts. That is, it is circular.

[57] Ibid., 79.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., 79–80.

would be impossible for "socially separate and separately socialized groups" of literati to simultaneously exist.[60] Therefore, Chronicles as read cannot have been understood as a replacement account. On the basis of two further considerations, Ben Zvi argues that the literati read Chronicles and the Deuteronomistic History in a manner "informing and balancing each other."[61] Again, the claims have to do with readership and sociological considerations. If Chronicles and Samuel-Kings were both part of the literati's collection of actively read texts, reading one of them must have informed readings of the other. That is, if the literati

> "read and reread both works as an integral part of [the literati's] repertoire, they would read one in a way informed by the other, whether in ways known or unbeknown [*sic*] to them. Given the overwhelming presence of varied textual signposts in Chronicles recalling narratives, characters, and even the language of the DHC [=Deuteronomistic Historical Collection], mostly in ways known to them."[62]

The second premise he cites to support his claim is that multivocality contributes to social cohesion, which was likely important to the literati. Therefore, instead of promoting strain in the social fabric on the basis of a reading of Chronicles as a replacement for Samuel-Kings, the literati were more likely to favor complementary readings.

This conclusion about complementarity and multivocality is a major feature of Ben Zvi's inquiries into social memory, the Yehudite literati, and the book of Chronicles. He claims that, overall, both incoherence within a single work and incongruence between several historiographical works are to be expected by scholars and were accepted by Yehudite readers. From instances of incoherence within Chronicles and between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings, he

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[60] Ibid., Ben Zvi assumes a very low literate population for Jerusalem "in the late Persian/early Hellenistic period" to support this claim.

[61] Ibid., 80

[62] Ibid. The source lacks a predicate in the second sentence.

draws conclusions about the Chronicler's communicative intent and the approach of ancient

readers (i.e., the literati). Instances of incoherence in the Chronicler's work suggested to readers

that, even though the Chronicler positioned himself as someone seriously interested in the past,

he did not expect them to take his claims as historically veracious. His communicative intent had

to do with something else. For instance, the Chronicler's writing conventions

> suggested to the intended readership of the book, and to any ancient primary readership
> that resembles it in a substantial way, that the Chronicler was not attempting to convey an
> image of a past that was correct in a detailed fashion or had to be taken at face value.
> Instead it informed that as they read the relevant passages in the book, they should set
> aside or bracket out considerations based on narrowly understood historical
> referentiality.[63]

In this reading, it was unproblematic that Chronicles presented its readers with a narrative

incongruous with its source texts and, at times, internally incoherent, because it does not purport

to make absolute claims about this or that historical fact. As he understands the readers, the work

would make them aware of this ("unequivocally"),[64] and the intended readers would be able to

set aside making any judgments about historical facts in favor of understanding the

communicative intent of the Chronicler. Their recollection of the past in such cases might still

include historical details that counter the account in Chronicles, but those details are tangential to

the Chronicler's communicative intent.

The textual markers by which the Chronicler tips his hand to readers are cases in which

the work is incoherent. This incoherence would show readers that the Chronicler was not

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[63] Ehud Ben Zvi, "Observations on Ancient Modes of Reading of Chronicles, with an Illustration of Their Explanatory Power for the Study of the Account of Amaziah (2 Chronicles 25)," in *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (London; Oakville: Equinox, 2006), 47.

[64] Ibid.

interested in accuracy; this position is held even though the Chronicler "always presents himself and was always construed by his intended readership… as someone who was interested in, and who communicated a true image of the past." Despite this, the Chronicler's account was not taken to involve "full 'factual accuracy.'"[65] Ben Zvi grounds this claim in the presence of "a significant number of unequivocal textual markers…" which he describes in the following pages.[66] He cites these as examples of "a strong tendency within the textual repertoire of the group to advocate and reflect a systemic, seeming incoherence that actually shapes a sense of

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., 48-57. These cases are: Maacah and her two mothers, Asa and Jehoshaphat destroying and not destroying the במות, cultic reform, the same occurring at unlikely times, and a number of events that would be impossible given the time allotted to them. At least some of these are dubious examples of incoherence, so it is worth briefly considering one such case: Asa's and Jehoshaphat's destroying/not destroying the במות ("high places"). Of Asa, the text says ויסר את־מזבחות והבמות (2 Chr 14:2, "he removes the altars and the high places") and ויסר מכל־ערי יהודה את־הבמות ואת־החמנים (2 Chr 14:4, "he removed from all the cities of Judah the high places and the incense altars") but also that והבמות לא־סרו מישראל (2 Chr 15:17, "they did not remove the high places from Israel"). Of Jehoshaphat, one reads ועוד הסיר את־הבמות ואת־האשרים מיהודה (2 Chr 17:6, "and he also removed the high places and the Asherahs from Judah") and אך הבמות לא־סרו (2 Chr 20:33, "but they did not remove the high places").

Both sets of texts are dubious examples of incoherence. The first, 2 Chr 14:2, 4 and 15:17, result in heightened coherence by adding the phrase מישראל in 15:17. This specifies geographically where the offense occurs and confines it to Israel and not Judah. H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984), 272 writes that "without it, there would have been an irreconcilable contradiction with 14:3 and 5 [Heb: 2, 4]. As already noted, [the Chronicler] has retained a hint from his source that at one stage Asa exercised authority over part of the northern kingdom (cf. v. 8 [Heb: 7]), and it is to the north that Israel undoubtedly refers. He is thus able to use this as a way of harmonising his own account with that of his *Vorlage*." That is, since the writer encountered in his *Vorlage* the unqualified statement והבמות לא־סרו (1 Kgs 15:14) but already earlier specified that Asa did in fact remove the high places (1 Chr 15:2), he had to avoid the contradiction between these two and did so by qualifying the statement geographically. In the case of the second set of texts, explanatory phrases also appear to minimize any dissonance. For instance, the statement in 2 Chr 20:33 is immediately followed by the explanatory phrase, ועוד העם לא הכינו לבבם לאלהי אבתיהם ("but the people did not set their hearts on the god of their fathers"), which seems to place fault for non-removal of the high places at least partly with the people rather than directly with the king; cf. again Williamson 1984, 302.

coherence…"[67] That is, taken at face value, this means that seemingly incoherent statements about Asa and Jehoshaphat mask a kind of inclusive coherence. Implicitly, this coherence is not at the level of the text but at the level of social memory: as figures of memory, Asa and Jehoshaphat could be recalled both as destroying unsanctioned sites of worship and as not.

Consider briefly what this means of Chronicles as a literary work. In Ben Zvi's account of social memory, it means that the Chronicler's work is cryptic. Even though it appears to narrate a detailed and factual history, incoherences within the work and vis-à-vis other works were accepted by its readers as a feature that gave rise to a kind of emergent intra-collection coherence in which characters can do and not do the same thing. It also means discounting any cases in which the Chronicler seems to have made minute and painstaking adjustments precisely to avoid incoherence in his source.[68] Because readers read Chronicles in light of Samuel-Kings, these incoherences would be noticed by readers anyways. Any such work by the Chronicler was, therefore, futile—at least within the system of social memory Ben Zvi envisions.

Ben Zvi's claims apply only to Chronicles as read in a period he places in the "late Persian/early Hellenistic" period, at which time he presumes that the work had already achieved whatever status was necessary to place it on substantially equal footing with Samuel-Kings. When matters relating to the production of biblical books appear, this is subordinated to concerns about readership—even though in discussing this constructed readership he makes strong claims about authorial intent.[69] This is true even though he has in places considered the institutional

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[67] Ben Zvi, *ST* 71 (2017), 74.

[68] See for now the discussion in note 65.

[69] See above, 28.

apparatus necessary for both the production and consumption of literary works, and the

production of texts as a means to address tensions in social memory.[70] Even though he does not

use the word "scribe" or "scribal," preferring "literati" so as to include other persons, Ben Zvi

describes what amounts to a fully-functioning scribal apparatus[71] in Persian Yehud and claims

that this scribal apparatus supported the production of texts, the development of readings of those

texts and, thereby, the shaping of social memory. The scribal apparatus had all of the

considerable social and institutional support required to sustain "a group of people with a very

high level of literacy," contingent upon an "appropriate educational infrastructure," including

instruction in a "curriculum of texts," and "an ability to archive and retrieve texts."[72] Since the

population was low, the most important institutions had to support this effort; the most likely

institution was the temple in Jerusalem. He concludes about institutional support for textual

production that "it is certainly reasonable to assume that [the temple and associated scribal

school] strongly supported and, to a large extent, controlled the production of these

texts/readings, and thus social memory."[73]

Despite occasional nods in the direction of diachrony, the approach outlined above is

strongly synchronic.[74] It also shares a number of assumptions with canonical criticism, though

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[70] Ben Zvi, "Chronicles and Samuel-Kings" (2019), 321.

[71] Although not called by this name, the system he posits is essentially the same as the one described by studies of scribalism, on which see chapter 2.

[72] "On Social Memory and Identity Formation in Late Persian Yehud: A Historian's Viewpoint with a Focus on Prophetic Literature, Chronicles and the Deuteronomistic Historical Collection" (2019), 35.

[73] Ibid., 36.

[74] On diachrony, see ibid., 37: "books that may have influenced mindshare… at one time may not have existed in another. Thus, some element of diachronic thinking is necessary. For the

the theological focus of the latter is left unstated. Both Ben Zvi's and canonical approaches presume or require of the scholar to presume that there existed or exists some body of authoritative texts, that the historical referentiality of those texts is in large part beside the point, and that the texts as read in this body of authoritative texts incorporated or incorporate multiple competing or conflicting accounts in some meaningful way—that is, that the textual body is the site of a meta-discourse incorporating these competing accounts. In canonical criticism, these assumptions are made by the scholar, while in a synchronic approach to memory studies like the one presented above, these assumptions are temporally dislocated to different readers, i.e., the literati. They are nonetheless just as present. In canonical criticism, the proper context for interpretation is the whole canon.[75] While Ben Zvi does not use the terms "canon" or "scripture," he does refer time and again to a body of authoritative texts that were in constant use by the literati; his approach requires access to a textual body comprising an approximation of the mental library of the literati. Moreover, without access to such a library, he suggests that the approach he takes has no probative value.[76] Both approaches also require that the texts themselves do not take seriously historically referential claims. Childs' early publication on memory, *Memory and Tradition in Israel*, detaches history from textually-situated memories by an argument that

present contribution… it is worth stressing that only the repertoire of the late Persian (or early Hellenistic) period included all three groups, and that of the early to mid-Persian the first two. But Ben Zvi is, elsewhere, explicitly synchronic; see "Chronicles and Samuel-Kings" (2019), 331 n43,"the approach here is and must be both strongly historical... and synchronic."

[75] Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 69–106, and esp. 69–79.

[76] "Introduction" (2019), 24, "unless historians have access to something that may serve as representative or a resonably approximation to this library, the type of project (and approach) advanced here would not work."

proceeds from the agglomerative character of biblical texts. Construed as a reading community

commemorating earlier events, "in the memory of the tradition later Israel continued to share in

redemptive events."[77] While in tradition-historical approaches, the historical referentiality of the

commemorated account might matter, in Childs' construction, the later account is of paramount

importance: "the remembered event is an equally valid witness to Israel's encounter with God as

the first witness."[78] The "actual past" is beside the point. It is worth comparing this interpretive

stance to Ben Zvi's comments that the Chronicler was taken by his audience as, for instance,

"not attempting to convey an image of a past that was correct in a detailed fashion or had to be

taken at face value."[79] Both Childs and Ben Zvi sideline the "actual past" for the interpreter or

reader—Childs by elevating commemorative practice to be an equal of that past, and Ben Zvi by

suggesting that the Chronicler's communicative intent had little to do with history.[80] That is, the

history the text represents serves the same role for the canonical interpreter and for the literati—

it is irrelevant. Finally, both canonical approaches and Ben Zvi's social memory understand

conflicting voices as part of a communal meta-discourse about the past. So, a canonical reading

of the J and P documents in Genesis 1-3 might suggest that the "different semantic fields and

literary forms," the "different sequence of events," and readerly questions about the confusion

arising therefrom lead to a reading that "[allows] the play of perspectives without insisting on a

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[77] Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel* (1962), 84.

[78] Ibid., 89.

[79] Ben Zvi, "Observations on Ancient Modes of Reading of Chronicles" (2006), 47, and here see above, 28–30.

[80] I will deal fully with the matter of authorial intent and social memory below, especially in the second and fourth chapters.

resolution."[81] The juxtaposition of conflicting voices also leads the reader away from understanding historical referentiality as a concern of the text: "two conflicting accounts set back to back suggest that all language about the process of creation is figurative,"[82] i.e., that the implied author's communicative intent has to do with something other than communicating facts about the past. Note, again, that the reading process of this canonical interpreter is highly similar to Ben Zvi's literati. They are so similar, in fact, that the literati are perhaps best understood as just such canonical readers and the "body of authoritative texts," which constitute a site for interpreting all the pluriform texts and voices against one another, as a proxy for scripture which, like the canonical reader and the literati, is temporally dislocated from the present into the past in the guise of a "body of authoritative texts."

These affinities between canonical interpretive assumptions and those present in this particular approach to social memory raise some questions related to the construction of the literati and their reading preferences and the apparent authority of those texts. Why should the literati be construed as operating in a manner so similar to modern canonical interpreters? It is very difficult to test Ben Zvi's conclusion about the way the literati approached texts because we have only indirect evidence for the claim that they tolerated or even preferred multivocality, and that evidence is mediated to us in a form unlike any present in antiquity—i.e., a bound text that juxtaposes the texts of the Hebrew Bible with each other. In what ways might a history of these

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[81] Mary C. Callaway, "Canonical Criticism," in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Stephen R. Haynes (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 149. See similarly the analogy in which literary readings of the Bible are like binoculars, joining two images, in Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic, 1981), 185.

[82] Ibid.

literati that so construes them need to be reassessed? There are also open questions about why

Ben Zvi's or Wilson's synchronic readings should be situated in the late Persian/early Hellenistic

period. Wilson suggests in these regards that it is in this period that a core set of biblical books

became authoritative for a Judean audience.[83] In other words, it is the earliest horizon at which a

methodology which requires access to a corpus of quasi-authoritative texts can operate.[84]

However, that one should move directly from the assertion, however carefully qualified, that

some core group of texts emerged during this period, to the Masoretic Text as the point for

analytical departure, is less than convincing. Indeed, Jason Silverman has raised precisely this

point about Wilson's work.[85] What is at stake are questions not only over the precise form of the

texts Judean readers had during the period, but also matters of textual authority, as Wilson

himself acknowledges: "Judean readers likely saw the Pentateuch, for example, as carrying a

different kind of authority than, say, the book of Kings. Moreover, some who saw the Pentateuch

as authoritative might not have seen the book of Kings as authoritative at all, to use those same

examples."[86] In practice, though, Wilson tends to treat all the texts as equal in authority to one

another. So, while caveats like this appear, Ben Zvi and Wilson do not address in a satisfactory

manner the possibility of different levels of textual authority within their corpus.

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[83] That is, the Pentateuch, deuteronomic books (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings), the prophetic books, and Chronicles. See Wilson, *Kingship and Memory* (2017), 5.

[84] This horizon, of course, aligns with burgeoning scholarly interest in the Persian period.

[85] See Jason M. Silverman, review of *Kingship and Memory in Ancient Judah* by Ian Wilson, *RBL* (2018), "while I am deeply sympathetic to the problems that spur Wilson and others before him to take the Masoretic Text as it has survived as the point of analysis, I still find the move to a synchronic reading in an arbitrarily selected time to also be unsatisfactory. I… am also less confident in a synchronic reading of the collection until later periods."

[86] Wilson, *Kingship and Memory* (2017), 5.

Note, too, that if one accepts the same starting points as Wilson and Ben Zvi, then memory studies cannot by definition interact with other important field-specific tools. Because the orientation is so strongly synchronic, diachronic methods (including textual criticism, or source- and redaction-criticism) are relegated to a very minor role, usually to functionally affirm the scholar's assumptions about the textual crystallization in the Second Temple period. To commit to memory studies so defined consigns mostly to irrelevance the help of such tools and the hard-won insights of many other scholars.

Daniel Pioske

Pioske's work on memory and biblical texts has two focal points: the unique epistemic problems associated with memory and history, and scribal interaction with cultural memory. Because the referential claims of historiographic texts in antiquity are entangled with knowledge arising from cultural memory,[87] a historian must assess "what type of knowledge is available within pre-modern texts affiliated with forms of cultural memory."[88] Both of Pioske's monographs treat this epistemic problem and deal with the problematics of memory in biblical texts. The more recent queries how scribes knew about the Iron I period.[89] For Pioske, cultural

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[87] "Despite memory's and history's distinct epistemological frameworks and means of representation, the historian cannot expunge the referential claims of a remembered past from his or her list of potential sources when attempting to reconstruct the history of a particular past." Daniel Pioske, "Retracing a Remembered Past: Methodological Remarks on Memory, History, and the Hebrew Bible," *BibInt* 23 (2015): 304.

[88] *Memory in a Time of Prose: Studies in Epistemology, Hebrew Scribalism, and the Biblical Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 293.

[89] Pioske 2018, 25. His goal is not to remark on the historicity of biblical narratives but to "investigate how the epistemic conditions that surrounded the production of prose writing in the southern Levant influenced the stories told by the biblical scribes" (2018, 82).

memory, understood as a "generational, residual knowledge,"[90] was transmitted through a

performed oral tradition. As a source of knowledge, it was sufficient to allow later scribes to

incorporate characters and events from the Iron Age into their narratives. In this formulation,

cultural memory is an input for the production of texts; he has little to say about how textual

production and transmission might interact with cultural memory other than by means of the

latter's function as a source of knowledge for scribes. Pioske's earlier monograph[91] explores the

relationship between place and memory with a case study of the city of Jerusalem and the figure

David. There, in a chapter on the book of Chronicles, Pioske speaks unreservedly about

Chronicles as the work of a single scribe and how this scribe's literary product both drew on and

shaped the memory of the past.[92] Besides the material remains of Jerusalem,[93] the Chronicler had

to work within the constraints of the written sources at his disposal and certain non-negotiable

cultural memories. While the Chronicler's product substantially revised his sources, Pioske

implicitly accepts that this revision was complementary and does not subvert Samuel-Kings. For

example, he argues that in 1 Chr 11–12, the death of Saul, conquest of Jerusalem, and David's

rise, that the Chronicler assumed and relied upon his audience's familiarity with the text of

Samuel-Kings.[94] Similar sentiment is present elsewhere. The Chronicler "compensates" for some

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[90] Pioske, *Memory in a Time of Prose* (2018), 80.

[91] *David's Jerusalem* (2015).

[92] Ibid., 132, 134, 145–146.

[93] Ibid., 136–145, Pioske considers at length the topography, built environment, population, and remains of the Babylonian destruction present in Jerusalem.

[94] After describing the conquest of Jerusalem, Pioske mentions that the Chronicler ever so briefly evokes scenes that must have happened before that conquest "and… scenes that *only occur in Samuel*" (cf. 173 n92). He claims that "the traditions in Samuel-Kings were well-known to the Chronicler and his audience, and that at moments, these traditions were only alluded to

memories, and "revises" old ones.[95] For Pioske, then, scribal interaction with cultural memory occurs in two ways. Cultural memory constitutes a conduit for information about the deep past to reach the scribe, via oral tradition; the scribe can then incorporate that information into their work. Similarly, cultural memory, reaching the scribe in the form of texts, can be "revised," "redressed" or "reshaped," within certain constraints. The textual product may remain in a dialogue with the scribe's source texts, which in the case of Samuel-Kings was authoritative in some measure.[96]

Pioske provides the most extensive discussion of scribal involvement with cultural memory and the book of Chronicles. He discusses the Chronicler's use of sources, especially Samuel-Kings, as a scribal "habit" and, since the reuse of these sources shows a careful appeal to collective memory, as a legitimizing feature of the work. Pioske analyzes the scribal practice of the Chronicler on the basis of the availability of the similarities between Samuel-Kings in the Hebrew Bible and the Chronicler's source texts. These similarities allow for some insight into

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rather than being rewritten completely." Citing Christine Mitchell, "The Dialogism of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 263 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 311–26, Pioske argues that this use of analepsis is a common feature of the Chronicler's work, and this constitutes in part one premise of his claim that the Chronicler's readers must have had access to the text of Samuel-Kings. While Mitchell competently demonstrates the use of this narrative device in the 1 Chr 10:1–11:9, the story of Saul's death and David's rise, her point is that Chronicles stands coherently on its own; it is in part this coherence and autonomy that help to constitute its dialogic stance vis-à-vis Samuel-Kings.

[95] Pioske, *David's Jerusalem* (2015), 151–52. argues that in Samuel-Kings, David remains somewhat disconnected from the city—unaware of the machinations of its residents or its needs: "the Chronicler attempted to rectify the uncertain relationship between Jerusalem and the vulnerable King David found in the Chronicler's sources, compensating for these memories by providing a decidedly different view of the connection between David and his capital city."

[96] Ibid., 157.

the Chronicler's compositional method and the decisions he made when writing his book. Besides this, though, Pioske alludes to a societal consensus that the available account of the past in Samuel-Kings was inadequate.[97] This decision to substantially revise the available historiography is "remarkable" in Pioske's view, having no closely-comparable antecedents except for, perhaps, the book of Deuteronomy; the Chronicler's imitation of and reuse of materials from Samuel-Kings, in addition to the signs of his familiarity with the Pentateuch, show that the scribe "had an intimate understanding of" and "a pronounced respect for these texts."[98] Besides copying large blocks of material, the Chronicler sometimes did not contradict his sources even when it might have helped his agenda, for instance, by having David instead of Joab attack Jerusalem. Pioske concludes that the Chronicler, as a scribe, attempted to shape the memory of the past by carefully "preserving and reiterating a core set of traditions known to the Chronicler's community through the works of Samuel-Kings."[99] In addition to legitimizing his own account by the cautious and extensive use of these sources, the Chronicler was careful "to appeal to the collective memory of the community for whom it was written;"[100] only by means of this respectful, textual evocation of well-known and well-accepted "venerable literary traditions" was the Chronicler able to win his audience's trust and simultaneously offer substantial

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[97] Ibid., "the Chronicler possessed the conviction, shared by a number of readers who found the Chronicler's work meaningful and who eventually made it canonical, that the story of Judah's past provided in Samuel-Kings required substantial revision."

[98] Ibid., 158–159. When considered together with deuteronomistic interventions in other texts, Pioske notes that the scribes responsible for Deuteronomy and the Chronicler differ in their method of handling sources. The Deuteronomistic school opted to intervene by emending source texts, while the Chronicler incorporated and reworked parts of those texts into his own narrative.

[99] Ibid., 159.

[100] Ibid.

revisions.[101] The Chronicler further bolstered the legitimacy of his work by citing his sources and

by appealing to the concerns of his contemporaries, especially regarding Levites and their role

and the administrative hierarchies associated with the temple, in addition to portraying physical

aspects of the city that aligned with their experience.[102] That is, by appealing to well-known

traditions in the collective memory of his audience, deferentially reusing his source texts, and

evoking a Jerusalem that seemed familiar to his audience, the Chronicler not only ensured the

success of his narrative but made palatable to them the extensive revisions he entered in that

record. In this way, he was able to "reframe how certain moments… were to be remembered."[103]

Despite a decidedly diachronic approach and his account of the scribe's work on

Chronicles, Pioske's approach shares more than one premise with Ben Zvi's work, which he

often cites, while at times going well beyond Ben Zvi in suggesting that the Chronicler

substantially revised accounts of the past and formed collective memory. That is, there is an

effect upon collective memory that occurred on the basis of the Chronicler's work. Despite this

difference, Pioske and Ben Zvi infer on the basis of the Chronicler's extensive reuse of his

source texts that the text of Samuel-Kings was in some way authoritative and that the Chronicler

had to navigate his audience's familiarity with that text and with the stories in it. Further,

reasonably, collective memory placed limits on the interventions that the Chronicler could

make—and the Chronicler's account was not superseding but complementary. So, he writes at

one point that "thus, though the Chronicler could not excise well-known features of the past

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[101] Ibid., 159–160.

[102] Ibid., 161.

[103] Ibid., 160.

present in Yehud's collective memory, the Chronicler could provide another narrative lens through which to view this past and reinterpret its significance."[104] At the same time, however, Pioske is more willing to say that the Chronicler's account, on its own, functioned to substantially revise accounts of the past and to form collective memory; the Chronicler's account, by omission, allowed many negative aspects of David's Jerusalem to disappear.[105] So, while Pioske shows interests markedly different from Ben Zvi's, he imports similar assumptions about the relationship of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles and the authority of the former.

Jack Weinbender

Jack Weinbender's recent dissertation has made significant contributions in relating memory theory to the study of the Hebrew Bible and apocryphal literature. Because he offers a more diachronic perspective on the problems of narration and processes of cultural memory than any of Ben Zvi, Wilson, or Pioske, his work deserves special attention here. Besides the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, he discusses Chronicles. He claims that Chronicles constitutes a unique reconfiguration of the past vis-à-vis Samuel-Kings and that this reconfiguration ought to be understood as the result of processes of cultural memory. He also examines the process of rewriting and its relationship with social memory. Weinbender adopts, from Ben Zvi and Nora, the idea of *lieux de mémoire*, but places it in conversation with the process of rewriting. By deploying graph network theory, he also provides a paradigm through which to understand shifts in collective memory over time. He explores the idea of "magnetism," which helps to explain in

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[104] Ibid., 146, citing Ehud Ben Zvi, *History, Literature, and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (London; Oakville: Equinox, 2006), 92–93.

[105] Pioske, *Memory in a Time of Prose* (2018), 168.

a cross-disciplinary manner the ways in which well-connected nodes of a graph are prone both to

linkage with other nodes and to attract less weighty nodes; further, such weighty nodes are prone

to link up with new nodes when they are inserted in such networks.[106] This brings together what

has otherwise been utilized as only a synchronic approach, i.e., sites of memory, with a

diachronic concern. Weinbender also manages to connect this directly to the Chronicler's act of

composition and shows concern about locating the scribe in a social milieu.[107] He argues that

social remembering, seen as a process, requires one to consider the Chronicler's own act of

remembering (i.e., he "'recalls' stories which are adapted to the frameworks of the Chronicler's

remembering community") and commemoration—the Chronicler's production of discourse

about the past amounts to a commemorative act.[108]

These concerns for the Chronicler's written act of commemoration and the accompanying

changes in knowledge are brought together in two case studies about the book of Chronicles.

Weinbender discusses the more positive image of David in Chronicles and his function as cult

founder. He argues that the differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are to be

explained not only as differences in portrayal but also as a result of changing cultural memory in

the Second Temple period. That is, that the David of Chronicles is portrayed differently is a

reflection of a larger change in discourse from when the Chronicler's *Vorlage* was (mostly)

completed and the Chronicler's own writing. In particular, Weinbender claims that the

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[106] One example might be the way in which Elhanan's killing of Goliath is associated with David. See Weinbender, "Remembering and Rewriting" (2019), 102–8.

[107] Weinbender, "Remembering and Rewriting" (2019), 99–100.

[108] Ibid.

Chronicler approached David's non-construction of the temple from the perspective that events occur because they should occur or must occur in a particular way.[109] That David did not build the temple was necessary for some reason, and the Chronicler provides that reason in his story with the repeated claim that David had shed too much blood.[110] In this reading, Solomon built the Temple because he should have done so; the Chronicler took Deut 12:10-11 as a prediction of future events that were fully realized in Solomon's reign. Weinbender takes this Chronistic reformulation as an updating of the received records to reflect a different, "contemporary system of knowledge."[111] In sum, he argues that the Chronicler's innovations do not reflect his idiosyncrasies, but rather that "they should be analyzed as reflecting the discourses and frameworks of the society that produced each."[112]

Weinbender's other major case study, the census narrative, shows how the Chronicler's narration reflects a changed set of values vis-à-vis Samuel-Kings and demonstrates the "magnetism" he described operating in graph networks and social memory.[113] He suggests that a number of narrative differences between the accounts in 1 Chr 21 and 2 Sam 24 reflect that the Chronicler updated the narrative in such a way that it reflects a difference between the theological rationales, and that these are a result of social influences on the Chronicler. That is,

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[109] Ibid., 118-126.

[110] 1 Chr 22:7–9, 28:3. Weinbender notes that if the Chronicler's *Vorlage* had 2 Sam 7:1's circumstantial clause, ויהוה הניח לו מסביב מכל איביו, the Chronicler omits it so as to preserve the peaceable circumstances of Deut 12:10–11 for Solomon alone.

[111] Ibid., 127.

[112] Ibid., 128.

[113] Ibid., 134–143.

seen as part of a process of cultural memory, the Chronicler had to update the narrative because it was partially unintelligible within the set of values that he shared with his contemporaries. In particular, the Chronicler was perplexed by how David could offer sacrifices at a location other than the tabernacle and "rationalizes" to show why this was expedient.[114] Moreover, the Chronicler seizes this moment to offer an etiology for the construction of the temple on that very site. Weinbender argues that this is a case of magnetism. In renarrating the account, the Chronicler has associated both the free-floating narrative of 2 Sam 24 with the temple, a major site of memory, and drawn a closer association between David and founding of this major cultic site. As significant nodes in a network of social memory, David and the Temple are more closely attracted to one another, and the census narrative is entangled with these two major nodes.

Weinbender's work is creative and valuable in that it unites theory about social memory as a kind of network or web (Nora's *lieux de mémoire*) with a sensitivity to the diachronic processes of textual transmission and renarrating or revisionary composition. This is novel for biblical studies. Further, he argues that the Chronicler's innovations were necessary, in some sense, because of the social frameworks within which he operated, and all of this is contextualized as part of a process of cultural memory. Weinbender succeeds in both of these tasks. Nonetheless, in his argument that the Chronicler adapted his narrative to a new shared set of values, the scribe fades away and becomes a vessel for the expression of shared values instead of an agent driving the revisionary work. The interplay between the Chronicler as an individual

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[114] Ibid., 140, "from a memory perspective, the issue is not necessarily that it was *offensive* for David to make sacrifices outside the central cult site, but a different set of presuppositions about how proper worship *should* work. The Chronicler does not change the fact that David offered sacrifices outside the tabernacle but provides a rationale for why it was expedient for David to bend the rules."

and larger social forces is not worked out. Weinbender also does not address the significant

claims of Ben Zvi, Wilson, and Pioske regarding the relative authority of the two books and their

role as complementary or competing accounts of the past.

Chronicles and Social Memory: A Summary

The above approaches to social memory can all be placed along a synchronic/diachronic

spectrum. Correlated to placement on that synchronic/diachronic spectrum is concern about

textual production and collective memory. The most synchronic approach is the one exemplified

by Ben Zvi and Wilson. Because their approach requires access to a body of authoritative texts,

assumes that such a body is accessible in the received form of the texts, and takes that form—

essentially MT—as its point of departure, and because it prioritizes readership so highly, it has

little to say about textual production or the role of scribes in composing narratives about the past

or how that process might implicate collective memory. Pioske, while he shares a number of

assumptions with Ben Zvi and Wilson about the relative textual authority of the Chronicler's

sources, is more interested in the relationship between collective memory, history, and

historiography. Because of this more diachronic orientation, he concludes that scribes—both the

Chronicler and others—were involved in the reception and transmission of information about the

past and in adjusting that received knowledge in ways that were motivated by their present

circumstances, especially in the Chronicler's portrayal of Jerusalem. Finally, Weinbender takes

the most diachronic approach.[115] The Chronicler's work, he argues, amounts to a

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[115] Jens Bruun Kofoed, "Saul and Cultural Memory," *SJOT* 25 (2011): 124–50, influenced by Assmann, similarly shares a diachronic orientation. In his view, Chronicles represents a new master narrative that was developed to resolve the trauma of the exile. Grappling with the trauma of the exile happened in stages in cultural memory, and Chronicles must be read as one literary response to this trauma. In order for Chronicles, as a new master

commemorative act that substantially reconfigures social memory. He also dislocates some of the Chronicler's innovations from the scribe alone and ascribes them to the social environment in which the Chronicler operated.[116] He ignores questions of textual authority that are more important for Ben Zvi and Pioske. That is, for Weinbender, after the book of Chronicles was produced, it is not clear what the role of Samuel-Kings was for the Chronicler or his contemporaries. It is also unclear whether or how one can differentiate between scribal work and societal factors. Weinbender argues that several reconfigurations of history in the Chronicler's work reflect socially-shared values. But if the production of a book like Chronicles is understood as part of the process of cultural memory, in what sense is it still valuable to talk about the Chronicler as a scribe and author?

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narrative, to be palatable as a master narrative, it must reflect in an accurate way chains of causality that stretch into the past. Kofoed argues, therefore, that the Chronicler's referential statements about the past are true. If the causal chain was broken by appeal to fictional events, then the "master narrative" is severed from the past and loses its explanatory power. This stance on historical referentiality is markedly different than what one finds in Assmann, Kofoed's major theoretical influence, and seems incoherent when one compares his treatment of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. That is, Kofoed writes off questions about historical referentiality in Samuel-Kings but not in Chronicles. There are other weaknesses here: Kofoed's approach deals only with the account of Saul in Chronicles. From a Freudian perspective, Saul represents Israel's rebellion against monotheism and so had to be killed off quickly in the narrative, making way for David and Solomon with their accompanying positive accomplishments. Despite the substantial claim about Chronicles as a whole being a response to trauma, the scope of the inquiry is limited to Saul's role in the narrative; this combination of a universalizing claim with a narrow evidentiary base is unconvincing, unless more evidence were offered.

[116] Weinbender, "Remembering and Rewriting" (2019), 148, "thus, even those individual and idiosyncratic reinterpretations that the Chronicler may have offered would be inextricably linked to the social frameworks of memory in which he lived and operated."

Memory Studies and Other Texts

As the above discussion of Ben Zvi, Wilson, Pioske, and Weinbender demonstrates, approaches to studying Chronicles and collective memory differ in their synchronic/diachronic sensitivities and in their assumptions about textual authority. In this section, I briefly review studies by Ronald Hendel and Mark Smith. These are presented to demonstrate that scholars working with Assmann's model of cultural memory or other theorists are prone to lapse into tradition history. Hendel has been critiqued for precisely this. I argue that Hendel manages to move beyond this critique in some instances by adopting a presentist perspective and focusing on the construction of meaning and social location of a given text. Nonetheless, these studies suggest that scholars working with memory theory must be careful to avoid the trap of relabeling tradition history.

Ronald Hendel has taken up memory studies in several venues,[117] drawing especially on the Assmanns' theoretical work. In addition to introducing the distinction between communicative and cultural memory, Jan Assmann coined the term "mnemohistory." Mnemohistory is a study of how representations of the past have changed, especially with

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[117] *JBL* 120 (2001); idem, *Remembering Abraham: Culture, Memory, and History in the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); idem, "Culture, Memory, and History: Reflections on Method in Biblical Studies," in *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future*, ed. Thomas E. Levy (London: Equinox, 2010), 250–61; idem, "The Exodus as Cultural Memory: Egyptian Bondage and the Song of the Sea," in *Israel's Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective: Text, Archaeology, Culture, and Geoscience*, ed. Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider, and William H.C. Propp, Quantitative Methods in the Humanities and Social Sciences (Cham: Springer, 2015), 65–77; idem, "Exodus, Conquest, and the Alchemy of Memory," forthcoming.

respect to the way that the past is mediated by individuals and societies.[118] Like Halbwachs,

Assmann thinks the act of remembering is constructive and socially conditioned.[119] That is, in

the process of cultural memory, the past is reconstructed depending on societal needs. Elsewhere,

Assmann writes that the past exists only as it is remembered and referred to.[120] Assmann does

not mean this in a propositional sense, but sociologically; considered in this way, the past bears

on the present only insofar as it is recalled.[121]

Along similar lines, Hendel endeavors to show "how the past becomes a meaningful

frame for the present," or "to chart the forces, strains, and transformation in this relationship

between past and present."[122] He has focused especially on the exodus.[123] The earliest of these

publications describes several cases in which historical events may be preserved in the biblical

accounts ("memories") of the exodus. He affirms that certain historical events and persons may

be recalled in the biblical text: the Egyptian imperial stance in the Levant, a terrible plague, and a

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[118] Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (1997), 14, "mnemohistory is not concerned with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered. It surveys the story-lines of tradition, the webs of intertextuality, the diachronic continuities and discontinuities of reading the past."

[119] Ibid., "seen as an individual and as a social capacity, memory is not simply the storage of past 'facts' but the ongoing work of reconstructive imagination. In other words, the past cannot be stored but always has to be 'processed' and mediated. This mediation depends on the semantic frames and needs of a given individual or society within a given present."

[120] Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (2000), 31, "die Vergangenheit nun, das ist unsere These, entsteht überhaupt erst dadurch, dass man sich auf sie bezieht."

[121] Assmann's discussion is part of a complex debate among theorists of social memory about the means and degree of exchange between past and present. For an overview, see Keith, *EC* 6 (2015), 365–367 (on Assmann) and 369–373 (on Barry Schwartz).

[122] *JBL* 120 (2001), 603–4.

[123] *JBL* 120 (2001); "The Exodus as Cultural Memory" (2015); "Exodus, Conquest, and the Alchemy of Memory" (forthcoming).

group of Canaanite rebels who were, eventually, recalled in the biblical text as Moses.[124] Besides

these events, the social function of the history is more easily discernable: the exodus is a story of

national origins and forms an ethnic identity.[125] A later publication deals explicitly with the Song

of the Sea as a kind of countermemory.[126] The Song of the Sea portrays the Egyptians being

defeated at the hand of YHWH: "the song's depiction of the defeat of the Egyptian army provides

a countermemory to the Egyptian ideology of Pharaoh as Divine Warrior."[127] As in his 2001

article, Hendel draws attention to historical realities in Canaan. In particular, he points out that

Pharaonic hegemony and dominance over Canaan and Canaanite bodies was part and parcel of

Egyptian imperial ideology. This ideology and the Egyptian imperial presence in Canaan had

long-lasting effects on the cultural memory of Canaanites. Hendel draws attention to biblical

depictions of Egypt as a house of servitude (Exod 20:2), but also points out that "Egyptian rule in

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[124] *JBL* 120 (2001), 608–15, 621–22.

[125] Nadav Na'aman has also explored the exodus within the framework of historical memory, approaching the subject in a manner similar to Hendel, though with a more sweeping discussion of the evidence for Egyptian imperial activities in the Levant. See "The Exodus Story: Between Historical Memory and Historiographical Composition," *JANER* 11 (2011): 39–69. Na'aman notes that the scribes of what he calls "the Exodus tradition" worked in a period far removed from the period of the biblical narratives, with the result that anachronisms appeared in their work. This, he says (ibid., 56), is a common tendency: "authors describing events that antedated them by many years tend to unconsciously integrate data that is taken from the reality of their own time." One example, among several, is the appearance of the Philistines in Exod 13:17. Regarding a similar feature of the Chronicler's account of Jerusalem past, see the summary of Pioske's work above, p. 30-35.

[126] Hendel does not develop this term in the article, but it is the functional equivalent, at a smaller scale, of "counterhistory" described by Funkenstein in *Perceptions* (1993), 22–49, esp. 36: "their aim is the distortion of the adversary's self-image, of his identity, through the deconstruction of his memory."

[127] "The Exodus as Cultural Memory" (2015), 72.

the land of Canaan was forgotten."[128] For Canaanites, the full geographical extent of Egyptian

dominance was forgotten and came to coincide with the geographical extent of a new identity,

one that was formulated around escape from geographical Egypt, even though such escape was

something that not all Canaanites had experienced. The Song of the Sea is a reflection of Egypt's

defeat at a geographically liminal point, reflecting the shift of Egyptian dominance in cultural

memory. Hendel's conclusion is that the Song of the Sea reflects the culmination of this process

of cultural memory in Canaan; it signifies victory over and freedom from imperial dominance.

In both cases, Hendel points to evidence of historical realities that may have been

refracted into the biblical texts through cultural memory. This is similar to tradition-historical

methods.[129] As a result, he has attracted critique for dressing tradition history in a new guise. In

his first article on the exodus, it is difficult to see how mnemohistory differs from tradition

history; even though his more recent work, especially the article on the Song of the Sea cited

above, moves beyond this approach, there is reticence among scholars to fully separate Hendel's

work from tradition history or to see much value in it. Ben Zvi, for example, suggests that this

new tradition-historical approach is possible, though limited.[130] Ian Wilson is even more critical,

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[128] Ibid., 68.

[129] Hendel, *JBL* 120 (2001), 603, acknowledges these similarities.

[130] See, for example the note regarding Na'aman "Memories of Monarchical Israel in the Narratives of David's Wars with Israel's Neighbors," *HBAI* 6 (2017): 308–28 in Ben Zvi "Introduction," in *Social Memory among the Literati of Yehud* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 25 n47, "none of this means that nothing about memory may be said about the monarchic period (Judah or Northern Israel) or monarchic period texts. For instance, one may develop the old tradition of trying to find historical kernels helpful to reconstruct earlier periods in later texts into one that focuses on echoes of ancient memories that, even if they are resignified in later texts, may still inform about earlier periods." The approach described here is one kind of tradition history; Ben Zvi does not level any real critique against Na'aman but does suggest that his own

noting that "[Hendel's] study ultimately follows the well-trodden path of earlier historical-critical work on Moses and the exodus narrative, seeking to find historical kernels, so to speak, from the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age imbedded in the texts of the Hebrew Bible."[131] That is, there is no real distinction between Hendel's work and what had already happened in biblical studies, besides that the former is framed as an exploration of cultural memory. This claim is, however, contestable. While Hendel remains interested in historical realities behind the Song of the Sea and the exodus account, his study of the exodus is not truly undermined by Wilson's critique. Hendel's goal is not to expose historical *realia* underlying the exodus account or the Song of the Sea. Rather, the (plausible) historical account that he gives is a jumping-off place to explore what the Song of the Sea might mean as a product of cultural memory and the ways in which it likely reflects certain impetuses towards the formation of a (new), common ethnic identity for Canaanites. And, his results are concerned with what that song likely signifies in cultural memory, not with any partial accounts of the past it may obscure. In short, Hendel's take on the Song of the Sea is presentist in orientation. Wilson's critique and others like it are, therefore, applicable in the main only to Hendel's earliest publication on memory.[132]

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methodology is not applicable for earlier periods. This is because his approach relies on access to at least an approximation of the whole library of shared texts; see here above, 27 n73.

[131] *Kingship and Memory* (2017), 32. See also Cathleen Kavita Chopra-McGowan, "Representing the Destruction of Jerusalem: Literary Artistry and the Shaping of Memory in 2 Kings 25, Lamentations, and Ezekiel" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2019), 44 n70. Note that this critique, though, tends to level tradition-history to a single kind of project and does not adequately grasp its many nuances; see above, 13 n33.

[132] That is, Hendel, *JBL* 120 (2001).

Like Hendel, Mark Smith was one of the early scholars to publish on memory and the Hebrew Bible, with an article in 2002 and a monograph in 2004.[133] In the article, "Remembering God: Collective Memory in Israelite Religion," he focuses narrowly on four texts (Genesis 32; Exodus 3; Judges 6, 13) and interactions with the divine or angelic characters in each. Making use of Nora's theory on *lieux de mémoire*, Smith describes a historical pattern for Israel's collective memory, saying that "smaller local shrines, larger sanctuaries, and royal shrines" all played an important role in the transmission of Israelite history and the identification of deities.[134] He argues that as family religion was replaced with regional and national shrines, the textual representation of these divine figures also changed. Smith's approach in this article closely associates tradition history and issues of collective memory.[135] His work on memory can thus be characterized in two ways: it attends to the way in which beliefs changed over time,[136] and it is explicitly associated with tradition history.

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[133] *CBQ* 64 (2002); *The Memoirs of God: History, Memory, and the Experience of the Divine in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004).

[134] Smith, *CBQ* 64 (2002), 633.

[135] See especially ibid., 638, where a single paragraph in Smith's discussion of Judg 13 begins by talking about memory and amnesia and, after proceeding directly from that topicalization through a continuous discussion of textual problems, concludes with "the later tradition may not have understood the range of possibilities." The discussion draws a functional equivalence between tradition history and memory/amnesia. A similarly close association between memory and tradition history is also explicit in *The Memoirs of God* (2004).

[136] See Chopra-McGowan, "Representing the Destruction of Jerusalem" (2019), 43–44, and Pioske *BibInt* 23 (2015), 6.

Themes in Memory Studies by Scholars of the Hebrew Bible

Two focal points in memory studies, Chronicles and tradition history, have occupied this study so far. In the work of Childs, Hendel, and Smith, a primary association of memory is with tradition history.[137] Hendel works well beyond a limited form of tradition history which has as its object uncovering a historical kernel of the past. Nonetheless, each of these three scholars either explicitly associates tradition history with their approach or, at times, digresses into scholarship that is hardly distinguishable from tradition history. Here, I move beyond these to consider other themes that arise in biblicists' use of memory studies. These are the association of memory and history, the lack of attention to an interplay between scribal activity or composition and collective memory, and a stubborn under-theorization of social memory as it relates to study of the Hebrew Bible. Besides these three focal points, it is readily observable throughout that the relationship of memory studies to other methods common in biblical studies is poorly described and undertheorized. Often, when memory is evoked, a scholar's working methods or results are difficult to distinguish from the methods or results elsewhere. This happens with both tradition-history, as I demonstrated above, and with other methods like redaction-criticism, on which see below.

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[137] Similar tendencies are present elsewhere. Anne-Mareike Wetter, "Balancing the Scales: The Construction of Exile as Countertradition in the Bible," in *From Babylon to Eternity: The Exile Remembered and Constructed in Text and Tradition*, ed. Bob Becking et al., BibleWorld (London: Equinox, 2009), 34–56, opens with a discussion of cultural memory in Israel that develops into tradition-history.

One of the persistent themes among biblicists working with memory studies is an attempt

to synthesize the relationship between memory, history, and narrative.[138] This is, undoubtedly,

because of the appeal of memory studies to those confronting the crisis of biblical

historiography. In light of this, the rise of memory studies among biblicists can be seen not only

as a result of the "memory boom" in the humanities but also as a reaction to a field-specific

problem: if biblical historiography is not reliable history, then what does one do with it?[139]

Further, if one understands texts of the Hebrew Bible instead as a kind of repository of cultural

memory, what can a scholar who is interested in history do with those texts?[140] Barstad goes so

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[138] See the similar observations by George Brooke "Memory, Cultural Memory, and Rewriting Scripture," in *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*, ed. József Zsengellér, JSJSup 166 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 126–27 and Kristin Joachimsen "Minne som analytisk kategori i studier av Den hebraiske bibelen," *DIN: Tidsskrift for religion og kultur* 1 (2016): 46–66, esp. 48. My thanks to Dr. Joachimsen for providing a copy of her article and for corresponding about it.

[139] Newsom, "Selective Recall and Ghost Memories" (2014).

[140] This is more or less explicit among the inflection-point publications on Hebrew Bible and social memory. Pioske, *BibInt* 23 (2015), 293–94 similarly understands memory studies as a reaction to difficulties in biblical historiography but seems to locate this shift as occurring somewhat later. But problems with biblical historiography were a key question in the earliest influential publications on memory. For Brettler "Memory in Ancient Israel" (2001), 11, memory becomes a useful concept to make sense of biblical historiography because of the "demise of the Hebrew Bible as history." Hendel's concern is related: what does a historian do when the historicity of, say, the exodus becomes doubtful? His proposal, in *JBL* 120 (2001), 602, is that a historian can investigate "the collective memories of a culture." Mark Smith *The Memoirs of God* (2004), 124–25 also articulates this problem of biblical historiography and suggests memory as a promising alternative. See, too, Ian Wilson's very detailed history of the problem in *RPBI* 3.2 (2018), esp 1–21. and among others the observation of Emanuel Pfoh "Fragmentos históricos en un pasado mítico: La historia antigua de Israel/Palestina con y sin la Biblia," *Anuario de la Escuela de Historia* 8 (2017): 26 n5, who identifies this tendency in biblical scholarship, even though he does not engage memory studies at length. The most recent and probative field-specific statements of the relationship between epistemological problems in historical research and social memory are Pioske, *BibInt* 23 (2015), 293–94 and Williams,

far as to charge every biblicist interested in memory with a responsibility to theorize the

relationship between history and memory.[141] While this theorization is not visible in every

treatment of memory, the relationship between memory and history is worked out in practice by

biblicists in a variety of ways.[142]

There are a variety of strategies for resolving the tension between memory and history,

but all result in scholars doing historical work. That is, no matter what one says about texts and

social memory, in every case reviewed here, the scholarly product is a historical one.[143] A

scholar approaches a text to provide a history of the text, a history of the ideas expressed in it, or

a history of the community associated with it. One finds the first approach, a kind of

triangulation,[144] in some of the work by Hendel, Pioske, and others:[145] texts are a product of

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History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls (2019), 21–90. Alana Vincent, too, grapples with
the relationship between memory and history in *Making Memory: Jewish and Christian
Explorations in Monument, Narrative, and Liturgy* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2013), 27–31.

[141] Hans M. Barstad, "History and Memory: Some Reflections on the 'Memory Debate'
in Relation to the Hebrew Bible," in *The Historian and the Bible: Essays in Honour of Lester L.
Grabbe*, ed. Philip R. Davies and Diana V. Edelman, LHBOTS 530 (New York: T&T Clark,
2010), 1–10, esp. 8.

[142] Pioske, *BibInt* 23 (2015), 292, "nevertheless, it remains the case that the current
interest in memory has been 'more practiced than theorized' by historians of ancient Israel and
Judah, making the appeal to memory vulnerable to fragmentation and depreciation through a lack
of sustained reflection on memory's relationship to history, and how its claims about the past
pertain to the historian's critical representation of what once was."

[143] In linking memory studies with historical questions, scholars intuit what Alan
Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *AHR* 102 (1997):
1386–1403 explicitly stated (at 1388), "only when linked to historical questions and problems…
can memory be illuminating."

[144] Chopra-McGowan, "Representing the Destruction of Jerusalem" (2019), 45–48.

[145] For example, Philip R. Davies, *Memories of Ancient Israel: An Introduction to
Biblical History–Ancient and Modern* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), esp. 105–111,
177–178. For Davies, the historian can expose cultural memory as being what it is: a

cultural memory, and the historian appeals to archaeology or other texts to explain that text or to

ascertain the cultural moment of the author(s) and their concerns. A second approach, which

seeks to provide a history of discourse, is prominent in Ben Zvi's and Wilson's work. That is, the

historian's work is to examine discourse, especially the *lieux de mémoire* to which that discourse

is attached, and to provide an account of what social memory must have been like in the period

in question and for a particular community in Persian Yehud. These are just the scholars treated

in detail above; many others show interest in these problems.[146]

Social Memory and Textual Production

There is little sustained scholarly engagement relating textual production and memory

studies and few theoretically sophisticated publications about this. This is surprising for two

reasons. First, texts comprise the bulk of evidence for scholars of the Hebrew Bible. Moreover,

the high proportion and meager dispensation of textual evidence puts biblicists at a comparative

disadvantage to other scholars who have worked on collective memory, especially of more recent

periods, in which there may be eyewitnesses to events, or, even when those events are somewhat

further removed in time, a relative plethora of documentary sources.[147] Second, the transition

from a primarily oral cultural memory to a primarily written one has been an important topic of

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representation of the past freighted with issues of identity and belonging, and begin to assess
what in those representations constitutes reliable information about the past. To be located in the
same methodological stream is Melanie Köhlmoos, *Bet-El – Erinnerungen an eine Stadt:
Perspektiven der alttestamentlichen Bet-El-Überlieferung*, FAT 49 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck,
2006), and see there esp. 11–12.

[146] For example, Na'aman, *Zion* 60 (1995); Fleming, *RA* 92 (1998); Otto Kaiser, "Der
historische und der biblische König Saul (Teil I)," *ZAW* 122 (2010): 520–45, esp. 520–525.

[147] See, for instance, James V. Wertsch, *How Nations Remember: A Narrative Approach*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 147–57.

discussion among theorists; discussions of collective memory have implicated not only with the invention of writing in the ancient Near East but also its monuments and literature.[148]

Yet, while questions about the relationship of texts and memory have been raised, they remain unaddressed for the Hebrew Bible. In a review of Ian Wilson's *Kingship and Memory in Ancient Judah*, Mark Hamilton writes, "does memory as an intellectual phenomenon relate in an unmediated way to the creation of texts, as Wilson seems to assume but does not fully explain? Can we elide memory and textual creation, or do we need more extensive work on their relationship(s)?" and he further suggests that these are "fruitful questions."[149] Hamilton's questions are narrowly focused on Wilson's use of the Deuteronomistic History, but they are worth posing about memory in the field of biblical studies writ large: does memory relate to textual creation in an unmediated fashion? Below, I will argue that it does not. Rather, collective memory is fundamentally mediated by scribes, in a manner somewhat similar to the way in which texts are mediated by them in transmission.[150] While we can have unmediated access to a text and its media, we do not and cannot have unmediated access to collective memory and should not pretend to. Yet, currently, texts and memory are commonly associated without any qualification and without the scholar providing any theory of the relationship between text and memory. In some cases, it is simply accepted that texts equal memories. Particular textual

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[148] Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, European Perspectives (New York; Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1992), 55–60, first published as *Storia e memoria*, Einaudi Paperbacks 171 (Torino: Einaudi, 1982).

[149] Mark Hamilton, "Review of Kingship and Memory in Ancient Judah by Ian Wilson," *JHS* 18 (2018), DOI: 10.5508/jhs.2018.v18.r9.

[150] See, for example, Screnock, *VT* 68 (2018).

accounts (or the oral tradition thought to underlie that account)[151] may be called a "memory;" even otherwise careful scholars sometimes draw such an equivalence.[152] Memories are said to exist in texts,[153] and texts are themselves defined as "sites of memory" in the same way as persons, places, or ideas like kingship.[154] Literary *topoi* are also sometimes called "memories."[155] Judging by discourse in the field, the potentialities for relationships between text and memory are numerous and realized in many ways.

There are occasional scholarly forays into the topic of collective memory and textual production or scribal practice. These vary in the extent of their treatments but tend to be theoretically lean and focused on particular cases or themes. So, while Pioske mentions several publications that make a joint appeal to memory and to "scribal practices involved in these texts' formation and transmission,"[156] most of the works cited do not interact theoretically with

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[151] Mark Leuchter, *The Levites and the Boundaries of Israelite Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 17–20; idem, "'Now There Was a [Certain] Man': Compositional Chronology in Judges-1 Samuel," *CBQ* 69 (2007): 429–39 (at 432 n13).

[152] For example, Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Israelite Ethnicity in Iron I: Archaeology Preserves What Is Remembered and What Is Forgotten in Israel's History," *JBL* 122 (2003): 401–25, for whom biblical texts are the received version of collective memory, which has its genesis much earlier.

[153] Matthew Robert Rasure, "Priests Like Moses: Earliest Divisions in the Priesthood of Ancient Israel" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2019), 175.

[154] Ian Douglas Wilson, "The Song of the Sea and Isaiah: Exodus 15 in Post-Monarchic Prophetic Discourse," in *Thinking of Water in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, BZAW 461 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 123–48, esp. 130, 132.

[155] Jutta Krispenz and Aaron Schart, "Stadt und Religion im Zwölfprophetenbuch: eine Einführung," in *Die Stadt und Religion im Zwölfprophetenbuch*, ed. Aaron Schart and Jutta Krispenz, BZAW 428 (Berlin; Boston: de Gruyter, 2012), 1–20, esp. 14.

[156] Pioske, *BibInt* 23 (2015), 292.

scribalism and memory[157] and none provides a detailed or programmatic theory of scribalism and

memory studies. This is also true of studies published since Pioske: even when biblicists discuss

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[157] So, for example, Gertz, "Konstruierte Erinnerung: Alttestamentliche Historiographie im Spiegel von Archäologie und literarhistorischer Kritik am Fallbeispiel des salomonischen Königtums," *BtZ* 21 (2004): 3–29, does not cite any memory theorists and does not ever mention "Erinnerung" in his discussion, which surveys archaeological finds and textual sources and problems associated with Solomon's kingdom. Gertz argues that "das Buch der Geschichte Salomos" (ספר דברי שלמה, 1 Kgs 11:41) was a late apology for Solomon, that is, Hezekian-era court literature; late editing of this work associated David and Solomon and birthed the idea of a united monarchy ruling Judah and Israel (2004, 22–3, 28). The scribal processes he envisions are only associated with the process of memory construction in the title of the article and in the abstract (ibid., 28). "Memory" is just a kind of generic understanding of biblical narratives; scribal processes result in "memories."

Nadav Na'aman has published in several venues on the topic: *Zion* 60 (1995); *JANER* 11 (2011); "The Kingdom of Geshur in History and Memory," *SJOT* 26.1 (2012): 88–101; *HBAI* 6 (2017). He has described biblical texts as implicating both historical memory and collective memory. In *Zion* 60 (1995), 464–65, he argues that because of the slow spread of writing and literacy in ancient Israel, historical memory was transmitted at first via oral tradition and, when it is reflected in the biblical text, the scribe has in the process of recording historical memory changed it to reflect his own period. In *SJOT* 26.1 (2012), 97, he argues that scribes sometimes thereby mangled certain details. In *JANER* 11 (2011), 63, he argues that Israel's collective memory was formed early on and, therefore, there are no traces of its formation in the historiographical books of the Hebrew Bible, which were composed and edited much later; due to this temporal gap, hypotheses about collective memory are not falsifiable and remain in the realm of speculation. For Na'aman, "memories" are bits of information that have been refracted through oral tradition, the transformation from oral tradition to writtenness, and subsequent editing; his latest article, *HBAI* 6 (2017), mentions memory only once and in this sense, though it is not there expounded.

Fleming treats memory in a manner similar to Na'aman's historical memory; he argues that Genesis, especially, shows links between the Benjaminites and Amorite society as reflected in the Mari archives. While the stories in Genesis are not useful in discussing history, "the whole fabric of the Genesis lore, as well as the form of the Benjamin and Haran traditions, show that all specific memory of Amorrite times is forgotten, and the best explanation of their presence in the Bible is not conscious understanding but a real genetic connection that survived the long passage of time." (See *RA* 92 [1998], 72.) In other words, this is a kind of fragment of cultural memory that, despite the fictional quality of the accompanying narrative, preserves some accurate information about the kind of connection that existed between Benjamin and Amorrite tribal groups.

social memory and scribes, scribalism, or scribal intervention in biblical texts, theorization is limited or narrowly specified to the case at hand.[158]

Matthieau Richelle's and Jacob Wright's work demonstrate such tendencies.[159] Richelle has addressed the question of how northern traditions were incorporated in texts by Judean scribes. He is particularly interested in the Hosea scroll. Richelle argues that the Judean scribes could take up a body of material that was not at all concerned with them and transform it so that it was. The textual modifications they made allowed them to incorporate memories of external affairs into Judahite collective memory and thereby extend it.[160] The scribes worked by inserting Judah-relevant material in oracles primarily concerned with the northern kingdom. Some of the references to Judeans in the Hosea scroll are secondary, for example, in the cases of Hos 1:7, 4:15-17, or 11:12, which all seem to draw a lesson for Judah on the basis of material that is otherwise concerned with Israel. Richelle argues, further, that by allusive references to current events in Judah, scribes were able to bring relevance to this body of literature.[161] What is of concern here is not Richelle's handling of the textual issues, but the underlying theoretical claim: scribal modification of texts can "extend" collective memory. The higher level of abstraction, not

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[158] Below, I provide two detailed examples, but one observes similar tendencies in Berlejung, "Erinnerungen an Assyrien" (2006). Berlejung argues that Assyria's self-image in royal propaganda became part of an collective fund which the authors and/or editors of Nah 2:4–3:19 could draw from and meld together.

[159] Matthieu Richelle, "Cultural Memory from Israel to Judah," *Sem* 61 (2019): 373–97; Jacob L. Wright, *War, Memory, and National Identity in the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

[160] *Sem* 61 (2019), 378–83.

[161] Ibid., 382.

broached by Richelle, is that scribes might be said to somehow modify collective memory when they modify texts.

Jacob Wright's work represents another thematic approach to scribal involvement in collective memory. He is interested in war commemoration and sees war commemoration and the formation of national identity as a motivating factor for the production of much of the Hebrew Bible.[162] War commemorations are scribal products, and their media are highly important.[163] Scribes writing texts could commemorate a conflict more than once, and these commemorations could be openly contested. Scribes might engage in "a vigorous scribal contest of memory and countermemory," and, in fact, this contest could extend over multiple generations as scribes carried out their disputes by supplementing textual war commemorations.[164] For the most part, these episodic, textual accounts are the "memories" into which Wright inquires; this is fairly consistent throughout his account even if it is not explicitly stated. The way in which scribal supplements and memories constitute an identity is unclear.[165] Richelle and Wright both

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[162] "Deborah's War Memorial: The Composition of Judges 4-5 and the Politics of War Commemoration," *ZAW* 123 (2011): 516–34; idem, *War, Memory, and National Identity* (2020).

[163] *War, Memory, and National Identity* (2020), 15–16. In the case of the Hebrew Bible, the medium is literary texts, though in the purview of Wright's theory, war commemoration takes place in a variety of media, whether utterances in their ethereality, or durable stone monuments.

[164] Ibid., 25, he draws an equivalence between supplemental scribal interventions and memory. He identifies as supplementary accounts of the inimical disposition of transjordanian kingdoms in Num 20:14–21, 21:1–3, 21–35: "all of the texts just surveyed likely represent supplements to an older, simpler itinerary that traces Israel's journey from Egypt to Canaan" (2020, 25). For the documentary approach, see Joel S. Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 130–41.

[165] Note Weinbender's remarks in "Remembering and Rewriting" (2019), 89–90 (emphasis original): "more often than not, the term 'memory' is used in Hebrew Bible scholarship as a way to allude to the evolution and reception of biblical traditions generally, and

give an important place to scribal involvement and the shaping of cultural memory. But neither of them offers a theoretical basis that would permit applications to cases other than the one in which they are interested.

By contrast, scholars in closely related fields are beginning to consider the implications of scribal practice for studies of collective memory and offer frameworks in which to think about scribal activity and collective memory.[166] George Brooke discusses the role of the scribe as an individual in the process of transmission for texts and cultural memory.[167] Drawing from work on Qumran scribal practice and New Testament studies, he argues that individual cognitive processes and the roles of individuals as redactors or authors needs to be considered. Brooke also notes the interdependence of individual and collective memory; it follows that studies of collective memory must take both into consideration. He argues further that the processes of cultural memory result in textual features analyzable as "embellishment, distortion, invention and forgetting."[168] He considers the role of each of these for rewritten scripture and argues that

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rarely interacts with… scholarship on memory theory. By way of example, Joseph Blenkinsopp and Jacob Wright published monographs—in consecutive years—on the figure of David, and both presented their work as interacting with 'memory.' Yet, neither… cites *any* major work on the topic of memory."

[166] Scholars working on oral/written interfaces and from a media studies perspective have begun to integrate questions of cultural memory into their studies. See, for example, Miller, *JSJ* 50 (2019); idem, *Dead Sea Media* (2019); Williams, *History and Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2019).

[167] Noting the presence of exegetical variants and multiple literary editions as evidence that scribes were not just slavishly copying texts but elaborating and interpreting them, he says that "an individual mind, what it remembers, how it articulates and rearticulates what it remembers, how it functions, needs to be considered as part of the process of the transmission (and development) of authoritative traditions" Brooke, "Memory, Cultural Memory, and Rewriting Scripture" (2014), 122.

[168] Brooke, "Memory, Cultural Memory, and Rewriting Scripture" (2014), 128.

scholars must consider these processes and what they reveal about collective memory. For

example, of embellishment, he claims that

> the effect of embellishment is often to present a more rounded or coherent version of a
> textual tradition and in so doing to reflect some form of the institutionalization of a
> group's heritage. Embellishments disclose a concern with narrative consistency and
> coherence, which no doubt earlier authors and editors shared but left discernibly
> incomplete. Especially in cases where God is a character in the narrative, such an
> approach reflects the kind of divine consistency that promotes 'stability,' both social and
> institutional. The Rewritten Scripture crystallizes in a particular way at a particular time
> for a particular group what the tradition is understood as having sought to
> communicate.[169]

Note, underlying this statement, the assumption that textual interventions in rewritten scripture

bend towards increasing narrative coherence; that is, the processes of cultural memory and

rewriting in a group tend to prefer coherence. Brooke understands similar preferences to underlie

longer literary inventions or reorganization. So, too, in the kinds of amnesia or collective

"forgetting"[170] in which revisionary compositions participate. In such cases, representations of

the past are reformed to create coherence and cogency for a particular audience.[171] While this is

contestable, note for this argument that Brooke's premises are diametrically opposed to the

preference for multivocality one finds proposed within the synchronic works on social memory

discussed above. That is, whether or not there is a "preference" for increased coherence or not is

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[169] Ibid., 129.

[170] Which, for Brooke, is a process of cultural memory *sine qua non*, decisively
pragmatic and forceful. See ibid., 131, "forgetting is the most notable and obvious means
through which memory reconstructs the past… Rewritten Scripture as the artefactual textual
evidence of particular groups at particular times discloses how such groups had a rich capacity
for reconstructing the past. Abbreviation and forgetting are exemplary techniques of such
reconstruction."

[171] In the fourth chapter below, I will argue that the presentation of Solomon's accession
is reworked to allow for coherence within the Chronicler's account of the preparation for and
construction of the temple.

already contested in literature on rewritten or revisionary literature; this suggests, at very least, wide differences in starting points or evidence or, perhaps, an inherent complexity in the evidence that makes it less than suited to such sweeping characterizations—whether Brooke's or those by Ben Zvi above.

So, while scholars show an awareness that it is possible to frame scribal processes as implicated in cultural memory and *vice versa*, on the whole, little theoretical work has appeared on the topic. Moreover, when scribal processes are invoked by scholars, the theorization is limited to a particular kind of case: Richelle's and Wright's projects invoke memory as it relates to post-traumatic cultural appropriation and war commemoration. And while there is work ongoing in adjacent fields, it has not been incorporated by scholars of the Hebrew Bible.

Social Memory Theory and Its Development in Biblical Studies

That biblical studies evoking memory tend to be limited in their theoretical basis and lacking in conceptual clarity has been observed elsewhere.[172] Despite the appearance of some

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[172] Hübenthal, "Social and Cultural Memory in Biblical Exegesis" (2012), 175. It is, perhaps, useful to say here that the field-specific problem in biblical studies is a manifestation of a similar problem that occurs across the humanities; that is, theoretical and conceptual problems are distributed across fields. For example, the problem is noted with respect to social memory and Chinese history by Gideon Shelach, "Memory, Amnesia, and the Formation of Identity Symbols in China," in *Memory and Agency in Ancient China: Shaping the Life History of Objects*, ed. Francis Allard, Yan Sun, and Kathryn Linduff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 28–49, at p. 34: "one of the drawbacks of current research on the construction and transmission of social memory during the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods in China is that it is almost completely divorced from any theoretical framework." A similar observation is made, universally, of memory studies by Siegfried Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance" (2008), 191: "yet the broad academic interest in these topics suffers from a remarkable lack of a theoretical foundation. Nearly all the crucial concepts, such as 'memory,' 'remembrance,' 'culture,' and 'media,' are rather vague, and the theoretical approaches are incompatible and in many respects normative and incomplete regarding crucial aspects."

theoretically sophisticated treatments,[173] what I have attempted to demonstrate above is true of most uses of memory by biblicists: memory is too often imported as an analytical category without adequate theoretical or interdisciplinary discussion. Hübenthal called nearly a decade ago for biblicists to further develop the "techniques and methods" necessary to recognize the benefits of memory studies, and wrote that "biblical scholarship is only now starting to work on this project and one of the most urgent tasks is to appropriate the theoretical foundations laid down in the interdisciplinary discourse of neuro-sciences, sociology, psychology, history and cultural sciences and to coin the terms, techniques, and methods necessary for a fruitful application of Biblical Studies."[174] Careful theoretical work should remain a high priority for biblical scholars who wish to make use of memory as an analytical lens.

Memory and Biblical Studies: Theoretical Problems and Potential

In this chapter, I have discussed the varied approaches biblical scholars take to memory studies, with respect to Chronicles and thematically. Biblical studies that deploy social memory theory are fraught with difficulties. Methodologies developed with a synchronic tact minimize the role of scribes as a developing or mediating force in social memory and construct such scribes and readers in the mold of canonical criticism. Moreover, they minimize the significance of revisionary literary works like Chronicles by too quickly passing over scribal revisionary acts and reading such compositions as part of a multivocal, polyvalent collection. Approaches that are more diachronic in orientation do not fully address these difficulties, and some risk recapitulating

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[173] Pioske, *BibInt* 23 (2015); Wilson, *RPBI* 3.2 (2018).

[174] Hübenthal, "Social and Cultural Memory in Biblical Exegesis" (2012), 195.

tradition history. Such diachronic approaches, when they accept that the texts in the Hebrew Bible are a result of processes of cultural memory, are often also preoccupied with the relationship between history and memory and intent on teasing out what it means for scholars to engage in serious historical work on the basis of the biblical texts. While biblicists are seriously engaged in carefully probing the relationship between history and memory, an adequately articulated theory of scribalism and social memory does not exist. The relationship between the two is, rather, approached on a largely *ad hoc* basis.

Therefore, before discussing Chronicles and social memory, the following chapter addresses an open problem with memory in biblical studies, namely, the relationships that exist among text, scribe, and collective memory. By treating scribalism and memory theory together, my goal is to push beyond some of the tendencies identified in this chapter. In particular, I hope to develop theoretical clarity that advances beyond *ad hoc* and thematic treatments of scribal practice and social memory. Unifying an existing, field-specific body of knowledge about scribes and scribal practice with memory theory may bring greater diachronic sensitivity to studies of social memory and the Hebrew Bible. It will also allow for greater integration of field-specific methodologies and practices with memory studies by establishing a framework within which to situate historical critical practices and memory theory. I will describe how scribes—who produced the texts upon which all the scholars cited in this chapter depend—are in the act of copying, composing, or revising texts themselves participating in and mediating collective memory. Finally, I will suggest what this might mean for reading Chronicles, with its many intricacies, as a scribal product.

Chapter Two:
Social Memory, Scribalism, and Revisionary Composition

In this chapter, I consider the multifaceted relationship between scribalism and social memory, attending especially to the place of written media. I will argue that the very concept of social memory requires media, whether that media is spoken, written, or forms of art. Through such media, even recent memories that belong properly to an individual may be situated between multiple subjects. Media are central, as are their production and reception.

I will show that of these two, reception poses a unique problem for biblicists. Media are central, but a set of available media and collective memory may not directly correspond. This is because social memory depends not just on the presence of some medium but on its reception. Unless one has a means to measure or characterize the reception of some speech, text, or artwork among some audience, one cannot characterize social memory. In answer to this problem of reception, I offer a theoretical framework in which scribes are understood as "memory agents," who both receive and produce new texts. Revisionary literature, such as Chronicles or the Samaritan Pentateuch—and the relevant manuscripts—provide limited evidence of reception and, in this way, provide the scholar with a limited purchase by which to characterize both a process that operates in the formation of social memory and to offer hypotheses about the ways in which scribal products—which result from the actions of historical actors—shape social memory. Although I relate this theory primarily to scribalism and revisionary literature, it is capacious in that it provides room for one to consider media other than written ones alone. Further, this theoretical framework is advantageous in that it is not tethered to a particular understanding of textual formation and is, therefore, adaptable to a range of cases.

After offering this theoretical framework, the chapter proceeds to briefly analyze two texts within that framework. I first consider a narrow case, the compilation of Exodus 1–2, and then proceed to a more textually extensive case, the presence of harmonizations and deuteronomic supplements in the Samaritan Pentateuch. In this chapter, for evidentiary reasons, I am cautious not to move beyond discussion of these individual acts of reception to alterations in collective memory. I do sketch, however, what the newly generated media offers made possible. For the first case, Exodus 1–2, this is a radically different portrait of Moses and his origins. The second case, that of divergence between the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) and Masoretic Text (MT), shows how scribal interventions undergird different understandings of the centralized site of worship among different communities. Through these two cases, I demonstrate that scribal activity fundamentally altered the material basis—the media—of memory, and that scribal acts of remediation are fundamentally acts of reception.

The chapter will conclude by treating some preliminary questions about Chronicles, the scribe's use of source texts, and the way in which Chronicles evokes those texts to its readers. I first introduce a basic distinction, which is entailed within the theoretical framework: one must keep apart a scribe's work with texts from the possibilities that text presents to later readers. Although it is common to suggest that Chronicles presumes or even requires of its readers textual knowledge of its sources, I will suggest that when one keeps apart the scribe's work and the potentials of that work as medium of memory, this conclusion should be reconsidered. In Chronicles, the scribe's remediation of source texts results in a new "media offer" which creates the potential—even if this was unintended—that Samuel-Kings go unread. This possibility will then be argued in full in the fourth and fifth chapters below.

Aside from its role in setting up the case studies that follow, I offer this chapter in the hope that it will promote further reflection on the ways that memory theory may be incorporated in biblical studies. The chapter's contributions to this end are best left aside for the moment. Consider, now, theories of social memory and the place of media in those theories.

Social Memory Theory and Media

I claimed in the first chapter that biblicists have, so far, not adequately considered the relationships between scribal practice and the theory of social memory, in which media hold a special place.[1] This is because various kinds of media are the most transparent evidence for

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[1] Le Goff, *History and Memory* (1992), 58–68; James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory*, New Perspectives on the Past (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 47–49; Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: C.H. Beck, 1999), 147–339; Kansteiner, *HistTh* 41 (2002), 190–95; Ann Rigney, "Portable Monuments: Literature, Cultural Memory, and the Case of Jeanie Deans," *Poetics Today* 25.2 (2004): 365–68; Astrid Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen: Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2017), 135–66, and note especially at 135 the statement "Kollektives Gedächtnis ist ohne Medien nicht denkbar" ("Collective memory is unthinkable without media."). Juri Lotman, "Cultural Memory," in *Culture, Memory, and History: Essays in Cultural Semiotics*, ed. Marek Tamm (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 142, doi: 10.1007:978-3-030-14710-5_10, makes the related point that communicative systems imply the existence of a collective memory: "The functioning of any communicative system assumes the existence of a shared memory of the collective. Without this, it is impossible to have a common language." Throughout the same article, the assumption underlying Lotman's discussion of artwork, plays, and language is that their various media provide evidence of collective memory's development and of the changing meaning of symbols within systems of collective memory.

Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, "Introduction," in *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, ed. Astrid Erll, Ann Rigney, in collaboration with Laura Basu and Paulus Bijl, Media and Cultural Memory/Medien und Kulturelle Erinnerung 10 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2009), 1–11, demonstrate how the turn to media is a recent development in memory theory and how the focus on secure "sites" of memory is tied to early discourse in the 1980s and 1990s and, especially, to the work of Pierre Nora (on whom see above): "Initial discussion of cultural memory... tended to focus on those canonical 'sites of memory' which provide relatively stable points of reference for individuals and communities recalling a shared past. As the field has advanced, however, one can note a shift towards understanding cultural memory in more dynamic terms: as an ongoing process of remembrance and forgetting in which

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collective memory and because media are always implicated in its construction, development, and transmission.[2] Considering again Funkenstein's definition, cited above,[3] collective memory may be understood as an abstract, symbolic system, partially reified by acts of recall. Theorists commonly argue that such acts of recall both aid in the construction of collective memory's symbolic system and provide the most transparent evidence for the contents of that system. Put another way: if one is willing to accept that collective memory is a valid category with which to speak about shared knowledge of the past, it becomes clear that parts of collective memory's symbolic system are regularly encoded so that the symbolic system is made accessible by some person to others. This process requires a medium.

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individuals and groups continue to reconfigure their relationship to the past and hence reposition themselves in relation to established and emergent memory sites."

[2] For this reason, the development of the technologies that undergird media and, therefore, collective memory is discussed by many theorists. Because studies of cultural memory, especially, appeal to a time span that extends beyond the immediate past, they commonly also address changes in available media and mnemotechnics. Such appeals were made even before the introduction of the Assmanns' theoretical distinctions between communicative and cultural memory. So, for instance, André Leroi-Gourhan and Jacques Le Goff schematized four and five stages, respectively, in the development of collective memory; their schemas span from oral transmission to electronic storage; see Le Goff, *History and Memory* (1992), 54–55, elaborated in 55–99. See also Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (2017), 138–41.

Similarly, Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume* (1999), 211–13, 216–17, points out how developments in media impose changes on the formation of collective memory. In the Assmanns' theory of cultural memory, writing increases the potential for change to collective memory. Jan Assmann's work is predicated on the shift from oral culture, in which cultural memory is ritually and repetitively transmitted, to writing. Because ritual transmission of the past is repetitive and because individual memory depends on repetition for recall, cultural memory is not very malleable when transmitted orally. That is, at a high level, for orality, both the context for transmission of collective memory of the past (through ritual) and human limitations constrain the degree of change while collective memory is transmitted through time. See Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (2000) especially 91, 97–103.

[3] See above, page 15.

The simplest medium of collective memory is spoken language. If I orally narrate to some group of people, "during the pandemic we stayed at home a lot, and when we went out, we wore masks," I have encoded an autobiographical memory of the past and shared it. This very short narrative expresses the symbolic content of my autobiographical memory, but having been encoded in the medium (here, just uttered) it is no longer mine alone. One can accept or reject the content of what I have verbalized as descriptive of their experiences, too, and what the utterance symbolizes about the past—wearing a mask and staying home during a particular period—is shared knowledge to the extent that some audience accepts it as descriptive of its own experience.

In this way, we can see that even though autobiographical memories cannot be autobiographical for more than one individual, their symbolic contents can be transmitted and shared. Theorists of social memory commonly make this argument. Aleida Assmann, for example, outlines how such a narration transforms autobiographical memory and allows it to exist in an intersubjective manner.

> Autobiographical memories cannot be *embodied* by another person, but they can be *shared* with others. Once they are verbalized in the form of a narrative or represented by a visual image, the individual's memories become part of an intersubjective symbolic system and are, strictly speaking, no longer a purely exclusive and unalienable property. By encoding them in the common medium of language, they can be exchanged, shared, corroborated, confirmed, corrected, disputed, and even appropriated.[4]

Encoding an autobiographical memory in speech or another medium transforms it from something personal and situates it between multiple subjects. Media representations of individual

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[4] Aleida Assmann, "Transformations between Memory and History," *Social Research* 75.1 (2008): 50.

memories of that past is what allows them to become part of shared constructions of the past that social memory studies take as their object, and it is only via those media representations that individuals gain access to collective memory.[5]

Media other than spoken language also encode, reify, and promulgate collective memories. Indeed, collective memory is most revealed by representations of the past spanning multiple media: "collective memories are multimedia collages consisting in part of 'a mixture of pictorial images and scenes, slogans, quips and snatches of verse, abstractions, plot types and stretches of discourse, and even false etymologies.'"[6] Theoretically, then, collective memory

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[5] For a study of this phenomenon and bibliography, see Alexander Cuc et al., "On the Formation of Collective Memories: The Role of a Dominant Narrator," *Memory & Cognition* 34.4 (2006): 752–62.

The premise is similarly stated by, for example, Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (2017), 135, "Es gehört zu den Grundannahmen der kulturwissenschaftlichen Gedächtnisforschung seit Halbwachs und Warburg, dass kollektives Gedächtnis weder eine vom Individuum abstrahierte Instanz noch ein Resultat biologischer Mechanismen wie Vererbung ist... Genau deshalb müssen Medien als Vermittlungsinstanzen und Transformatoren zwischen individueller und kollektiver Dimension des Erinnerns gedacht werden. So können persönliche Erinnerungen erst durch mediale Repräsentation und Distribution zu kollektiver Relevanz gelangen… Umgekehrt erlangt das Individuum nur über Kommunikation und Medienrezeption Zugang zu soziokulturellen Wissensordnungen und Schemata." ("It is one of the basic facts of socio-cultural memory research, since Halbwachs and Warburg, that collective memory is not abstracted from individuals and does not result from biological mechanisms like heredity. This is why media have to be understood as intermediaries and transformers between the individual and collective dimensions of remembering. Personal memories become collectively relevant through media representation and distribution… Conversely, individuals only acquire sociocultural knowledge and schema via communication and the reception of media.")

[6] Kansteiner, *HistTh* 41 (2002), 190, quoting James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory*, New Perspectives on the Past (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 47. Fentress and Wickham also describe how the sensory features of collective memory are not reduced by high levels of semantic articulation; collective memory is therefore not reducible to linguistic media but can sweep up images—often stylized or "conventionalized and simplified: conventionalized, because the image has to be meaningful for an entire group; simplified, because in order to be generally

may implicate multiple forms of media. (This implies that the study of collective memory

benefits from access to multiple forms of media—or rather, the use of multiple forms of media,

on which see below—and suffers from its lack.)

To return briefly to a point made in the first chapter, collective memory is always

mediated and always represented partially.[7] Whenever some point in collective memory is reified

in an act of recall or memorialization, it is encoded in a particular medium. Moreover, the

encoding agent performs tasks of selection or filtering. That is, the total content of any body of

collective memory is not encoded. Rather, elements of the symbolic system are selected for

representation by some agent, whether directly from their knowledge or, as we will see below,

from other "media offers." Direct access to collective memory, as a shared, symbolic

representation of the past, is impossible. One always faces a partial and heterogenous set; partial

because the total content of collective memory cannot be encoded, and heterogenous because it

is encoded by idiosyncratic agents who necessarily select what to represent.

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meaningful and capable of transmission, the complexity of the image must be reduced as far as possible."

[7] This is my original assertion but see especially Kansteiner, *HistTh* 41 (2002), 25, "[Collective memory] is as much a result of conscious manipulation as unconscious absorption *and it is always mediated*," (emphasis added) and see ibid. (190), "even if most groups do not embrace memories of events that occurred in unfamiliar or historically distant cultural contexts, their memories are always mediated phenomena." See also Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (2017), 135, "Die Konstitution und Zirkulation von Wissen und Versionen einer gemeinsamen Vergangenheit in sozialen und kulturellen Kontexten... werden überhaupt erst durch Medien ermöglicht..." ("The constitution and circulation of knowledge and versions of a common past in social and cultural contexts are only possible through media in the first place.")
See also above, page 51.

Media Offers and the Problem of Reception

Media may represent the contents of collective or cultural memory indirectly, but taken independently, media are irrelevant to social memory unless they are used. This is because the relationship of media representations of the past to social memory is one of potentiality. Consider the case of an old newspaper, discarded by a construction worker inside a wall that is sealed up. Once in that state, its contents have become irrelevant to an inquiry about collective memory. It can no longer be read; the representation of the past its symbols constitute is, at least temporarily, lost. Its rediscovery, for example, in the course of renovation, would alter this state of affairs, and the newspaper then again offers its representation of the past to a reader or readers.

When do media become significant for collective memory? They become significant only when they are available for use as "media offers." Siegfried Schmidt has argued that "media offers" (*Medienangebote*) are items that "elaborate remembrances… [and] are (or can be) used as triggers for remembering. Media offers can only then become relevant when their subject as well as their mode of thematizing the subject are deemed socially relevant."[8] A "media offer" must be, in some sense, available to trigger or prompt persons to consider the past in a certain way, and they are relevant only insomuch as their subjects and themes are "socially relevant." The discarded newspaper fails these tests. This is why, at the time of its discovery, it is irrelevant to an inquiry about collective memory in the present.

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[8] Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance" (2008), 198. Because the term is already in use in the literature, I adopt "media offer" throughout as a translation of *Medienangebot* rather than "media prompt" or similar.

This characteristic of media representations—their contingency upon use and social determination—is why it is deceptive to move directly from discussing a particular representation of the past, or even a set of representations of the past, to discussing collective memory.[9] Media offers are just that: offers, cues, or prompts[10] until they are put to use in some kind of social setting or have some shared audience, whether readers, viewers, etc. It is the use of a media offer that can activate or form a collective memory in some group.

> Media offers do not simply and immediately transport knowledge, meanings, and values; instead they offer actors well-structured semiotic events which can be used by actors for the production of meaning, knowledge, or evalution in their respective biographical situation—this is the reason why we know so little about the actual effectiveness of media offers.[11]

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[9] See Kansteiner, *HistTh* 41 (2002), 192. In his estimation, such a move can rise to "epistemological sleight of hand" due to two problems: the difficulty of proving authorial intent and the possibility or even likelihood that media representations may be distorted by the recipient. He writes that "our reliance on the media of memory in the pursuit of past collective identities causes two problems: an unself-conscious return to the central role of human agency in history (now as the maker of representations) paired with a troubling disregard for proof (who actually shares or identifies with these representations). The formal and semantic qualities of historical representations might have little in common with the intentions of their authors, and neither the object's characteristics nor the authors' objectives are good indicators for subsequent reception processes. In fact, it is particularly interesting to notice how often media representations are ignored or read against the grain of their intended or intrinsic messages: 'Individuals are perfectly capable of ignoring even the best told stories, of injecting their own, subversive meanings into even the most rhetorically accomplished 'texts'—and of attending to only those ways of making sense of the past that fit their own.' Indeed, there remains the distinct possibility that the monuments, books, and films whose history has been carefully reconstructed can quickly pass into oblivion without shaping the historical imagination of any individuals or social groups" (citing Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* [Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2017], 4). See also Ehud Ben Zvi, "One Size Does Not Fit All: Observations on the Different Ways That Chronicles Dealth with the Authoritative Literature of Its Time," in *What Was Authoritative For Chronicles*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 23 n32.

[10] Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (2017), 147–49.

[11] Schmidt, "Memory and Remembrance" (2008), 199.

As evidence of collective memory, then, media are both valuable and problematic. Media are valuable because they offer the most transparent access to collective memories, yet they are problematic because media, on their own, are only potential carriers of collective memory.

Those theorists who have carefully considered the relationship between media and social remembering suggest that having evidence of media reception is *sine qua non* for understanding social memory. Here again, it is only the reception of media offers that has a bearing on other issues that social memory studies purports to address, for example, forming a collective identity or inculcating values.[12] Here then, I will briefly review the treatment of media reception by three theorists: Erll, Confino, and Kansteiner.

Astrid Erll accounts for both the production and reception of media. By accounting for media technology one can portray a "functional potential" for some media offer; it is only the social settings for its use that transforms this functional potential into something consequential.[13] "Functionalization" is the process by which a media offer is transformed from an offer alone to playing some social role. Erll also argues that separating the intent of a media offer's creator from its subsequent reception is crucial. While "production-side functionalization" (Produktionsseitige Funktionalisierung), in which the creator of some media offer narrates or otherwise encodes messages for later audiences with the explicit purpose that the medium is used for social remembrance of the past occurs, "reception-side functionalization" (Rezeptionsseitige

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[12] Confino, *AHR* 102 (1997), 1390, "this approach heightens our awareness... of the fact that the crucial issue in the history of memory is not how a past is represented but why it was received or rejected. For every society sets up images of the past. Yet to make a difference in a society, it is not enough for a certain past to be selected. It must steer emotions, motivate people to act, be received; in short, it must become a socio-cultural mode of action."

[13] Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (2017), 145–47.

Funktionalisierung) is more important because, regardless of the intent in which a medium is

encoded, its later use is not determined by that intent. In fact, there is a free float from the intent

in which some media offer is created to its use.[14] This is why, for inquiries about collective

memory, it is never enough to assess the production of a media offer or to sever discussion of

media offers from their reception. In isolation from information about the collective reception of

a media offer, the offer tells us little about collective memory.

For similar reasons, Wulf Kansteiner argues that collective memory studies should

embrace methods associated with media studies and especially media reception. He identifies

two major problems in studies of collective memory. First, there is a problem with differentiation

between individual memory and collective memories.[15] Second, there is not sufficient attention

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[14] This free float from intent to collective memory is why, in modernity, memes, and
other multimedia pastiches persist more or less by accident in the collective memory of some
groups. Indeed, secondary, mass use of an image or animation is a defining characteristic of
memes. For example, the image and textual fragments associated with the "All Your Base Are
Belong to Us" meme was never intended for mass use, but it has been widely circulated on the
internet for over 20 years. See Sam Machkovech, "An Anniversary for Great Justice:
Remembering 'All Your Base' 20 Years Later," *Ars Technica*, 16 February 2021,
https://arstechnica.com/gaming/2021/02/get-ready-to-feel-old-the-all-your-base-music-video-
turns-20-today/. Such multimedia pastiches can enter political discourse—see for example Kevin
Howley, "'I Have a Drone': Internet Memes and the Politics of Culture," *Interactions* 7 (2016):
155–75—although their reach and/or impact increases when they are associated with traumatic
events and publicized. On this last point see Akiba A. Cohen, Sandrine Boudana, and Paul Frosh,
"You Must Remember This: Iconic News Photographs and Collective Memory," *Journal of
Communication* 68 (2018): 453–79.

[15] Kansteiner argues that it is not true the collective memory must be conceptualized in
the same terms as individual memory, despite the analogies between the two. Insufficient
distinction between the two leads to language: "Since the threshold between the individual and
the collective is often crossed without any adjustments in method, collectives are said to
remember, to forget, and to repress the past; but this is done without any awareness that such
language is at best metaphorical and at worst misleading about the phenomenon under study."
Kansteiner, *HistTh* 41 (2002), 185–86. He goes on to argue that this category error leads to the
importation of Freudian psychology applied to collectives like nations, where they are

paid to the problem of reception; this latter problem, Kansteiner suggests, can be addressed by using methods from media studies.[16] Kansteiner portrays media as the means by which persons can "construct and transmit our knowledge and feelings about the past;" media "rely on various combinations of discursive, visual, and spatial elements."[17] Because media are so varied and include these differing elements, ordinarily, scholars focus on different aspects of the media of memory; this appears to be the case with Halbwachs' interest in memory and geography and is also true of studies of images and monuments.[18] Kansteiner introduces a distinction between describing media and their history and linking these representations to some group: "it is an altogether different endeavor to tie these representations to specific social groups and their understanding of the past. The second step entails knowledge about reception processes which is beyond the conventional purview of historical know-how; it is also objectively very difficult to establish."[19] More particularly, how does one demonstrate "who actually shares or identifies with these representations"?[20] Kansteiner highlights this problem of reception because of the

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misleading. While this is not the primary issue with which this chapter deals, it is present in, for instance, Kofoed, *SJOT* 25 (2011), on which see above, 45 n115.

[16] This observation stems from prior considerations about how collective memories are formed, which are closely aligned with the argument by Aleida Assmann, on which see above. Kansteiner, *HistTh* 41 (2002), 190, "all memories, even the memories of eyewitnesses, only assume collective relevance when they are structured, represented, and used in a social setting. As a result, the means of representation that facilitate this process provide the best information about the evolution of collective memories, especially as we try to reconstruct them after the fact."

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., 191–92.

[19] Ibid., 192.

[20] Ibid.

likelihood that some story or representation of the past will fail to generate a new collective

memory or significantly impact those that already exist.[21] He concludes that "most stories about

the past, even those designed for fame as future collective memories, never make it beyond the

group of a few initiated."[22] Further, as some medium becomes more and more widely distributed,

or some narrative more widely read, it becomes less likely that its audience forms a cohesive

interpretive community; that is, the more readers, viewers, or consumers, the less likely it is that

the distributed audience simultaneously accepts the medium or narrative as representative of the

past in the same way. One cannot, therefore, presume that some narrative was an important part

of collective memory just because it is widely distributed.

One alternative that Kansteiner suggests is to understand representations of the past as

partially representative of the collective memory of the group that created them.[23] The agent(s)

who create a media offer are those whose collective memory is most likely to be represented by

that offer. This statement is not expounded by Kansteiner, but it has several implications. Within

Erll's theory of functionalizations above, note that taking this stance expands the concept of

production functionalization to include the principle that media offers are imbued in their

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[21] Ibid., 192–93, Kansteiner offers an example. Despite a brief period of renewed attention placed on the Korean War in the late 1990s, around 50 years after that conflict, he points out that images and stories of this war had at that time never been distributed to the same extent as stories of the second World War or the Vietnam War and so were not a significant part of collective memory. Neither did renewed attention to the Korean War fully remedy this. Because the second World War was portrayed as heroic and because of the trauma of Vietnam, the Korean war paled beside these two in collective memory.

[22] Ibid., 193.

[23] Ibid., 192 n52: "it is more modest and accurate, although less satisfying, to assume that representations speak primarily to the collective memories of their producers, not their audiences."

production with the collective memories of their producers—not their readers or consumers. The usefulness of all media offers as evidence for collective memory therefore fluctuates relative to the moment of their production, relative to the parties involved (producers/consumers), and relative to production and reception processes. For instance, a media offer may be a partial reflection of the collective memory of its creator(s), but its value for probing the present collective memory of those persons begins to decay immediately after its creation—so long as it is a static representation of the past. That is, after the moment or period during which the media offer is created, it can only partially represent the collective memory of its creator(s), because with the passage of time, other events happen that it does not capture. For its audience or other groups, it is subject to normal processes of reception functionalization; apart from information about its reception, a media offer is evidence only of the availability of some representation of the past and no more.

Alon Confino has similarly drawn attention to questions of diachrony and reception.[24] He describes the problem and critiques two commonly cited studies of collective memory, Henry Rousso's *The Vichy Syndrome*[25] and Yael Zerubavel's *Recovered Roots*.[26] Of Rousso, Confino

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[24] Confino, *AHR* 102 (1997), 1395, "there is another significant consequence to the sacrificing of the cultural to the political, namely that we tend to ignore the issue of reception, that ogre that awaits every cultural historian. Many studies of memory are content to describe the representation of the past without bothering to explore the transmission, diffusion, and, ultimately, the meaning of this representation. The study of reception is not an issue that simply adds to our knowledge. Rather, it is a necessary one to avoid an arbitrary choice and interpretation of evidence."

[25] Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, 1991).

[26] Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

argues by attemping to describe all available evidence for "Vichy memory," he makes the

phenomenon arbitrary. Moreover, there is a methodological problem with explaining the

significance of a collective memory apart from its reception: doing so results in an arbitrary or

circular reading of the evidence.[27] Confino argues that Zerubavel similarly falls into such an

interpretive circle because she, too, takes an inadequate approach to understanding the agents

and necessary contestations that are involved in producing or generating a cohesive collective

memory. Because selection and sanction must necessarily operate to generate a cohesive

collective memory, the agents of that selection and sanction must be accounted for.

> The result of analyzing the politics of memory as a separate problem from that of
> the evolution of memory is the omission of a key problem to understanding the
> construction of a Zionist collective memory: how opposing Zionist groups came
> to believe, in spite of their political and other differences, that they shared a
> single, transcending national belonging. In other words, how did Zionists
> construct from their different interpretations of Jewish history a symbolic
> common denominator? The solution to these questions, in terms of narrative and

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[27] Confino, *AHR* 102 (1997), 1396–97. Confino argues that Rousso provides only "an interpretation that is closed within itself… the discussion of reception thus only shows what we have learned [from the evidence] and in face has no bearing on the evolution of the syndrome. This method is an interpretative vicious circle in which Rousso reads into the evidence of reception what he has already learned from other sources and what he wants to 'prove.'" He goes on to describe the problem more generally:

> when historians attempt to interpret evidence of memory from a representation of the
> past, the risk of a circular argumentation through 'cultural' reading is high. The overall
> consequence is an arbitrary interpretation: a conception of the meaning of Vichy memory
> was formed before exploring the reception of the memory. But in truth, we have no way
> to evalute, control, and verify the importance of the evidence without a systematic study
> of reception, and we end up constructing the history of memory from visible signs whose
> significance is taken for granted. Although neither Rousso nor scholars of memory and
> cultural history believe that representations of the past can 'speak for themselves,' the
> result of many studies of memory that overlook reception is that representations of the
> past are used, in effect, as vehicles that explain perceptions of the past without
> intermediaries.

Confino's analysis of this problem is highly important. Although synchronically-inclined studies of social memory engage his work (for example Wilson, *Kingship and Memory* [2017], 24 n37, 26), these issues that he raises about reception are there ignored.

method, lies in writing the history of memory's construction as commingling with that of memory's contestation, thus emphasizing simultaneously the politics of commemoration *and* how various Zionist groups came to believe that they shared a unique national memory, one that overcame symbolically the real differences in Jewish society.[28]

Defining collective memory as what is represented in all the available sources is circular, and neglecting the processes of its formation—and the forms of "contestation" involved in its formation.

While Confino addresses these two problems for treatments of collective memory in recent periods, they are also present in synchronic approaches to memory in biblical studies (which the first chapter described). If one omits from accounts of collective memory its "evolution" or development, the result is an unconvincing and circular characterization. Collective memory is in such analyses portrayed as monolithic[29] despite the likely presence of differing constructions of the past by different social groups and/or at different times.[30] Even in a study for which, like Rousso's or Zerubavel's, there exist a rich variety of sources, failure to collect information about how persons have received media offers and about what they perceive about the past as a result make an analysis of collective memory on the basis of the media offers alone questionable.[31] However rich in sources and analysis, synchronic studies of social memory

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[28] Confino, *AHR* 102 (1997), 1397 (italics original).

[29] Confino, *AHR* 102 (1997), 1397, "although [Zerubavel's] sources are extremely rich, Jewish society is presented as a monolith."

[30] This can be ameliorated by acknowledging the tentative nature of any reconstruction of ancient reading communities, as in Wilson, *Kingship and Memory* (2017), 10. The problem nonetheless remains.

[31] Psychologists William Hirst and David Manier, "Towards a Psychology of Collective Memory," *Memory* 16.3 (2008): 183–200 (at 191–193) raise the related problem of convergence upon an agreed account of the past, even in tightly-knit communities. Commemorating an event does not guarantee that it will be recalled in that way; a generalized problem for memory studies

that do not resolve the problem of reception are inevitably circular because such studies both

construct an audience for media offers and characterize the collective reception of those offers

using the same sources.[32] Further, if one fully separates the development of media offers from

their collective reception, as Confino puts it, then one has brought about an "artificial

separation," because "the meaning of memory's evolution commingles with, and is dependent

on, the story of its reception."[33]

Two principles thus operate in collective memory theory. It is true that media offers—

whether they consist of monuments, images, or text—have a potential to exert influence upon

collective memory, and it is also true that the reception and mnemonic potential of such media

offers are of great importance, even if that reception is not closely aligned with the intent in

which they were produced. This dialectic between productive intent and reception is visible in

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is, then, what processes result in convergence on a particular representation of the past and which do not.

[32] Ehud Ben Zvi, "One Size Does Not Fit All: Observations on the Different Ways That Chronicles Dealth with the Authoritative Literature of Its Time," in *What Was Authoritative For Chronicles*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 17, appeals straightforwardly to "*indirect* (and reconstructed)" mode of reading that extrapolates the Chronicler's method of reading to the community… "our analysis of the use and mode of reading authoritative books by the Chronicler can provide us with a good approximation of the community's (or a large segment of the community's) approach to these matters." This is invalid, because it assumes the premise that the Chronicler's composition was immediately successful and was repeatedly read and immediately copied for the next generation of persons. We cannot know this about Chronicles. The first substantial evidence of the book's transmission is the few fragments found among the Dead Sea Scrolls and occasional citations. It is entirely possible that Chronicles was not immediately disseminated and widely received, or even widely disseminated within a community in Jerusalem.

[33] Confino, *AHR* 102 (1997), 1397. This final principle, of collective memory being inseparable from its processual generation, is also nicely expressed by Erll and Rigney, "Introduction" (2009).

theory on social memory and operates in a partial and stunted way in biblical scholarship, such that some scholars prioritize productive intent and others reception.[34]

The evidence one can muster for addressing either production or reception processes in antiquity is always partial and often inadequate to draw strong conclusions about social memory. One might speculate about the reasons a text or image was produced, or draw attention to the ways in which it was later appropriated and to the likely social setting(s) for that appropriation, but to address both of these in the same period is very difficult because the evidence for how texts are read and how images and architecture are viewed exists almost universally in private thought and is not recorded; this is already the case for studies of social memory in recent history and it is doubly true for antiquity. William Johnson has demonstrated that it is possible to reconstruct complex reading cultures in antiquity; for classical works, there is greater evidence with which to work, in terms of textual marks left by readers or references to reading in literary texts themselves.[35] The evidence is not similar in kind or extent for the late Persian/early Hellenistic period in Yehud and, moreover, there are few locales where one has enough evidence of reading to allow for the construction of a distinct, localized reading community. The discovery

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[34] So, for instance, Wright, *War, Memory, and National Identity* (2020) alludes repeatedly to the productive intent of scribal interventions, writing for instance (at 76) that "the scribes who created Numbers 32 addressed this sentiment in their ranks by taking it seriously and having Moses himself share it..." while acknowledging that the product of scribes' work was not always read and does not have to be read in line with this intent. The approach is thus relatively balanced. Ben Zvi and Wilson, among others, emphasize readership, on which see above, pages 21–36.

[35] Note the wealth of evidence marshaled by William A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities*, Classical Culture and Society (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 179–92.

of the Dead Sea Scrolls provided some new evidence but are exceptional in this regard.[36] For a

biblical text like Chronicles, one cannot assess collective reception close to the period of its

production. The problem of reception is, therefore, a real one for scholars of antiquity who wish

to make use of social memory theory. Having presented theoretical considerations on the

interactions of media and social memory, I turn in the next section to field-specific knowledge of

scribalism, which helps ameliorate the bedeviling problem of reception in memory studies.

Scribalism, Media Offers, and Social Memory

In this section, I offer a sketch of knowledge of Levantine scribal practice and the major

elements of scribalism. Then, I fit scribes and scribal practices to the theory of social memory

described above.

Scribes, Scribal Media, and Social Memory

Scribes were part of what remains a poorly defined and widely described system,

scribalism.[37] Scribalism constitutes a framework within which to account for the inscription of

objects and composition of literary works in antiquity, as well as their transmission and

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[36] See Mladen Popović, "Reading, Writing, and Memorizing Together: Reading Culture in Ancient Judaism and the Dead Sea Scrolls in a Mediterranean Context," *DSD* 24 (2017): 447–70. The forthcoming (currently available on Google Books) work by Jonas Leipzig, *Lesepraktiken im antiken Judentum: Rezeptionsakte, Materialität und Schriftgebrauch*, Materiale Textkulturen 34 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021) similarly focuses on reading practices in later Jewish communities.

[37] D. Andrew Teeter, "Scribes and Scribalism," *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, 1202, "the vague and indiscriminate use of the terms 'scribalism' and 'scribal' has rendered them problematic for an assessment of scribes in the period, particularly in view of the plurality of scribal models and behaviors attested."

preservation. There are a number of sources for describing scribes and scribal processes.[38] The title "scribe," סֹפֵר (*sāpir) appears in literary texts, colophons, and on seals;[39] for some locales, we know the names of scribes, where and when they worked, and some of their habits, which left distinctive literary and material traces.[40] Within the Hebrew Bible, scribes are recorded as among palace or temple personnel;[41] elsewhere they appear as the writers of letters.[42] We also have

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[38] For a brief overview, besides that given below, see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 24. Recently, see Lester L. Grabbe, "Scribes in the Post-Exilic Temple: A Social Perspective," in *Chronicles and the Priestly Literature of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Jaeyoung Jeon and Louis C. Jonker, BZAW 528 (Berlin; Boston: de Gruyter, 2021), 201–20.

[39] Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 52–53; see n1 for the literature. See immediately below, note 41, for a brief overview of the biblical evidence.

[40] Dennis Pardee, Robert Hawley, and Carole Roche-Hawley, "The Scribal Culture of Ugarit," *JANEH* 2 (2015): 238–39; 246–58; 258–59. See also Françoise Ernst-Pradal, *Scribes d'ougarit et paléographie akkadiene: les textes juridiques signés*, RSO XXVII (Leuven; Paris; Bristol: Peeters, 2019).

[41] Several similar PNs, perhaps derived from a single name, are given for a scribe among palace personnel, 2 Sam 8:17 (שריה) and 20:25 (*ketiv*: שיא, *qere*: שוא)—manuscript evidence varies wildly for the PN and the lists may be reduplicated, see Aelred Cody, "Le titre égyptien et le nom propre du scribe de David," *RB* 72 (1965): 381–93; P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, Anchor Bible 9 (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 254, 256, 433–35; 1 Kgs 4:3, where בני שישא (MT, see again McCarter, ibid.) is suggestive of heredity (as is 2 Kgs 22:3) or a palace-associated scribal school. Note especially 2 Kgs 12:11, ספר המלך ("the king's scribe"), and 22:8-10, show very close association with Josiah, demonstrate scribal proximity to the monarch. This latter demonstrates significant interactions between temple personnel and scribes, as do 2 Kgs 18:37 and 19:2. Ezra is called both a priest and a scribe in Ezra 7:11. The internal evidence of the Hebrew Bible is thus suggestive both of scribal heredity and of scribal work in close association with the temple and palace, a situation well-substantiated by evidence such as the el Amarna corpus or the trove of Ugaritic texts closely associated with royalty (cf. ʾIlî'milku's colophon in RS 2.009 + 5.155 [=KTU 1.6.VI:54–58]). See also van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (2007), 59–65, for a brief overview of similar evidence from Mesopotamia.

[42] E.g., TAD A6.10:10, רשת ספרא ("Rashta is the scribe.") Use of 1cs כתבתי ("I wrote/have written") in Lachish 4:3 is perhaps suggestive of basic literacy beyond scribes alone,

access to many products of scribal work, some of which were ephemeral but some of which have

been preserved: practice or "school" texts, receipt-like documents on ostraca, judicial and

administrative records, funerary inscriptions, apotropaic and other magical formulae, letters,

monumental records of victory, treaties, medical, scientific, and literary works, recorded on a

whole variety of media, most commonly clay tablets, ostraca, papyrus,[43] and stone.[44] Scribes left

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[8] ‫וכי . אמר . אדני . לא . ידעתה . ‪9‬ קרא ספר . חיהוה . אמ . נסה אי‪10‬יש לקרא לי ספר‬ :as is Lachish 3:8-13
‫‪11‬ לנצח . וגמ . כל ספר אשר יבא . אלי . אמ. ‪12‬ קראתי . אתה . ועוד אתננה ‪13‬ אל מאומה...‬ ("[I've been ill
at ease] because you said 'you don't know [how] to read a letter!' As Yʜwʜ lives, no one has
ever tried to read *me* a letter; moreover, every letter that comes my way, once I've read it, then I
can repeat it down to the smallest detail.")

[43] On the extensive use of papyrus in ancient Israel and Judah during the biblical period,
see above all Menaḥem Haran, "Book-Scrolls in Israel in Pre-Exilic Times," *JJS* 33.1–2 (1982):
161–73; idem, "Book-Scrolls at the Beginning of the Second Temple Period: The Transition
from Papyrus to Skins," *HUCA* 54 (1983): 111–22.

[44] The material basis for inscriptions is widely varied and I review it here only to
summarily demonstrate this point. Materials varied by region and period; less common in the
biblical period were parchment, stone or plastered stone (Deut 27:2-4; Josh 8:32, and the Deir
'Alla plaster inscription), silver, bronze, or other metals, and wood, but these were all inscribed
across the ancient Near East, at various times and in various locales, and despite the local
scarcity they were at least occasionally used in the Levant. In the Arabian peninsula, wood,
parchment or leather, and cloth were used to a greater degree, on which see Mohammed
Maraqten, "Writing Materials in Pre-Islamic Arabia," *JSS* 43 (1998): 287–310. Wooden tablets
may have been employed in Anatolia, but the evidence on which one can base claims about this
is read more convincingly as pointing to classes of administrative officials than to the use of
wooden tablets; see Theo van den Hout, "ᴸᵁ́DUB.SAR.GIŠ = 'Clerk'?," *Orientalia*, *Nova Series*
79 (2010): 255–67. For Israel and Judah, the practice of at least occasional inscription on metal is
suggested by the biblical text (Exod 39:30) and by finds like the Ketef Hinnom silver amulets
and the Copper Scroll. Farther afield, the Pyrgi inscription and the treaty unearthed at Boğazköy
(Hattuša) in 1986 (*editio princeps*: Heinrich Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Bogazkoy: Ein
Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV*, Studien Zu Den Boğazköy-Texten 1 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz,
1988]), suggest that inscribing on metal was a long-running practice throughout the ancient
Mediterranean. See also Piotr Michalowski, "They Wrote on Clay, Wax, and Stone: Some
Thoughts on Early Mesopotamian Writing," in *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods,
and Concepts*, ed. Jörg B. Quenzer, 2 volumes vols., *Studies in Manuscript Cultures* (Berlin: de
Gruyter, 2021), 67–88.
    For a review of the persons, processes, and materials implicated in producing lithic
inscriptions, with extensive further bibliography, see especially Madadh Richey, "The Media and

behind many incidental, material traces of their work: the angles, sizes, depth, and order of imprints or strokes of cuneiform signs or alphabetic letters, chemical traces of the ingredients in their ink, clear instances of mistakes or corrections, short or long supplements, revisions, translations, and references to texts and archives now lost. These traces provide evidence of scribal training, habits of work, and even of scribal dependence upon and interaction with other trades.[45] On the grounds of these many textual legacies and archaeological remains, and on the grounds of comparative evidence from across the ancient Near East, scholars have constituted varied models of scribalism in the Levant. Studies of scribalism in ancient Israel and Judah account for scribal education[46] and institutional affiliations,[47] scribal involvement in oral/written

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Materiality of Southern Levantine Inscriptions: Production and Reception Contexts," in *Scribes and Scribalism*, ed. Mark Leuchter, The Hebrew Bible in Social Perspective 1 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 29–39. Richey argues that a turn to a more media-centered approach helps to fill out discussions of Northwest Semitic epigraphy.

[45] See ibid.

[46] André Lemaire, *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël*, OBO 39 (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981); van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (2007), 96–104; William M. Schniedewind, *The Finger of the Scribe: How Scribes Learned to Write the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019). See Jacqueline Vayntrub, "The Book of Proverbs and the Idea of Ancient Israelite Education," *ZAW* 128 (2016): 96–114 for a critical review of earlier scholarship's treatment of scribal education.

[47] Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*, LAI (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 84–86, suggests the sponsorship of local rulers; Lemaire, *Les écoles* (1981), 47–49, thinks administrative needs of the kingdom of David and Solomon played a major role in scribal education, though scribal education later shifted to smaller regional administrative centers and eventually to less important sites; van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (2007), 72–73, 82, 89, locates this center in the Jerusalem temple.

interfaces,[48] and the technical aspects of writing, copying, or erasing[49] along with a description

of features of inscribed documents (including those mentioned above and many other kinds) that

resulted from their transmission.[50] Scribes worked with textual deposits of varied sizes, from

very small caches to libraries that aimed at nigh-universal collection and archiving.[51]

For the purposes of the argument here, I pause to note a single feature of scribalism.

Scribes left behind many material traces of their work, and some are associated with the

reception of earlier texts and images.[52] While some traces of scribal practice are incidental,

whether dittography, haplography, or smudges of ink, many reflect changes the scribe made on

purpose: writing words above the line or below, supplements, elisions, terminological or

linguistic changes, citation or allusion, etc. These are all plausibly associated with "production-

functionalization" described above. On another level, though, they represent the generation of a

new, hard materiality—a media offer—and some such new materials came with the potential to

differently evoke the past. It follows that the material basis that sustains and shapes collective

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[48] Raymond F. Person Jr., *The Deuteronomic History and the Book of Chronicles: Scribal Works in an Oral World*, AIL 6 (Atlanta: SBL, 2010).

[49] Haran, *JJS* 33.1–2 (1982), 168–70.

[50] See especially Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), and Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 23–88. As an example of the way that the differing areas of focus mentioned here are brought together, see Brian B. Schmidt, ed., *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writings: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*, AIL 22 (Atlanta: SBL, 2015).

[51] See, in full, Jacqueline S. du Toit, *Textual Memory: Ancient Archives, Libraries, and the Hebrew Bible*, SWBA (Second Series) 6 (Sheffield: Phoenix, 2011).

[52] If, as Lotman, "Cultural Memory" (2019) has it, communicative systems imply collective memory, then scribal work is, in a very thoroughgoing way, a reception of collective memory.

memory was altered by scribes engaged in all the above kinds of manuscript changes. Further, changes in this material basis can be described through time—in some cases with the help of extant scrolls and in other cases by careful text- and literary-critical work performed on later manuscripts. As I will demonstrate below, this is particularly true of biblical literature.

This sketch of scribalism and scribal products in antiquity can be helpfully brought together with social memory theory. In the theoretical framework I presented above, scrolls and all other scribal products—in addition to monuments and images—are to be understood as media offers. They should be understood to reflect to some extent the collective memory of the scribes who made them—and perhaps also the patriarchies that sustained those scribes. Further, they exist as potential influences on the collective memory of their audience. Within the same theoretical framework, it is the reception of texts that is of most interest. Further, in this framework, scribes must be understood as memory agents, who perform tasks of selection and filtering from their knowledge of the past and from what is prefigured for them in the media offers they encounter. (This last point will be more fully developed in the following section.)

Social Memory and Stages of Representation

It is necessary to introduce one final theoretical point, drawing on Paul Ricoeur's theory of stages of mimesis and Astrid Erll's adaptation of this theory to cultural memory. In his *Temps et Récit*, Paul Ricoeur develops a cyclical model of narrative and time. He labels stages or moments in this cycle $mimesis_1$, $mimesis_2$, and $mimesis_3$. $Mimesis_1$ constitutes preunderstanding of the world; it includes structural and conceptual frameworks of understanding that allow one to conceptualize agents and actions, a symbolic system that allows for interpretation of those

actions, and the temporal characteristics of the world.[53] Mimesis$_2$, the way in which events are

emplotted, is fundamentally mediating between mimesis$_1$ and mimesis$_3$;[54] this is because plots

are dynamic, creating meaning within sequences of events and incidents, associating otherwise

heterogeneous agents, circumstances, interactions, and results, and resolving isolated events into

a story.[55] Mimesis$_3$ operates in the act of reading; emplotment, which configures the text and

brings about all of the sequences and associations that mimesis$_2$ produces, is only fully

functional when made so by the reader.[56] The reader's relationship with their world is marked or

altered by their encounter with the text.

Ricoeur's model of cycles in representation—of time and events, understanding of the

prefigured world, an act of configuration and emplotment, and the way in which the configured

text is received by readers—has been adapted for memory studies by Astrid Erll.[57] In processes

of social memory, just as in the production of narrative, three stages of representing the past

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[53] Paul Ricouer, *Temps et Récit*, 3 vols. (Paris: éditions du seuil, 1983), I:87–100, at page 87: "Quelle que puisse être la force d'innovation de la composition poétique dans le champ de notre expérience temporelle, la composition de l'intrigue est enracinée dans une pré-compréhension du monde de l'action : de ses structure intelligibles, de ses ressources symboliques et de son caractère temporel."

[54] Ibid., 102, "Je veux mieux comprendre sa fonction de médiation entre l'amont et l'aval de la configuration. Mimèsis II n'a une position intermédiaire [entre Mimèsis I et Mimèsis III] que parce qu'elle a une fonction de médiation."

[55] Ibid., 103–104.

[56] Ibid., 117, "C'est enfin le lecteur qui achève l'œuvre dans la mesure où… l'œuvre écrite est une esquisse pour la lecture ; le texte, en effet, comporte des trous, des lacunes, des zones d'indétermination… L'acte de lecture est ainsi l'opérateur qui conjoint *mimèsis* III à *mimèsis* II. Il est l'ultime vecteur de la refiguration du monde de l'action sous le signe de l'intrigue."

[57] See Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (2017), 173–78. The following summarizes Erll's theory.

transpire in a cycle.[58] These stages coincide with the period before the production of a new media offer, the act and period of its production, and the period after its production. Then, in the act of receiving it (reading, hearing, seeing) the receiver interacts simultaneously with the new media offer, their world, and with other media offers in a way that may reconfigure their knowledge of the past. From this receptive act and from concerts of such receptive acts, the new media offer (here, a literary text), can effectuate changes in collective memory. Figure 1 (below) represents these stages.

Figure 1: Stages of Mimesis[59]

mimesis₂

configuration
of fictional
memory narratives
(> mnemonic potential)

mimesis₁

mnemonic
prefiguration

literary text

mimesis₃

collective
refiguration

hypotheses about
mnemonic horizons
and challenges in
memory culture

mnemonic context

hypotheses about
actualization,
effects, and functions of
literature in memory culture

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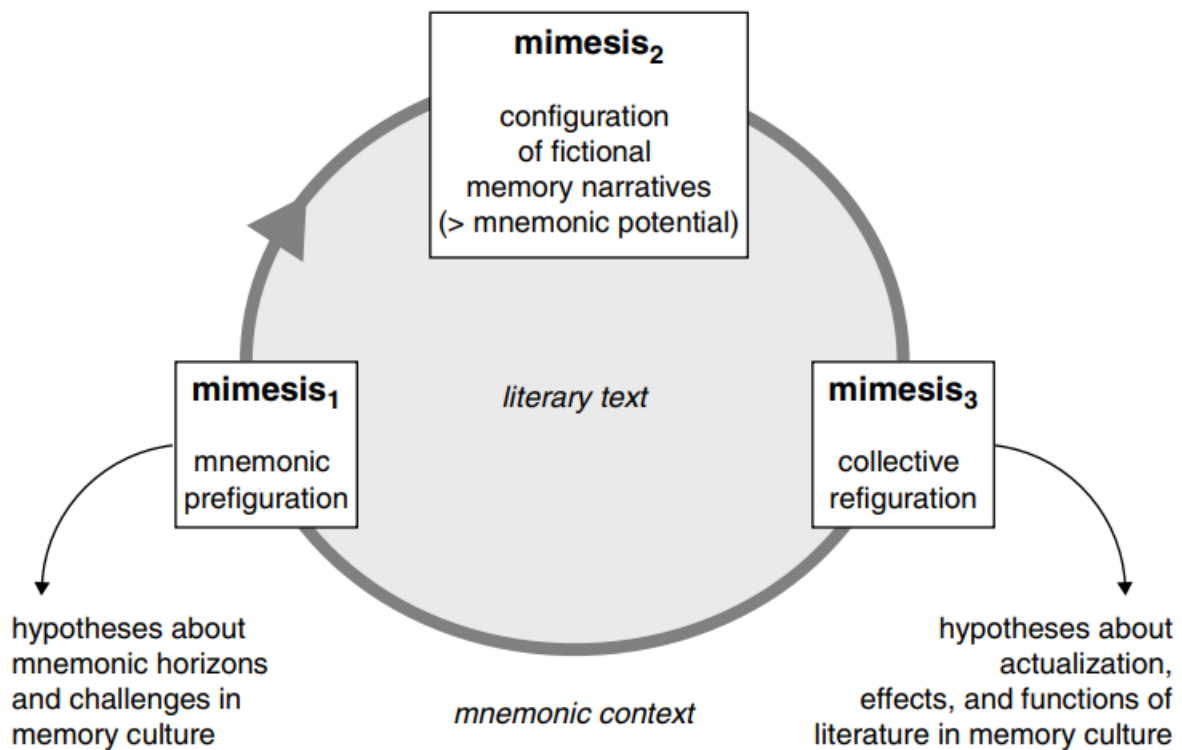
[58] Note that representations of the past are not fully independent of other representations.

[59] Reproduced from Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture*, trans. Sara B. Young, Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 156.

In one stage, occurring before an agent creates a new media offer, the past is "prefigured." In this stage, there exist various media offers (speeches, texts, images, etc.) and the agent's own knowledge of the past. The production of a new media offer corresponds to Ricoeur's act of configuration, in which the agent emplots and newly represents events, characters, circumstances, results, etc. This configurational act results in a new media offer with a new mnemonic potential. The new narrative or poem, monument, or image is contingent for collective memory. Just as for Ricoeur's mimesis$_3$, it is only in its reception, by reading, hearing, or viewing, that the media offer has any salience for social memory. Additionally, for this final stage, the reader should not be envisioned alone or independent; rather, "bei literarischen Texten… ist die Mimesis III als Schnittstelle zwischen Text und *kollektiver* **Refiguration** zu begreifen."[60]

Considering how a text interacts with cultural memory, we see that there is exchange in two directions across the mimetic cycle.[61] The first is between the contents of cultural memory as

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[60] Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (2017), 176, italics and bold original. ("In literary texts… mimesis$_3$ should be understood as an interface between text and collective refiguration.") Erll goes on to argue that literary works must be understood as media of collective memory and that there will be evidence of their wide reception. All of the kinds of evidence she describes for surveying the collective reception of literature are unavailable in antiquity. This difficulty of judging the later effects in collective memory of a text like Chronicles in antiquity is why the project here hews closely to describing the scribal reception of earlier texts and the mnemonic potential of Chronicles, rather than its collective reception.

[61] Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (2017), 177, "Literarische Gedächtnisnarrative vermitteln zwischen präexistenten Erinnerungskulturen einerseits und ihrer möglichen Neuperspektivierung und Veränderung andererseits. Wir haben es bei diesem Vermittlungsprozess mit einer **Austauschbewegung** in zweifacher Richtung zu tun: Erstens ist der Austausch zwischen Erinnerungskultur und literarischem Text auf der Ebene der Mimesis I zu lokalisieren. Der literarische Text nimmt Bezug auf Inhalte, Formen, Medien und Praktiken des kollektiven Gedächtnisses. Zweitens findet eine Austauschbewegung in umgekehrter

a prefiguration of the past and the literary text. The second is between the newly produced

literary text and cultural memory.[62] One can similarly model the mimetic cycle for scribes and

representations of the past in antiquity. In a cycle or process[63] of the formation of cultural

memory and the production of a new literary work, there is exchange in two directions. As the

scribe works with the texts, there is exchange between the prefigured past in cultural memory[64]

and its refiguration in the product, whether a new text or a copy of that text. There is also

exchange between the textual product, as a materially new—in the sense that its substance adds

something, by way of new details, elaboration, or revision, to those that existed before and in the

sense that the scribe has encoded this representation onto a new tablet, sherd, or scroll—media

offer, and the reconfiguration of collective memory, implicating the reception of this new offer

and its later social role. Both stages of exchange are mediated by the scribe and by the medium

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Richtung statt. Auf der Stufe der Mimesis III kann es durch Formen der kollektiven Rezeption zu einer ›ikonischen Anreicherung‹ der Erinnerungskultur kommen."

[62] The discussion from here forward uses the term "cultural memory" because, while much of the discussion to this point is generalizable to collective memory of the recent and distant past, the biblical texts discussed below have more to do with the distant past (relative to the scribe) and knowledge of it would be transmitted by specialists and specialized media. In the cases below, this is writing, and in some cases, as Pioske has it (see the first chapter above), it is perhaps oral tradition.

[63] Considering social memory in this processual manner brings us close to the process-oriented, biological basis of memory briefly described in the first chapter. Considered as a process, the scribe and any later readers of his work partake in it, consciously or not, and it is then identifiable under the rubrics presented here. This process is identifable to the degree made possible by the evidence, but the lack of evidence does not mean the process was not ongoing. The same then holds for other media and other periods. For the Hebrew Bible and scribes in antiquity, social memory as understood here remains an etic concept, notwithstanding the presence of memory discourse within the Hebrew Bible, on which see above 17 n31.

[64] Most transparently, the written media offers available to the Chronicler, but one cannot exclude cultic practice, orally transmitted lore, or the ways in which these attach to or are prompted by specific geographic features or locales.

itself. The exchange between the prefigured past and a new scroll is not direct; the scribe is

agentive in its production. Just as scribes mediate between a *Vorlage* and a copy or a translation

of a text,[65] the scribe in an embodied way mediates between the literarily (or artistically)

prefigured past, any other access to cultural memory, and the new scroll. A scribe is therefore

both a producer of new media offers and a consumer of extant media offers.[66] The other

exchange is similarly mediated, but by readers of the newly produced literary work; here, as Erll

states, it is collective rather than individual reception of the work that is significant for cultural

memory. Because cultural memory is a collective and distributed phenomenon, its refiguration

requires shared reception.[67]

From the standpoint of memory theory, scribal acts of refiguration and remediation are

the most promising features that biblical literature presents for analysis. In such scribal acts, the

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[65] See below, 97 n72.

[66] The term "prosumer" appears in Joanne Garde-Hansen, "Digital Memory Practices," in *Save As... Digital Memories*, ed. Joanne Garde-Hansen, Andrew Hoskins, and Anna Reading (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 129, though with reference to the production and consumption of media "memories" and not, as more commonly used, goods and services. See "prosumer, n.1." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2022, www.oed.com/view/Entry/258773. Accessed 21 May 2022.

[67] This is why synchronic studies of social memory encounter evidentiary difficulties. Because the refiguration of collective memory requires shared reception, synchronic approaches to social memory have tended towards the same circularity outlined by Alon Confino, constructing shared readerships with evidence gathered from a whole corpus. Because readers and their preferences are constructed with evidence from a large corpus and because the reception-functionalization of these same texts among these readers follow from this construction, the conclusions the result from synchronic approaches remain hypothetical and unfalsifiable. Because of this, diachronically interested studies of collective memory in antiquity should tend to offer accounts that focus not on the second type of exchange, i.e., the (readerly) effects in cultural memory of a scribe's work *ipso facto*, but rather on the exchange among the scribe, the prefigured past of cultural memory, the new work, and its functional (Erll: "mnemonic") potential.

processes of reception and representation are so close that they nearly blur together.[68] However,

one can still separate the process of reception from the process of production by making a

distinction in receptive processes, such that one kind of reception process is confined to the

minds of individuals and another kind of receptive process results in the remediation of some

memory offer.[69] These are interlinked in that the remediation depends on mental reception but is

not identical to it; this distinction means that "it is thus possible to study (mental) reception via

(medial) reproduction."[70]

     If this holds, then it should be possible, for some works, to characterize scribal reception

of the prefigured past and to generate hypotheses about tensions in cultural memory to which the

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[68] "Remediations are acts of reception," as put by Barbara Törnquist-Plewa, Tea Sindbæk Andersen, and Astrid Erll, "Introduction: On Transcultural Memory and Reception," in *The Twentieth Century in European Memory: Transcultural Mediation and Reception* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 7. See also in that volume the analysis by Natalija Majsova, "Neither Rupture Nor Continuity: Memorializing the Dawn of the Space Age in Contemporary Russian Cinematography," in *The Twentieth Century in European Memory*, ed. Tea Sindbæk Andersen and Barbara Törnquist-Plewa (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 198–219.

[69] Törnquist-Plewa, Andersen, and Erll, "Introduction" (2017), 7, identify two locii in memory studies for reception. The first is reception "in the minds of individuals," or mental reception, and the second is remediation; both are closely associated with collective memory even though they are not identical with it. For instance, media and remediations must be "actualized" or "functionalized" among individuals in order to generate or sustain collective memory; put differently, reception precedes remediation. The methods for researching either will differ; in the case of individual reception, one can draw on social scientific approaches like qualitative interviews, audience research, or social psychology. Such methods are exemplified by Cohen, Boudana, and Frosh, *Journal of Communication* 68 (2018) or Lovro Škopljanac, "Cultural and Individual Memory of Literature: A Study of Croatian and American Readers," *Comparative Literature Studies* 56.3 (2019): 451–68. However, the kinds of research conducted for these studies relies on access to large audiences and remains beyond the reach of biblicists.

[70] Törnquist-Plewa, Andersen, and Erll, "Introduction" (2017), 7.

scribe responded.[71] It is also possible to characterize the mnemonic potential of the resulting

scribal work.[72] Further, even without describing readership, it is possible to characterize how

changes within the material basis for cultural memory might have shifted it.

I conclude this theoretical and methodological reflection by noting that an implication of

the argument here is that not every text is well suited to the study of social memory. Some

scribal media are not useful in the same way as others for examining social memory. Some

obvious examples are ostraca, letters, or inscriptions that are hidden from view, like the Siloam

Tunnel Inscription or those on sacrophagii—unless these provide evidence for the reception of

other media offers. Moreover, even with texts for which one has evidence of reception, one

cannot produce such evidence in every period. So, scholars who wish to use social memory

theory in the sense that it is outlined above ought to work within carefully proscribed limits.

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[71] I acknowledge that one confronts an evidentiary problem here. It is only with access to the scribe that one could fully test such a hypothesis. But even without such access, one can refine such a hypothesis on the basis of other evidence, such as it is available.

[72] There is an analogy to the work of Screnock, *Traductor Scriptor* (2017), in his approach to the "mental text." Screnock argues that translators of the Hebrew Bible can be understood to faithfully translate a Hebrew *Vorlage* because they held a "mental text" in (80–81) in the process of translating. Crucially, this mental text represents an intermediary step in the translation process, but it exists transiently in the memory of the translating scribe or scribes. Screnock (ibid., 82) even alludes to how communal/social understandings of the past enter this mental text: "the shared community traditions and the memory and errors of the particular translator all play a role in how the translator read the text; in the end, though, the text was read and understood as a Hebrew text." Here, the resulting translation is a faithful representation of a mental text, which itself is a reception of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. What one has in translation is partial evidence of the reception of the Hebrew text, even if, in the case of translation and incidental text-critical phenomena, the reception/mental text and the actual Hebrew *Vorlage* are indistinguishable because of the similar ways scribal accidents accrue in the mental text and in manuscripts.

Towards a Model Integrating Literary Analysis and Materiality

Although the theoretical and methodological considerations presented above have been wide-ranging, they build towards an integrated model, which will take into account the diverse activities of scribes, their material products, and the literary features of the texts they produce. This dissertation has taken up as its most central question whether it is possible to integrate questions relating to scribal processes that are necessarily understod in a diachronic manner—especially the production of revisionary literature—with social memory theory. The theoretical considerations above suggest that this is possible; I will now lay out several principles, drawn from the theory discussed at length above, which set the parameters and mode of analysis for the rest of this dissertation.

1. Revising, revisionary composition, and interpolations large or small are scribal practices that result in a new media offer.[73] For the Hebrew Bible, this would typically have been a scroll.
2. Evidence of revisionary practice or revisionary composition may be of two kinds.
    a. It might be *internal* to a text and arise from a close reading of it.
    b. It may be *external* to a text, taking the form of different manuscript traditions or the preserved sources of a text.
3. Where we have such evidence, it is possible to speak of a scribe's reception of (then) extant media offers. The scribe has necessarily encountered sources and received them in a particular way. That reception is colored by the scribe's own view of the past; it may provide some insight into an individual act of reception, which reflects on the scribe's own view of the past.
4. Because coherence might still be present in a text where multiple scribes were at work, I will use the terms "writer" or "writers" hereafter.
    a. A single scribe can be posited when there is sufficient material evidence, like consistent handwriting and a colophon, for example. The Hebrew Bible exists at many degrees of remove from such evidence. Because literary features like coherence might still arise from the work of multiple authors, I use "writer."
    b. The conclusions drawn below are nonetheless historical and relate to the activity of historical persons; the presence of internal and external evidence

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[73] In this dissertation, I do not treat the topic of erasures, corrections, insertions, or other scribal phenomena that do not result in a new scroll. However, these could be contemplated by considering how the mnemonic potential of the media offer was altered by such interventions.

mentioned in point 2 above will require this. This study of social memory characterizes historical changes in its medial basis and requires positing the activity of such persons.

5. The "mnemonic potential" of a media offer arises as the complex interplay of several features. These include:
   a. the medium in which it is or was encoded,
   b. the manner in which the offer's representation of the past may interface with the "prefigured past" and other media offers, and
   c. social conditions, to whatever extent there is evidence of these.

6. Mnemonic potential necessarily arises from both intentional and unintentional acts, where unintentional acts may include common scribal mistakes. However, because of the float from productive intent to reception identified above,[74] the intent of media offer's producer is of very little importance for assessing the mnemonic potential of a media offer.

7. Given points 5a–b, the mode of analysis necessarily differs depending on the medium. Where literary texts are present, literary approaches are necessary to determine how one or more representations of the past in literature might be related or understood with respect to one another. This will partially determine the mnemonic potential of a text and the mnemonic potential of the media environment in which it participates. For inscribed objects or monuments, for example, analysis might rely instead on art history.

These principles will allow the argument below to proceed in a manner that fully integrates the theory above with a close reading of the biblical texts. For the texts preserved in the Hebrew Bible, we can say that they resulted from scribal processes carried out by historical persons—writers who revised or otherwise altered extant media offers and produced new scrolls carrying literary texts. In so doing, they refracted into these new their own reception of the "prefigured past," represented to them in other media offers or known to them in other ways. One may characterize the mnemonic potential of those texts—the ways they might shape collective memory—by taking into account its medium, the ways in which it interfaces with other media offers, and social conditions, insofar as these are known. Because of the float from productive intent to reception, this potential may diverge from the intent with which it was produced.

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[74] See above, 77 n14.

A Brief Application of the Model: Some Scribal Processes in the Hebrew Bible

It is now possible to suggest how this framework might be applied to biblical texts. Below, I provide some examples of scribal processes and their outcomes for social memory within the Pentateuch, including both pre-Samaritan manuscripts and the Samaritan Pentateuch. The combined result of these short textual studies is to demonstrate how the material basis for cultural memory was modified by scribal intervention. In each case, one also garners data about the writer's receptive stance towards the "prefigured past" in the media offers they encountered, in this case, the other scrolls with which they were working.

These receptive processes can be compared with one another; their outcomes in new media offers have very different mnemonic potentials. In the first case, I demonstrate how the compilation of the Pentateuch made it possible to differently recall Moses and the Israelite oppression in Egypt. None of the source documents held all the details of Moses that are portrayed in the compiled Pentateuch; the writer's work brought these together in the same text. The second case discusses the divergence between the Samaritan Pentateuch and Masoretic Text, which either made possible or textualized differing understandings of the centralized site of worship in Judean and Samarian communities. After considering such processes in the Pentateuch, pre-Samaritan texts, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, I will frame the approach to Chronicles taken in the rest of this dissertation.

The Compilation of Exodus 1–2

The Pentateuch shows evidence of scribal reception of other texts, which supplementary

and documentarian accounts resolve quite differently.[75] In supplementary accounts, a scholar

will argue that writers created or received materials (oral or written) and added, bit by bit, to

extant texts; the scholar usually situates historically and ideologically the base texts,

supplements, and various writers. Although there is not a single consensus, such accounts of the

Pentateuch and its variegated narratives and legal codes develop portraits of a long textual

history and gradual development. In the Neo-Documentary Hypothesis, the compiler is

understood to have combined four narrative documents and their (three) embedded legal codes[76]

with attention to maximal preservation, minimal intervention, and chronological order. The

documentary approach is, in my view, more convincing and is therefore the approach taken

below.[77]

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[75] The position one takes about the development of the Pentateuch does not matter for the argument of this chapter. The theory stated above is agnostic to supplementary or documentary approaches. This neutrality about questions of how texts originated in antiquity should be understood as an advantage of the theory, because it can be coupled with the best approach to any given text. That approach will differ for works in a set like the Pentateuch, Ruth, Daniel, and Chronicles.

[76] The length and character of the narrative and legal codes differs among these documents.

[77] Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch* (2009), 1–98, discusses at length the problems in early formulations of the documentary hypothesis and the reasons for its eventual rejection in European biblical scholarship. As it was articulated by the like of Karl Heinrich Graf, Abraham Kuenen, and Julius Wellhausen, the documentary hypothesis was beset by methodological problems. These methodological problems resulted, among other things, in an inability to differentiate between the J and E documents. In time, some of these problems remained unresolved and led to Rolf Rendtorff's the firm rejection of documentary approaches. The grounds on which Rendtorff rejected the documentary hypothesis are themselves deeply problematic. He attempted to undermine the basis of literary source division by suggesting that a) source division inquires about whether the text is a unity, and b) that the source division of the

The compilation of the Pentateuch resulted in changes in the emplotment and chronology of the events in the documents; to deploy Ricoeur's terminology, the sequences of events in the pentateuchal documents were disrupted as the compiler worked. This act generated a new plot that incorporates the events, characters, locations, and chronological progression of all four documents. In terms of the theory described above, the material basis for cultural memory was

text can only follow from a form-critical and tradition-historical approach, which starts from observing the smallest possible literary units and how these were transmitted.

Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch* (2009), 62, points out that the first is a misstatement of the documentary hypothesis, which has as its primary question how to explain difficult literary features like doublets, inconsistencies, or contradictions among the historical claims of the narrative and legal portions of the Pentateuch; further, the second is "methodologically illegitimate" because "it is clear enough that [Rendtorff's] approach does not begin with the final shape of the text, but with the *assumption* that the smallest individual narratives must be treated as originally independent" (italics original). While critiques such as those raised by Rendtorff can clarify methodological problems in early formulations of the documentary hypothesis, they cannot disprove it, because their most basic assumption is one of disunity and independence among the smallest portions of the text, i.e., those isolated by form criticism. With such an assumption, one rejects from the outset the possibility that ancient authors could generate lengthy, coherent compositions.

It is important to note, though, that the neo-documentarian hypothesis does not reject the possibility of growth by supplementation in pentateuchal texts. On E, see Simeon Chavel, "A Kingdom of Priests and Its Earthen Altars in Exodus 19–24," *VT* 65 (2015): 169–222; idem, on D, "The Literary Development of Deuteronomy 12: Between Religious Ideal and Social Reality," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas B Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch J. Schwartz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 303–26; on P and H, see Baruch J. Schwartz, "Introduction: The Strata of the Priestly Writings and the Revised Relative Dating of P and H," in *The Strata of the Priestly Writings: Contemporary Debate and Future Directions*, ed. Sarah Shectman and Joel S. Baden, ATANT 95 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2009), 1–12.

On the working process of the compiler, see for the briefest statement Baruch J. Schwartz, "How the Compiler of the Pentateuch Worked: The Composition of Genesis 37," in *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, VTSup 152 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 263–78. The Neo-Documentary Hypothesis is properly a literary hypothesis. Although its results may have implications for the history of religion in ancient Israel and Judah, the literary analysis stands apart from historical inquiry. See Jeffrey Stackert, *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 19–22, for a more thorough review and literature.

dramatically altered by the scribal interventions of the compiler. The mnemonic potential of the Pentateuchal scrolls is that shared knowledge of Moses might be radically altered. One can demonstrate this at an episodic level and on a larger scale. Here, I briefly consider the narratives of Israelite oppression in Exodus 1-2.

Exodus 1–2 consists of the interwoven narratives from the J, E, and P documents. The sources in each case can be isolated on the basis of contradictions and doublets in the canonical story, which raise tensions with other plot points. Joel Baden has published a thorough analysis of Exodus 1–2.[78] Two examples of the contradictions illustrate the literary basis for a source division. As Baden explains, the reader hears repeated three times that the Israelites increased in number (Exod 1:7, Exod 1:12, Exod 1:20). The first of these cannot be reconciled with Pharaoh's stated intent in 1:10 that the Israelites should be used as labor in order to prevent their increase; that is, Pharaoh in 1:10 is trying to prevent something that has already occurred. After the second notice of the Israelite's increase in 1:12, Pharaoh institutes a policy under which midwives are to kill male Israelite infants (1:15–16), a policy which "presume[s] that the Israelites have not yet increased, a presumption which is given added weight by the fact that two midwives are evidently sufficient to care for the entire Israelite populace (1:15)."[79] There is thus a contradiction between the assertion that in 1:7 that the Israelites had already dramatically[80]

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[78] Joel S. Baden, "From Joseph to Moses: The Narratives of Exodus 1–2," *VT* 62 (2012): 133–58. See 133–144 for more detailed argumentation of the source division, which I summarize here.

[79] Ibid., 134.

[80] Note there, in addition to the adverbial phrase במאד מאד (very much), the piled-on verbs connoting increase: פרה (to bear fruit or to be fruitful), שרץ (to swarm), רבב (to become numerous), עצם (to be powerful); the remark ותמלא הארץ אתם can be and, in light of the adverbial specification of the manner of Israel's increase (במאד מאד) be taken to express a

increased and Pharaoh's order for male infanticide introduced in 1:16. In addition to male

infanticide, the labor the Israelites carry out is of two different kinds. In 1:11, the Israelites are

explicitly tasked with building two cities, but in 1:13–14, the Israelites labor is generalized and

includes farming labor; as Baden states, "it is not clear that they are building new cities at all—

but [they] are rather doing both urban construction as well as agricultural labor."[81]

Exod 1:13–14 is irreconcilable with the statement in 1:11, which forms part of a

continuous block of narrative from 1:8–12; 1:1-7 (except verse 6)[82] is also in conflict with 1:8–

12, by reason of the Israelite's increasing before Pharoah institutes the policy intended to prevent

that increase (פן ירבה, 1:10). Similarly, the sequence beginning in 1:15 with the story of the

midwives cannot be reconciled with Israel's having already increased in number; this sequence

runs—with other dissonances vis-à-vis 1:1–7, 1:8–12, and 1:13–14—from 1:15–2:10, where it is

interrupted by the temporal phrase ויהי בימים ההם ויגדל משה, "in those days, Moses grew up" of

2:11.[83] In the canonical text the phrase has an antecedent, i.e., the period of the narrative in

which Moses was nursed, weaned, and grew up in Pharaoh's household. Baden notes that

translations of the temporal phrase here are harmonistic; by such harmonization, they implicitly

recognize the incongruence between Moses "growing up" in the period in which he is an infant

by deploying language like "one day, after Moses had grown up," which violates the Hebrew

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logical result or outcome (though not temporally marked), so that Exod 1:7b is reasonably
translated "so that/with the result that the land was filled with them." See WO 33.2.1d for the
consecutive form expressing a logical consequence.

[81] Ibid., 134.

[82] Ibid., 135.

[83] Translations are my own unless otherwise noted. Throughout, the spelling of PNs
follows the conventions of the NRSV.

grammar by abstrusely taking the independent clause ויגדל משה as modifying the temporal phrase
ויהי בימים ההם. This disjunction in the story marks the beginning of another large block of
material that continues without interruption from 2:11–2:23aα, the story of Moses' flight to
Midian after killing the Egyptian, of his chance encounter with Reuel's daughters at the well, his
marriage to Zipporah, and of the birth of their first son, Gershom.

The materials in these blocks can be assigned to the documentary sources of the
Pentateuch due to narratival continuity and cross-references with earlier materials.[84] Exod 1:6,
for instance, continues the J document from Gen 50:22b; this document continues fluidly into
Exod 1:8–12: ויהי יוסף מאה ועשר שנים וימת יוסף וכל־אחיו וכל הדור ההוא ויקם מלך חדש על מצרים
אשר לא ידע את־יוסף ("Joseph was one hundred and ten years old, and Joseph died, and all his
brothers and everyone in their generation died. And a new king, who did not know Joseph, came
to power over Egypt.") As noted above, the text of Exod 1:13–14 and 1:15–2:10 are not
consonant with 1:8–12, but the text from 2:10–2:23aα is. The J document consists of 1:6, 1:8–12,
and 2:11–23aα.[85] The E document in Exodus 1-2 consists of a single contiguous block from
1:15–2:10, and P constitutes the rest of the text: 1:1–7 (except 6), 1:13–14, and 2:23aβ–2:25.

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[84] See Baden, *VT* 62 (2012), 135–44.

[85] Including Gen 50:22b, the J portion of the narrative reads as follows: [50:22b] "Joseph was
one hundred and ten years old, [1:6] and Joseph died, and all his brother and everyone in their
generation died. [1:8] A new king, who did not know Joseph, came to power over Egypt. [9] The king
said to his people, 'look here, the children of Israel are more numerous and powerful than we are.
[10] Let's act shrewdly concerning them, lest they multiply and, when, battle meets us, they are
added to our enemies, fight against us, and leave the land.' [11] So the Egyptians appointed
taskmasters to oppress them at their labors. They built store-cities for Pharaoh: Pithom and
Raamses. [12] But just as much as the Egyptians oppressed them, they increased and spread out.
The Egyptians were afraid of them. [2:11] In those days, when Moses had grown up, he went out to
his relatives and saw their labors. He saw an Egyptian man striking a Hebrew man, one of his
relatives. [12] Turning this way and that, he saw that there was no one else around. Then, he
murdered the Egyptian and hid him in the sand. [13] Two days later, he went out and two Hebrew

While the texts are worthy of discussion at greater length,[86] I will here refrain and briefly

demonstrate how the process of compilation resulted in a media offer with a radically different

functional potential. Consider the primary plots of the J, E, and P narratives. In the J narrative,

the Israelites are oppressed by slavery and the Egyptians' goal is to prevent them from increasing

and to foreclose the possibility that the Israelites might join their enemies in the event of unrest

or warfare (Exod 1:10). In both J and P, the Egyptian oppression is by means of labor: in J,

building cities, and in P, less specified manual labor including field labor. But in the E text, the

Israelites are never forced to do labor; the oppression they face is infanticide.[87] Moreover, one

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men were quarreling. He said to the one who was in the wrong, 'why did you strike your companion?' [14] And he said, 'who made you our overseer and judge? Are you considering killing me, just like you killed the Egyptian?' Then, Moses was afraid and thought 'word is out.' [15] And Pharaoh heard about this, and he tried to kill Moses, but Moses fled from Pharaoh and lived in Midian, by a well. [16] Now, the priest of Midian had seven daughters. They came out and drew water and filled the trough to water their father's flocks. [17] Shepherds came and drove them away. But Moses rose up and rescued them from the shepherds, and he watered their flocks. [18] The girls came to Reuel, their father, and he said, 'why do you rush in today?' [19] They said, 'an Egyptian man rescued us from the shepherds, and he also drew water for us and hydrated the flock.' [20] And he said, 'and where is he? Why did you just leave this man? Look for him, so that he can eat.' [21] Moses decided to live with the man, and Reuel gave him in marriage Zipporah, his daughter. [22] She conceived and gave birth to a baby boy, and he [Moses] called him 'Gershom,' because he said, 'I am a foreigner in a foreign land.'"

I read Exod 2:22 with ותהר האשה at the beginning of the verse, which is suggested by LXX, and without emending the form ויקרא to ותקרא. Compare the nearly identical sequence in 1 Chr 7:23, where the text-critical situation is remarkably similar (see below, 182 n115). Emily Thomassen pointed out that these are likely the correct readings because a) speech from a 3ms character continues in the text immediately following, and b) the form of the birth announcement was likely to include ותהר. To these reasons, I add that the form ותקרא in some manuscripts both here and in 1 Chr 7:23 is most likely to result from a sequence of verbs 3fs – 3fs – 3ms. Compare, e.g., Gen 29:32, where the speaker is clearly the mother. My thanks to Justin Moses for some incisive queries about the text-critical evidence and readings of these passages.

[86] See again ibid., 144–158.

[87] As Baden, *VT* 62 (2012), 146–48, notes, slavery is absent from the E document except for the Decalogue's בית עבדים in Exod 20:2, which is likely secondary.

only encounters Moses' "origin story"—that he was left in a basket in the Nile and later discovered by Pharaoh's daughter—in the E text.

The independent J and E scrolls evoked starkly contrasting accounts of the past and each had a different mnemonic potential, which was altered in the process of compilation. For Exodus 1–2, the J scroll did not and could not evoke or call to mind infanticide as the means by which the Egyptians oppressed the Israelites. It neither could nor did represent a past in which Moses was placed in the Nile in a basket of reeds. He is introduced for the first time by name and with the detail that he grew up in the period of the new Egyptian king and Egyptian oppression at city-building labor (Exod 1:10; 2:11). The E scroll did not evoke forced labor, and it did not evoke Moses' slaughter of the Egyptian and subsequent flight before Pharaoh. By contrast, the canonical narrative emplots—and links in chronological sequence—these elements. Considering for now only J and E, in the compiled text, the Israelites were forced to do hard labor building cities, but nonetheless they grew in number. Then, Pharaoh ordered the midwives to kill male children; Moses was born, hidden in a basket along the edge of the Nile, and discovered by Pharaoh's daughter. He grew up, killed an Egyptian, and fled Egypt to Midian. Neither the J or E scrolls could evoke all these events in this order, but the compiled text could and still does. The process of scribal remediation results in a new memory offer, the compiled Pentateuch, with a dramatically different mnemonic potential that incorporated the features of all the written records that were brought together in it. The outcome of the scribal work for these texts (and those following that were also incorporated in Exodus) was a scroll that could prompt the reader for

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the events of both J and E in a single sequence.[88] Incongruencies aside, almost all the details of

both stories are there, even if some are obscured in the compiled text.[89]

Even though, as far as we can tell, there were very few changes made to the source

documents in this process, the resulting new media offer has a very different mnemonic potential

than the J and E documents on their own. Moreover, the compiler was agentive in this process.

Because the compiler attempted to maintain a chronological sequence in the compiled document,

the chronological sequence of one document is disrupted by events that were only present in

another, giving the appearance that these events are recounted in sequence.

These documents must also be situated within the media system in which the compiler

worked. The medium for the compiled text was scrolls, just like before. Unlike monuments with

visual features, though, these could only be accessed by persons with adequate training; the

public availability and even the availability within bureaucracies of such information in scrolls

during the biblical period depended directly on scribes or other literate persons. This is true

whether one considers the process of finding and retrieving the scrolls themselves[90] or the

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[88] To return briefly to a point raised in the first chapter, it is precisely the scribal process described here that allows Moses, analyzed as a speaker and/or site of memory, to subsume or "speak" both D and P: "for instance, the Moses remembered by a community of readers of the late Persian/early Hellenistic period spoke in both D and P and said a variety of things that may be [sic] seem in logical tension, but the community associated them all with Moses; in fact, Moses was the embodiment of all of them" (Ben Zvi, see above page 24, n55). This observation about D and P assumes or takes as a given the results of diachronic literary analysis of the Pentateuch, even while minimizing its import for the study of social memory.

[89] As with J's theophanic vision of the deity in Moses' call narrative and E's primarily auditory representation; the absence of the burning bush in the E narrative is unfamiliar or even surprising to readers acquainted with the compiled text. See Stackert, *A Prophet Like Moses* (2014), 55–60; Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch* (2009), 269–70.

[90] du Toit, *Textual Memory* (2011).

question of who could read and explain their contents.[91] The functional potential of such scrolls

is therefore different from that of other media offers or mnemonic prompts, some of which are

described in the biblical text as more democratized or non-elite. For example, Josh 4:7 evokes a

pile of stones brought up from the Jordan (והיו האבנים האלה לזכרון לבני ישראל עד־עולם, "and these

stones will be a memorial for the children of Israel, forever.") Such a memorial would have been

readily available as a mnemonic prompt to all who pass by and its presentation in the biblical

narrative presumes common knowledge of its meaning among Israelite adults (Josh 4:21–

22, והודעתם את בניכם לאמר ביבשה עבר ישראל את הירדן הזה אשר הוביש יהוה אלהיכם את־מי הירדן

מפניכם עד־עברכם כאשר עשה יהוה אלהיכם לים סוף אשר הוביש מפנינו עד־עברנו למען דעת כל־עמי הארץ

את־יד יהוה כי חזקה היא למען יראתם את־יהוה אלהיכם כל־הימים).[92] A process like this one, were it to

take place, would result in another kind of media offer—a monument. But unlike a pile of stones,

the compiled text of the Pentateuch would be confined to scribes with access to it and those to

whom they might read it. The reach of such a media offer is, thus, restricted, even though it

encoded for future readers a kind of encyclopedic history of Israel—at least in the sense that it

included all the events of each document.

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[91] See Est 6:1–2: אשר ...ויהיו נקראים לפני המלך וימצא כתוב אשר הגיד מרדכי על בגתנא ותרש...
בקשו לשלח יד במלך אחשורוש, "…and the records were read before him, and it was discovered
written what Mordecai had made known about Bigthana and Teresh… that they conspired to
harm king Ahasuerus." The word אשר might be rendered as introducing a content clause in 2a or
summary quotation; compare the elliptic Est 2:20aβb, which excludes the content of whatever
message Mordecai transmitted via Esther, with this verse, which more forthrightly expresses that
same content. See also Neh 8:1, 5, 7–8.

[92] "And you will teach your sons, 'Israel crossed the Jordan here on dry ground, because
Yhwh, your God, dried up the water of the Jordan in front of you, until you had crossed over—
just like Yhwh, your God did to the sea of reeds, that he dried up before us until we had crossed
over, so that all the people of the land would know that the hand of Yhwh is powerful, so that
they would always fear Yhwh our God."

The Samaritan Pentateuch

The Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), and the texts that predated it (the "pre-Samaritan"

group),[93] represent another sort of revising scribal practices, with different outcomes for

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[93] This group of texts is attested fragmentarily, but speaking of them as a group is warranted on the basis of differences shared among the fragmentary texts (4QpaleoExod^m, 4QNum^b, 4Qexod-Lev^f, 4QTest, 4QJub) and SP. Emanuel Tov, "Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention Paid to the Samaritan Pentateuch," in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), at 61: "in their major characteristics, the pre-SP texts and SP usually agree against all other textual witnesses." It was a text or texts like those in the pre-Samaritan group that underlie the Samaritan Pentateuch. See the cautionary note about nomenclature in Michael Segal, "The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *MG* 12 (2007): 5–20 (at 10–11), who correctly observes that the "Samaritan" layer is quite thin. Here, then, I use "pre-Samaritan" in the sense that these texts are logically and chronologically prior to the Samaritan Pentateuch in their development but not in their ideology about the centralized site of worship.

Ibid., 68, Tov suggests that only one scribe was responsible for the substantial additive harmonizations in the pre-Samaritan texts. While Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids; Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2008), 41, argues for grouping the pre-Samaritan texts and "reworked Pentateuch" together as the result of a common scribal tradition ("there are also disagreements [between 4Q364, 4Q365, and pre-Samaritan texts], which indicate that these texts are not copies of one another but are part of a tradition in which an individual scribe [or group of scribes] had freedom to manipulate a received text within a broader body of tradition"), it is possible to account for the harmonizations that she cites as part of a broader scribal method while maintaining Tov's position that the core pre-Samaritan variants (i.e., those shared by all extant pre-Samaritan manuscripts and SP) were the work of one hand. Crawford's examples, indeed, show that the harmonizations in 4Q364 and 4Q365 are different in kind from those in the pre-Samaritan texts. The variants in these manuscripts show either a differing scribal method or a different scope of work from those of the pre-Samaritan texts. That is, the scribe(s) responsible for the variants she cites were at work in a different manner or in different textual ranges from those shared in the pre-Samaritan group. It is, therefore, not necessary to turn away from Tov's suggestion and to conflate 4Q364 and 4Q365 with the "pre-Samaritan" group when describing the scribal method that resulted in the variants of the pre-Samaritan texts and SP. The designation "pre-Samaritan" should be maintained because it precisely characterizes an apparently distinctive working method and scope of revisions as compared to those in 4Q364 and 4Q365, which diverge in other ways from the pre-Samaritan group, on which see Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture* (2008), 41-46, where one finds the conflicting statements "both 4Q364 and 4Q365 belong in the pre-Samaritan textual tradition...," alongside "4Q364 and 4Q365 also contain examples of the type of major harmonistic editing considered characteristic of the group of texts exemplified by the pre-Samaritan text. Once again, however, the major harmonistic changes are not identical to the pre-Samaritan texts...," and "4Q365 does not share any large harmonizations with the Samaritan Pentateuch." While the pre-

collective memory. Just like the compilation of the Pentateuch, these scribal practices are evidence of practices of reception and remediation and they resulted in a new media offer with a different functional potential from the existing scrolls. The differences betweeen SP's and MT's presentation of cult centralization—SP as having already occurred in the period of the patriarchs and MT as yet to occur—is well known. And, while this difference is salient to the present discussion of scribal practice and social memory, it is not the only evidence of scribal practice made evident by the comparison of these texts. The SP and pre-Samaritan texts also evidence scribal attention to matters of literary coherence in the Pentateuch. The associated scribal interventions reveal receptive processes that confronted challenges in coherence within the material basis of cultural memory in different groups and altered that material basis. The remediated memory offers had different functional potentials. The continued divergence between SP and MT aligns with the schism over the location of the centralized site of worship that occurred between Jews and Samaritans. The scribal interventions that one can describe in this divergence are to be understood as developments in the material basis for collective memory among Jews and Samaritans, respectively.

Before turning to the scribal features of pre-Samaritan texts, it is worth briefly considering the assumptions that must have operated in the period preceding the ideological split between SP and MT regarding the centralized site of worship, a split expressed by SP's בחר ("he has chosen"), which in combination with the Samaritan tenth commandment sanctions the sanctuary at mount Gerizim alone, and MT's יבחר ("he will choose"), which allows for

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Samaritan texts, 4Q364, and 4Q365 may provide evidence of similar harmonizing scribal habits, they can still be kept apart on the basis of the textual differences that Crawford identifies.

Jerusalem as the centralized cult site. Whichever text was revised, whether from יבחר to בחר or

from בחר to יבחר,[94] these revisions appear to have occurred late enough that other pre-Samaritan

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[94] The direction of the revision does not matter for the argument here, so I will not take a position either way. A brief overview of some of the evidence may be helpful.

Adrian Schenker, "Le Seigneur choisira-t-il le lieu de son nom ou l'a-t-il choisi? : l'apport de la Bible grecque ancienne à l'histoire du texte samaritain et massorétique," in *Scripture in transition: essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea scrolls in honour of Raija Sollamo*, JSJSup 126 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 339–51, reviews the text-critical evidence. He notes that early translations independently witness the perfective form. Neh 1:9, although recast in first-person speech, also uses this perfective form. When coupled with what appears to be a reasonable motive for revising Deuteronomic references (from בחר to יבחר) to the centralized site of worship, i.e., the *hieros logos* of 2 Sam 24 // 1 Chr 21-22:1 (especially the latter), which temporally follows Deuteronomy and temporally precedes the Deuteronomic references in Kings (see below), and considerations about a convergence of most Greek manuscripts to this revision, one might posit that the minority reading, i.e., that of the Samaritan Pentateuch and assorted early translations, is original.

Note that while Gary N. Knoppers, "Parallel Torahs and Inner-Scriptural Interpretation: The Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuchs in Historical Perspective," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch Schwartz, FAT 78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 507–31 (at 514-15), is convinced by Schenker at least of the possibility that the reading of SamP be original, he prioritizes the evidence of later Deuteronomic language in the MT in a rather different manner. For instance, citing Schenker, Knoppers writes, "that the use of בחר in SamP amounts to a late ideological change has been recently disputed by Adrian Schenker, who points out that the Deuterononmistic references to the Deuteronomic central place formula, 'the city/Jerusalem that Yhwh has chosen' (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:16, 44, 48; 11:13, 32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:27) are phrased consistently in the perfect (בחר)." He goes on to summarize the rest of Schenker's article. This point by Schenker about the perfective forms in Kings is a very minor one, though, and Schenker himself dismisses some of them as to be expected because of the establishment of the temple complex in Jerusalem at an earlier point in Samuel's narrative. Schenker treats the use of the perfective form in 1-2 Kings as to be expected for the same reason that Deuteronomy might have been revised: the occurrence of the *hieros logos* for the Jerusalem temple in 2 Sam 24 // 1 Chr 21. That is, in narratives situated temporally after these ones. (In these narraives, the site for the temple is selected, most explicitly in 1 Chr 22:1, ויאמר דויד זה הוא בית יהוה האלהים וזה המזבח לעלה לישראל, "David said, 'this will be the temple of the Lord God, and this will be the altar for burnt offering for Israel." Here, I have emended the phrase וזה מזבח in MT to וזה המזבח.) one might expect to read בחר, reflecting the completion of the act of selection, rather than יבחר, reflecting the contingency of that same act. So, for instance, Schenker writes that "en revanche, l'accompli [i.e., בחר] qui apparâit en 1 R 11:36; 14:21; 2 R 21:7 = 2 Ch 33:7, n'a rien de surprenant parce que, à ce moment-là, le sanctuaire est efffectivement bâti à Jérusalem." Overall, then, Schenker actually dismisses the evidence from Kings.

pluses were already distributed among manuscripts that did not reflect centralization at Gerizim and late enough that the Samaritan and Judean communities must have held the Pentateuch in high esteem—otherwise, textual revisions regarding the selection of the site of worship would not have been meaningful to its readers. In view of these facts, Gary Knoppers argues that harmonizing pluses in the Pentateuch, visible both in texts from among the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Samaritan Pentateuch, would have required time to develop from whatever version of the Pentateuch preceded both MT and the Samaritan text. He argues further that several assumptions about the Pentateuch necessarily underlie the development the Samaritan text and adaptations, including Deuteronomic pluses and ideological revisions like יבחר to בחר or בחר to יבחר. First, one must posit that revising writers treated the Pentateuch as a literary unity. That is, to copy texts from Deuteronomy to passages from Genesis-Numbers requires that scribes

> expect the text of Deuteronomy to cohere with the content of different scrolls…
> The copying of a passage from one book to another presupposes that both corpora
> are but two separate sections within a self-contained corpus. The literary strategy
> of conflating variants in new contexts implies an underlying understanding of the
> Torah as an integrated, self-consistent, and unified entity.[95]

Knoppers further supports this argument by noting that the same kinds of "scribal operations" are visible at the chapter level;[96] at the chapter level and at the level of the larger literary work, these demonstrate the same kind of scribal process with similar outcomes. For contiguous text and for episodes separated by greater distances within the scrolls, the text was treated in the same manner.

> In each case, a scribe duplicates a text from one literary setting and blends it into
> another to create greater consistency in the overall literary work. What is

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[95] Knoppers, "Parallel Torahs" (2011), 520.

[96] Ibid., 520–521.

particularly relevant for our discussion here is the observation that there is no difference between the two sets of examples. Both scribal operations involve exactly the same type of innerscriptural exegesis. The fact that the same conflationary exegesis operates on both short-range and long-range levels reflects a scribal assumption that the boundaries among books within the Pentateuch are largely, if not wholly, irrelevant for interpretation. The Torah is treated as if it were a discrete entity, a single book. Paradoxically, scribes had such a high view of the Pentateuch that they intervened within the very literary work they sought to uphold. Evidently, the Torah was not yet regarded as having been absolutely fixed in all of its details. The priority was the internal coherence of the corpus itself, understood as a unified literary work.[97]

These additions had the effect of increasing the literary coherence of the Pentateuch,[98] especially by reconciling retrospective reports of Moses' temporally earlier speeches in Deuteronomy with texts narrating the events to which those speeches were understood as temporally proximate.

For the purposes of the argument here, I pause to note that this process can be framed as a scribal response to a particular state of affairs in a particular media environment. As a media offer, the Pentateuch—and particularly Deuteronomy—suggests certain things about the past that were not explicit at the other appropriate points in its narrative. The writer(s) of SamP responded to this unevenness with a particular editorial strategy that appears to have ameliorated the tension brought about by the absence earlier in the narrative of the Pentateuch of things that the narrator, in Deuteronomy, suggests that Moses had said. This particular sort of response—to what were likely perceived as lacunae in the written record[99]—is properly understood as a process in the formation of cultural memory, and we can articulate it within the theoretical framework above: writers copying texts like MT responded to the offer or prompt of that text from the standpoint of

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[97] Ibid., 521.

[98] Though see the statement by Segal, *MG* 12 (2007), 10-17, where he cautions against characterizing all pre-Samaritan variants as "harmonizing."

[99] Knoppers, "Parallel Torahs" (2011), 519–20.

perceiving in it lacunae vis-à-vis another part of the same extensive work, i.e., Deuteronomy.[100]

By interpolating language from Deuteronomy earlier in the Pentateuch, these same writers

altered the media landscape so that the Pentateuch evoked these Mosaic speeches more

consistently. (In the third chapter, I will argue that we should identify another instance of a

response to a perceived lacuna.)[101]

While this sort of editing was unevenly executed across the Pentateuch,[102] it is useful to

consider another example or two from pre-Samaritan texts to illustrate the ways in which the

scribal edits to these texts, which could only be brought about as an actualization of the view of

the Pentateuch articulated above, resulted in different memory offers with different functional

potentials. For instance, both 4QNum[b] and SP for Num 20:13 incorporate later Deuteronomic

elements. SP includes Moses' prayer to Yʜwʜ in Deut 3:23–28, summarizing Deut 3:23 (the

narrative lead for the prayer) with ויאמר משה. 4QNum[b] is here very fragmentary[103] but at frg. 13–

14 it preserves this same insertion. SP continues 20:13 with another insertion from Deut 2:2–6

(similarly recasting the short narrative introduction to this divine speech from ויאמר יהוה אלי

לאמר in Deut 2:2 to ויאמר יהוה אל משה). The procedure in this case is as Tov states and is

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[100] For a summary table of such interpolations, see Tov, "Rewritten Bible Compositions" (2008), 63–65; a précis of other changes shared among pre-Samaritan texts precedes at 61-62.

[101] See below on Ephraim, 193–196.

[102] Ibid., 61–62.

[103] See Nathan Jastram, "4QNumb," in *Qumran Cave 4, VII: Genesis to Numbers*, ed. Eugene Ulrich and Frank Moore Cross, DJD XII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 225 and plate XL; PAM M42.755 (B-284719), PAM I-241587 (B-298698), PAM I-241594 (B-298710), PAM M41.149 (B-288380), PAM M42.750 (B-284163), PAM M43.049 (B-284290), available at deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/["B" number].

paradigmatic for similar insertions througout the pre-Samaritan texts: "with pedantic precision, the editor compared the details of [Deuteronomy 1-3] with the preceding books of the Torah and, where needed, added them in Exodus and Numbers…"[104] That is, as in cases of the compilation of the Pentateuch above, this editorial addition resulted in a different emplotment of the events of Numbers 20 in MT and the pre-Samaritan texts. In MT Numbers 20, the Israelites in the compiled Priestly and Elohistic episodes quarrel with Moses and YHWH; Moses and Aaron consult YHWH at the tent of meeting, Moses strikes the rock with his staff, and the narrator gives the prohibition on Moses and Aaron entering Canaan and provides the etiology for the name of the spring. Moses then dispatches messengers to Edom with a request to pass.[105] The texts of 4QNum[b] and SP add another plot point in this sequence of events, namely the exchange of speech between Moses and YHWH immediately before the dispatch of messengers to Edom.

What the scribe who inserted this addition has brought about is not only the addition of other events (having to do with speech, in this case) in the narrative of Numbers 20, but a difference in the material basis by which ancient Israelites could recall the past. The set of memory offers, consisting in this case of the scrolls, were altered. The scroll of Numbers that existed prior to this addition did not contain the exchange between Moses and YHWH; one of the two scrolls that existed after the scribe's work did. Each of these two necessarily operates differently, in terms of the past that it represents and evokes. In the case of the scroll of Numbers that existed before this insertion, it is possible but not necessary that a knowledgeable reader would recall the words of Moses' summarizing speech in Deuteronomy 1–3 and would infer on

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[104] Tov, "Rewritten Bible Compositions" (2008), 61.

[105] Joel S. Baden, "The Narratives of Numbers 20-21," *CBQ* 76 (2014): 634–52.

the basis of knowledge of that text and the accompanying references to travel and the encounter

with Edom (Deut 2:1, 8) that YHWH had spoken to Moses around this same time and that,

logically, the instructions thereby conveyed (Deut 2:2–6) fit or occurred right before the

messenger exchange with Edom in Num 14:14–21. It was also possible to read Numbers 14

without recalling Deut 2:2–6 or 3:23–28, whether because the reader did not place them at the

same point in the narrative as the scribe who brought about the harmonization, because the

reader simply was not thinking about them while reading, or because the reader did not know

them. So, while such a reading that harmonized Deuteronomy 2:2–6 and 3:23–28 with Numbers

14 was available but not necessary before the scribe acted, after that scribe interpolated Deut

2:2–6 and 3:23–28 into Num 20:13, reading the events in the order emplotted retroactively from

Deuteronomy was unavoidable—foisted upon the reader, willing or unwilling, by the words on

the new scroll, regardless of their knowledge of Deuteronomy or their preconceptions of how

Deuteronomy and Numbers fit together or did not. The pre-Samaritan scroll(s) with this text

evoked the past in a way that MT Numbers did not and could not. The change to the material

basis of the memory offer, in this case, a scroll of Numbers, can therefore be described as

resulting from the scribe's unique reception of other memory offers—a reception colored

especially by a preference for coordination of narratives including divine speech across

Pentateuchal scrolls—resulting in a new, physical, media framework for the commemoration of

the past. Similarly, the other textual differences in the pre-Samaritan text group provide evidence

of this process of generating a new media offer or offers, with a different mnemonic potential.

Returning briefly to the point above, MT and SP necessarily had some eminence or

authority in the communities that read them before the edits from יבחר to בחר (or vice versa)

were carried out. Although for this reason revisions relating to the centralized site of worship are

most likely to have been carried out later, that is, after the pre-Samaritan scribal edits, the pre-Samaritan texts demonstrate how the different material bases—by which knowledge of the past was transmitted and maintained—came about through scribal reception of scrolls and the literary works they contained. Ultimately, whether by some unrecoverable selective process, by coincidence, or by some combination of these, the differing memory offers constituted by the scrolls that underlie the Pentateuchal texts in SP and MT came to constitute the primary means by which this period of Israel's history was represented in the communities in Samaria and Judea, respectively. The transition from יבחר to בחר represents one more stage in this process of divergence in that material basis through time and space; this final transformation resulted in memory offers that allowed the Judean and Samaritan communities to understand cult centralization in radically different ways. One need not describe readership of the SP or MT to describe how either community could have faced the Pentateuch with בחר or יבחר in the references to centralization—along with the references to Mount Gerizim—and found that it evoked a version of the past that was existentially threating for that community. For the Judean community, this may have been the presence or availability of the later narratives of Samuel-Kings which are more suggestive of YHWH's selection of the temple site in Jerusalem, which might not align temporally with what is evoked by Pentateuchal בחר. For a Samaritan scribe, a Pentateuchal יבחר would be problematic for a community tied to Mount Gerizim,[106] which may have been understood as chosen by the deity.[107]

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[106] Deut 27:4, SP.

[107] There is evidence that this last change can be situated historically. See Stefan Schorch, "The Samaritan Version of Deuteronomy and the Origin of Deuteronomy," in *Samaria, Samarians, Samaritans: Studies on Bible, History and Linguistics*, ed. József Zsengellér, Studia

While this final change may have post-dated the Chronicler's work,[108] it is likely that the harmonizing readings of the pre-Samaritan texts date at least to the third century BCE, i.e., the early Hellenistic period. This temporal proximity to the Chronicler, who seems to have shared some tendencies with the scribe(s) who brought about the harmonizations characteristic of the pre-Samaritan texts,[109] allows one to situate the Chronicler in a stream of shared scribal tradition in the late Persian/early Hellenistic period and, just like the composition of the Pentateuch, demonstrates how scribes altered the material basis by which the past was represented.

The development of the pre-Samaritan tradition can be conceptualized as a process of social memory which had a material basis and diachronic development. This development, or at least the way in which it is now visible, is coterminous with the evidence left behind by scribal practice. With both cases above, the processes of scribal reception allow one to draw conclusions about the receptive frameworks within which the scribes of the pre-Samaritan texts and of the Samaritan Pentateuch were working.

One can also illustrate the outcomes of such scribal work for the functional potential of the texts that were produced in the course of that work. In the case of the Pentateuch, the compiler attended to maximal preservation, minimal intervention, and chronological order. These resulted most obviously in a text that did not and does not fully cohere and that causes difficulty for readers attentive to the narrative problems it contains. More importantly for the

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Judaica Forschungen zur Wissenschaft des Judentums 66; Studia Samaritana 6 (Berlin; Boston: de Gruyter, 2011), 32–37.

[108] As suggested by Schorch, "The Samaritan Version of Deuteronomy" (2011), 34–35.

[109] See below.

purposes of the present study, however, it resulted in a new scroll that commemorated Israelite oppression in Egypt and Moses' origin story in a way that combined disparate elements from the J, E, and P documents and linked them in chronological order. Only the compiled Pentateuch is explicit in representing Moses as both having been placed in a basket in the Nile and having killed an Egyptian. One must acknowledge that Moses may already have been understood within the compiler's immediate circles as having done both—even before the compilation of the Pentateuch—and one must also acknowledge the way in which such knowledge is now beyond reach. Whatever the case, the compiler through his work altered the material basis of knowledge about Moses' and Israel's past; functionally, the new scroll had to evoke all these events and characteristics of Moses together and in a new order because the narrative recorded thereupon emplotted all of them. And, since substantially all of the details of each document entered the compiled Pentateuch, those documents could be ignored or neglected if so desired; while the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, such neglect is at least plausible though not demonstrable.

A final point that the above two cases help to illustrate is that, at least as far as social memory is concerned, one must move beyond speaking about the biblical texts only as literature to countenance the materiality of the scrolls upon which that literature was encoded and the distinctive human interactions involved in its reception and production, of which the former, especially, is the basis for the present study. The approach taken here is therefore sympathetic to

the "material turn" in biblical studies and in reception history, [110] and because it characterizes

scribes as "memory agents," to the heightened attention on human persons in antiquity.[111]

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[110] Timothy Beal, "Reception History and Beyond: Toward the Cultural History of Scriptures," *BibInt* 19 (2011): 357–72, esp. 365-366.

[111] Alice Mandell and Jeremy Smoak, "The Material Turn in the Study of Israelite Religions: Spaces, Things, and the Body," *JHebS* 19 (2019); Eva Mroczek, "'But They Do Exist': Human Presence in Ancient Studies, Review Essay on *Writing on the Wall: Graffiti and the Forgotten Jews of Antiquity*, by Karen B. Stern," *HS* 60 (2019): 455–71. While I accept that our knowledge of such persons remains tentative and constructed (especially given that much of the evidence I will deploy below is literary), material evidence does sometimes point directly to such persons and sometimes allows one to differentiate between individuals on its basis; see Mladen Popović, Maruf Dhali, and Lamber Schomaker, "Artificial Intelligence Based Writer Identification Generates New Evidence for the Unknown Scribes of the Dead Sea Scrolls Exemplified by the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaᵃ)," *PLoS ONE* 16.4 (2021).

It is important for understanding social memory theory that scribes as "memory agents" were embodied, as Paul Connerton has claimed in *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 72–78. I maintain, following Pioske, that certain aspects of Chronicles are best explained by the embodied presence of the writer in Jerusalem. See Pioske, *David's Jerusalem* (2015), e.g., 167, for the argument that the appearance of Jerusalem and the wrtier's experiences in that place to have spurred textual changes to the sources; in the terms here, this embodied experience likely shaped the "media offers." Biblicists making use of memory studies must therefore ground their construction of the implied authors of a text by understanding them as embodied, as does Pioske, even while admitting that such constructions remain contingent.

The theoretical sketch above demands that one consider as fully as possible the scribe as an embodied, historically contingent, and socially situated person who brought idiosyncracies to their work. That is, for the purposes of inquiry about cultural memory, one implicates the scribe not just as the implied author of a literary text but as a real and embodied person. In practice, of course, because scribes are masked by the anonymity characteristic of works in the Hebrew Bible and because of our great historical distance from them, the extent to which one can characterize these embodied interactions and mediations of the prefigured past is limited by the availability of internal textual and other material evidence, but theoretically, at least, one may implicate the scribe's location, upbringing, health, disabilities, scribal training, proximity to temple and/or palace bureaucracies, and roles in a family and other social structures.

Chronicles: Its Writer, Sources, and Mnemonic Potential

In this final section I turn to the book of Chronicles, framing the Chronicler's reception and remediation of other texts in anticipation of the case studies that follow. In chapter three through five below, I will argue that Chronicles has sometimes been misunderstood; deploying the theoretical framework here and adequately characterizing what I call its mnemonic potential will require a full chapter on the genealogies, Solomon's accession, and the Joash narrative. Stated briefly, one part of this mnemonic potential is that Chronicles resignifies characters and stories who were unrepresented in other historical works as of significance in the history of Israel and Judah. At this stage, though, it will help to establish my basic approach to the work within the framework above, to clarify some of the key terms, and to make some distinctions that will be important to the arguments of the following three chapters.

Within the theoretical framework articulated above, the scroll of Samuel-Kings is a media offer, the scroll of Chronicles is a media offer, and the scribe as a memory agent occupies a mediating location between scrolls comprise them. This scribe also mediates other written or unwritten media offers. The evidence of scribal reception for earlier texts is similar to the cases described above, where there is what I called "internal" and "external" evidence of reception. For the documents of the Pentateuch, the evidence of reception is entirely internal. For the pre-Samaritan texts, the evidence is external in the sense that we have access to the Pentatech, which stands outside of those texts, from which by all indications the pre-Samaritan texts derive. The situation throughout Chronicles varies. Where its sources are preserved, evidence of scribal reception is external to the work in the sense that something similar to the media offers from which the scribe worked remains available. (For now, let us consider it plausible that Chronicles had other sources which did not survive.) In such cases, evidence for scribal reception can only

be internal; that is, one judges the likelihood of sources and their constitutive elements from characteristics of the work itself. In the chapters below, I will make separate arguments that make use of both kinds of evidence. Even in the second case, though, where there are unpreserved sources, I will demonstrate that one can more confidently make the case for such unpreserved sources by first characterizing scribal reception in a set of cases for which there is "external" evidence. So, one can nonetheless make the argument for scribal intervention on the basis of literary evidence, as one does in separating Pentateuchal sources. Because we have external evidence of the sources, we are warranted in characterizing the relationship between Chronicles and its sources in the way that I have above, that is, with a scribe mediating between a set of existing media offers and a new one.

In the above description of scribalism, I argued that in some cases we have evidence that allows the identification of single historical persons as responsible for scribal artifacts. This is especially true of material evidence like handwriting, which is unique to individuals. In the case of Chronicles, this kind of evidence is lacking. I note, therefore, that it is unfalsifiable to characterize the act of writing the book of Chronicles as the work of a single historical person. I maintain, though, that given the external and internal evidence above, we must understand the writer or writer(s) of Chronicles as scribes and memory agents in the ways described above. In the rest of this dissertation, I will use the term "writer" instead of "the Chronicler" or "the author." This nomenclature denotes engagement with scribal activity, while it also recognizes that, in the case of Chronicles, more than a single scribe might have been involved in writing the

work—even in those sections where it is entirely coherent.[112] It is also important to precisely the same degree that arguments for scribal mediation of source texts depart from manuscript evidence for the sources. (Note, though, that the situation with Chronicles differs from the Pentateuch because the sources of Samuel-Kings constitute evidence external to the work itself of the process of writing.)

I stated already that the mnemonic potential of a work arises as a result of its medium, the manner in which can interface with other media offers, and social conditions. I will deal with the first and third features below, but we should consider more fully here the question of how Chronicles interfaces without other media offers.

It is beyond dispute that the writer of Chronicles relied extensively on extant materials in the process of composing his history.[113] These included a written form of the Pentateuch,[114]

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[112] Such a qualification is also important because it appears that scribal work was sometimes a familial occupation, on which see above 86 n41.

[113] Good overviews of the parallels are presented by Charles C. Torrey, "The Chronicler as Editor and as Independent Narrator (Continued)," *AJSL* 25 (1909): 188–217, at 192; Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, ICC (New York: Scribner, 1910), 17–26; Samuel R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, revised ed., International Theological Library (New York: Scribner, 1914), 527–33. See more recently Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, Hermeneia 13 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 31–44.

[114] Within Chronicles, terminological differences in references to the Pentateuch are immaterial to the claim that the writer knew a written form of the Pentateuch that was well-developed. See below, and for now Judson R. Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler's History Work: An Inquiry into the Chronicler's References to Laws, Festivals, and Cultic Institutions in Relationship to Pentateuchal Legislation*, Brown Judaic Studies 196 (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1989), esp. 87–121; Shuai Jiang, "God's Law and Theocracy: The Use of »YHWH's Torah« in Chronicles," *ZAW* 131 (2019): 444–58. Jiang argues that תורת יהוה (the torah of Yhwh)is a form of the Torah associated with the evaluation of Judean kings. The phrase תורת משה (the torah of Moses) reflected the reception of this Torah by Moses and, regularly, its written form. Jiang's references are overly restrictive and should be extended as follows. תורתי ("my torah") in 2 Chr 6:16 fits with Jiang's schema in which Torah associated with YHWH is the evaluative measure

Samuel-Kings, and (very likely) Joshua and Judges. It is also very likely that the writer had other

sources texts that have gone unpreserved. After the writer's composition of Chronicles was

finished, these media offers were almost certainly not discarded. The question is how Chronicles

might then interface with them. Was it important for readers of Chronicles to also interact with

these media offers so that it could unfold its own, chronologically sweeping (if not entirely

comprehensive) narrative of Judah's history?[115]

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for Judean kings, but it is not discussed. Because I discuss the reception of the Pentateuch in the Chronicler's work below, I provide here a brief list of explicit references to the Pentateuch; as Shaver demonstrated, though, the Chronicler's reliance upon and evocation of the Pentateuch's legal codes reaches far beyond explicit references to it. Such a dependence is also visible in the genealogies in Chronicles, on which see chapter three below.

תורת יהוה: 1 Chr 16:40; 22:12; 2 Chr 6:16 (1cs suffixed form, i.e., יהוה); 12:1; 17:9, 31:3, 31:4, 34:14, 34:15 (התורה is the equivalent of תורת יהוה in the preceding verse); 35:26. תורת משה: 2 Chr 23:18, 25:4, 30:16. (2 Chr 25:4 may reflect a disordered form of the phrase from 2 Kgs 14:6 ככתוב בספר תורת־משה ("as it is written in the book of the law of Moses") but in any case, the text of Chronicles by ככתוב בתורה בספר משה ("as it is written in the torah in the book of Moses") still associates torah, its written form, and Moses; that is, this torah, even if it is not the precise equivalent of תורת משה, is still present in Moses' book.)
Other references to תורה: 2 Chr 14:3, 2 Chr 15:3, 19:10, 31:21, 33:8 (התורה והחקים), 34:19.

[115] See especially Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, AB 12 (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 133, "If Chronicles as a complete literary work is to be compared with any corpus of biblical writings, it probably should be compared with the primary history… The scope of the two works is similar. Like Genesis, Chronicles takes as a point of departure the first human(s). Both the primary history and the Chronicler's history are sweeping in their coverage, beginning with the first person(s) and ending with the Babylonian exile. Both incorporate a broad mixture of genres… Both evince a national concern with Israel in its tribal and state forms… In this context, there is something to be said for viewing Chronicles as a second national epic." Knoppers made these observations in the context of his argument that the category "Rewritten Bible" is inadequate to characterize Chronicles, which should be understood as its own literary work, but the comparison to the "primary history" (despite this "history" being anthological rather than a single work) in chronological scope, national concern, and the incorporation of varied genres, is probative.

In the framework that I have laid out above, one must separate inquiry about the sources of Chronicles into two discrete lines, which also coincide with two stages of the cyclical process within social memory that I identified above. The first line of inquiry is related to the scribal process. This line of inquiry will pursue questions about what media offers the writer received (that is, what was "prefigured" in other media offers) and about the ways in which these were received: were they rejected, modified, nuanced, included whole cloth, used to evaluate, etc.? The second line of inquiry is related to the mnemonic potential of Chronicles, as literature and as a media offer. In this line of inquiry, one would inquire how, given Chronicles as a media offer, understandings of the past might have shifted. In keeping with its nature as a literary text, one would also inquire about how the narrative of Chronicles evoke other texts? That is, does Chronicles rely, implicitly or explicitly, on a reader's knowledge of other media offers, whether or not we identify those with the sources from which its writer worked. In this second line of inquiry, one would also take into account the availability of other media offers in contexts in which Chronicles is also present, to whatever extent this is known.

These two separate lines of inquiry—one into the writer's reception of source texts in Chronicles, and another into what Chronicles might make possible—will be developed extensively in the third, fourth, and fifth chapters below. For now, though, I pause to note that it is commonly claimed that Chronicles requires of its readers textual knowledge of Samuel-Kings. This claim is grounded in two others. The first subclaim is that textual knowledge of Samuel-Kings is required for Chronicles to make sense to readers. The second subclaim is a blanket characterizations of Chronicles' sources, including Samuel-Kings, as "authoritative" or

otherwise eminent;[116] if the sources were authoritative in some sense, then by reusing them

Chronicles also presumes of its readers textual knowledge of those same sources.[117] Claims of

this latter type are very often associated with others that Chronicles cannot replace Samuel-Kings

or the primary history (Genesis-Kings) because it starts and ends in different places (i.e., it does

not re-emplot all events but emplots some of them in such a way that it is complementary to

other historical narratives), or that the Chronicler's reuse of authoritative texts would have, by

proxy, enhanced the Chronicler's own authoritative stance and made it more palatable to its

audience.[118] These two assumptions—textual knowledge of Samuel-Kings and authoritative

appeal to the same—may both be called into question.

Let us consider this first claim, that textual knowlegde of Samuel-Kings is necessary for

the reader to make sense of Chronicles. This is so commonly assumed that it is taken almost as a

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[116] This association of the Chronicler's source citations with "authority" goes back at least to Torrey, *AJSL* 25 (1909), 196, even though he thought that the Chronicler entirely made most of the sources he cites. The sources are called "authorities" by Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (1910) e.g., at 22; see also Driver, *An Introduction* (1914), 528–29.

[117] Marc Zvi Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 21, "the books of Samuel and Kings were well known to [the Chronicler's] contemporaries, and were probably in some sense authoritative."; Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 191, "the Chronicler's citing of the Torah appears to be founded on the need to indicate an authority, a need that is characteristic of his entire method. He repeatedly specifies the sources for his historical narrative..."; Ben Zvi, "One Size Does Not Fit All" (2011) (throughout); Pioske, *David's Jerusalem* (2015), 157, "few literary antecedents from antiquity can be cited that equal the Chronicler's bold attempt to both preserve and reshape significant components of an older and authoritative text."

[118] See, for instance, Brettler, *The Creation of History* (1995), 21–23.

given. Marc Brettler, for instance, has taken such a position.[119] In support of this claim, he cites Rodney Duke.[120] But Duke's statement of the position is telling, because it vacillates between characterizing the reader's knowledge as knowledge of a text, on the one hand, and characterizing their knowledge as knowledge of tradition, on the other hand. Duke says this when asserting that the Chronicler's audience had textual familiarity with his sources, "approximately one-half of the Chronicler's history is set forth with material with which, *we can fairly safely assume*, the audience would have had some familiarity."[121] He states shortly thereafter that "in contrast [to detailed textual work that examines 'minute differences' between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings], it is the working assumption of this book that *the Chronicler expected his audience to be familiar in general with such traditions found in Samuel-Kings*, but that he did not expect or desire from them a detailed, synoptic reading of the two histories."[122] It is not quite clear then, whether readers of Chronicles are presume to rely on knowledge of a text or knowledge of some tradition. Note, though, that the claim about knowledge is tied not to the

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[119] Brettler, who I will continue to cite in the following discussion, relies on Thomas Willi's statement of the problem. Responding to Steuernagel and summarizing his own view, Willi writes that "spricht gegen diese These die Tatsache, daß einem Leser ohne Kenntnis der Samuel- Königs-Bücher die Chronik oftmals völlig unverständlich wäre, daß diese vielmehr sehr häufig *Voraussetzungen* macht, die ihre Klärung nur in der älteren Geschichtsrelation finden." ("The fact that a reader without knowledge of the books of Samuel-Kings would often find Chronicles fully incomprehensible, and that moreover it makes very difficult assumptions, which find their clarification only in comparison to the older history, speaks against this thesis [that Chronicles replaced Samuel-Kings.]")

[120] Brettler, *The Creation of History* (1995), 20 n19; Rodney K. Duke, *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler: A Rhetorical Analysis*, JSOTSup 88; BLS 25 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 111–38.

[121] Ibid., 110, emphasis added.

[122] Ibid., 111–112.

ways in which Chronicles itself evokes text but to the writer's reception of source texts, i.e., the

parallels between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings. The claim of the audience's knowledge—

whether textual or tradition—is tied to the writer's reception of the sources.

Returning to Brettler's argument for presuming readerly familiarity with the text of

Samuel-Kings, one can observe another common feature of analysis, which is the argument that

particular parts of the narrative rely on background information that the reader needs—

information that could be drawn only from Samuel-Kings. So, for instance, characters may enter

a scene without any introduction. Brettler's parade example is the case of Saul in 1 Chronicles

10.[123] He claims that Saul's death in Samuel-Kings likely presumed readerly knowledge of

Saul's reign as portrayed in Samuel, specifically, 1 Samuel 28. But the text of Chronicles does

not require textual knowledge of Samuel-Kings. It requires only that the reader know that Saul

was a king of Israel before David, and that he consulted a necromancer.[124] In the argument that

details like this require textual familiarity with Samuel-Kings, this claim entails that the only

source for knowledge about Saul was the text of Samuel-Kings, which is implausible. The

readers of Chronicles would not have to be familiar with the text of Samuel-Kings to know that

Saul was condemned for consulting with sorcerers. So, even though the Chronicler's narrative

starts abruptly, readers would not have to know the text of Samuel-Kings to follow it.

Rather, the writer's lack of introduction for Saul is comparable to that of Moses in the E

document described above: just as Moses was not introduced, Saul needed no substantial

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[123] This is also drawn from Willi's work.

[124] Saul Zalewski, "The Purpose of the Story of the Death of Saul in 1 Chronicles X," *VT* 39 (1989): 449–67.

introduction because he was likely to be known as the nation's first king. Like all literary works, Chronicles requires some background knowledge on the part of its readers to cohere. But it is a fallacy to posit textual knowledge of Samuel-Kings in every case where such background knowledge seems to be required.

The second claim which attempts to ground readerly familiarity with sources of Chronicles is the suggestion that they were authoritative or eminent, and therefore well-known. This claim should, similarly, be examined. I do not deny that the Samuel-Kings might have been in some way eminent, perhaps because their scrolls were old or because their prose style was in some way prestigious and therefore, imitated by the writer.[125] But the way that Chronicles refers to those sources does not have to be taken as suggesting that they were authoritative in both its narrative world and in the world of its readers. Further, it need not be understood as directing readers to these sources for a fuller or more complete account of history.[126]

Brettler characterizes the source citations as "authoritative footnotes."[127] Comparing the source citations in Chronicles to footnotes is very apt. The anachronism should be held aside, because this analogy can be extended. Footnotes and endnotes, besides signalling that the author

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[125] See Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 122–23.

[126] The references within Chronicles may be read as suggesting that the accounts of its sources are less relevant. This is perhaps signaled by the use of the phrase יֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי ("the rest of the deeds of…") in 2 Chr 13:22, 20:34, 25:26, 26:22, 27:7, 28:26, 32:32, 33:18, 35:26, 36:8), and also in the slightly different text of 1 Chr 29:29, the concluding formula for David's reign, by ודברי דויד המלך הראשנים והאחרנים הנם כתובים על־דברי שמואל הראה ועל־דברי נתן הנביא ועל־דברי גד החזה ("And as for king David's earlier and later deeds, they are already written upon the chronicles of Samuel the seer, upon the chronicles of Nathan the priest, and upon the chronicles of Gad the seer.") The formula implies that the Chronicler has told the reader what is relevant for the emplotment of his history.

[127] Brettler, *The Creation of History* (1995), 23.

has consulted authorities or some other source, can be ignored. Further, for footnotes and endnotes, the reader may or may not already have knowledge of the sources cited, may or may not have access to them, and may or may not ever consult those sources. The sources cited in footnotes and endnotes may or may not exist. Similarly, the source citations in Chronicles refer readers to (many) other scrolls, of which the reader might or might not already have had knowledge and which might or might not have been available. Presumably, the degree of effort required to obtain further information was higher than it commonly is for footnotes or endnotes. I make this comparison with awareness of the anachronism present, only to substantiate the claim that citing "authorities" whether in footnotes, endnotes, or in the running citations of Chronicles never, by itself, suggests that a reader knew the texts cited or that they would follow up on them.

Here then, we can make the very basic but important distinction between the writer's interaction with the sources and the way in which Chronicles compels a reader to interact with the sources. The writer of Chronicles interacted with its sources in the real world, reading and selectively copying from them. As a literary work, even though Chronicles evokes a whole system of sources and suggests that its history relied extensively on them, this fact does not, by itself, require knowledge of those sources or compel its reader to interact with its sources.[128]

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[128] This distinction holds no matter the precise identification of all these sources named within Chronicles and no matter whether the writer actually consulted those sources or knew them by the names with which the yare called in the work. It also holds if they were not consulted, whether because their very existence is fictitious—as alleged by Charles C. Torrey, "The Chronicler as Editor and as Independent Narrator (Continued)," *AJSL* 25 (1909): 192–96 and John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983)—or whether because those sources were real but unavailable. For an overview of positions on the Chronicler's sources, see Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 19–23, and especially Katherine Stott, *Why Did They Write This Way? Reflections on References to Written Documents in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Literature*, LHBOTS 492 (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 6–8, 60–67.

Conclusion: A Model for the Study of Social Memory and Biblical Texts

The above discussion has framed memory theory with scribal activity as a fruitful means for overcoming some of the difficulties present with memory theory in biblical studies. I would like to conclude by describing the ways in which the model theorized above represents a step forward.

I identified the problem of reception in this chapter, that is, the problem of how readers might collectively respond to media offers, as a significant problem for biblicists. This is because there is little evidence for the collective reception of biblical texts in some periods. Because evidence for reception exists primarily in the minds of persons and because we do not have any way to access that evidence for collective audiences in antiquity—through interviews, surveys, or other quantitative and qualitative means of collecting evidence—there is very little evidentiary basis for constructing readerships.[129] Synchronic approaches to social memory attempt to work around this problem of collective reception by reconstructing the implied authors and the implied audiences of biblical texts on the basis of a given text and others in the Hebrew Bible, as a heuristic, and by describing the reception of biblical texts among those reconstructed audiences.

Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (1910), 22–23, countenance already the likelihood that some of the Chronicler's references to prophet-associated sources are a shorthand for the parts of Samuel-Kings in which those figures appear. They argue further that, even if no text from other sources entered the Chronicler's work intact, it would be impossible to negate the possibility that the Chronicler drew more freely from other texts: "at the same time it is also plausible that the Chronicler may have had before him one or more sources from which he derived subject-matter which he freely composed in his own way. Certainly, some of the new historical reminiscences preserved in Chronicles were, in all probability, derived from written sources."

[129] I do not mean to suggest that there is no evidence for such collective reception, only that it pales in comparison to what a scholar might need to describe with integrity the collective, early reception of biblical texts.

But describing the reception of texts by an audience constructed on the grounds of those same texts is circular and unfalsifiable.

The approach outlined here, by contrast, suggests that the processes of reception and production that the biblical texts and other scrolls provide evidence of is, although limited, a more secure way in which to observe the processes of collective memory. It will also allow one to describe how the act of writing—which is in itself an act of reception—may have contributed to changes in collective memory.

In each of the textual examples discussed above, I described how various writers, by producing a new scroll or a "memory offer," altered the media environment upon which collective memory depends, making it possible that various characters and even divine speech would be differently understood. In the case of the Pentateuch, scribal acts of reception resulted in a scroll that incorporated substantially all the narrative details of the J, E, and P documents. The writer's work resulted in a radically new presentation of Moses and the Israelites' oppression in Egypt. The mnemonic potential of such a scroll resided primarily in its ability to evoke on its own a "complete" history, at least with reference to the events of the documents that it incorporated, and in the sense that it emplotted, in a new chronological order, the events of the J, E, and P documents.

In the case of the pre-Samaritan texts, the scribal supplements appear to respond to an assumption of Pentateuchal coherence and unity—that what is emplotted in one portion of the Pentateuch should cohere with or repeat (in the case of Deuteronomy) what is emplotted in other portions of the Pentateuch. The Pentateuch was received by this pre-Samaritan writer as coherent, even if imperfectly so. Later, the divergence over time between the SP and MT led to a

different mnemonic potential in these sets of scrolls,[130] which were later adopted by different

communities as authorizing their unique claims to a centralized site of worship. These scribal

interventions, probably accumulating over some time in the pre-Samaritan texts and then in the

Samaritan Pentateuch or MT, had the potential to shape not only the collective memory of each

group. These scribal changes also eventually allowed two texts, which clearly originated from

the same source, to support two competing claims of historical sanction for centralized cult sites.

In this way, the history of scribal interventions in the Pentateuch runs along with the

development of collective memory in these communities.

In the final textual case, I provided some basic distinctions about the sources of

Chronicles and its relationship to them. The sources of Chronicles are theorized here as media

offers, the writer as a scribal, mediating, memory agent, and Chronicles itself as a new media

offer. As such, it has a potential that arises from its material and literary characteristics, from its

particular social environment, and from the way it interfaces with other media offers.

Withholding, for now, an analysis of the social environment (insofar as we have any evidence for

it) and some of its literary characteristics, I suggested that the question of the relationship of

Chronicles to other media offers be teased out into two different lines of inquiry, one related to

the writer's reception of other media offers in the writing process, and another which

characterizes how Chronicles relates to those media offers after it was written. This introduction

of two distinct lines of inquiry with respect to the sources will be highly important for the fourth

and fifth chapters below, where I will pursue it more fully. By contrast, in the third chapter, I will

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[130] Again, this holds regardless of the direction of editing for the בחר // יבחר pair; for the argument here, it is unnecessary to take a strong position on the direction of editing here, and I will not do so.

argue that we can situate Chronicles in a particular social environment, even if tentatively; in that chapter, then, I will rely less on how Chronicles might interact with other media offers and instead on how it

In concluding this chapter, it will be useful to reflect briefly on the theoretical framework above as a whole. This theoretical framework takes seriously both the materiality of scribal products and the role of scribes in mediating media offers of various kinds. If, as I argued, it is true that evidence of reception is of high importance whenever one deploys social memory as an analytical lens, then scribal practices—as the best ancient evidence of reception—are implicated in every such analysis. The scribe, as a memory agent, mediates reception and production, thereby both interacting with collective memory and issuing in his products the very means by which it is sustained.

I would also argue that the theory worked out above shows promise of value beyond its applicability to the cases above and the ones below. Specifically, this value lies in three places. First, in contrast to synchronic approaches, the theoretical framework here allows one to integrate insights from other forms of higher criticism. The brief sketches above, for the Pentateuch and Samaritan Pentateuch, demonstrate how one might integrate insights from the documentary hypothesis, from manuscript evidence in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and from studies of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The careful exercise of textual criticism is necessary in that it allows one to discern processes of reception. Second, the theoretical framework here actually works in concert with some existing studies of social memory. It does not undercut them, but rather, may be understood as participating in a similar discourse—even if at a higher level of abstraction. In articulating a more robust theoretical framework, and grounding it in current literature on memory theory, it is compatible with the work of several scholarly projects described at some

length in the first chapter above, not least those of Pioske, Richelle, Weinbender, and Wright. Third, the model I propose helps to push towards terminological clarity. This chapter has drawn a sharp line between media offers and collective memory. The two are not ever to be identified. As I described above, it is common in the field to find scholars talking about "memories" and implicating biblical texts in all kinds of ways, often imprecisely. The framework presented in this chapter differentiates between media offers and social memory, which is necessarily abstract. This is helpful because it can introduce a more precise vocabulary to biblicists who wish to work with social memory, which is too often a nebulous category.

Chapter Three:
Scribal Processes and Mnemonic Potential in 1 Chronicles 1–9

Martin Noth opens *The Chronicler's History* with the argument that identifying the

sources used by the Chronicler is of paramount importance because, as a historical witness,

Chronicles is only valuable when it used such sources.

> da Chr zeitlich den von ihm erzälten Ereignissen zu fern steht, um selbst als
> historischer Zeuge angesprochen werden zu können, kann er vom Historiker nur
> so weit herangezogen werden, wie er nachweislich oder wenigstens
> wahrscheinlich ältere literarische Quellen zugrunde gelegt hat. Nun ist Umfang
> und Art der Quellenbenutzung durch Chr leicht und eindeutig da zu ermitteln, wo
> die benutzten Quellen sebst uns noch aus der alttestamentlichen Überlieferung
> bekannt sind. Schwierig wird es erst, wo es sich um die Frage der Verwertung uns
> sonst unbekannter Quellen handelt, deren Vorhandensein und Inhalt nur indirekt
> aus Chr selbst erschlossen werden kann.[1]

While the argument of this chapter—and this dissertation—is not concerned with evaluating the

historicity of the events narrated in Chronicles, it nonetheless encounters the problem described

by Noth. It does not deal extensively with questions of the narrative's historicity or historical

probability, but this chapter will characterize a historical process, namely, the ways that scribes

at work on the opening chapters of Chronicles received and remediated source texts, the material

outcomes of this process, and implications for social memory in Yehud. The ways that the

Chronistic writer(s) treated texts paralleled in the Hebrew Bible remain somewhat accessible

through a comparison of Chronicles and those texts."[2] For the genealogies, even if one does not

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[1] Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im alten Testament*, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft: Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse 2 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1943), 173–74.

[2] This is the case even if this process is not, as Noth suggested (ibid), "leicht und eindeutig da zu ermitteln." See above all Werner E. Lemke, "The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History," *HTR* 58 (1965): 349–63.

agree with Noth that there is within them an accompanying unrestrained textual growth,[3] discerning non-synoptic sources is, by comparison to other parts of the book, difficult, because of the apparently great variety of sources and the lack of any form of citation. As a result, studying the sources and scribal methods at work in the Chronicler's genealogies requires determining, through examining minute textual details, what may have been carried over from non-biblical sources and what is likely a product of the writer(s).

I undertake such a study in this chapter. Below, I survey especially the anecdotes and characterizations embedded in the Chronicler's genealogies.[4] Beginning with material that has textual parallels, I sketch a scribal method that demonstrably varies between pithy summary and block reuse of earlier text. This method, of summary or direct reuse, appears in the genealogies, proper, but especially in the embedded anecdotes. I also note a few cases in which anecdotal material was generated or elaborated by the writer(s). On every such occasion, a constellation of linguistic, stylistic, thematic, and/or ideological marks reveals these comments as of a piece with other Chronistic writing.

After this, I analyze the longest unparalleled anecdotes in the genealogies. Differing proportions of the linguistic, stylistic, thematic, or ideological markers of Chronistic composition appear in in two of these longer anecdotes, one about Jabez's name and status (1 Chr 4:9–10) and

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[3] Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (1943), 164, "Die große Masse dessen, was jetzt in 1. Chr. 2–9 steht, ist ein Gewirr von sekundäre wilden Textwucherungen."

[4] There is to date no study focused narrowly on the anecdotes embedded in 1 Chronicles 1-9. The best summary is in Manfred Oeming, *Das wahre Israel: Die »genealogische Vorhalle« 1 Chronik 1–9*, BWANT 128 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), 211–17. Alexander Rofé, "Clan Sagas As a Source in Settlement Traditions," in *A Wise and Discerning Mind: Essays in Honor of Burke O. Long*, ed. Saul M. Olyan and Robert C. Culley, Brown Judaic Studies 325, 2000, 191–203, discusses briefly 1 Chr 2:21–23; 7:20–24.

another about the second Reubenite/Hagrite war (1 Chr 5:18–22). The story of the second

Reubenite/Hagrite war also shows textual dependence on the account of the first (1 Chr 5:10).

This story of a second war is, through and through, the product of a writer who elaborated the

earlier account in a manner consistent with peculiar ideological and stylistic features of

Chronicles. One of these ideological or theological elements—that of prayer and immediate

divine response—is shared by the story of Jabez. Here, though, the textual evidence does not

allow one to determine whether the anecdote and Jabez's prayer came from an unpreserved

source or from a Chronistic writer.

The presence of this second scribal tendency to ideological or tendential elaboration and

new composition alongside the method of verbatim reuse or summary of anecdotal text allows

one to triangulate anecdotes that are neither summarizing nor tendentially elaborative. Because

they preserve arcane details about the characters and their motives, some of the anecdotes cannot

be understood as summary or summarizing prose. These anecdotes include the tale of Simeonite

expansions (1 Chr 4:33b–43, the account of the first Reubenite/Hagrite war (1 Chr 5:9–10), and

the birth of Beriah and Sheerah (1 Chr 7:20–25). These same texts are also not ideologically or

tendentially elaborative. For each, I argue that the writer(s) who incorporated them in the

genealogies probably relied on written sources which have not been preserved.

After this, I return to the theoretical framework and questions articulated in the last

chapter. There, I argued that scribal remediation—in the sense of reproducing written media or

transferring and revising or rewriting them—is an essential process of social memory. By

attending to scribal reception of such media, which is revealed to some extent in scribal

processes, one may generate hypotheses about problems within systems of social memory. One

may also generate hypotheses about the mnemonic potential of new media offers for social memory, in this case the text of 1 Chronicles 1–9.

Even though in each of the cases described above we do not have definitive proof for the existence of source texts, the work in the first part of this chapter allows for a discussion of the genealogical anecdotes within the above theoretical framework. The assignment of several of the longer anecdotes above to unpreserved sources is suggestive of some tensions that existed within the media landscape with which the writers were familiar. At the most basic level, the writers likely perceived that there were important facts—known to them from textual records now lost—about Israel and Judah, including important persons, as well as information about settlement patterns, ancient battles, and the ancestry of population elements at home and abroad that were, at the time of the scribe(s) responsible, unexpressed or underexpressed in the Pentateuch and Joshua, Judges, and Samuel-Kings. Including these accounts at the appropriate place in Chronicles united these stories with a comprehensive history of Israel and Judah and remedied their absence from the other histories in a manner that was at once generative for conceptions of who "Israel" was and consistent with the chronology and compositional logic of this new history.

Scribal Processes in the Chronicler's Genealogies

The Chronicler's genealogies have been an object of steady scholarly attention.[5] The genealogies portray Israel's history in a magnificent chronological sweep. They focus on

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[5] The work of Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World*, YNER 7 (Yale; London: Yale University Press, 1977) is foundational, even though he does not discuss the Chronicler's genealogies at length. Predating Wilson, see Emmanuel Podechard, "Le Premier Chapitre des Paralipomènes," *RB* 13 (1916): 363–86; Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus*, SNTSMS 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 3–82.

elements that loom large in the following narrative: the lineage of David and Solomon, the

levitical and priestly lines and their roles in the temple cult, and the descendants and

geographical distribution of Israel's twelve tribes among other peoples.[6] In this way, the

genealogies are properly an introduction and prelude to the narrative that follows.[7] Yet to

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After Wilson, see William L. Osborne, "The Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1-9" (Ph.D. dissertation, Dropsie College, 1979); H.G.M. Williamson, "Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler's Genealogy of Judah," *JBL* 98 (1979): 351–59; Magnar Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in 1 Chronik 1–9*, ConBOT 28 (Almqvist & Wiksell: Uppsala; Stockholm, 1989); Oeming, *Das wahre Israel* (1990); Antti Laato, "The Levitical Genealogies in 1 Chronicles 5–6 and the Formation of Levitical Ideology in Post-Exilic Judah," *JSOT* 62 (1994): 77–99; Yigal Levin, "Who Was the Chronicler's Audience? A Hint from His Genealogies," *JBL* 122 (2003): 229–45; idem, "From Lists to History: Chronological Aspects of the Chronicler's Genealogies," *JBL* 123 (2004): 601–36; Magnar Kartveit, "Names and Narratives: The Meaning of Their Combination in 1 Chronicles 1–9," in *Shai Le-Sarah Japhet: Studies on the Bible, Its Interpretation, and Its Language*, ed. Moshe Bar-Asher et al. (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), 59*-80*; Julie Kelso, *O Mother, Where Art Thou? An Irigarayan Reading of the Book of Chronicles*, BibleWorld (London; Oakville: Equinox, 2007); James Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1–9*, AcBib 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Ingeborg Löwisch, "Genealogies, Gender, and the Politics of Memory: 1 Chronicles 1–9 and the Documentary Film 'Mein Leben Teil 2,'" in *Performing Memory in Biblical Narrative and Beyond*, ed. Athalya Brenner and Frank H. Polak, The Bible in the Modern World 25; Amsterdam Studies in the Bible and Religion 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009), 228–56; Dierdre N. Fulton, "What Do Priests and Kings Have in Common? Priestly and Royal Succession Narratives in the Achaemenid Era," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 225–41; Israel Finkelstein, "The Historical Reality behind the Genealogical Lists in 1 Chronicles," *JBL* 131 (2012): 65–83; Keith Bodner, "Reading the Lists: Several Recent Studies of the Chronicler's Genealogies," in *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography*, ed. Paul S. Evans and Tyler F. Williams (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 29–41; Neriah Klein, "Between Genealogy and Historiography: Er, Achar, and Saul in the Book of Chronicles," *VT* 66 (2016): 217–44; Joachim Schaper, "Genealogies as Tools: The Case of P and Chronicles," in *Chronicles and the Priestly Literature of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Jaeyoung Jeon and Louis C. Jonker, BZAW 528 (Berlin; Boston: de Gruyter, 2021), 307–21.

[6] Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten* (1989).

[7] See already Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2001), 206. See also Georg Steins, "1 Chr 1–10 als Set up der Chronikbücher," in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt*

characterize the genealogies as fitting within a single grand design and fulfilling a single

purpose[8] or as resulting from a single impulse[9] risks flattening the introduction's development

along multiple axes of topic and temporality.[10] In this first part of this chapter, I will characterize

some of the scribal methods that contributed to this multidimensionality and offer a close reading

of the longest embedded anecdotes embedded in the Chronistic genealogies.

Scribal Process and Genealogically Embedded Anecdotes: An Overview

The writers of 1 Chronicles 1–9 excerpted from biblical texts, though not always in the

same way. The texts evince a method that alternates between block reuse of source text and

Israels: Festschrift für Peter Weimar zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres, ed. Klaus Kiesow and Thomas Meurer, AOAT 294 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 483–504, who argues that the genealogies are like the opening scenes of a film, which introduce the viewer to the world in which the following drama occurs. Stein's contribution is noteworthy, but his article is not cited as often as the works in n 5 above.

[8] Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies* (2008); Kartveit, "Names and Narratives" (2007), 73*.

[9] Steven Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles*, LHBOTS 442 (New York; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 40–75; Ingeborg Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy: Gender and Memory in Chronicles*, The Bible in the Modern World 66; Amsterdam Studies in the Bible and Religion 8 (Sheffield: Phoenix, 2015); David Janzen, "A Monument and a Name: The Primary Purpose of Chronicles' Genealogies," *JSOT* 2018 (2018): 45–66. Janzen's study correctly notes the importance of commemorating the dead in the Levant and ancient Mesopotamia and one may agree that this is one aspect of the genealogical introduction. Janzen also allows that there may be more than one purpose at work. The observation about commemoration of the dead is astute and might be considered as a factor at work in the genealogies. The argument of the article, however, hinges on acceptance of a logical fallacy, i.e., that the genealogies were necessary if and only if the primary purpose of the opening chapters is to commemorate the dead. Therefore, because the genealogies are present, the "primary purpose" of the introductory chapters is "to create a monument to the pre-exilic dead of Judah and Israel" (ibid., 66). This improperly conflates the presence of genealogies with their necessity and cites only one possible cause.

[10] For the multiple temporal and topical dimensions of the genealogies, see Oeming, *Das wahre Israel* (1990), 215–17.

summarizing or abstracting genealogical and anecdotal information from it. Accompanying these changes are complex reorderings of familial lines.[11] However, for the anecdotes that do appear in these chapters and have a parallel, certain features become clear. From parallels in the text of the Pentateuch, one observes that some anecdotes were excluded. Where there is a parallel text and the anecdote is included in Chronicles, the story from the source text may be summarized or included letter-for-letter. As we will observe, sometimes, part of an anecdote is represented in summary, whether by reuse of key terms or the appearance of key characters, while other parts of the parallel text are included letter-for-letter.

Paralleled Anecdotes in 1 Chronicles 1–9

The best example of summary in the genealogies is not in an anecdote but in 1 Chr 1:1–4.

¹ אדם שת אנוש ² קינן מהללאל ירד ³ חנוך מתושלח למך ⁴ נח שם חם ויפת
Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahelalel, Jared, Enoch, Methusaleh, Lamech, Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

In this list of names, there is no indication of descent. The list thus contrasts with the genealogies that follow in 1 Chr 1:5–27, which takes the reader as far as Abram/Abraham. There, one finds headings, e.g., בני יפת ("the sons of Japheth"), and other information, for instance, the note about Nimrod in 1 Chr 1:10b, which parallels Gen 10:9 but appears to be an abbreviated version of it.[12]

הוא היה גבר ציד לפני יהוה על כן יאמר כנמרד גבור ציד לפני יהוה
He [Nimrod] was a mighty hunter before YHWH. Therefore, it is said, "like Nimrod, a mighty hunter before YHWH."[13]

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[11] See below the discussion of Ephraim's descendants, page 183.

[12] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 66 notes the exclusion of geographical information; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 275 suggests that this "results in a geographically more consistent presentation, because it lessens the territorial overlap between the descendants of Shem and Ḥam in Mesopotamia."

[13] My translation follows LXX and other early versions, though it would be remiss of me not to mention the complex history of interpretation associated with this verse and with Nimrod.

Gen 10:9

<div dir="rtl">

הוא החל להיות גבור בארץ
</div>

He began to be a mighty one on the earth.
1 Chr 1:10b

Because in other instances the text of Genesis 10 is punctiliously reused (even if this results in an unevenness of formal stylistic elements), the summary seems at first somewhat eclectic.[14]

Nonetheless, in other anecdotes a similar summarizing method appears. In some cases, one observes alternation between abbreviation and precise copying (which we might say also occurs in the letter-for-letter reuse of other text from Genesis 10 alongside the abbreviation of the note about Nimrod). Such an alternation between abbreviation and copying occurs in the comment about Er, Judah's firstborn, in 1 Chr 2:3–4. Here, the writer selectively transmits Genesis 38. Genesis 38:1-6 is summarized in 1 Chr 2:3a (especially by the use of the names Er, Onan, and Shelah, and the appellative הכנענית, "the Canaanite," for Judah's wife); Gen 38:7, however, is included almost to the letter (underlined).

<div dir="rtl">

3 בני יהודה ער ואונן ושלה שלושה נולדו¹⁵ לו מבת שוע הכנענית <u>ויהי ער בכור יהודה רע</u>
<u>בעיני יהוה וימיתהו</u> 4 ותמר כלתו ילדה לו את פרץ ואת זרח כל בני יהודה חמשה
</div>

3 The children of Judah: Er, Onan, and Shelah—his three [sons] born by the daughter of Shua, the Canaanite. <u>But Er, Judah's firstborn, was evil in the eyes of Y</u><small>HWH</small><u>, and he put him to death.</u>[16] 4 Then Tamar, his daughter-in-law, bore Perez and Zerah. All the sons of Judah: five.

See recently Mary Katherine Y.H. Hom, "'…A Mighty Hunter before YHWH': Genesis 10:9 and the Moral-Theological Evaluation of Nimrod," *VT* 60 (2010): 63–68; Yigal Levin, "Nimrod the Mighty, King of Kish, King of Sumer and Akkad," *VT* 52 (2002): 350–66.

[14] One may cite, beyond variation in the presence of patronyms, the differently marked gentilics in 1 Chr 1:11–12 and 1:14–16, which follows the source's diversity, as pointed out by Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 288.

[15] Reading with LXX and emending נולד to נולדו.

[16] The textual notes in BHS suggest loss here of the sentence וגם אונן משנהו רע בעיני יהוה וימיתהו ("Onan, his secondborn, was also evil in the eyes of Yhwh, and he killed him"). This is the suggestion of Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, HAT 21 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1955),

1 Chr 2:3–4

⁷ <u>ויהי ער בכור יהודה רע בעיני יהוה וימתהו יהוה</u>
<u>But Er, Judah's firstborn, was evil in the eyes of Y</u>HWH, and Y<u>HWH</u> <u>put him to death.</u>
Gen 38:7

Besides the lack of the (redundant) subject יהוה and the plene spelling of וימיתהו, the text of

Genesis is precisely reproduced. Chronicles then returns immediately to summarizing in the

following verse, which itself narrates not the events but the results of the chapter and

genealogical information from elsewhere, most likely Numbers 26:19-21.[17] In 1 Chr 2:3-4, then,

the scribal method alternates between summarizing and copy of other extant text.

The next narrative snippet, a characterization of עכר (Achar), appears in 1 Chr 2:7 and

seems to be a pastiche with textual influence from Josh 7, especially Josh 7:1.[18]

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10. Rudolph cites the targum of Chronicles in support. For 1 Chr 2:3, however, the targum is not sound evidence. Immediately before and after the section that parallels the sentences in 1 Chr 2:3b (MT), the targum follows MT very closely. By citing the targum as evidence for a haplography of וגם אונן משנהו רע בעיני יהוה וימיתהו, Rudolph does not note this significant difference; while it must signal either a) the targum is reading a different text, or b) the targum is interpreting 1 Chr 2:3b in light of Genesis 38, it cannot support the phrase that Rudolph suggests. One would posit instead something like ויהו אר ואונן רעים בעיני יהוה וימיתהו, which cannot be evidence for a haplography like the one Rudolph suggests; alternatively, one should accept that the targum incorporates language about Onan on the basis of Genesis 38. Indeed, this is more likely bceause the targum exhibits a further plus, about the reason for which Yhwh put Er and Onan to death: על דהוון מחבלין ית אורחתהון ("because they corrupted their ways"). As Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 297, so briefly remarks, it is more likely that the Targum has harmonized its account with that of Genesis.

¹⁷ Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 14.

¹⁸ Josh 7:1 has עכן, but see Ralph Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 82 n9 for the observation that the base text for Chronicles may have had עכר; Klein implies that the wordplay between the PN עכר and the verb לעכר was levelled already in the LXX's Vorlage. Neriah Klein, *VT* 66 (2016) argues that both the Er and Achar anecdotes foreshadow events later in Chronicles, particularly the death of Saul and the exile. In the case of Achar, he claims that adaptation to Achar and Zimri (in Chronicles) from Achan and Zabdi (in Joshua) is intentional because of the wordplays. For Zimri, he points out the root זמ״ר "to prune, cut off," because in Chronicles, the suggestion is that Zimri's line is "cut off." As we will see below, there is other such allusive

<div dir="rtl">

וימעלו בני ישראל <u>מעל בחרם</u> ויקח <u>עכן בן כרמי בן זבדי</u> בן זרח למטה יהודה מן החרם ויחר
אף יהוה בבני ישראל

</div>

The children of Israel <u>transgressed against the banned goods</u>. <u>Achan, son of
Carmi, son of Zabdi</u>, son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took from the banned
goods. And the anger of Y<small>HWH</small> burned against the children of Israel.
Josh 7:1

<div dir="rtl">

ובני זמרי[19] <u>כרמי ובני כרמי עכר</u> עוכר ישראל אשר <u>מעל בחרם</u>

</div>

The children of <u>Zimri: Carmi. The children of Carmi: Achar</u>, tormentor of Israel,
who <u>transgressed against the ban</u>.
1 Chr 2:7

Two parallels here (underlined) suggest direct textual dependence. First, the lineage of עכן is

recounted in nearly identical formulation in Josh 7:1 and in 1 Chr 2:7.[20] Second, in Joshua and

Chronicles, the offense is described with the phrase מעל בחרם. Knoppers notes that the phrase

מעל בחרם is unusual in Chronicles, but it appears in Josh 7:1.[21] The constellation of

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wordplay in the Chronicler's anecdotes; Klein's argument should be accepted, on its own merits
and given additional evidence from the story of Beriah and Sheerah, on which see below page
181.

[19] I am reading here parallel to Josh 7:1, 18 and with Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 82 n8,
BHS, and Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 295.

[20] The line is reversed perhaps in accordance with Seidel's law, in which the constituents
of a quotation are given in reverse order. Alternatively, the writer changed this from an
ascending genealogy in the source to a descending one to fit the thematic concern of this
passage, which is with Achan/Achar's actions. On the latter possibility, see Jacob M. Myers, *I
Chronicles*, AB 12 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 13, for a similar case with Judah.

[21] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 304. Troy Cudworth, *War in Chronicles: Temple
Faithfulness and Israel's Place in the Land*, LBHOTS 627 (London; New York: Bloomsbury,
2016), 5 states that there is "no evidence that [the Chronicler] ever borrows [the verb מע״ל] from
his *Vorlage*." Cudworth is speaking primarily of characterizations of Israel's unfaithfulness, 1
Chr 2:7 is cited (ibid., 4) without any indication of the parallel in Josh 7:1.

correspondences in the lineage and the phrase מעל בחרם are suggestive of direct textual influence from Joshua.[22]

As in the case of Achan/Achar, some other characterizations in the genealogies are introduced with the relative particle אשר.[23] One of these characterizations is perhaps the best example of a perfect parallel of non-genealogical information in Chronicles and another text: 1 Chr 1:43 // Gen 36:31, which chronologically situates the kings of Moab with respect to Judah and Israel's own kings. Both texts are identical: ואלה המלכים אשר מלכו בארץ אדום לפני מלך מלך לבני ישראל ("And these are the kings who ruled in the land of Edom before a king ruled the children of Israel").[24]

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[22] See also Itzhak Amar, "Expansion and Exile in the Chronicler's Narrative of the Two and a Half Tribes (I Chr. 5.1–26)," *JSOT* 44 (2020): 369–70.

[23] Leaving aside clarifying notes about maternal descent, including 1 Chr 2:9 (אשר ילדה פילגשו הארמיה), Moses' cultic (אשר נלד לו בחברון) 3:1, and 7:14 (אשר נולד לו) directions in 6:34 [6:49] (ככל אשר צוה משה עבד האלהים). The referent for אשר האלה הערים את יקראו בשמות in 1 Chr 6:50b [6:65] is unclear in Chronicles; see Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 184–185 for an analysis of how a rearrangement of material from Joshua 21 made this statement problematic. 1 Chr 4:10, 4:41, and 9:2 will be discussed below.

[24] See also 1 Chr 4:33 // Josh 19:8. The other אשר clauses in the genealogies either a) synchronize a lineage with historical events, or b) provide other background or contextualizing information. 1 Chr 1:12 associates the Philistines with Caphtor. In 1 Chr 4:22, the אשר clause provides a short but substantive anecdote about interactions with Moab by at least some of the persons or groups just mentioned; while MT seems corrupt in the phrase וישבי לחם (וישבי for וישבו?), reading with LXX and the Targum (וישבו בית לחם) is not much preferable. Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 141–2 notes the parallels with intermarriage in Ruth. Despite historical problems with the proposal (see ibid., 140), 1 Chr 4:18 describes intermarriage, this time with a daughter of Pharaoh. 1 Chr 5:6 mentions "Beerah, [Baal's] son, whom Tiglath-Pileser, king of Aššur, took off into exile; he was a chieftain of the Reubenites" (and see Klein, *1 Chronicles* [2006], 161–62 for the argument that the genealogy of Joel's descendents is here linear—while not as explicit as 1 Chr 6:1-15, context almost demands that it be taken in the same way, since both the genealogies of Reuben and Levi, in 5:36 [5:10] and 5:41 [5:15], synchronize later events with the line of descendents). The אשר clause in 1 Chr 5:36 synchronizes the descendants of Aaron with service in Solomon's temple (הוא אשר כהן בבית אשר בנה שלמה בירושלים). Similarly, in 1 Chr 6:16 [6:31], the אשר clause (אשר העמיד דויד) correlates persons named in the genealogy

Anecdotal information also appears to contextualize elements of a list. For instance, when the tribe of Reuben appears after the (lengthy) genealogies of Judah and Simeon, the text supplies an explanation of the loss of Reuben's birthright and the non-sequential genealogical recording. After the heading ובני ראובן בכור ישראל ("and the sons of Reuben, firstborn of Israel") in 1 Chr 5:1, instead of the expected genealogy there is an intrusive statement.

> ¹ ובני ראובן בכור ישראל כי הוא הבכור ובחללו יצועי אביו נתנה בכרתו לבני יוסף בן ישראל
> ולא להתיחש לבכרה ² כי יהודה גבר באחיו ולנגיד²⁵ ממנו והבכרה ליוסף
>
> ¹ And the sons of Reuben, firstborn of Israel—he was the firstborn, but when he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given to the sons of Joseph, son of Israel. But he (Joseph)²⁶ is not genealogically registered according to the

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with David's organization of levitical cult singers, which is recounted in 1 Chr 16:4–7; because this material is unique to the Chronicler, the synchronization is with the Chronicler's own understanding of cultic history and not with the text of Samuel-Kings. In 1 Chr 9:12, an אשר clause is embedded in a slightly longer anecdotal characterization and provides specificity about the locations first occupied by perons who returned from exile.

²⁵ The grammar of the phrase ולנגיד ממנו is obstruse. One might read לנגיד ("as chief"), with dittography of *vav* and an unmarked relative clause (for Judah prevailed among his brothers with respect to the leader that came from him). Japhet suggests that ולנגיד is an "emphatic *lamed*" to introduce the subject, following RSV in its "and a prince was from him." This is unsupported by her proof text, 1 Chr 11:22, where לנגיד באחיו is not emphatic but in parallel to לראש earlier in the verse. Japhet here follows Arno Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax des Hebräischen* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909), 4–6, where there are comments on *lamed* marking the subject but no citation of 1 Chr 5:2. Takamitsu Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 120–21, after surveying many proposed cases, concludes that "it seems to me that not infrequently the emphatic use of Lamed has been asumed a little too hastily without exhausting all the possibilities." Muraoka suggests, instead, that the *lamed* here in 1 Chr 5:2 may be more aptly characterized as one of "specification or reference." Such a use would yield a translation like the one given here, in which I have also attempted to reflect a pleonastic *vav*. Yet another possibility, put forward by Wilhelm Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, 2nd English ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), §121a, is that the subject of the non-verbal clause is contained in the word ממנו, comprising partitive *mem* with the 3ms pronoun, the whole of which functions as the subject, "and of him one became a prince" (italics removed). The remark in GKC clarifies Driver, *An Introduction* (1914), 537, who categorizes this as a predication ("sentence") with an unexpressed subject or verb, but without clarifying the subject.

²⁶ Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 155, n5.

birthright, [2] for Judah prevailed among his brothers, i.e., with respect to the leader that came from him. But the birthright was Joseph's.

The statement is an explanatory summary of stories pertaining to Reuben's misdeeds and the placement of his descendants here in the genealogies. It, too, appears to make direct use of other texts. For instance, the phrase ובחללו יצועי אביו is derived from Gen 49:4.[27] The words נתנה בכרתו לבני יוסף בני ישראל summarize the events of Gen 48:8–22; further, the text provides an explanation of how Reuben's birthright was transferred to Joseph: והבכרה ליוסף ("and the birthright was Joseph's").[28] The text is thus derivative, and it explains Reuben's position in the genealogy and how the birthright was transferred from him to Joseph.[29] For the argument here, the question of the note's genre is beside the point;[30] in terms of scribal practice, there is a fusion of 1) pre-existing textual elements, and 2) a summary explanation for the position of Reuben's genealogy here, and 3) a very brief interpretation of the events of Gen 48.

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[27] See Richard C. Steiner, "Poetic Forms in the Masoretic Vocalization and Three Difficult Phrases in Jacob's Blessing: יֶתֶר שְׂאֵת (Gen 49:3), יְצוּעִי עָלָה (49:4), and יָבֹא שִׁילֹה (49:10)," *JBL* 129 (2010): 209–35, esp. 213-218, for a review of scholarship on the syntax and forms of the words חללת יצועי עלה. See also (differently) Nahum Sarna, בראשית *(Genesis)*, The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 333.

[28] See Matthias Ederer, "Der Erstgeborne ohne Erstgeburtsrecht: 1 Chr 5,1–2 als Schlüsseltext für die Lektüre von 1 Chr 5,1–26," *Bib* 94 (2013): 481–508, esp. 487-490. Ederer aptly argues that in 1 Chr 5:1–2, Israel's adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh is the equivalent of the transfer of the firstborn's double portion (Deut 21:15-17). The Greek text of 1 Chr 5:1-2 appears to similarly reflect the translator's contemplation of Greek text(s) of Genesis; see Peter J. Williams' short but probative "The LXX of 1 Chronicles 5:1–2 as an Exposition of Genesis 48-49," *TynBul* 49 (1988): 369–71.

[29] Pancratius C. Beentjes, "Adopting and Adapting: Some Rewritten Genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–5," in *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*, SSN (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 23–26.

[30] It is commonly described as a midrash; see Thomas Willi, *1. Chronik 1,1 – 10,14*, vol. 1 of *BKAT* 24 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2009), 165–66.

Occasionally, summary information is provided by the writer with a looser dependence on other texts. This is the case in 1 Chr 5:25–26. While there is still some summary of biblical texts, uniquely Chronistic features predominate in that summary.[31] There are thematic, lexical, and stylistic marks with strong affinities to other parts of Chronicles. So, for instance, there is the verb מעל, which is only copied from a source text in the case of Achar/Achan described above.[32] Additionally, one finds the phrase אלהי אבותיהם ("the God of their fathers"), a uniquely Chronistic formation that is, similarly, never derived from a source in Samuel-Kings.[33] There is also a proleptic pronominal suffix in the verb ויגלם.[34] Finally, there are extended parallels between this text and other passages in Chronicles. For instance, ויער אלהי ישראל את רוח פול מלך אשור in 1 Chr 5:26 parallels העיר יהוה את רוח כורש מלך פרס in 2 Chr 36:22.[35] Thematically, the comment presents the unique ideology of divine reward and retribution in its most negative form: "the exile of the two and one-half transjordanian tribes is seen as retribution for their infidelity."[36] 1 Chr 5:25–26 is the product of a Chronistic writer.

Below, I will discuss other examples of comments characterized by these same features, but the examples above adequately survey the scribal method at work in the Chronicler's genealogies. Where one finds genealogical anecdotes with a parallel, they were directly copied

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[31] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (1984), 67.

[32] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 93 n43.

[33] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles* (2009), 11.

[34] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 141.

[35] Amar, *JSOT* 44 (2020), 364. See also Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 170, and Jer 51:11; Hag 1:14; Ezra 1:1; 1:5; 1 Chr 21:16.

[36] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 170.

or summarized. Sometimes, copy and summary methods combine, such that only part of the source text is reused *en bloc*. While some anecdotes or characterizations may be excluded,[37] we do not see them expanded. When the writer generates new material, whether to explain (in the case of Reuben's birthright) or to summarize later events (in the case of the exile of the transjordanian tribes in 1 Chr 5:25-26), there are signs of reliance upon other biblical texts as well as lexical and thematic features that mark those comments as Chronistic. In the longer, unparalleled anecdotes that are analyzed below, we will find evidence of these same methods.

Birth Reports and Characterization

Besides the kinds of anecdotes discussed above and below, two other kinds of narrative remarks appear throughout the genealogies: birth reports and characterizations. Formal features of birth reports will figure in the analysis below, while characterizations do not. A brief comment on both birth reports and characterizations is thus in order.

Timothy Finlay has surveyed birth notices in genealogies across the Hebrew Bible.[38] Genealogies communicate information about descent, and within genealogies, birth notices and qualifications or characterizations about the father or mother are barely a divergence from the genealogical form.[39] Finlay argues that birth reports occur in several specific genealogical

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[37] E.g., in the cases of Enoch and Lamech/Noah, Gen 5:22, 29.

[38] Timothy Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre in the Hebrew Bible*, FAT 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 43–84. The texts are (ibid., analysis from 51-82): Gen 4:1–25; 22:20–24; 25:1–6; 29:30–30:24, 36:1–4; 36:9–14; Ex 6:14–15; 1 Chr 2:2–4, 10-17, 18–24, 25–41, 42–50; 4:5–7, 17–18; 7:14–19, 20–27; 2 Chr 11:18–21.

[39] As put by Timothy Finlay "A birth notice or report itself is almost always an expression of the descent of a person from an ancestor or ancestors. Unless the child and/or its parents are not named [as in 2 Kgs 4], a birth report necessarily conveys genealogical information," Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre* (2005), 43.

situations. Often, these reports show segmentation within a genealogy. For instance, birth reports may occur when (1) children are born to more than one mother (whether to multiple wives or to a concubine). Birth reports may also be deployed when (2) a genealogy traces maternal descent, whether through a sister (in a segmented genealogy) or through a daughter (in a linear genealogy). Finally, such birth reports may occur when (3) the writer wishes to communicate "information about the mother of an important figure."[40]

This chapter will not deal extensively with these birth reports, in part because Finlay's analysis is sufficient and because they are a common phenomenon and thus to be expected in biblical genealogies (especially in segmented genealogies such as those that appear in Chronicles). However, one of their features is germane to the discussion here. Birth reports most commonly appear in only a very short form in the genealogies of Chronicles.[41] This observation will have some importance when we consider below the story of Beriah and Sheerah.

Besides birth reports, one commonly finds in 1 Chronicles 1–9 remarks that characterize persons or summarize lists. Commonly, these remarks take the form of third person independent pronouns (usually as subject of nominal sentences).[42] Sometimes they are rather short, as in the case of 5:23: המה רבו ("they [the half-tribe Manasseh] were numerous"). In other cases, they are longer, as in 4:23: המה היוצרים וישבי נטעים וגדרה עם המלך במלאכתו ישבו שם ("they were potters and inhabitants of Nataim and Gederah, where they lived in the service of the king"). Although

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[40] Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre* (2005), 82. I have condensed Finlay's five categories, which are too granular for the discussion here, to three.

[41] Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre* (2005), 84.

[42] 1 Chr 1:10, 27, 31; 2:21, 26, 42, 55; 4:11, 23; 5:6, 8, 23, 36; 7:31; 8:6, 12, 32; 9:18.

some may reasonably derive from archival sources or oral traditions, the source of these short remarks is very difficult to assess. By contrast, the longer anecdotes analyzed below preserve more details, which allow for a close reading and a characterization of the scribal methods at work in generating or preserving them.

Excursus: The Paratextual Remark והדברים עתיקים

A paratextual remark appearing within the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9 provides secondary evidence in support of the arguments below that the writers used unpreserved sources in compiling the genealogies.

1 Chr 4:21–22 reports the descendants of Shelah, the third son of Judah named in 1 Chr 2:3. This section concludes with a note that intrudes on the genealogical and topographical information: והדברים עתיקים, a phrasal *hapax*. While it has been variously translated,[43] verbal and adjectival forms of עת״ק are elsewhere associated with scribal activity, words, and documents. In Prov 25:1, the phrase העתיקו אנשי חזקיה ("the men of Hezekiah transmitted…") denotes scribal transmission of proverbial materials in the context of Hezekiah's court.[44] עת״ק

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[43] J. Wilhelm Rothstein and Johannes Hänel, *Der erste Buch der Chronik, übersetz und erklärt*, vol. 2 of *KAT* 18 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1927), 65-66, "die Geschichten aber sind alt"; Myers, *I Chronicles* (1965), 24, "these traditions are old"; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 24, "ancient records."

[44] In Gen 12:8, 26:22, and Job 32:15, one finds the prepositional complement מן. These cases are thus irrelevant to an analysis of the phrase in question. *HALOT* improperly lumps together these uses of עת״ק, which denote movement and should be understood as phrasal verbs, together with Prov 25:1, which is suggestive rather of texts. Note that even though speech is associated with עת״ק in the C stem, in Job 32:15 speech is "removed," and the verb denotes movement and not transmission of speech. On Prov 25:1, see most recently Jacqueline Vayntrub, *Beyond Orality: Biblical Poetry on Its Own Terms*, Ancient Word (London; New York: Routledge, 2019), 197–98; Eva Mroczek, "Hezekiah the Censor and Ancient Theories of Canon Formation," *JBL* 140 (2021): 481–502 (at 487) follows Vayntrub. Both point out associations with writing in the versions, i.e., ἐξεγράψαντο in the LXX and דכתבו of the Targum. The closest

also appears in Aramaic in an adjectival form to describe documents, notably in several papyri, all contracts, where it is parallel with חדת ("new") in the stock legal phrase ספר חדת ועתק ("a document new or old").[45] Note that in Cowley 13:6, ספרא עתיקא denotes not "the old document" but the existing deed of sale that Maḥsiyah transfers to his daughter along with a house.[46] I.e., the document qualified by the word עתיק does not have to be of any significant age or antiquity, just extant. Both the verbal C stem, then, and the adjectival form (likely in the *qattīl* pattern) from עת״ק denote existing documents that are then used at a later time. In the Aramaic papyri, the עתיק-document might be used for the purposes of a legal challenge; in Prov 25:1, the causative verbal form denotes the transmission of an existing, written body of proverbs associated with Solomon.

With this evidence in mind, it is worth entertaining whether the phrase והדברים עתיקים in Chronicles finds its closest parallel in the Aramaic legal phrase and/or Prov 25:1. While the first associations of the word דבר might not be with Aramaic ספר, I suggest that in this case in 1 Chronicles 4, a use of דבר as an equivalent for ספר, as "document," is the best reading. Elsewhere in Chronicles, the plural word דברים commonly denotes a written document. This is transparently

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association with this narrower use is Job 9:5, in which the phrase המעתיק הרים ("the one who moves mountains"), with עת״ק in the C stem and denoting the act of moving something from one place to another. The occurrences cited above with מן and without מן should not be understood together; BDB and DCH manage to maintain this distinction while failing to recognize the parallel between Job 9:5 and Prov 25:1.

[45] Cowley 8:16, 13:11–12, and cf. Jacob Hoftijzer, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, ed. Karel Jongeling, HdO (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1995), 898; Arthur E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923).

[46] The adjective עתיק does not suggest a copy, because Cowley 13 repeatedly references the former owner having written a document and given it to Maḥsiyah; it is that document that is the ספרא עתיקא and which is also transferred to Miphtaḥiah, his daughter (Cowley 13:3, 6–7).

the case in the source citation for David's reign in 1 Chr 29:29. There, David's deeds (דברי דויד)

are said to be כתובים על ("written in") the דברי שמואל, דברי נתן, and דברי גד ("the 'words' of

Samuel, Nathan, and Gad"). Here the first occurrence of דבר must be translated as "deeds" or

similar, but this is not true for the other occurrences, because the "deeds" of David are said to be

כתובים על ("written in") the דברי ("words of") of the prophets. In this case, the "'words' of PN"

refer to a document, whether due to an ellipsis or because documents were commonly titled

beginning with דברי.[47] Given this use in Chronicles and the parallel in Aramaic, it is only a small

step to suggest that the דברים עתיקים of 1 Chr 4:22 are not "words" but "documents," in a precise

parallel to ספר עתיק in Aramaic. While lacking the form [PN + דברי], this is to be expected if the

archival records the scribe characterizes were not associated with a prophetic figure or king. It is

thus reasonable to read the phrase והדברים עתיקים as "the documents are extant/old." Even the

adjectival construction parallels the Aramaic phrase. This remark is plausibly a scribal comment

indicating that there were documents of some sort at hand, and the *vav* sets off the remark from

the surrounding text (however minimally).[48]

Other readings of the phrase are less plausible. It is possible, of course, to translate דברים

in a more common sense as "things" or "events." For instance, Rothstein and Hänel suggested

the possibility of taking הדברים in the sense of "thing," with reference to the historical claims

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[47] For instance, one might have said at first ספר דברי נתן ("scroll of the words of Nathan"), and then just דברי נתן ("the words of Nathan"). A second possibility is that this such use might arise from the convention of titular words such as דברי עמוס ("the words of Amos," Amos 1:1) or דברי ירמיהו ("the words of Jeremiah," Jer 1:1). While in these cases the best translation is "speech" or similar, the appearance of these words at the opening of a scroll might then be taken to describe the object itself.

[48] See Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (1985), 199, for another example.

recounted in the preceding section, i.e., the "things" just described, namely the habitation of the linenworkers or the interactions of Jokim et. al. with Moab, are "old" in the sense that they did not happen recently but in the period of David.[49] While they discount this possibility as difficult to understand, it is still adopted in their translation. It is also possible to translate דברים as "words;" because there is no dialogue in the anecdote at 1 Chr 4:21–22, this would just denote that the words of the text themselves being old or preexisting and have thus been transmitted from some ancient source. This use would then be closer to the one in Prov 25:1.

If we may read והדברים עתיקים as a reference to ancient words or text having been transmitted, then in every possible scenario in which it entered the text, it is suggestive of the Chronicler's use of preexisting materials. Consider three possibilities for the way in which such a remark והדברים עתיקים entered the text. It could have been made within documents that the writer of Chronicles encountered and would then have simply been copied from those documents. It could be a remark made during the compilation of the genealogies that suggested the availability of documents on which the surrounding text was based. Finally, it could be a late and supralinear insertion that eventually made its way into the text. In this last case, we might infer that a later scribe had knowledge of the materials on which the genealogy of Shelah were based. In each of these three cases the remark implies the presence of some preexisting source from which text was copied. Although in my view such a reading does justice neither to the evidence for the range of use for דברים in Chronicles nor to the parallel with ספר עתיק in

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[49] Rothstein and Hänel, *Der erste Buch der Chronik* (1927), 66. Other proposals include Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993) "ancient records"; Myers, *I Chronicles* (1965) "these traditions are old."

Aramaic legal documents, all this remains true even on a very mild reading in which דברים

denotes only words and עתיקים denotes copying.

Summary

I have argued so far that anecdotes with a parallel are incorporated in the genealogies

through a unique scribal rubric involving primarily summary and block reuse. When the practice

of the writer or writers differed, there are clear marks of Chronistic ideology or themes as well as

attendant lexical and/or stylistic markers. I briefly reviewed two unique forms of anecdotal

information, birth reports and characterizations, which bear on the discussion below in different

ways. Both the birth reports and the characterizations are too short to allow for the kinds of

analysis that one can conduct with the other anecdotes. Nonetheless, the characterizations had to

be noted because, like the anecdotes, they sometimes offer very short narratives about the

characters. The birth reports were noted for a different reason, namely because their formal

features will be deployed as evidence when I consider the story of Beriah and Sheerah below.

I also proposed a reading of a paratextual remark, probably made by the writer while

composing the genealogies or by an earlier or later writer interacting with the materials on which

part of the genealogies were based. In all scenarios in which it entered the text,

הדברים עתיקים suggests that there were extant materials upon which parts of the genealogies

were based.

Scribal Process and the Unparalleled Anecdotes

In this section, I will offer a reading of the longest unparalleled anecdotes embedded in

the genealogies: the story of Jabez (1 Chr 4:9–10), the Simeonite expansions (1 Chr 4:33b–43),

the Reubenite/Hagrite battles (1 Chr 5:9–10, 19–20), and the story of Beriah and Sheerah (1 Chr

7:20–25). I will also comment on the scribal methods that seem to explain their features, which I will associate with the writer(s) of Chronicles and their reception of extant texts. For the Simeonite expansions, the first Reubenite/Hagrite battle, and the story of Beriah and Sheerah, I will argue that the anecdotes preserve features so inconsistent with the method of summary/block reuse method described above that one must seek another explanation. These stories also lack the ideological and stylistic marks of Chronistic elaboration explored above. I will argue that at least some of these anecdotes were derived from archival materials that reached the writer, perhaps as a part of genealogical records that were not preserved elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. By contrast, the story of Jabez is so closely aligned in its theme and construction that it may not confidently be assigned to a pre-existing source. It may be the product of a Chronistic writer. Similarly, the second Reubenite/Hagrite war is marked by Chronistic elaboration.

Jabez: His Name and Status (1 Chr 4:9–10)

The first substantial, unparalleled anecdote is the story of Jabez (1 Chr 4:9–10). It is transparently an etiology[50] of Jabez's name and his status relative to his brothers.

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[50] On narrative and the etymologies for biblical names, see Herbert Marks, "Biblical Naming and Poetic Etymology," *JBL* 114 (1995): 21–42, esp. 23-4. Marks problematizes the close association of *nomen-omen* in biblical studies and argues that there are complex literary features that interact among biblical naming and narrative for Noah, Moses, and Jacob. This complexity figures here in the short Jabez anecdote in that there are multiple literary dynamics associated with the name in subsequent narrative, on which see the analysis below. On wordplay and implicit/explicit etymologies, see Yair Zakovitch, "Explicit and Implicit Name-Derivations," *HAR* 4 (1980): 167–81. Zakovitch argues cogently that explicit derivations are often secondary/late, though this is unlikely to be the case here because, as we will see just below, the story turns on the incongruence between the name Jabez's mother gives him and his status vis-à-vis his brothers.

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⁹ ויהי יעבץ⁵¹ נכבד מאחיו ואמו קראה שמו יעבץ לאמר כי ילדתי בעצב ¹⁰ ויקרא יעבץ לאלהי ישראל לאמר אם ברך תברכני והרבית את גבולי והיתה ידך עמי ועשית מרעה⁵² לבלתי עצבי ויבא אלהים את אשר שאל

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⁹ Jabez was more honored than his brothers. Now, his mother called him "Jabez," saying "because I gave birth in pain." ¹⁰ And Jabez called to the God of Israel: "O that you truly bless me, expand my territory, and let your hand be with me, and you make pasture—apart from my toil." And God brought about what he asked for.

In this short story, there is a transparent pun on Jabez's name (יעבץ) and "pain" (עצב).⁵³ The

popular etymology accounts for not only Jabez's name but his status with respect to his brothers

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⁵¹ Rothstein and Hänel, *Der erste Buch der Chronik* (1927), 54 note a, and, Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 33, both correctly remark that it is unnecessary to emend the name to יעצב for a closer association with the root עצ״ב, against Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (1910), 107.

⁵² The phrase עשית מרעה is difficult to translate, as noted by Rothstein and Hänel, *Der erste Buch der Chronik* (1927), 54, "[MT] עשית מרעה ist unübersetzbar, obschon der Sinn des Satzes kaum zweifelhaft ist." I have followed R. Christopher Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9–10: An Intertextual and Contextual Reading of Jabez's Prayer," *JHebS* 4 (2002): not paginated, who argues convincingly that עשית מרעה should not be understood as "keep [me] from harm/evil," as it commonly is. This part of Heard's argument is linguistic and based on the uses of עשה + מן, and it should be accepted, which necessarily entails understanding מרעה not as רעה + מן but, more likely, repointing to מִרְעֶה. In addition, Heard proposes a contrast between Jabez and the violent Simeonite/Reubenite expansions in chapters four and five below; Jabez is understood as better because of his non-violent approach to acquiring territory. But this does not allow for the transjordanian tribes' divinely granted victory and the generous spoil that follow their prayer in 1 Chr 5:20–21. Given that the violent acquisition of land and spoil are also divinely sanctioned in 1 Chronicles, there are no grounds for accepting Heard's argument here about non-violence.

⁵³ See especially Isaac Kalimi, "Paronomasia in the Book of Chronicles," *JSOT* 67 (1995): 27–41, who has collected examples of this feature throughout Chronicles. Kalimi (ibid., 40) correctly identifies the explanatory כי clause as a constitutive feature of explicit etymologies in paralleled and unparalleled sections of Chronicles (1 Chr 1:19 // Gen 10:15; 1 Chr 13:11 // 2 Sam 6:8; 1 Chr 14:11 // 2 Sam 5:20; 1 Chr 4:9–10; 1 Chr 7:23 [see below]; 2 Chr 20:26); i.e., either a Chronistic writer constructed the unparalleled texts on the basis of those for which there was a parallel (Kalimi's explanation), or that texts came to the writer with those explanations present in them.

including, perhaps, why there is a town by the same name (1 Chr 2:55).[54] The pithy anecdote

explains the name first—his mother calls him "Jabez" as a pun on the word for her pain in

childbirth.[55] (The difference between the Hebrew root for pain or wearisome labor and the root

that forms the name is only the order of the final two consonants.)[56] Then, the text explains his

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[54] On the association with the town, see Rothstein and Hänel, *Der erste Buch der Chronik* (1927), 54.

[55] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 109, presents two suggestions about why Jabez's name needed an explanation that are confusingly related. First, she suggests that "Jabez" is an intentional mispronunciation, deployed so that the person would not be fated to a future of pain or toil; this latter point, about the fateful nature of a name, is claimed as the central premise of the story. She then later suggests the story is premised on the need to explain the name, which would have sounded curiously like it connoted pain or toil. There are two levels of analysis here; the first adopts a modern point of view (what is the premise of the story?), and the second attempts (explicitly) to adopt that of an ancient Israelite (the name sounds like it has to do with pain/toil); the commentary moves between these two levels of analysis without signaling as much. As a result, it is unclear whether Jabez really is an intentional mispronunciation—and if it was, why it was ineffective in warding off his supposed destiny of pain and toil. Because there is no way to test this premise, it is better to understand the primary aim of the anecdote as an attempt to explain Jabez's status—a consideration explicitly raised by the text at the outset—and that having a name connoting pain or toil is a twist the story takes on its way to that explanation.

[56] The popular etymology suggested in this anecdote operates by a logic of paronomasia or wordplay. A linguistic approach provides only inconclusive results and enters the analysis here only by demonstrating that such an approach is not very illuminating. The name ʿbṣ and root ʿ-b-ṣ appear in Ugaritic; see Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, ed. Wilfred G. E. Watson, 3rd rev ed., HdO 112 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 142. A tentative solution for the Ugaritic root (though not the PN) was advanced by Pierre Grelot in "On the Root עבץ/עבק in Ancient Aramaic and in Ugaritic," *JSS* 1 (1956): 202–5 and the "Complementary Note on the Semitic Root עבץ/עבק," *JSS* 2 (1956): 195. Grelot argued that the Ugaritic root ʿ-b-ṣ is an equivalent for Aramaic עב״ק, "to hasten, to hurry." The changes of phonology and orthography (recording as *tsade*) involved for Ugaritic would be, in this case, the same for Hebrew, and although Grelot does not advance the argument, this explanation is adopted by Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, trans. M. E. J. Richardson, 2 vols. (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1994), 778 (with reference to Grelot's articles in JSS 1-2). If this is accepted, then the most probable linguistic explanation for Jabez's name is as a prefix conjugation form, to be translated "he hastens/will hasten." This result, though I find it to have a

status vis-à-vis his brothers by narrating Jabez's reception of his name. In a highly stylized

request of four parts,[57] Jabez pleads with God to make him successful and keep him from harm

and pain—the attendant circumstance of his birth and his namesake. The very brief report at the

end then explains, by way of divine intervention, Jabez's status, which was plausibly recorded in

the text for either of two reasons—the presence of a city with the same name, when no such

settlement was known to be associated with his brothers, or the increase in his line.

Myers and other scholars have rightly noted the explicit ideological interest of this text,

which differentiates it from other texts about naming. He argues that Jabez's prayer is a comment

by the Chronicler on how Jabez escaped the destiny associated with his name through "genuine

prayer,"[58] assigning fully to the Chronicler the comment in verse 10.[59] The Jabez story represents

a counterbalance to other narratives in that here the deity is the crucial figure intervening

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reasonable basis, does help one to understand either the anecdote or the characterization of Jabez that it develops.

[57] Note that there appears to be end-rhyme throughout the prayer; see Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 110. While end-rhyme is not in itself a constitutive feature of Hebrew poetry, its presence is noteworthy. Even though here it may be more likely to appear due to the frontal position for the *vav* + suffix conjugation form in the second, third, and fourth clauses, these parallels, too, are plausibly understood as a kind of stylizing, i.e., there is verbal and some syntactic parallelism in addition to end-rhyme and wordplay. Even if Jabez's utterance is not best understood as verse, it and the anecdote appear to be composed in a stylized manner. On this, see Heard, *JHebS* 4 (2002). See Frank Michaeli, *Les Livres des Chroniques, D'Esdras et de Néhémie*, CAT 16 (Neuchatel; Paris: Delachaux & Niestle, 1967), 46 n4, for the suggestion that Jabez's utterance is a vow.

[58] Myers, *I Chronicles* (1965), 28.

[59] While Myers' comments are not strongly suggestive of this, in my view, it is impossible to sever the prayer from the introductory phrase ויהי יעבץ נכבד מאחיו ("Jabez was more honored than his brothers"), because this success on his part is what must be explained by the popular etymology. It just so happens that the explanation involves both the mother's naming of Jabez and his escape from the destiny or reputation that the name might imply.

between a given name and "destiny," and prayer is a salient means towards bringing this about.[60]

Importantly, the prayer of Jabez exhibits an ideology that remains consistent throughout Chronicles.[61] This ideology has been described by Japhet in her discussion of the worship of YHWH. She observes that interior devotion is commonly expressed through prayer.[62] In many cases, the divine response to prayer is immediate. In 1 Chr 4:10, the temporal relationship between Jabez's prayer in 10a and the divine response in 10b is unmarked, but the text certainly allows reading that response as immediate. The short anecdote of Jabez thus has a distinctive theological profile with respect to the significance of naming, and it expresses the role of prayer in a way that aligns well with other such episodes in Chronicles.

The Jabez anecdote is consistent with another feature of Chronicles. Elsewhere in the work, characters are given new speeches by the writer. Instead of the direct expression of an ideological position by the narrator, this allows the characters to assert those positions. This feature of the work has been long recognized. By the late nineteenth century, as the result of Graf's work, the reliability of the speeches and prayers in Chronicles—and the question of whether those speeches and prayers were composed by a later scribe or scribes—became the

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[60] See the concise discussion in Rothstein and Hänel, *Der erste Buch der Chronik* (1927), 33. They note as the most important comparanda the pronouncement of pain in childbirth in Gen 3:16 (עצבון) and the story of Rachel's death in childbirth in Gen 35:16-18. In the latter, as she dies, Rachel names her son בן־אוני ("son of my sorrow"). Jacob, though, calls him בן־ימין ("son of my right hand"). The contrast between this story and that of Jabez is clear; in place of the parent renaming, Jabez is relieved of the burden of his given name through prayer. See also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 110–11; Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 132–33.

[61] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (1984), 60.

[62] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles* (2009), 200. Besides the prayer of Jabez, she cites 1 Chr 5:20; 14:10 (11); 2 Chr 13:14-15; 14:11-12 (10–11); 18:31; 20:12, 22; 30:20; 32:7–8, 20; 33:13.

subject of an acrimonious debate.[63] Samuel Driver illustrated that the speeches and prayers have linguistic and lexical affinities with late Biblical Hebrew, as well as stylistic features that appear throughout the Chronicler's work.[64] While Driver's early discussions are helpful, the source and role of speeches and prayer in Chronicles was most thoroughly examined by Mark Throntveit. Throntveit argues persuasively that it is a consistent scribal practice in Chronicles to place speeches or prayers in the mouths of key characters at critical junctures in the narrative.[65] That is, the writer or writers who reworked Samuel-Kings also composed dialogue for characters who appeared in those texts. The Jabez anecdote fits such a practice.

Because of this consistency with the theme of prayer and divine response within Chronicles and because prayers were added by the writer(s) throughout the work, it is impossible to make strong claims about this anecdote's origin. It may have originated as part of a genealogy that was used in this section or from a later writer's hand, perhaps prompted by the ealier toponym and/or the phrase ויהי יעבץ נכבד מאחיו.[66]

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[63] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles* (2009), 7 n27. James Bigger, "The Battle Address of Abijah," *Old Testament Student* 3 (1883): 6–10 and the pieces cited below, by Driver, are rather polemical.

[64] Samuel R. Driver, "The Speeches in Chronicles," *The Expositor*, *Fifth Series* 1.1 (1895): 241–56; idem, "The Speeches in Chronicles," *The Expositor*, *Fifth Series* 1.2 (1896): 286–308.

[65] Mark A. Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles*, SBLDS 93 (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1987). Throntveit identifies formal and thematic elements of these speeches. For instance, the speeches often open with an imperative (שמעוני, "listen to me!") that is not used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (ibid., 38 n78): 1 Chr 28:2; 2 Chr 13:4; 15:2; 20:20; 28:11; 29:5. See also Otto Plöger, *Aus der Spätzeit des Alten Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 60–66.

[66] Rothstein and Hänel, *Der erste Buch der Chronik* (1927), 31, describe it as a comment ("Bemerkung"), but without clear attribution.

The Simeonite Expansions (1 Chr 4:33b–43)

The genealogy of 1 Chr 4:24–43 contains a substantial anecdote about Simeonite

expansions. To allow for some text-critical remarks and to present a reading of the genealogy's

form and relationship to the anecdotes, I offer an annotated text and translation.

[24] The descendants of Simeon: Nemuel and Jamin, Jarib, Zerah, Shaul, [25] Shallum his [i.e., Shaul's] son, Mibsam his son, Mishma his son. [26] The descendants of Mishma: Hammuel his son, Zakkur his son, Shimei his son. [27] And Shimei had sixteen sons and six daughters, but his brothers did not have many children, and all their clan(s) did not multiply as much as the descendants of Judah. [28] They lived in Beersheba, Moladah, Hazor-Shual, [29] Bilhah, Ezem, Tolad, [30] Bethuel, Hormah, Ziklag, [31] Beth-Markaboth, Hazar-Susim, Beth-Biri, and Shaaraim. These were their towns until the reign of David. [32] Now their villages were Etam, Ain-Rimmon, Token, and Ashan—five towns, [33] and all the villages that were around these towns, as far as Baal. These were their dwellings.	[24] בני שמעון נמואל וימין יריב זרח שאול [25] שלם בנו[67] מבשם בנו משמע בנו [26] ובני משמע חמואל בנו זכור בנו שמעי בנו [27] ולשמעי בנים ששה עשר ובנות שש ולאחיו אין בנים רבים וכל משפחתם[68] לא הרבו עד בני יהודה [28] וישבו בבאר שבע ומולדה וחצר שועל [29] ובבלהה ובעצם ובתולד [30] ובבתואל ובחרמה ובציקלג [31] ובית מרכבות ובחצר סוסים ובית בראי ובשערים אלה עריהם עד מלך דויד [32] וחצריהם עיטם ועין רמון ותכן ועשן ערים חמש [33] וכל חצריהם אשר סביבות הערים האלה עד בעל[69] זאת מושבתם
And there were geneaological records for them. [34] As for Meshobab, Jamlek, Joshah	והתיחשם להם[70] [34] ומשובב וימלך ויושה

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[67] The genealogy shifts between segmented and linear presentation. The phrase "his son" in vv. 24-26 most plausibly indicates linear sections of the genealogy. Even though, on the presentation here, there are only twelve generations from Simeon to Hezekiah's time (see below n74), it is plausibly read in this way. See Levin, *JBL* 122 (2003), 611–12 for a summary of four readings.

[68] The textual evidence is ambiguous but note the phrase כל משפחות יששכר, clearly plural, in 1 Chr 7:5.

[69] See Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 143 n18, on the TN, as well as Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, HSM 19 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 204.

[70] See Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 367 who remarks that 33a (זאת מושבתם) neatly concludes the list of towns and that the two references to genealogy (באים בשמות and התיחש)

(son of Amaziah) ³⁵ Joel, Jehu
(son of Joshibiah, son of Seriaiah, son of
Asiel), ³⁶ Elioenai, Jaakobah, Joshohaiah,
Asaiah, Adiel, Jesimiel, Benaiah, ³⁷ and Ziza
(son of Shiphei, son of Allon, son of Jedaiah,
son of Shimri, son of Shemaiah)—³⁸ these,
who entered [the records] by name, were
chieftains in their clans, and their ancestral
houses greatly increased.

בן אמציה ³⁵ ויואל ויהוא בן יושביה בן שריה בן

עשיאל ³⁶ ואליועיני ויעקבה וישוחיה ועשיה ועדיאל

וישימאל ובניה ³⁷ וזיזא בן שפעי בן אלון בן ידיה בן

שמרי בן שמעיה ³⁸ אלה הבאים בשמות נשיאים

במשפחותם ובית אבותיהם⁷¹ פרצו לרוב

³⁹ They journeyed to the entrance of Gerar, to
the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for
their flocks. ⁴⁰ They found rich, good pasture.
(Now the land was expansive, quiet, and
peaceful, for the former inhabitants were
Hamites.) ⁴¹ These, registered by name, went

³⁹ וילכו למבוא גרר⁷² עד למזרח⁷³ הגיא לבקש מרעה

לצאנם ⁴⁰ וימצאו מרעה שמן וטוב והארץ רחבת

ידים ושקטת ושלוה כי מן חם הישבים שם לפנים

⁴¹ ויבאו אלה הכתובים בשמות

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bookend the list of names in vv. 33–38. This reading therefore avoids a redundancy at the end of the town list and better coheres with what follows.

⁷¹ Whether or not בית אבות ("ancestral houses") is best understood as an equivalent of משפחות ("clans"), I have translated the two in this way to reflect the presence of different terms in the Hebrew text.

⁷² The witnesses reflect a *dalet*/*resh* confusion: MT has גדר ("Gedor"), LXX has Γεραρα ("Gerara[h]"). Gerar is to be preferred, for reasons of geography, on which see Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 121 n25, 151–52.

⁷³ The phrase might also be read as denoting extent, i.e., "as far as the east side of the valley."

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in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, and attacked their tents and their dwellings that were there, and they destroyed them. They have lived in their place to this day, because there was pasture for their flocks there.

בימי יחזקיהו מלך יהודה[74] ויכו את אהליהם ואת

המעוניהם[75] אשר נמצאו שמה ויחרימם וישבו

תחתיהם עד היום הזה כי מרעה לצאנם שם

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[74] In the sentence ויבאו אלה הכתובים בשמות בימי יחזקיהו מלך יהודה, it is difficult to understand what the phrase בימי יחזקיהו מלך יהודה modifies. Should one translate "they went, i.e., those who were recorded by name during the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah," or "they went, i.e., those written by name, during the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah"? Some commentators have suggested that the sentence is polyvalent or that it allows for two readings. For example, Ehud Ben Zvi, "Contributions of the Genealogies in Chronicles to the Shaping of the Memory of the Monarchic Period: The Case of Some Simeonites's Vignettes," in *Social Memory among the Literati of Yehud*, BZAW 509 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 429–30 n3 (italics original), argues that "1 Chron 4:41... is phrased in such a way that it carries, at the very least by connotation, two complementary meanings." This is unlikely because one of the "connoted" meanings requires reading the passive participle כתוב with two complements, one of instrument (בשמות) and one of time (בימי יחזקיהו מלך יהודה). While similar double complementation does of course appear with the passive participle (Gen 35:1, לאל הנראה אליך בברחך מפני עשו אחיך), such double complementation never appears elsewhere with כתוב and two instances of *bet*. In every such case of *bet* + the passive participle of כת״ב, *bet* marks the instrument (Exod 31:18; Deut 9:10; Jer 17:1) or writing material/location (Deut 28:61; 29:20; 30:10; Josh 1:9; 8:31, 34; 23:6; 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; Isa 4:3; Dan 9:11, Ezra 3:2, 4; Neh 6:6; 7:5, 8:14; 10:37; 13:1; 1 Chr 16:40; 2 Chr 12:15; 13:22; 23:18; 25:4; 31:3; 32:32; 35:12; 35:26). This pattern also holds for *bet* with all other verbal forms of כת״ב (1 Kgs 21:8; Isa 8:1; Ezek 37:20; Est 1:19; 2:23), except that Est 8:10 denotes authority (בשם). The phrase בעת ההוא in Ezra 8:34 (MT) has been severed from the beginning of the following verse; see Loring W. Batten, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, ICC 12 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1913), 329; Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra · Nehemiah*, AB 14 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 66, 68. In only one other instance does *bet* appear to mark time, Deut 27:3, and this case demonstrates that the convention is to dissimilate prepositions, in that case, *bet* for time and על for the material/location—in contrast to all the instances above where *bet* is used precisely for this.

Ordinarily, then, כת״ב with *bet* marks instrument or location, not time, and in the only instance in which *bet* may mark time with כת״ב and appears in the context where there are two prepositional complements, the prepositions are dissimilated such that *bet* marks time but על marks the material, where *bet* might ordinarily be used. Further, ordinarily, when a designation of time appears, it is not marked with *bet* but in some other way. So, for instance, Deut 17:18 (a full temporal phrase). A reading of בימי יחזקיהו as a further complement to the verb כת״ב is unconventional and one should at least consider another reading. In my view, given its contenxt, the best solution is to see the three words אלה הכתובים בשמות as a gloss on the verb ויבאו or the two words הכתובים בשמות as a gloss on the pronoun אלה; Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten* (1989), 64, suggests that the words הבאים בשמות in v. 38 is a reference to this phrase; on my reading it is more likely that הכתובים בשמות is a gloss than הבאים בשמות. The gloss refers to the persons

⁴² From that group, the descendants of Simeon, five hundred men went to the hill country of Seir, with Pelatiah, Neriah, Rephaiah, and Uzziel, the sons of Ishi, at their head. ⁴³ They attacked the remnant of those who had escaped from Amaleq and have lived there to this day.

ומהם מן בני שמעון הלכו להר שעיר אנשים חמש ⁴²

מאות ופלטיה ונעריה ורפיה ועזיאל בני ישעי

בראשם ⁴³ ויכו את שארית הפלטה לעמלק וישבו שם

עד היום הזה

This text has four discrete sections:

1) an initial genealogy and geographical information (4:24–33),[76]
2) further genealogy with a note about the great increase of certain Simeonite families (4:33b–38),
3) a connected anecdote about a quest for pasture and defeat of local inhabitants in Hezekiah's period (4:39–41), and
4) a further anecdote about a splinter group which similarly settled close to Seir (4:42–3).

The characteristics of this anecdote do not comport with the method of abstracting or summarizing that I demonstrated above for anecdotes with a parallel. Rather, it preserves narrative details in a manner that does not comport with that method. For instance, the text states in 4:40 (וימצאו מרעה שמן וטוב וארץ רחבת ידים ושקטת ושלוה כי מן חם הישבים שם לפנים "…and they found rich, good pasture. The land was expansive,[77] quiet, and peaceful, for the former

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named in the list immediately prior (Meshobab, Jamlech, Joshah, et. al), and the phrase בימי יחזקיהו... is temporal (and ordinary). It synchronizes the attack (ויבאו) with Hezekiah's reign.

[75] I cautiously adopt the well-considered proposal of Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (1984), 62 to emend המעונים to המעניהם ("their dwellings"), while allowing that this solution, like the *qere* and others, is tentative.

[76] The list of Simeon's descendants is paralleled in several places: Gen 46:10, Exod 6:15, and Num 26:12–14. The last is most similar to Chronicles; see Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 146–47 and nn 9–11 for etymologies and minor differences among the lists. Geographical information is drawn from Joshua 15, 19, and perhaps Neh 11:26–29; see Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten* (1989), 64.

[77] See esp. Ps 104:25; Neh 7:4; note the association with abundance in Judg 18:10 (אין שם מחסור כל דבד אשר בארץ).

inhabitants were Hamites."). It also speaks forthrightly about the motives of the protagonists, a

feature that is not present in any of the anecdotes surveyed so far. The motivation to move at all

is stated in 4:39b, לבקש מרעה לצאנם ("to seek pasture for their flocks") and repeated in 4:41

וישבו תחתיהם כי מרעה לצאנם שם ("and they settled in their place, because there was pasture for

their flocks there").

In part because there is a clear segmentation of the materials, there have been suggestions

that the anecdotes are secondary to the genealogies.[78] However, the material in 1 Chr 4:34–43 is

of a piece with the genealogies. It is necessary to state that it was incorporated with some scribal

interventions and that there are some textual accidents that reveal problems in its later

transmission, but this does not make the whole secondary to the Simeonite genealogy of 4:24–

27. For the material in 4:28–33, Japhet notes that מושבתם appears in 1 Chr 4:33b in the place of

נחלה in the parallel Josh 19:8b; similarly, 1 Chr 4:31b distinguishes between "their cities"

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[78] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 39–40 suggested that 4:28–33 and 4:34-43 were both
secondary. He suggested further that the names in 4:34 (וימלך, משובב, and יושה) evoke a narrative
setting, not a genealogy, and that this underlying narrative text was unrecoverable. To the
contrary, Theodor Nöldeke, "Bemerkungen über Hebräische und Arabische Eigennamen,"
ZDMG 15 (1861): 807 notes already a prefix-conjugation name from the root מל״כ; George
Buchanan Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896),
214 describes the phenomenon for toponyms. Names (here, ימלך) appearing as prefix-
conjugation forms are not suspect; so too for the prefixed *vav*, which appears throughout the list
in 1 Chr 4:34-37. Ran Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*,
OLA 28 (Leuven: Peeters, 1988) collects at pp. 119–2 examples of toponyms and personal
names prefixed with *mem*; see 126, section 21399 for משובב. (Note also מבשם in 4:25.) The list
of names in 4:34 is just that—a list of names—and there is no need to postulate a corrupted
narrative text underlying MT.

Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten* (1989), 64, rebutted Rudolph by showing that interest in
geography is central to the Chronicler's portrayal of Israel. He is followed by Japhet, *I & II
Chronicles* (1993), who has refuted that 4:28–33 is secondary. Japhet argues that Rudolph's
assertion is based on a circular argument: the Chronicler was disinterested in geography,
therefore all text showing geographical interest is to be excised.

(עריהם) and "their villages" (חצריהם), characterizing Etam, Ain-Rimmon, Tochen, and Ashan first as villages and then again as cities. These differences in terminology and structure demonstrate the presence of some updates to source texts that were brought together. Some of the other text-critical evidence suggest differences of an accidental nature.[79] Given the text-critical evidence, it is thus apparent that MT for 1 Chr 4:32–33 reflects both some intentional scribal changes (מושבתם for נחלה) and that some accidents occurred in the course of copying.

These features, ranging from the accidental to the minor scribal interventions illustrated above (חמש for ארבע, מושבתם for נחלה), are clearly inadequate to explain the Simeonite expansions. This anecdote, like the genealogy, also shows a concern with geography.[80] The introduction of מושב described above allows a continued play on the theme of settlement not only through the content of the anecdote but through the repetition of the root ישב (4:40bβ, 4:41aβ, 4:43bα). The first expansion's destination is specified not only with למבוא גרר ("to the entrance of Gerar")[81] but further by the phrase עד למזרח הגיא ("to the east of the valley"). The second migration's destination is also specified as הר שעיר ("Mount Seir" or "the hill country of Seir"). Third, there is throughout a concern with identity of the persons involved in the

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[79] For instance, there are some minor discrepancies among the versions; these suggest that multiple stages of copying separate the texts of 1 Chr 4:28–33 and Josh 19:1–9. One such problem is whether Rimmon is to be understood as its own settlement or not (i.e., whether the one should read עין־רמון or ורמון). MT 1 Chr 4:32 confusingly sums five cities despite reading עין רמון. Another such problem is the correspondence of תכן in 1 Chr 4:32 to עתר in Joshua 19:7. See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 123 for the suggestion that this is "a double corruption of 'Atach,'" i.e., that both Joshua and Samuel have erroneously recorded a different place name of עתך, which appears in 1 Sam 30:30.

[80] Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten* (1989), 64.

[81] See the discussion in Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 124–25.

migrations, reflected in 4:38aα by אלה הבאים בשמות ("these, the ones 'entered' by name")[82] and in 4:41 by אלה הכתובים בשמות ("these, written by name").[83]

The short narrative of the second migration cannot stand apart from the first. Besides the fact that the the account of the second migration (4:42–43) begins with ומהם ("some persons from the prior group," namely, the descendants of Simeon) and is therefore syntactically entangled with what precedes (4:39–41), the two sections of this anecdote share major concerns. Indeed, the two verses that recount the second migration are indistinguishable in their major concerns and stylistically from the previous ones. Each relates the Simeonite conquest and destruction of non-Israelite inhabitants. Each contains the deictic phrase עד היום הזה ("to this day"). Inasmuch as understanding the subjects of the second migration relies on the reader just having read the story of the first migration and inasmuch as they share concerns, style, and syntax, these two anecdotes are fully integrated.

Some of the textual features observed so far may also support the claim that these anecdotes derive from archival materials that the writer(s) incorporated in the genealogies. First, the stylistic differences I noted above differentiate the anecdotes here both from other

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[82] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 151 argues that it is unnecessary to emend the phrase even if it is elliptical; it transparently refers to keeping of genealogical records just mentioned (4:33bβ) and may be an approximate parallel for הכתובים בשמות ("those written by name"). Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9* (2004) notes other collocations, for instance לנקב בשם ("to designate by name"), on which see Num 1:17; Ezra 8:20; 1 Chr 12:32; 16:41; 2 Chr 28:15; 31:19. Because of the prevalence of לנקב בשם throughout the rest of the work, it is plausible that the phrases כתוב בשם and לבוא בשם are not Chronistic.

[83] Contra Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 125, the phrase הכתובים בשמות is a gloss for אלה, which itself occurs after the phrase כי מן חם הישבים שם לפנים; while not strictly necessary it clarifies the reference of the pronoun אלה, i.e., not the Hamites who "lived there before" (ישבים שם לפנים) but the persons named in vv. 33–37.

summarizing anecdotes and from other parts of Chronicles. Unlike the summarizing anecdotes, the Simeonite genealogies are very detailed. The anecdotes preserve unique phrases, like הבאים בשמות or הכתובים בשמות instead of לנקב בשמות. Second, the text itself claims that there were genealogical records for the persons involved (4:33b) and, as is evident even from the non-Chronistic genealogical materials mentioned above, there is no reason that such records could not also include anecdotal information.[84] The irregularity in patronymic genealogical depth in vv. 34–38 may also be suggestive of the use of archival materials.[85] Third and finally, the anecdotes seem to suggest an attention to integrating disparate materials with materials that have parallels in biblical texts. Crucial here is the spelling of the name "Shimei" (4:26b) and "Shemaiah" (4:37b), who may be the same person, because in both the genealogy and anecdotes, these persons also share in the motif of increase.[86] The different spelling may be indicative of textual diversity that was not levelled in the process of juxtaposing these sources with one another or subsequently in the transmission of MT. There is thus a stylistic diversity in the passage, but one that does not undo its thematic unity.

Since the Simeonite genealogy proper and the accompanying anecdotes cannot be separated from one another on thematic grounds—due to signs of a shared concern for

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[84] Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies* (1969), 60–62 mentions anecdotal features of the Safaitic inscriptions, and even the Sumerian King List preserves short narrative remarks. The fact that there are comparanda like these, far afield, and close at hand in the Hebrew Bible suggests that the phenomenon is widely featured. A full study of the cooccurrence of genealogy and anecdote would take all of these comparanda into account; this is not such a study.

[85] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 151–52. Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten* (1989), 64 thinks that the variety of materials is loosely conjoined.

[86] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 124.

geography and because the anecdotal text conscientiously refers back to the genealogies—it is unlikely that the anecdotes are a later interpolation. One must nonetheless account for the features above; it is plausible, even likely, that these features are the result of the writer(s) who derived the Simeonite genealogy proper in 4:24–33 from texts that survived elsewhere within the Hebrew Bible and who also incorporated other written archival materials.

Scholars have adduced several other features of the text that suggest the availability of written source materials to the writer. Japhet points out that the anecdotes do not evidence concerns that are typical of other parts of Chronicles, that the circumstances portrayed in the passage may not fit in the Persian period,[87] and that the most likely setting is pre-exilic. She concludes "that some authentic sources have been used for the stories and genealogies of Simeon, although, like the biblical sources, they probably underwent some redaction."[88] I will return to these remarks below.

The Reubenite/Hagrite Battles (1 Chr 5:9–10, 19–22)

Embedded in the genealogies of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh are three substantial narrative passages, two of military conflict with the Hagrites and the other a summarizing comment relating to exile. As discussed above, it is reasonable to attribute these final comments,

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[87] While Nadav Na'aman, "The Inheritance of the Sons of Simeon," *ZDPV* 96 (1980): 136–52, does not make assertions about the source of the material, he does suggest that the tribe of Simeon retained the capacity for collective action in the Negeb and cites 1 Chron 4:38–43 as evidence for this (at p. 152). That is, Na'aman implies that this text communicates information from an earlier period. This question, about the reliability of the information and its transmission through archives, belongs properly to a study like Pioske's *Memory in a Time of Prose* (2018).

[88] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 119.

in 1 Chr 5:25–26, to a writer of Chronicles and not to a later edition.[89] Underlining in the text and translation of vv. 9–10 and 19–22 draws attention to parallels between these two stories.

1 Chr 5:9–10

[9] Now in the east, they settled as far as the border of the wilderness that extended from the Euphrates river, because their livestock multiplied abundantly in the land of Gilead. [10] And in the days of Saul, <u>they went to war with the Hagrites</u>, <u>and they fell into their hand</u>, <u>and they lived</u> in their tents all over the area east of Gilead.

⁹ ולמזרח ישב עד לבוא מדברה למן הנהר פרת כי מקניהם רבו בארץ גלעד ¹⁰ ובימי שאול <u>עשו מלחמה עם ההגראים</u> <u>ויפלו בידם וַיֵּשְׁבוּ</u>[90] באהליהם על כל פני מזרח לגלעד

1 Chr 5:19–26

[18] As for the descendants of Reuben, Gad, and and the half tribe of Manasseh—from the warriors, men bearing sword and shield, or stringing the bow, battle-hardened, there were 44,760 who went out in the army. [19] <u>They went to war with the Hagrites</u>, and Jetur, Naphish, and Nodab, [20] and they received help against them, and the Hagrites <u>and everyone with them were given into their hands</u>, because they cried out to God during the battle, and he was moved on their behalf,[91] because they trusted in him. [21] Then <u>they plundered</u> their livestock: 50,000 of their camels, 250,000 sheep and goats, 2000

¹⁸ בני ראובן וגד[92] וחצי שבט מנשה מן בני חיל אנשים נשאי מגן וחרב ודרכי קשת ולמודי מלחמה ארבעים וארבעה אלף ושבע מאות וששים יצאי צבא ¹⁹ <u>ויעשו מלחמה עם ההגריאים</u> ויטור ונפיש ונודב ²⁰ ויעזרו[93] עליהם <u>וינתנו בידם</u> ההגריאים וכל שעמהם כי לאלהים זעקו במלחמה ונעתור להם כי בטחו בו ²¹ <u>וַיִּשְׁבּוּ</u> מקניהם גמליהם חמשים אלף

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[89] See above, 150.

[90] In light of the preceding *vav* retentive form, MT is to be preferred over LXX (יושבי). See Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 155, n19 for the same reading, which is adopted in the translation without any remark about why it is preferable.

[91] The phrase ונעתור להם is very difficult to translate in a way that reflects both the passive verb, with the deity as the subject, and its complement, the party that benefits.

[92] With Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 155–56, n33.

[93] See 1 Chr 12:22 (12:21) for the single other occurrence of עז״ר + על in the Hebrew Bible. The varying translations in Greek, Latin, and Syriac do not warrant emending MT.

donkeys, and 100,000 persons, for many fell slain, because the battle was from God. <u>They</u> <u>lived</u> in their place until the exile.

וצאן מאתים וחמשים אלף וחמורים אלפים ונפש אדם מאה אלף ²² כי חללים רבים נפלו כי מהאלהים המלחמה וַיֵּשְׁבוּ תחתיהם עד הגלה

Where the text of 1 Chr 5:19–22 is longer than 1 Chr 5:9–10, it is most likely due to creative elaboration of the earlier text.[94] Each of the major constitutive elements of the first narrative appears in the second.[95] There is a very close parallel in the opening statement (single underline). Here, the second story lacks only the temporal phrase. Both texts state that the Hagrites fell/were given "into their hands" (double underline). The addition of ההגריאים וכל שעמהם ("the Hagrites and all who were with them") immediately after this statement in the second anecdote merely restates the contents of the phrase ההגריאים ויטור ונפיש ונודב ("the Hagrites, and Jetur, Naphish, and Nodab") in 5:19. In the second story, the sequence of letters וישבו is repeated twice, though as different verbs (as שב״ה,"to plunder," then as יש״ב, "to live"). While in the first narrative, the meaning of the verb is clear because it is followed immediately by אהליהם, its occurrence coupled with the omission of a report on plunder in the first anecdote may have motivated elaborative reuse in the second.

Where these parallels do not exist, vv. 19–22 are markedly like other Chronistic writing.[96] Specifically, there are two lexicographical features, including a unique phrasal verb found only in Chronicles, the theme of prayer and an immediate divine response (which we also

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[94] Ulrike Schorn, *Ruben und das System der zwölf Stämme Israels: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des Erstgeborenen Jakobs*, BZAW 248 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1997), 269–70.

[95] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 131–32.

[96] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (1984), 65–66.

observed in the Jabez story),[97] and the assignment of truly massive numbers to quantify the

plunder.[98] The phrase עז״ר + על appears only here and in 1 Chr 12:22; while the frequency of עז״ר

in Chronicles and its association with David is worth noting,[99] its occurrence in the unique

collocation "to help [PN] against" only in Chronicles is of greater significance. Similarly, the

phrase בני חיל is frequent in Chronicles but not elsewhere.[100] This lexicographical evidence

supports reading other features of the text as Chronistic, especially the reference to prayer and

trust in God. The doubly explanatory phrases כי לאלהים זעקו במלחמה ונעתור להם כי בטחו בו

("because they cried out to God during the battle, and he was moved on their behalf, because

they trusted in him") encapsulates these two things, trust in God and prayer to him, which are of

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[97] Peter R. Ackroyd, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah: Introduction and Commentary*, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM Press, 1973), 37.

[98] The assignment of very large numbers here is similar to the practice in which numbers in Chronicles, especially for non-humans, are inflated from those present in the source, e.g., 1 Chr 21:25 // 2 Sam 24:24, or otherwise astronomical (on numbers for non-human objects, see Ralph W. Klein, "How Many in a Thousand?," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth J. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 238 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997], 270–82, at 275–277). In this case, though, the plunder is not quantified by the "source" text, i.e., 1 Chr 5:9–10, where there is only the statement that the enemy ויפלו בידיהם ("they fell into their hands") and the root יש״ב, which allows for wordplay (or misunderstanding) with forms derived from שב״ה. Having attended to these features, the writer grapples with the amount of plunder, quantifying it as truly enormous. On the numbers as a significant literary feature within the work, see Neriah Klein, "The Chronicler's Code: The Rise and Fall of Judah's Army in the Book of Chronicles," *JHebS* 17 (2017): 1–19.

[99] William A. Johnstone, *1 Chronicles 1 – 2 Chronicles 9: Israel's Place Among the Nations*, JSOTSup 253 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 77. However, see Sara Japhet, "Interchanges of Verbal Roots in Parallel Texts in Chronicles," *HS* 28 (1987): 9–50, esp. 14–15 and n25.

[100] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 167.

importance throughout the work.[101] Finally, the second anecdote may glean some of its details from other biblical texts.[102] While the first anecdote betrays no sign of Chronistic features, the second is imbued with stylistic and thematic features that suggest it is of a piece with the rest of the work.[103]

Some commentators argue that this anecdote cannot have entered the text at the same time as verse 10 or that, since they are so alike, the same writer cannot have been responsible for including both. For example, Benzinger claims that although the narrative is written "in the spirit of the Chronicler, it cannot be from him, because it would be difficult to explain its insertion here after verse 10."[104] Benzinger's unstated premise is that the anecdote is too repetitive for the same writer to copy or create the first and then embed the second shortly after it. However, the second anecdote is not repetitive in a way that makes it a true doublet of the first. Rather, every

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[101] In addition to the discussion above, see Schorn, *Ruben* (1997), 270–71; Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles* (2009), 200–201.

[102] Specifically, there are 40,000 warriors from trans-Jordan in Josh 4:12 and the 44,760 here, and the order in which plunder is enumerated is similar to Num 31:32-35 (here: camels, sheep and goats, donkeys, persons; Numbers: sheep and goats, cattle, donkeys, persons); see Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (1910), 123–24. These similarities have lead some scholars to the assessment that this is a midrash (in the sense of an interpretive rewriting of the text, like a targum), e.g. Immanuel Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik*, KHC 20 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1901), 20. For an introduction to midrash and the difficulty of adequately defining it, see James Kugel, "Two Introductions to Midrash," *Prooftexts* 3 (1983): 131–55. The characterization is inadequate.

[103] Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (1910), 124; Oeming, *Das wahre Israel* (1990), 135–41. See also Peter J. Williams, "Israel Outside the Land: The Transjordanian Tribes in 1 Chronicles 5," in *Windows into Old Testament History: Evidence, Argument, and the Crisis of "Biblical Israel,"* ed. V. Philips Long, David W. Baker, and Gordon J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 150–52.

[104] Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (1901), 20: "ganz im Geist von Chr, aber doch wohl nicht von diesem selbst, da sonst die Einfügung hier statt hinter v. 10 schwer zu erklären wäre."

case of divergence between the two anecdotes allows them to be read not as a record of the same

event but as different events. They differ in a) their temporal setting, b) the cast of characters,

and c) the location and outcomes of the events. The second anecdote is not synchronized with the

reign of any king. It is temporally uncertain. While the first campaign is recounted as if only the

Reubenites and Hagrites were involved, the second campaign involves on the Israelite side

descendants of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh. On the Hagrite side, it involves Jetur, Naphish, and

Nodab.[105] So, it is possible to understand the second campaign as involving different characters

at a different time, even if some of them (the Reubenites and Hagrites) were previously involved

in another battle. Finally, the second anecdote lacks the highly specific geographical markers

present in the first one. It is geographically undetermined. Precisely where (prepositional)

geographical markers are present in the first anecdote, they are replaced in the second by

prepositional phrases that mark a different temporal aspect of the war, namely, the duration of its

effects. In the first anecdote, the reader is given no indication of how long the Reubenites "lived

in their tents." In the second one, the reader is told precisely how long occupation by these

parties lasted: until their exile (עד הגלה). Note, too, how this last comment prefigures the note in

1 Chr 5:25–26, which we saw earlier is the composition of a Chronistic writer. However similar

they may be, structurally, thematically, and in terms of the persons involved, the second anecdote

does not purport to renarrate the Reubenite/Hagrite war of vv. 5:9–10. The textual features

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[105] Like other elements in the second Reubenite/Hagrite war, these three figures—representing not individuals but kinships groups—may be derived from biblical texts, for instance, Gen 25:15 (Jetur and Naphish). See Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 389, who also suggests that Jetur and Naphish are attested in sources from the late Persian/Hellenistic period. Their appearance in Chronicles may therefore reflect settlement in the Transjordan during the period in which Chronicles was composed.

described above suggest precisely the opposite: a careful avoidance of overlaps that might result in confusion between the two battles. Against Benzinger, it is plausible that the same writer who copied the first Reubenite/Hagrite war into its position in 5:9–10 expanded on it in 5:18–22,[106] painstakingly avoiding overlap between the two.

While the second Reubenite/Hagrite war is easily explained as an elaboration of the first, the account in vv. 9–10 cannot be characterized in the same way. Just like Noth's statement at the beginning of this chapter, proposals about its origin are influenced by debates over the historical value of Chronicles and whether the writers had access to reliable historical records.[107] Nonetheless, given the tendencies towards revision identified in the second narrative above, it seems necessary, as Japhet says, to make a distinction between the two texts.

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[106] Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (1910), 121, "very likely this is an expansion, of a midrashic nature, of the same incident recorded in v. 10 [following Benzinger], but the Chronicler found them different enough to use both." So too Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (1984), 66–67; Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 167. I suggest that the only evidence for a second writer for 1 Chr 5:18–21 is that the numbers for plunder seem inflated vis-à-vis similar numbers elsewhere in the work; Johnstone, *1 Chronicles 1 – 2 Chronicles 9: Israel's Place Among the Nations* (1997), 78.

[107] Williams, "Israel Outside the Land: The Transjordanian Tribes in 1 Chronicles 5" (2002). Williams argues that 1 Chr 5:1–26 corresponds with territorial descriptions in the Mesha Stele and that both the genealogy here and the accounts of the Reubenite/Hagrite wars reflect reliable historical information. This tone towards the question of the historical fate of Reuben was set not by the debate over the historical reliability of Chronicles alone but throughout the secondary literature, wherever the Reubenite/Hagrite wars are addressed; for example, see Franz Delitzsch, *Commentar über die Genesis* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1860), 582–83; Daniel Akiva Kirsch, "The Importance of Looking East: A Study of the Domestic and Foreign Policies of the Kings of Israel and Judah with Regard to Transjordan" (PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2002), 97–99 grapples with the text and comments on Wellhausen's influence in this regard. See also John W. Wright, "The Fight for Peace: Narrative and History in the Battle Accounts in Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth J. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 238 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 153–58.

> *A propos* the problem of sources, it seems that a distinction should be made, even in the non-biblical material, between vv. 18–22 and vv. 4–17, 23–24. The latter verses constitute a collection of records and fragmentary data which are best understood as deriving from ancient sources of some kind… The form—the fact that the material is fragmentary and inconsistent, with none of the passages complete—would indicate that dependence on authentic sources is more likely than fictitious composition… The social, geographical and historical logic of the material also supports the view that the Chronicler had sources at his disposal, and although it is difficult to assess the scope of his editing, it does not seem to be very broad.[108]

Here, Japhet makes a brief argument for the presence of source materials for the genealogical and anecdotal materials in records of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. Japhet suggests that large portions of 1 Chr 5:1–24 are based on external sources because of the characteristics of the material, that is, the way in which it is fragmentary, inconsistent, or incomplete. She also notes that the assumptions of these texts militate against a simple retrospection by the writers of circumstances from their own, later period.

Some of Japhet's assertions are valuable, while others might be called into question. It does not follow from a text's status as fragmentary or incomplete that it depends on an "authentic" source. Moreover, this does not apply to the first anecdote described above, which provides a freestanding narrative, however short. Continuing from the statement of settlement patterns in vv. 8–9, verse 10 cites a temporal period, a protagonist (as the verbal subject), that protagonist's actions (going to war), and the result of that action with a geographical setting for it. This is a story and, while it is difficult to understand its importance or its precise relationship to the genealogy immediately prior, it should not be described as fragmentary. An unstated premise in Japhet's argument—and one that I think is correct—is that in other cases of rewriting or pluses in Chronicles (with respect to Samuel-Kings), the writer does not ordinarily compose

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[108] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 130.

fragmentary text. It is thus relatively more likely that in such a case text that appears fragmentary

or disjointed results from the incorporation of pre-existing materials, which may have been

damaged or in some other way partial. Of course, this only mildly increases the probability that

the text in question derives from some other source.

Therefore, I suggest, not as a replacement to criteria like those described by Japhet but in

addition to them, that the paratactic scribal method so evidently on display in 1 Chronicles 5 is of

value in determining the origin of the materials and in sorting out its significance. One can

augment the assessment by taking into account whether uniquely Chronistic elements appear or

not and whether the text appears to have been abbreviated or summarized in any way. As in the

case of the Simeonite expansions, the story of the first Reubenite/Hagrite war does not show

evidence of Chronistic expansion; although it is short, it does not seem to be highly abbreviated.

It appears within the genealogical record suddenly, with no sign that it was reworked to fit better

in its context. This is manifestly different from the account of the second Reubenite/Hagrite war.

Like the anecdotes of the Simeonite expansions, the first Reubenite/Hagrite war and other

elements of the genealogies were plausibly extant in an external source or source(s) and were

included here in Chronicles from that source.[109]

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[109] Rothstein and Hänel, *Der erste Buch der Chronik* (1927), 103, "Ch[R] habe eine Quelle zur Verfügung gehabt, in der geschichtliche Erinnerungen, auch aus dem Bereiche der früh ihrer politischen Geschlossenheit verlustig gewordenen, aber in einzelnen Geschlechtern oder Geschlechtergruppen fortbestehenden Stammen, überliefert waren, von denen un in den älteren Geschichtsbüchern nichts erhalten ist."

Like the account of Jabez, the anecdote here recounts events associated with the naming

of Beriah and Sheerah while also briefly reviewing events later in their lives.[110] Once again, its

complexity warrants a presentation of the text and translation with brief text-critical and

prosopographical notes.

[20] The children[111] of Ephraim: Shuthelah—and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eleadah his son, and Tahath his son, [21] and Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son. As for[112] Ezer and Elead, the men of Gath, who	[20] ובני אפרים שותלח וברד בנו ותחת בנו ואלעדה בנו ותחת בנו [21] וזבד בנו ושותלח בנו ועזר ואלעד[113] והרגום[114] אנשי גת הנולדים בארץ כי ירדו לקחת

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[110] The name Beriah is attested several other times and is associated with descendants of Asher (Gen 46:17; Num 26:44; 1 Chr 7:30); in Chronicles, it also appears as the name of a Levite (1 Chr 23:10). On the Asherite Beriah, see Diana Edelman, "The Asherite Genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7:3-40," *BR* 33 (1988): 13–23. Willien van Wieringen, "Why Some Women Were Included in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1-9," in *Rewriting Biblical History: Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honor of Pancratius C. Beentjes*, ed. Jeremy Corley and Harm van Grol, DCLS 7 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2011) does not mention Sheerah.

[111] For the names of Ephraim's children and the relationship between the forms of those names here and in Numbers 26, see Nadav Na'aman, "Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler's Genealogies of Asher and Ephraim," *VT* 49 (1991): 107–8.

[112] Reading as a casus pendens with Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 456.

[113] MT can be translated, even if the transition from the linear genealogy prior is difficult. The suggestion that the first four letters of ובניו ("and his sons") fell out by haplography before Ezer's name, proposed by Na'aman, *VT* 49 (1991) (at 106), is unnecessary, even though making this conjectural emendation would smooth the transition from the linear genealogy to the anecdote. Klein adopts this explanation in *1 Chronicles* (2006), 215.

[114] This *vav* + sc form is somewhat unusual but not unprecedented. The *vav* appears to be pleonastic or to coordinate the verb with the casus pendens just prior. Collecting a handful of similar uses, see WO §32.2.1e (#30–33, and compare especially #32, Num 14:31). The suffixed form is the main verb in this initial clause and to be understood as perfective. Once the attendant circumstances of the narrative have been established, the verbal forms shift to *wayyiqtol*. (The word ירדו is necessary a suffix conjugation form because of its position in its clause.) In W. Randall Garr, "The Coordinated Perfect," in *"Like 'Ilu, Are You Wise": Studies in Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures in Honor of Dennis G. Pardee*, ed. H. H. Hardy, Joseph Lam, and Eric Reymond (Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, forthcoming), this form is cited in

had been born in the land, slaughtered them, because they went down to raid their cattle. [22] Ephraim, their father, mourned for them for many days, and his brothers came to comfort him. [23] He went in to his wife, and she conceived and gave birth to a son. He called him "Beriah," because a disaster had occurred in his household. [24] His daughter was Sheerah, and she built lower and upper Beth-Horon,	את מקניהם 22 ויתאבל אפרים אביהם ימים רבים ויבאו אחיו לנחמו 23 ויבא אל אשתו ותהר ותלד בן ויקרא[115] את שמו בריעה כי רעה[116] היתה בביתו 24 ובתו שארה ותבן את בית חורון התחתון ואת העליון ואת אזן שארה[117] 25 ורפח בנו ורשף[118] ותלח

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the appendix with the 4% of other cases best read as perfective (in Garr's terminology, "perfect") forms. Thanks are due to Andrew Zulker for a timely reminder about Garr's chapter and for a helpful discussion on the syntax of 1 Chr 7:21.

[115] The 3fs forms of the Peshitta, Targum, and Vulgate reflect harmonization with the consecutive 3fs verbs preceding. This is most likely for a few reasons, one of which is the reference to ביתו ("his house") at the end of the verse (thanks to Emily Thomassen for this point); compare the remarkably similar text-critical data for this verse and Exod 2:22 (see above, 105 n85). In both cases, it is most likely that the series of forms 3fs – 3fs – 3ms resulted in a 3fs reading in sundry manuscripts in the final position of that sequence. See below, p. 187, for a further argument that Ephraim must be naming both Beriah and Sheerah out of grief.

[116] I read רעה here for MT בריעה. MT may reflect an accidental insertion of ב, motivated by בריעה in the preceding phrase and/or ר/ב confusion; see Donald W. Parry, "A Text-Critical Study of *Hapax Legomena* in Isaiah MT and the Qumran Isaiah Scrolls," in *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Honor of Peter W. Flint*, ed. Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk, EJL 47 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 307–30 (at 327–328), on Isa 66:20: MT and 1QIsa[b] have בכרכרות, while 1QIsa[a] has ובכורכובות. Other solutions, including emending היתה to הרתה and/or understanding בביתו as resulting from dittography of ובתו in the following verse, remain plausible. For these, see BHS as well as Hope W. Hogg, "The Ephraim Genealogy," *JQR* 13 (1900): 147–54 (at 150); Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 215 and n42. LXX reads בביתי instead of בביתו, reflecting an interchange of *yod* and *vav*. Unlike in the Jabez anecdote, the explanatory כי clause is not introduced as direct speech, so this variant is most likely a result of an error that occurred during the transmission of the LXX's *Vorlage* or in the process of translation.

[117] The Peshitta's reading is a creative interpretation of a difficult text, perhaps based on MT, but it is not of high text-critical value for understanding the word שארה and the role of this person. It appears to have read רפח as a verb (from רפ״ח "to heal") and attributed this action to Sheerah; thereafter, the reading diverges further.

[118] It is just as likely that בנו was lost after the name, especially given that the list is schematized in this way throughout, as it is that שותלח was corrupted by a process involving the addition of *resh* and *pe* from the name רפח, the division of this longer name into two parts (רפש and ותלח), and a subsequent metathesis transforming רפש to רשף, as proposed by Hogg, *JQR* 13

and Uzzen-Sheerah. 25 Now Rephah was his [i.e., Beriah's] son, and Resheph [his son], and Telah his son, and Tahan his son, 26 Ladan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son, 27 Nun his son, Joshua his son.

בנו ותחן בנו 26 לעדן בנו עמיהוד בנו אלישמע בנו 27

נון בנו יהושע בנו

As in Reubenite/Hagrite battle accounts, the anecdote is juxtaposed with the genealogy and, as with the Jabez anecdote, it provides an etymology.[119] Verses 20–21 provide a symmetrical structure from Shuthelah I – Shuthelah II and are thus suggestive of intentional shaping of the Ephraimite genealogy from its source in Num 26:35;[120] in reintroducing the name Shuthelah immediately prior to the anecdote (= Shuthelah II?) it is possible to understand the material as having been shaped as a lead-in to the anecdote, which deals with Shuthelah's (presumed) brothers Ezer and Elead, who are also Ephraim's sons (v. 22).[121] In the genealogy's present state, the anecdote provides a bridge between the linear genealogy of vv. 20-21 and that of 25–27. Beriah's name is not present in the genealogical lists proper; yet, it is plausibly this Beriah, a son of Ephraim, who provides a link between Ephraim and the persons named in vv. 25–27, where the genealogy proper resumes with "ורפח בנו."[122] The word בנו ("his son") here denotes a linear

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(1900), 149–50; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 72 follows Hogg's reading. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 167 makes the case for reading with רשף בנו.

[119] As in the case of Jabez, the anecdote's popular etymology is far removed from a linguistic etymology of the name. See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 182.

[120] Na'aman, *VT* 49 (1991), 107–8.

[121] Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (1910), 153.

[122] It is not the case, as suggested by Wellhausen, Hogg, and Rudolph, that the linear genealogy of vv. 25–27 is a continuation of the earlier list. This rests on the conjectural emendation of ורפח בנו ושותלח בנו to ורפח בנו ורשף ותלח. See just above, n118 and Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (2001), 14; Hogg, *JQR* 13 (1900), 149–50; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 72–

genealogy;[123] as much is evident in the links between Nun and Joshua,[124] as well as for Elishama

and Ammihud.[125]

As for Num 26:35, its most plausible source material, the genealogy of 1 Chr 7:10

refracts it into a rather different pattern. The case for taking בנו ("his son") in the lists here as

indicative of a linear genealogy, i.e., the pairs Nun-Joshua and Ammihud-Elishama just cited, is

strong. In Chronicles, then, the persons who are Ephraim's three sons in Num 26:35 are his son,

grandson, and great-grandson.[126] This leads to a chronological break between the anecdote and

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73. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 457, notes that the correspondences in this list of names to the genealogy of Numbers 26:35 and to the first portion of the list are much looser.

[123] See Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 218, 235. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 180 mildly overstates the problem with taking this as a linear genealogy while presenting strong evidence that it cannot be a genealogy of Shuthelah's descendants. If בנו ("his son") in vv. 20–21 reflects descendants of Shuthelah, it seems very strange that he would have two children by the same name (Tahath), and possibly two sons by the name Elead(ah), see Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004). See also Willi, *1. Chronik 1,1 – 10,14* (2009), 257–58.

[124] See Exod 33:11; Num 13:8, 16; Deut 32:44; 34:9; Neh 8:17. Zev Farber, *Images of Joshua in the Bible and Their Reception*, BZAW 457 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 81–82 notes that Joshua's significance for the history of Israel and Judah goes entirely without mention or explanation in Chronicles. He notes, further, that though Moses is mentioned repeatedly in Chronicles, Joshua is only named here, in the genealogy. I suggest that a possible solution may be reached by furthering Farber's own thesis, a few pages later (85): "these discontinuities [in the biblical image of Joshua] were picked up by later interpreters… and used to facilitate a rereading of his story in ways relevant to their own societies, each with its unique combination of religious or cultural identity needs." Because Moses and the Torah, David and Solomon, and the temple are so centered in Chronicles, it was unnecessary for the writer(s) to present a detailed portrait of Joshua, in a manner similar to how the Exodus is not a major event for the history in Chronicles. On the other hand, one might say that here Chronicles does address Joshua by giving him a conclusively Israelite ancestry, rather than only isolated patronym appearing in the Pentateuch and Nehemiah.

[125] Num 1:10; 7:48; see Gershon Galil, "The Chronicler's Genealogies of Ephraim," *BN* 56 (1991): 11–14, at 11. Similarly, Shuthelah is linked directly to Ephraim in Num 26:35.

[126] Martin J. Mulder, "1 Chronik 7, 21B–23 und die rabbinische Tradition," *JSJ* 6 (1975): 141–66 (at 143); Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 231.

the preceding genealogy. If Ezer and Elead are, themselves sons of Ephraim, the linear

genealogy breaks off, apparently after the Shuthelah II in verse 21a,[127] and this chronological

discontinuity is unmarked.

As a result of this chronological break, Knoppers asserts that the anecdote is intrusive

and/or misplaced here.[128] To the contrary, it is not. If the genealogy's opening is constructed

fluidly, whether by a kind of symetrical elaboration of the names in Num 26:35[129] or whether

Shuthelah's family was disposed to papponymy,[130] the picture that emerges in 1 Chr 7:20–27 is

of parallel branches of the family of Ephraim juxtaposed with one another. The descent of one

branch, in which appears similar names to those in Num 26:35, is traced for seven ancestors

(either from Ephraim or Shuthelah I–Shuthelah II or, as I shall argue below, Ephraim–Zabad).[131]

The heads of two other possible branches of the family, otherwise unknown to be sons of

Ephraim, were cut off because the Ezer and Elead were killed.[132] The other branch of the family,

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[127] Cf. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 71.

[128] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 464.

[129] As suggested by Galil, *BN* 56 (1991); Na'aman, *VT* 49 (1991), 107.

[130] As preferred by Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 464. A historical papponymy seems a less likely explanation than Galil's or Na'aman's suggestions about elaboration, given that Chronicles restructures Num 26:35 into a linear genealogy, even though papponymy is what is evoked by MT.

[131] It is also seven generations if one counts from Ephraim; Shuthelah I = Shuthelah II, and one should read "as for Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead…" If this is the case, then all three of Ephraim's sons went on the cattle raid, and all three were killed.

[132] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 73 suggests that the Ephraim of the anecdote is the whole tribe, but this suggestion is to be rejected because of the concrete way the anecdote says that Ephraim fathered two other children. See also Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 233. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 181 takes the balanced view that events like this were surely recurrent but that the short story here concerns Ephraim only as an individual.

best understood as descended through Beriah, is recounted over several generations to Joshua, son of Nun.

The anecdote itself has several noteworthy features. First, Ephraim's mourning is very forceful, extending over many days (ימים רבים). Second, the anecdote makes a point of the great evil that has befallen Ephraim through the names ברעה ("Beriah") and שארה ("Sheerah").[133] Note

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[133] Hogg, *JQR* 13 (1900), 150, suggested that both occurrences of the name Sheerah in this text are corrupt. The argument posits a highly speculative chain of textual accidents. First, Hogg argues that the word וביתו from the previous verse was repeated as ובתו. Originally, the previous verse would have ended with כי רעה היתה בביתו ("because a disaster had occurred in his house") or similar, and the text would have continued with הוא אשר בנה ("it was he [i.e., Beriah], who built") which would have had to then evolve through two separate stages, first to אשר הוא בנה (by metathesis) and subsequently to שארה ותבן (by metathesis and reanalysis of הוא). In this second transformation, one must also posit an *aleph/tav* interchange—although Hogg says nothing about this final step, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 228. Presumably, the dittography of וביתו would have occurred simultaneously with one of these other two steps, but this is not clear in Hogg's presentation; it also would have to occur without the medial *mater lectionis*—a part of spelling *de rigueur* in Chronicles—or that letter would subsequently have to be dropped. In sum, understanding Sheerah's name as secondary to the narrative requires much speculation.

On one crucial feature, however, Hogg's analysis is insightful. Both the LXX and Peshitta for 1 Chr 7:24 share this feature, namely, what appears to be an additional pronoun or article prior to MT's שארה at the beginning of the verse. The Peshitta has ܘܒܪܬܗ ܕܐܫܬܚܪܬ, i.e., not "his daugher, Sheerah," but "his daughter, who was left…" and LXX has καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς καταλοίποις. The Greek phrase is without parallel in LXX, though ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ commonly occurs for ביום הוא or בעת ההוא (Deut 10:1, 8, etc.); Judith 8:1 has the feminine plural phrase ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις. The Syriac and Aramaic texts reflect this pronoun, treating it as a predication, while in the Greek text, the pronoun (taken as a deictic) appears as part of a temporal phrase with τοῖς καταλοίποις ("in that remaining period.") Since κατάλοιπος is a common equivalent for roots associated with שאר and because the substantive שארית appears in Chronicles (1 Chr 4:43; 12:39 [defective שרית]) it is probable that this word reflects the translator's understanding (שאר)ה (or שארית) in a Hebrew text as a substantive, not of persons, but of time. So, LXX reflects not Sheerah's city-building but Beriah's or Ephraim's: "and in the remaining (time), he built…" This reading with a masculine plural may have influenced the Peshitta, which preserves the daughter—as does the Targum (ובתו for וברתיה)—and a predication about her remaining or surviving, while also reflecting other grammatically masculine plural actors in verse 24 who remained or survived (ܕܐܫܬܚܪܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܚܠܦ).

While it is difficult to propose an original text that might result in all of these, it is at least plausible to posit a Hebrew text ובתו היא שארה that would have resulted in the translations of the

that the mention of Sheerah is not necessary for the anecdote or the genealogy and that the text

heightens the tragedy through the most likely etymology of her name. Despite her success as the

builder of cities, the name may be a play on the root שא״ר, "to remain." Such a wordplay is more

likely given the conspicuous explanation for Beriah's name.[134] The presence of Sheerah

alongside Beriah therefore increases the force of the anecdote. Devestated by the loss of his sons,

Ephraim names not one but two children later born to him after that loss.[135] He remains so

devastated that his daughter, born after Beriah, is named "remnant," a word which, despite the

fact that it may have positive connotations elsewhere, still calls to mind what is lost or missing.

The anecdote, then, portrays not just a tragedy in the normal course of events (cattle-raiding), but

Ephraim's massive loss and his response to the enduring weight of inescapable grief.

 With these features of the anecdote in mind, it is possible to suggest another reading of

the link between the initial genealogy and the text of the anecdote: Shuthelah II = Shuthelah I,

and the anecdote begins with the second mention of his name: "as for Shuthelah, his [Ephraim's]

son,[136] and Ezer, and Elead, the men of Gath, who were born in the land, killed them…" On this

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LXX, Targum, and Peshitta. The pronoun was read as a predication in the Peshitta and Targum, and by a process of corruption (בעת > בית > בתו?) or some other misunderstanding as a temporal phrase. The Peshitta's reading may then be understood as cross-pollination between the readings of MT and LXX.

 [134] There is a substantial gap in age between Shuthelah, Ezer, and Elead, on the one hand, and Beriah, on the other. Ezer and Elead are old enough to go on a cattle raid, and even if one assumes that this was quite a young age, it is reasonable to suppose that a decade or even two would have elapsed between their birth and that of Beriah and Sheerah.

 [135] Note, too, that Ephraim's anguish is durable, lasting at least two years to result in such names.

 [136] It is possible, even likely, that the word בנו ("his son") was inserted in harmony with the list of 7:20. Since the word בנו appears repeatedly, it is also possible that it would have crept into a topicalizing sentence were that sentence juxtaposed with the genealogy, one like

reading, Chronicles here preserves a story in which Ephraim is the subject of a Joban tragedy[137] in the loss of not just some but all his children.[138] Besides Shuthelah, Ezer and Elead, in Chronicles Ephraim has no other children, because Becher and Tahan of Num 26:35 are subordinated to Shuthelah's line. While parental grief does not need to be explained, the extent and duration of Ephraim's anguish are consonant with such a loss.

In this reading, the parallels with the Jabez anecdote—and to Job 42—are striking, as are some contrasts. In each story, the parent bestows a name on their child that has an implicit or explicit association with loss and grief relating to death.[139] And each child goes on to success.[140] In the case of Jabez, the success is blessing and the increase of territory. In the story of Ephraim's children, Beriah's line culminates in the birth of Joshua, son of Nun, and Sheerah founds two cities. In each anecdote, then, there is a reversal of fortune. Unlike the story of Jabez, the source of Beriah's and Sheerah's success is unattributed. Further, unlike Jabez, whose

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this:ושתלה ועזר ואלעד. On such a reading, there are seven ancestors in the first linear genealogy, counting Ephraim to Zabad.

[137] This is my observation, but see also Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 233; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 181–82. Rudolph-E. Hoffmann, "Eine Parallele zur Rahmenerzählung des Buches Hiob in I Chr 7 20–29?," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 120–32 offers a theory of a common, ancestral narrative for the tale of Job and that of Ephraim. With Japhet (ibid.), this should probably be dismissed as overreach, especially given Hoffmann's somewhat artificial identification of two strata in the narrative prelude and concluding chapters of Job. The parallels identified by Hoffmann are, nonetheless, striking.

[138] Wright, "The Fight for Peace: Narrative and History in the Battle Accounts in Chronicles" (1997), 155–56.

[139] See Simeon Chavel, "Knowledge of the Lord in the Hebrew Bible," *KNOW* 2 (2018): 47–83, esp. 71–73.

[140] Contra Mulder, *JSJ* 6 (1975), 165, the story is not a value judgment against Ephraim precisely because of this success.

success is explicit (נכבד מאחיו, and ויבא אלהים את אשר שאל), the text merely implies success for

Beriah and Sheerah. Nothing of Beriah's life is noted besides a famous descendant; Sheerah, on

the other hand, is the only woman who builds cities in the Hebrew Bible.[141]

The anecdote is not as intrusive as Knoppers and others have claimed. Even though, in

terms of chronology, it disrupts the portrait of one branch of Ephraim's descendants (through

Shuthelah), it does so in a manner that contributes to a comprehensive portrayal of Ephraim's

descendants: two main branches, with explanation for why there are only two main branches—

the untimely death of Ezer, Elead (and Shuthelah?)—and the eventual continuation of the tribe's

legacy through Sheerah, Beriah, and, eventually, Joshua. This portrayal is balanced both in the

sense that the two main branches of the family are traced to a schematic number of generations

(seven, for Shuthelah's side, then ten, from Beriah–Joshua)[142] and in the sense of a thematic

movement from tragedy to flourishing.

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[141] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 182–83. Antje Labahn and Ehud Ben Zvi, "Observations on Women in the Genealogies of 1 Chron 1-9," *Bib* 84 (2003): 457–78, at 475: "clearly, Sheerah's actions are evaluated in a very positive way. Building activites within Israel reflect divine blessing within the ideology of the book of Chronicles... Sheerah's name, and her prestige remained in the community, as one of her cities carried it." Labahn and Ben Zvi further point out Sir 40:19a, which associates city-building with reputation, perhaps alluding to this text.

[142] This is my sum, but see similarly Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 183. For ten ancestors as a schematized number in ancient Near Eastern genealogy, see Abraham Malamat, "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," *JAOS* 88 (1968): 163–73 (170–173 for cases in the Hebrew Bible). For another proposal, with seven generations from Joseph to Joshua, see Gary A. Rendsburg, "The Internal Consistency and Historical Reliability of the Biblical Genealogies," *VT* 40 (1990): 194–95. Rendsburg removes Rephah, Resheph, and Telah from the genealogy (it is then unclear to whom they are related) on the basis of Num 36:35, where Ephraim's son Tahan is mentioned; this Tahan is equated with the one in 1 Chr 5:26, allowing the genealogy to be shortened by several generations, which better fits Rendsburg's schematization of other genealogies that cover the period from the patriarchs to the exodus.

The source of the anecdote has not been addressed. Before hypothesizing its source, one must consider whether it might have been a free composition, perhaps motivated by a textual or traditional association between the names Ephraim and Beriah. First, as with the stories of Simeonite expansion, this anecdote could clearly be shortened without the loss of crucial elements. For example, the phrase הנולדים בארץ ("who were born in the land") might have been omitted. This is also the case for the explanatory clause כי ירדו לקחת את מקניהם ("because they went down to raid their cattle"). In fact, vv. 21–22 could have been summarized with the sentences ושותלח בנו ועזר ואלעד וימתו ויתאבל אפרים אביהם ימים רבים ("as for Shuthelah, his son, and Ezer, and Elead, they died, and Ephraim, their father, mourned for them for many days") without mention of the circumstances of the sons' deaths or the way in which Ephraim's kin comfort him. This would have changed very little and still allowed for the explanation of Beriah's name that followed. Similarly, Sheerah's contributions might have been omitted. The text does not appear to be highly condensed, so it is unlikely that the scribe here has only summarized or abstracted another text.

Understanding the anecdote as a composition of the Chronicler is possible,[143] but similar considerations of scribal method and the details of the text necessitate another reading. First, there appears to be no motive to compose such a story, unless one imagines an unpreserved text or oral tradition associating Ephraim and Beriah. In this case, the presence of Sheerah would be similarly unnecessary and puzzling. Second, the details mentioned above are unnecessarily specific and puzzling; they also do not fit clearly with Chronistic language as in the case of the second Reubenite/Hagrite war or the Jabez anecdote. Third, it is unclear why a writer would go

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[143] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 72.

to such great lengths to center Ephraim's anguish when one result of the genealogies, otherwise, is to illustrate the robust nature of the tribal system. Ephraim's bereavement might just as easily have been omitted.

There are also form-critical considerations. Here, the form of the birth report takes on some significance. The anecdote appears to include a full version of a birth report, in which it is linked to a setting including a death, comfort, and new conception. Timothy Finlay points out that there are parallels between this birth report and several others. These include David and Bathsheba's loss of their first child and the birth of Solomon (2 Samuel 11:26–12:24/25), and Gen 38:12–30, Judah's mourning over Shua and subsequent birth of twins.[144] Finlay concludes his discussion in this way:

> from these parallels, it is evident that 1 Chr 7:21b–23 uses the full standard form of a birth report. It is only by its inclusion into the larger literary structures of 1 Chr 7:20–29 and of 1 Chronicles 1–9 as a whole, where the shorter birth notices predominate, that this form becomes anomalous.[145]

One might dispute whether the form is standardized, given that the episodes compared are rather longer, Finlay is correct when he observes that this notice stands out from others in the Chronicler's genealogies as significantly longer.

For all these reasons—the anecdote's preservation of details, the motif of Ephraim as a Joban figure, the way the story is juxtaposed with the Ephraimite genealogy, its relatively full and thus unique constitution of the birth report with its narrative setting and the motif of comfort,

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[144] One must also note Genesis 4:25–26, although this passage may be secondary to the J document; see Risa Levitt Kohn, "Whom Did Cain Raise? Redaction and J's Primeval History," in *Le-David Maskil: A Birthday Tribute for David Noel Freedman*, ed. Richard Elliot Friedman and William H.C. Propp, BJSUCSD 9 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 39–46, esp. 43–44.

[145] Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre* (2005), 82.

and the lack of Chronistic ideological or stylistic marks—it seems plausible that the story of

Beriah and Sheerah was incorporated from some other source into the genealogy of Ephraim.[146]

Summary: Scribal Process and the Unparalleled Anecdotes

The above discussion has provided a close reading of the genealogical anecdotes and

examined their details for traces of the scribal methods that may have resulted in them. Of these

anecdotes, I argued that three plausibly derive from written archival materials: the Simeonite

expansions, the first Reubenite/Hagrite war, and the story of Beriah and Sheerah. These are each

characterized by the retention of unnecessary details, differentiating them from the pithy

summary of other narrative remarks. Unlike the comments about the exile, there is little evidence

that they were composed by a Chronistic writer or that they were ideologically elaborated. In this

way, there is a clear distinction between these three anecdotes and the account of the second

Reubenite/Hagrite war, which is stylistically and ideologically impossible to differentiate from

the rest of Chronicles. The origin of the Jabez anecdote remains unclear because of the way in

which the writer(s) of Chronicles place speech in the mouths of the characters and because it is

ideologically aligned with the rest of the work.

Scribal Reception and Mnemonic Potential

In the final section of this chapter, I take up the analytical categories outlined in chapter

two above. There, I argued that on the basis of observations about scribal processes, one can

generate hypotheses about tensions within social memory and hypotheses about the mnemonic

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[146] Na'aman, *VT* 49 (1991), 108–9.

potential of new media offers, of which Chronicles is an instance. I will begin with the account of Ephraim and work backwards.

Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, Ephraim is said to have been born to Asenath and Joseph in Egypt (Gen 41:52; 46:20). He later receives a blessing from Jacob, who in this way treats him as his own child. Ephraim's descendants multiplied, left Egypt, and received a territorial allotment as did those of his brothers, but there is no narrative in which Ephraim lives elsewhere. The story of Beriah and Sheerah has it rather differently. Because of this, Japhet describes the possibility of an alternative settlement history for Ephraim, one in which Ephraim, his family, and descendants, lived from time immemorial in the land of Israel, and considers the receptive tradition in which the tribe of Ephraim leaves Egypt in a premature exodus.[147] The problem, *prima facie*, with adopting such an explanation for 1 Chr 7:21–24 is clear: the text of the anecdote locates both Ephraim and his children in Canaan, not Egypt, because one does not "go down" from Egypt to Canaan. To use this as the only evidence for locating Ephraim in Egypt would be problematic.[148] Contextually, though, two other details suggest that Ephraim and his descendants are in Canaan in the story of Beriah and Sheerah at the outset. First, Gath (or Gittaim)[149] is proximate enough to allow for a cattle-raid. Second, Sheerah has a role as city-

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[147] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 183. The account of a premature exodus developed by Mulder, *JSJ* 6 (1975) is comprehensive. See also Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 233 n79; Willi, *1. Chronik 1,1 – 10,14* (2009), 258–59.

[148] Mulder (ibid., 155) rightfully noted that this explanation rests to much on the reading of a single verb, ירד ("to go down").

[149] Benjamin Mazar, "Gath and Gittaim," *IEJ* 4 (1954): 227–35 (esp. 228 on 1 Chron 7:21). Proto-Northwest Semitic *gintu* ("press" > "agricultural estate," later used in toponyms just as Latin *vicus* [house/farm] > *villa* (Italian, French, Spanish, also in English as -wick/-wich [Lewis & Short, OED]), is quite common in Hebrew toponyms, as well as Ugaritic ones, so the odds are high that "Gath" in 1 Chr 7:21 is not Gath of the Philistines. Note, too, that the

builder in Canaan; this role is an immediacy, with no temporal gap (or a minimal one) between the patriarch, Ephraim, and her.[150] The reading in which Ephraim remains in Canaan and not Egypt does not rest on the meaning of a single verb alone; other details in the anecdote combine to support it. In 1 Chronicles 7, Ephraim is in Canaan and not Egypt.

One of Japhet's aims was to demonstrate that Chronicles preserves an alternative history in which the exodus did not happen; rather, Israel inhabited Canaan from time immemorial.[151] Rather than affirming or refuting that particular thesis, I wish to offer another suggestion about why the story of Beriah and Sheerah was preserved by the writers of Chronicles. The story was preserved not only because it locates Ephraim in the land of Canaan. It also offers critical details about Ephraim, as an individual, that, as far as we can tell, were not present in other texts. While various tribal ancestors are in various ways actors in Genesis, Ephraim is not. He appears in the narrative as an individual only at his birth, for Jacob's blessing in Genesis 48, and when the text mentions his children in Gen 48:23. Even though one must admit that there might have been other literature in which Ephraim figured more, we do know that the writer seems to have used

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inhabitants of Gath in 1 Chr 7:21 are not identified as Philistines. See also Anson Rainey's classic article, "The Identification of Philistine Gath: A Problem in Source Analysis for Historical Geography," *ErIsr* 12 (Nelson Glueck Memorial Volume) (1975): 63*-75* (esp. 69*, following Mazar). More recently and for further bibliography, see William M. Schniedewind, "The Geopolitical History of Philistine Gath," *BASOR* 309 (1998): 69–77; Yigal Levin, "Gath of the Philistines in the Bible and on the Ground: The Historical Geography of Tel Eṣ-Ṣâfi / Gath," *NEA* 80 (2017): 232–40 (for 1 Chron 7:21, at 236).

[150] This is the case unless Sheerah is Beriah's daughter. This is possible, on which note Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 183, but identifying her as the child of Ephraim is more compelling, given the analysis of the anecdote above and given her role in the construction of two cities closely associated with Ephraim habitation.

[151] See especially "Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles," *JBL* 98 (1979): 213–15.

Genesis as a source and that in Genesis, Ephraim appears very little. So, in addition to characterizing Israel as present in Canaan from early on, there might thus be a strong motive to preserve the story of Beriah and Sheerah precisely because it preserved a very abridged but nevertheless biographical image of Ephraim as a tragic figure, bereaved of all his children.[152] Ephraim's story is further shaped in a movement from loss to success through the accomplishments and descendants of Beeriah and Sheerah. The anecdote would be a prominent candidate for inclusion in the Ephraimite genealogy precisely because it offers this semi-biographical portrayal of Ephraim, in sharp distinction from the pentateuchal texts.

Considered in the terms of the last chapter, the writers of Chronicles encountered and responded to a possible source of tension within social memory, a tension that existed because of the laconic portrayal of Ephraim in the Pentateuch and/or because of the very existence of the story of Beriah and Sheerah apart from other histories. In uniting this short anecdote with the genealogy of Ephraim, that tension was partly resolved. Ephraim's (tragic) biographical details, such as were known, were brought into a new and updated national history. The writers may thus be observed to attend to a problem, constituted in the lack of preservation of important biographical details in the media available to them, and to produce a text that would allow readers to recall those biographical details within the context of a larger history.

Throughout this chapter, we have encountered cases in which stories are newly generated by the writers in a way that allows for completely new conceptions of the past. This is the case

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[152] Probably in textual form, in light of the retention of details described above, but not necessarily. See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (2001), 209–10; Mazar, *IEJ* 4 (1954), 228; Benjamin Mazor, "The Early Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country," *BASOR* 241 (1981): 75–85 at 241, characterizes this episode and 1 Chr 8:13 as "fragments of memory"; Na'aman, *VT* 49 (1991), 108. Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006) does not express an opinion about its provenance.

for Ephraim's children and for the second Reubenite/Hagrite war. The record of Ephraim's children is transformed from a segmented genealogy into a linear one. In that case, it is difficult to say very much about the possible motives of the scribe or scribes. Nonetheless, the result was a written document that portrayed Shuthelah, Bered, and Tahath not as brothers but as parent, child, and grandchild, and having the potential to evoke a very different past. In that document, joining the story of Beriah and Sheerah to Ephraim's genealogy would also allow readers to understand that Ephraim had three old sons, Shuthelah, Ezer, and Elead, and two born later.

The second Reubenite/Hagrite war is a similar case. The mnemonic potential of this text, 1 Chr 5:19–22, is to allow readers to consider as "historical" events that seem not to have existed before the writers revised 1 Chr 5:9–10. While in other instances, I have allowed for the possibility that the writer incorporated some event or events from a non-written source, in this case, the textual evidence so clearly points to understanding 1 Chr 5:19–22 as a revision of 1 Chr 5:9–10 that this conclusion—i.e., that the writer created a new event by reworking the text of the first war—seems unavoidable. Besides this, these events were set in a historical past in which prayer and divine response are highly important. These ideological or theological concerns, inscribed on the course of events by the writer, override what in the earlier version was left unstated. In the last chapter of this dissertation, I will return to questions of scribal activity and ideologically- or value-inflected narratives, but for now note that here the act of (re)writing the story imposes a certain value-laden frame on events.

The Jabez story is similar. I have argued above that we do not have grounds to discern whether it originated from the hand of a chronistic writer or from another source. If the Jabez anecdote originated from the hand of the writer, then it is substantially like the second Reubenite/Hagrite war in that the writer created a historical world in which God responds

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directly and immediately to prayer. Before the writer's activity, the events described were not available to readers. If, on the other hand, the Jabez anecdote came from a source, then it is perhaps suggestive of the selective incorporation of archival materials to this new work. The writers were selective both in the sense that they summarized some anecdotes and in the sense that some anecdotes were not carried over from source materials.[153] The Jabez anecdote, if it existed in a source, may have been selected because a) it aligned with the ideology expressed elsewhere in the work, and/or b) like the story of Beriah and Sheerah, it was deemed significant enough to be expressed not only in its source but within a lengthy history of Israel and Judah. Whatever its origin, the activity of the writer in selecting this story for preservation or in composing it has substantial generative effects.

A similar selective principle may operate in the case of the first Reubenite/Hagrite war and the Simeonite expansions. As we saw above, both anecdotes have to do with warfare and settlement activity. Of these two, I will discuss the story of the Simeonite expansions first, because it is one of a few points for which we might be able to conceptualize a social background for the book of Chronicles.

John Wright has argued that a close relationship between territoriality and nationhood is not constitutive of polities in the same way in antiquity as it is in modernity, and that, especially in the Achaemenid period, kinships (or fictive kinships) are just as constitutive of polities as than

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[153] See above, 151 n37.

territory and borders—or even more so.[154] The image of Israel and Judah developed by the genealogies is a complex one that merges geography and kinship.

> The genealogies merge ethnonyms and toponyms within the genealogical genre. Geography and genealogy merge, revealing a complex patronage system within a broader kinship/genealogical genre. It constructs a new type of polity, an ethnos. Such a polity possesses territorial dimensions but is not defined by that territoriality.[155]

Wright argues further that such an understanding of Israel and Judah, understood not in terms of territory alone but also as kinship, would allow Judeans to "be members of the Yehud polity even in areas not geographically controlled by Jerusalem but in areas where Judeans might live *qua* Judeans as a minority."[156]

Wright's article does not discuss the Simeonite migrations because his analysis is focused narrowly on Judah and Benjamin. I would like to propose understanding the Simeonite migrations within Wright's framework of a dispersed, minority Judean population, not only of Judahites and Benjaminites, but also of Simeonites. The Simeonite migration to the southeast (הר שעיר, "the hill country of Seir") is characterized as enduring עד היום הזה ("to this day"). In this way, the text is unlike the first Reubenite/Hagrite war. The text therefore identifies the Simeonites as persisting in that area until that comment was recorded. As described above, whether it was included from the source (perhaps more likely) or added by a Chronistic writer (perhaps less likely), the reader is prompted by this phrase to form some image of the temporal

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[154] John W. Wright, "Remapping Yehud: The Borders of Yehud and the Genealogies of Chronicles," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 70–74.

[155] Ibid., 75

[156] Ibid., 87.

extent of the circumstances it qualifies, namely, Simeonite settlement in Seir. The readerly effect

of the statement is to force consideration of how long that population endured and whether it was

still present. Regardless, then, of whether actual descendants of the Simeonites still lived in the

vicinity of Gerar or in Seir, as described by the Chronicler, the anecdote opens up the possibility

that persons living well to the southeast of Yehud might be associated by the readers with

Simeon. There is thus a possibility of the extension of kinship and ethnic ties through Simeonite

lineage into the present, in a way that moves well beyond Knoppers' "literary conservation." [157]

There is evidence for historical circumstances that might make such an extension of

kinship ties desirable. The population of Idumean, south and southeast of Yehud, was likely

populated by both persons of Judean and Edomite descent, in the Perisian period. In that region,

Edomite settlement appears to have been ongoing before the fall of Edom in the sixth century

BCE and to have continued thereafter.[158] The onomastic evidence suggests a population with

mixed theophoric elements in their names and even the presence of a בית יהו ("the temple of

YHWH").[159] The mixed theophoric names and allusion to the Yahwistic cult suggests mixed

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[157] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 372–73.

[158] Yigal Levin, "Judea, Samaria and Idumea: Three Models of Ethnicity and Administration in the Persian Period," in *From Judah to Judaea: Socio-Economic Structures and Processes in the Persian Period*, ed. Johannes Unsok Ro, HBM 43 (Sheffield: Phoenix, 2012), 24–29.

[159] Ibid., 30-31. See also Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, "Social, Economic, and Onomastic Issues in the Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century B.C.E.," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 457–88 (at 486–487); André Lemaire, "New Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea and Their Historical Interpretation," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 413–56 (at 416–417, on ostracon AL 283).

ancestry and a diversity of religious practice. And, if one understands the "hill country of Seir" to mean not only the hills east of the Arabah but also those to the east, as Diana Edelman and others have argued,[160] then the anecdote of Simeonite expansions aligns very closely with the onomastic evidence. The Simeonite expansions portrayed in the anecdote may well have been understood as related to a continued, minority Judean presence to the southeast.[161]

The anecdote might also be considered against the story in Ezra 2:59–63 about persons who migrated to Yehud but could not prove their ancestry. There, ancestral associations appear as a factor for inclusion in cultic functions. We could reasonbly infer that this problem extended beyond just temple functionaries and to other persons who were unable to prove their ancestry.[162] It may have been desirable, in such circumstances, to preserve a greater rather than a lesser number of avenues by which persons could claim a kinship association with Yehud.

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[160] Diana V. Edelman, "Edom, A Historical Geography," in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*, ed. Diana V. Edelman, ABS 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 1–11; see esp. 7–11 and notes therein.

[161] See Japhet, *Ideology* (2009), 246, for the connection between Amaziah's idolatry and Seir. The attitude towards the Simeonite expansions might be considerd in connection with the Chronicler's treatment of other elements of Israel that are either a) beyond the geographic scope of Judah/Yehud, or b) by virtue of some sin, severed from Judah. See ibid., 248, for Japhet's argument that points of contact with Israel are included in part because "the northern kingdom, for all its sins, is an integral part of the people of Israel." As Chronicles presents it, persons in such places are welome in Yehud, "indeed, in every period, there are virtuous men in the northern kingdom who wish to serve Yhwh; they leave their homes and move to the South" (see ibid., 250). Such a stance might be latent in this account in which expatriots from Israel are present not just to the north but southeast of Jerusalem and Judah as well.

[162] See the discussion in Aubrey E. Buster, "Written Record and Membership in Persian Period Judah and Classical Athens," in *Voice and Voices in Antiquity*, ed. Niall W. Slater, Mnemosyne Supplement 396; Orality and Literacy in the Ancient World 11 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 297–320.

The potential of the Simeonite expansions is thus clear whether they reflected, as it were, circumstances "on the ground" in Idumea or whether the text was preserved for other reasons. In the first case, the writers may have been prompted by claims from Idumeans of Simeonite lineage that are elsewhere unpreserved. Alternatively, like the story of Beriah and Sheerah, the story of Simeonite expansion was selected for inclusion by virtue of the fact that its historical claims were similarly unrepresented. In both cases, the writers can be seen to respond to distinctively social problems involving descent and religious identity.

Finally, I would like to note that the process of writing embedded all of these anecdotes with their varied potentials in a new national history. While the events described above were likely represented in some way before—here, I have argued as text—there is no indication that they were integrated in a work that laid out such a sweeping genealogical and geographical portrait of the people of Israel and linked that portrait to a long historical narrative that accounts for an immense sweep of history. By embedding these anecdotes, whatever their source, within Chronicles, the writers made a concrete, material intervention that profoundly altered the ways in which Judeans might conceive of their past. The effect of these scribes producing a new media offer, part of which was occupied by the Chronistic genealogies, was no less than to (re)signify the events recounted in these anecdotes as of import for the national history of Yehud and all Israel.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that several of the genealogically embedded anecdotes in 1 Chronicles 1-9 are plausibly derived from source materials that were unpreserved. I made this claim by characterizing the scribal methods visible in anecdotes that have a parallel and by

attending to linguistic, stylistic, thematic, and ideological tendencies that repeatedly crop up in

Chronistic writing. Where anecdotes in the genealogies have a parallel, they demonstrably have

been copied from the source or summarized. Sometimes, direct copy and summary are

combined. In the analysis that followed, I argued that several of the genealogical anecdotes are

neither summarizing nor elaborating. In several cases these anecdotes do not share linguistic,

stylistic, thematic, or ideological tendencies that appear elsewhere in Chronicles. This appears to

be true of the Simeonite expansions, the first Reubenite/Hagrite war, and the story of Beriah and

Sheerah. The second Reubenite/Hagrite war is demonstrably a result of elaboration on the first,

perhaps by the same writer who appended that shorter story to the Reubenite genealogy. Finally,

the Jabez anecdote cannot be confidently assigned to either a Chronistic writer or to another

source.

In the second half of the chapter, I discussed the ways in which the writers of Chronicles

responded not only to prompts within the text but to what are readily conceptualized as tensions

or problems that obtain in or among available representations of the past or with respect to those

histories and genuine social problems. In such cases, evoking the past in a new way might have

some utility. The story of Beriah and Sheerah in 1 Chronicles 7 may have been selected for

preservation because it contained significant information, elsewhere lacking, about Ephraim's

personal and familial history. In the case of the Simeonite expansions, there is a strong argument

to be made that diverse populations existed to the southeast of Yehud in the period of writing.

Allowing for claims of ancestry on the basis of stories of earlier Israelite settlement or reflecting

those claims in a new national history would allow for new avenues of kinship within which

persons might identify with Yehud. I have also attempted to demonstrate that scribal activity

sometimes constitutes new events, set in a world in which prayer and divine response ensure success—whether that success is in battle or in a struggle to overcome an unfortunate name.

This chapter has also been part of a larger argument about the theories and methods by which concepts of social memory and biblical studies might be brought together. In the second chapter, I argued that synchronic approaches to social memory cannot attend to consequential questions of reception. I also identified scribal activity as one means to attend to reception and receptive practices in the Hebrew Bible. On the basis of such scribal reception and other evidence, one can generate hypotheses about problems within the mnemonic networks in which writers participate, a network generated by media offers which are produced, preserved, read, and also redeployed with new potentials and meanings. This chapter is thus also a first step towards considering scribal work with this theoretical frame. In precisely the same degree that its argument is successful, it constitutes evidence that diachronic studies of the Hebrew Bible may be productively integrated with social memory theory.

Chapter Four:
Solomon's Accession, from Intertextuality to "Forgetting"

Research on 1 Chronicles 28 – 2 Chronicles 1:1 has been carried out primarily within

paradigms of intertextuality, blending analysis of its composition—a process in which it is

irrefutable that the writer was inspired by and drew language from many other texts—with

analysis of its reception, alongside Samuel-Kings, within the Hebrew Bible. This is not entirely

problematic, because such analysis has yielded useful insights. For instance, as Hugh Williamson

and Christine Mitchell have shown, the writer patterned Solomon's accession on the Joshua-

Moses transition; Mitchell argues further that the writer portrays Solomon as the reverse of Saul

in Samuel-Kings. The presence of such patterning in Chronicles' account, coupled with

assumptions about the relationship of Chronicles and Samuel-Kings—in which Chronicles is

understood as a commentary of some sort—results in unsatisfactory readings of Solomon's

accession in Chronicles as merely a polemic, theological frame, or criticism of Samuel-Kings.

Such analyses stop short of considering the full implications of producing a revisionary

historical account like Chronicles and the ways in which it might be situated with respect to its

sources. In this chapter, I consider patterns of textual reuse in Solomon's accession in Chronicles

and argue that the writer of Chronicles rejected the offer presented by the account in Samuel-

Kings (in terms of the theory above, the "prefigured past"). I will argue that this writer's rejected

the account in Samuel-Kings and, in so doing, created an entirely new one. In this new account,

the presence of an internal coherence within the story of Solomon's accession allows the

narrative to stand on its own without need for appeal to or any knowledge of its sources. The

"mnemonic potential" of this media offer, then, is that is was now possible to recall Solomon's

accession as, among other things, non-violent and uncontested. This possibility, of an offer that

recalls the past entirely on its own, stands regardless of one's approach to the problem of genre in Chronicles and regardless of one's perception of the writer's intent. I.e., even if creating an independent account was not the writer's intent, and even if that writer did actually intend to write a commentary (though I see this as unlikely), the product does not have to be taken in this way. Approaching the question of the relationship of Chronicles to Samuel-Kings within the theoretical framework above, with a clean separation between productive intent and reception, helps to clarify scholarship on Samuel-Kings, because it keeps the writer's reception of Samuel-Kings and the potential of Chronicles where they belong, i.e., logically prior to and separate from the later reception of Chronicles. The free float from intent and potential to reception, outlined above, is also what then allow for the reception of Chronicles alongside Samuel-Kings in the Hebrew Bible. This allows us to see that readings which harmonize Solomon's accession in Chronicles with Samuel-Kings—as theology, commentary, polemic, etc.—arise secondarily as a result of this side-by-side reception and are not a feature inherent to Chronicles as a work. Further, Chronicles does not only subvert Samuel-Kings but resulted from a process similar to ones that promote cultural "forgetting" (including for instance, *damnatio memoriae*). The potential of Chronicles to reshape shared knowledge of the David/Solomon succession by occluding many details of that transition present in its sources becomes clearer with such comparison, even if this potential, so far as we can tell, was never realized in its reception.

The argument in this chapter has three primary movements. First, I will note how intertextual studies, which can blur the lines between productive intent and reading Chronicles in dialogue with Samuel-Kings and other biblical texts, have been productive, drawing particularly on the work of H.G.M. Williamson and Christine Mitchell. Second, I will show that, although the writer of Chronicles was very likely to have had a text similar to MT Samuel-Kings (or for

Samuel, 4QSamᵃ) in its scope and contents, the account in Chronicles replaces or negates several of the premises under which the narrative of its source proceeds. Third, I point out that scholars subordinate the text of Chronicles to that of Samuel-Kings. Wellhausen's denigration of its historical value has received a substantive response,[1] but commentators continue to read Chronicles within another kind of textual hierarchy wherein Samuel-Kings is an independent historical account and Chronicles is only a commentary or corrective to it. I will demonstrate how such comments tend to conflate the fact that Chronicles and Samuel-Kings were preserved together in the Hebrew Bible with the Chronicler's intent, its genre, and early reception of the work.

The theory outlined above helps us parse such evaluations and clarify the process, potential, and reception of Chronicles. The writer of Chronicles rejected significant aspects of the narrative in his source texts, i.e., the prefigured past, and embedded the David/Solomon transition within the larger story about the temple. Rewriting the story of these events was part and parcel of a material process, which resulted in a new scroll which had the unique potential that it would now be able to recall, on the basis of a written work, the David/Solomon succession as divinely ordained, uncontested, and non-violent. That scroll might be read alongside Samuel-Kings or, because the narrative through which it recounts them was coherent without such cross-reference and without readerly knowledge of Samuel-Kings, on its own. Further, this mnemonic potential was present even if it was never realized in subsequent reception. The chapter concludes by briefly considering *damnatio memoriae* and suggesting that there are formal

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[1] See above all Sara Japhet, "The Historical Reliability of Chronicles: The History of the Problem and Its Place in Biblical Research," *JSOT* 33 (1985): 83–107.

parallels between such practices and the ways in which Chronicles transforms its sources. Even though the story of Solomon's accession in Chronicles could stand on its own and might have dramatically reshaped understandings of the David/Solomon succession, its subsequent preservation and reception alongside Samuel-Kings so obscured this potential that it is now all but written off by commentators.

<div align="center">Intertextuality and Solomon's Accession: Two Approaches</div>

Since Hugh Williamson's influential article, scholars have recognized that the transition from David to Solomon in Chronicles seems to be patterned on the transition from Moses to Joshua at the end of Deuteronomy and beginning of Joshua.[2] Williamson noted five parallels between the stories. First, David is disqualified from building the temple (1 Chr 22:7-11; 28:2-6) as is Moses from crossing the Jordan. Second, there are substantive verbal parallels between Chronicles and Deuteronomy/Joshua, including 1) the phrases חזק ואמץ ("be strong and courageous"), 2) אל תירא ואל תחת ("do not fear or be despondent"), 3) assurances of divine presence, and 4) repeated "stress on prospering through observance of the law."[3] Third, both Joshua's and Solomon's election is first a private matter and only later publicized. Fourth, there

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[2] H.G.M. Williamson, "The Accession of Solomon in the Books of Chronicles," *VT* 26 (1976): 351–61. Note Christine Mitchell's comment in "Transformations in Meaning: Solomon's Accession in Chronicles," *JHebS* 4 (2002): not paginated, "since H.G.M. Williamson's discussion, it has been taken for granted that Solomon's succession to David in Chronicles is based on the transfer of leadership from Moses to Joshua in Deuteronomy-Joshua."

[3] Williamson considers but does not rely extensively on the work of Dennis McCarthy in "An Installation Genre?," *JBL* 90 (1971): 31–41. That is, Williamson's argument does not require there to be a specific genre or type-scene for changes of leadership. The verbal parallels mentioned above are in 1) Deut 31:7, 23; Josh 1:6, 7, 9 // 1 Chr 22:13, 28:20, 2) Deut 31:8, Josh 1:9 // 1 Chr 22:13, 28:20, 3) Deut 31:6, 8, 23; Josh 1:5, 9 // 1 Chr 22:11, 16; 28:20; 1 Chr 1:1, and 4) Josh 1:7–8 // 1 Chr 22:12–13.

is explicit public acceptance of Joshua's and Solomon's authority. Fifth, there is another close

verbal parallel, an idiom in which the root גד״ל appears in the D stem with YHWH as the agent

and Joshua or Solomon, respectively, as the object, and this divine act is or will be witnessed by

all Israel.[4] Given these many parallels, Williamson reasonably concludes that "the transition of

leadership from Moses to Joshua clearly served as a model for the Chronicler in his

understanding of the transition from David to Solomon."[5]

Christine Mitchell extended Williamson's argument to show that Chronicles not only

appropriates the Moses/Joshua pattern but creatively engages it, extending it and making an

explicit comparison between Solomon and Saul.[6] So, for instance, in Chronicles, there is public

involvement in commissioning the new ruler; Williamson's fourth point shows how the

Moses/Joshua pattern is thus suited to Chronicles and why there is a public event relating

Solomon's investiture (1 Chr 29:22b, וימליכו שנית[7] לשלמה בן דויד וימשחוהו[8] ליהוה לנגיד ולצדוק

לכהן, "and they made Solomon, son of David, king a second time, and they anointed him before

YHWH as prince, and Zadok as priest"). The writer of 1 Chronicles 29 not only extends but

blends other new elements into the Moses/Joshua pattern. For instance, Mitchell notes that

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[4] Williamson, *VT* 26 (1976), 355: Josh 3:7; 4:14; 1 Chr 24:25, 2 Chr 1:1.

[5] Ibid., 356.

[6] Mitchell, *JHebS* 4 (2002).

[7] The word is likely secondary. See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 514.

[8] The note in BHS proposes a haplography of the suffix הו, for which there is a clear mechanism (homoioteleuton). Note too, the tetragrammaton following may have contributed to a misreading at this point, since there are no less than four pairs of *he + vav/yod* in very close proximity; the presence of a clear mechanism and the versional support is strong evidence to support the emendation.

Solomon is anointed (1 Chr 28:22). Few other characters in the book are anointed, and it is always a sign of divine sanction (1 Chr 11:3; 14:8; 2 Chr 22:7; 23:11, [1 Chr 14:8 differs]).[9]

Mitchell also draws out parallels between Solomon and Saul. Each is called נגיד ("prince, leader," 1 Chr 29:22; 1 Sam 9:16; 10:1). Each is anointed (מש״ח, 1 Sam 10:1), and each is chosen (בח״ר, 1 Chr 28:5–6; 1 Sam 10:24).[10] Mitchell claims that Solomon's anointing as king in 1 Chr 29:22, which plays on Saul's own anointing and the later selection of David himself as נגיד (1 Sam 25:30; 2 Sam 5:2; 6:21; 7:8), is "more important and prestigious than any [accession] before him, and is not repeated in such glory for any king after him."[11] The result, then, is an elevation of Solomon's status in the book.

> Another result, suggests Mitchell, is a biting comparison between Saul and Samuel.

> When we put this accession together with the evaluation of Saul in 1 Chr 10 and the evaluation of Solomon in 1 Chr 29:25, we can see that the Chronicler's Solomon and the Deuteronomist's Saul are set in opposition. Saul is made king twice in 1 Samuel, suffers a horrible fate and is evaluated negatively; Solomon is made king twice in 1 Chronicles and is exalted… the comparison with Saul is thus made explicit without even mentioning Saul's name. Thus, we have here an example of role replacement and reversal: the traditions of Saul's selection and anointing as king are kept, but Solomon is substituted for Saul, and the meaning of the selection and anointing in the story is reversed. The contrast between Solomon and Saul is thus made subtly but effectively.[12]

Mitchell's claim is that by deploying the terms it does and by the comparison of Solomon and Saul, Chronicles becomes part of a complex intertextual web that involves not only the parallels

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[9] Mitchell, *JHebS* 4 (2002), §3.4.

[10] Mitchell points out that Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 488, draws further parallels between the systems of selection for Saul (lots) and among David's sons in 1 Chr 28:4–5.

[11] Mitchell, §3.9.

[12] Ibid., §3.6.

between the Moses/Joshua succession but also the parallels between Solomon and Saul. In the quotation, we observe how she works back and forth between Chronicles and Samuel. So too, here.

> Here we have Solomon as the new Saul parodying the original Saul, thus undermining the original Saul. Or is Saul the new Solomon, parodying the original Solomon, thus undermining Solomon? The intertextual web leads both ways, transforming our readings of Solomon, Saul, and David.[13]

The approach here is thus decidedly intertextual—the links in the stories work both ways, from Samuel or Deuteronomy/Joshua to Chronicles and from Chronicles to those earlier works.

I will return to these readings below; note, for now, a difference between these two arguments by Williamson and Mitchell. Williamson's argument about literary patterning is to be understood especially with respect to the production of Chronicles; the writer seems to have drawn on the Joshua/Moses transition as a pattern for the David/Solomon succession. The argument is about the writer's use of an existing literary pattern in the production of a new work and about the intentions with which that work was completed.[14] Mitchell's argument extends this line of reasoning beyond the productive intent of the writer(s) to reception: reading Chronicles or Samuel-Kings informs reading the other.

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[13] Ibid., §4.1

[14] See especially Williamson, *VT* 26 (1976), 356–57 (emphasis added), "**Two related purposes** in the Chronicler's narrative are served by this device. Firstly, it is part of the method by which he welded together the reigns of David and Solomon in order to present them as a single, unified 'event' in the history of his people... If [the Moses/Joshua] association influenced the Chronicler as suggested here, then it is only reasonable to assume that **his intention** was to underline the unity of the reigns of David and Solomon."

Solomon's Accession in Samuel-Kings and in Chronicles

I will now characterize the accounts of Solomon's rise to the throne in Samuel-Kings and

Chronicles, pointing out that the account in Chronicles in some cases develops features of but in

many other cases stands opposed to that of Samuel-Kings. This comparison will allow, in the

next section, a clarification of the relationship between these texts. It will allow us to discern

some possibilities for the ways in which Chronicles might have reinforced, altered, or retconned

shared knowledge of the past, either alongside or independently of Samuel-Kings; that is, one

can understand the mnemonic potential of this portion of Chronicles. Distinguishing between

levels of analysis related to its production, mnemonic potential, and later reception helps to

clarify the relationship between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings, especially because these levels of

analysis are often blended. Before addressing specific features of the narratives in Samuel-Kings

and Chronicles, which will allow this argument to proceed with a firm textual basis, it is

necessary to treat a preliminary question about the materials in Samuel-Kings available to the

writer of Chronicles.

Did the Writer Know 1 Kings 1–2 and 2 Sam 9–20?

Sara Japhet correctly observes that the writer of 1 Chronicles 28–29 did not reuse (in the

form of direct copying) hardly any of the text that might have been available from Samuel-

Kings.

> The topic of these chapters parallels 1 Kings 1–2, but the two pericopes otherwise have
> nothing in common; if there is any affinity between them, it is polemical. This is in fact
> one of the few cases in which the Chronicler refers to a subject recorded in Samuel/Kings
> without making any use of the material available there.[15]

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[15] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 483.

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Assuming the availability of 1 Kings 1–2 to the author of Chronicles, Japhet notices a stark

difference between the practice of reusing source materials here as compared to the practice

elsewhere. While the writer might have simply copied, with lighter or heavier revisions, parts of

1 Kings 1–2, he did not. The stark difference of compositional method between this text and

others is easily illustrated by comparison to the text following and preceding Solomon's ascent to

the throne. The summary phrase in 2 Chr 1:1 is similar to 1 Kgs 2:46b (MT),[16] and the narrative

of Solomon's dream in 2 Chr 1:3–13 draws extensively on 1 Kgs 3:4–15. Thus, it appears that

after the narrative of Solomon's accession, the writer of Chronicles again followed more closely

and relied *in extenso* on the text of Samuel-Kings. Such is the case earlier in Chronicles as well.

Working backwards from the text of Kings into the text of Samuel, one finds reflected in

Chronicles the census narrative of 2 Samuel 24 (1 Chronicles 21) and David's list of warriors in

2 Sam 23:24–29. (The list in 1 Chronicles 11:10–47 probably depends on 2 Sam 23:24–39, and

perhaps other supplemental materials.[17]) In Chronicles both units are resituated to a different

textual position and their chronology is made overt, because in Samuel, 2 Samuel 21–24

constitutes an appendix of sorts, and the materials in them are not closely linked to the

Succession Narrative.[18] The text before that, i.e., the Succession Narrative of 2 Samuel 9–20 and

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[16] 1 Kgs 2:46b, והממלכה נכונה ביד שלמה ("and the kingdom was secure in the hand of Solomon"), and 1 Chr 1:1a, ויתחזק שלמה בן דויד על מלכותו ("and Solomon, son of David, established himself over his kingdom").

[17] See again Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 235–236.

[18] See Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des alten Testaments*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1899), 260–61. It is possible but in my view not likely that Chronicles and Samuel (MT and 4QSam[a]) depend on a common source for the census narrative, on which see Torleif Elgvin, "1QSamuel–A Pre-Canonical Shorter Recension of 2Samuel," *ZAW* 132 (2020): 281–300, esp. 295. Knoppers' dictum in *I Chronicles 10–29*, AB 12A (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 761, rings true: "the principle source for the census and

1 Kgs 1–2, is as Japhet says not reused in Chronicles despite the fact that these chapters treat the matter of David's succession and so, superficially, the same topic as 1 Chronicles 28 – 2 Chr 1:1; in terms of clear evidence of either a different source text or a compositional strategy at this point that must be characterized in contrast to another strategy present at other places in the work, where the writer reuses large blocks of text from their sources, one could hardly ask for more. But this raises a question preliminary to the analysis below, the answer to which we saw was presumed by Japhet above: given that the writer of Chronicles has reused very little of text from Samuel-Kings that describes events precipitating Solomon's rise to the throne and the earliest deeds of his reign in 1 Kings 1:1–2:46, did the writer have access to those texts?[19]

Three independent arguments bear on this question, and together they suggest that the writer of 1 Chronicles 28–29 had access to 1 Kings 1–2 and 2 Samuel 9–20. First, suggesting that this writer did not know the sections of Samuel-Kings mentioned above requires that one posit an alternative, shorter version of 2 Samuel, a much shorter common source, or a truncated or very damaged scroll. It also implies a version of Kings that did not have the first two chapters represented by MT. Both these possibilities—reliance on an alternative version or truncated scrolls for the end of 2 Samuel and beginning of 1 Kings—are unlikely. The writer of Chronicles

plague story is not in dispute… the more pertinent question is: How much did the Chronicler change his source?" A full text-critical and redactional history of the census narratives is a topic for another venue. For an introduction to the complex relationship between the two texts, see Alexander Rofé, "Writing, Interpolating and Editing: 2 Samuel 24 and 1 Chronicles 21 as a Case Study," *HBAI* 3 (2014): 317–26.

[19] So Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), "nur gelegentlich klingt der ältere Text an [cp. 1 Kgs 2:3, 1 Chr 29:19]. Wenn aber Hänel… in den fußstapfen Rothsteins dem Chr. die Kenntnis der Vorlage von Sm/Rg zuschreibt, so hat er damit so wenig Glück wie Rothstein" ("…the older text echoes only occasionally. When Hänel, following Rothstein, ascribes to the [writer] knowledge of the *Vorlage* from Samuel/Kings, then he has just as little success as Rothstein.").

appears to have relied upon a text which was a common ancestor for MT Samuel and 4QSam[a];

even though it is possible that shorter versions or truncated scrolls of 2 Samuel existed, it is

highly unlikely that the writer relied on such a text.[20] MT Samuel and 4QSam[a] are alike in scope,

length, and the order of materials they present.[21] It is, therefore, likely that their predecessor was

similar to them in these ways (including the presence of the appendices in 2 Samuel 21–24). It is

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[20] Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (1978) esp. 203–207, 220–221; Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, HSM 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 71–72. On this point, Raymond Person's argument that DtrH and Chronicles developed from a shared text ends up being inconsequential with regards to Ulrich's or McKenzie's position. Person does not treat the Succession Narrative or 1 Kings 1–2 at length. For other texts, he develops A. Graeme Auld's model of a shared text, which implies that Chronicles and Samuel-Kings relied on a pre-deuteronomistic text. Even though he attempts to set distance between himself and Auld's version of this model, Person posits a deuteronomistic source for MT Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, except that Chronicles is not the work of a single author but of a scribal school competing with and contemporary with the Deuteronomic school. He writes, "with some of Auld's critics, I maintain not only that the thesis of a Deuteronom(ist)ic History remains valid but that the *Vorlage* of Chronicles is also Deuteronomi(ist)ic. Where I differ with Auld's critics is that this *Vorlage* was also the *Vorlage* of MT Samuel-Kings—that is, MT Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are both descended from a common source of earlier Deuteronomic versions of Samuel-Kings." See Raymond F. Person Jr., "The Deuteronomistic History and the Books of Chronicles: Contemporary Competing Historiographies," in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*, ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and W. Brian Aucker, VTSup 113 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 333; idem, *The Deuteronomic History and the Book of Chronicles* (2010), 165; idem, *Oral Tradition* 26 (2011). Because Person does not discuss the Succession Narrative and, especially, 1 Kings 1–2, this approach can be set aside for the present.

[21] Even where it is poorly preserved, fragments of 4QSam[a] suggest that its length and sequence were similar to MT. See Frank Moore Cross et al., eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVII: Qumran Cave 4 XII 1–2 Samuel*, DJD XVII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 135–95. See also Émile Puech, "4QSamuela (4Q51): Notes épigraphiques et nouvelles identifications," in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in the Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, BETL 224 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 373–86, esp. 379–385. As noted by Puech, some of the reconstructions presented by DJD XVII are flawed; on this, see Sarah Shaw Yardney, "Interpretation in the Septuagint of Samuel" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2017), 203–4, 249–75; Yardney there identifies numerous errors in DJD XVII. Despite such errors, the evidence can still support the claim here, which is that 4QSam[a] and MT Samuel are alike in scope, length, and content.

therefore also highly likely that the version of Samuel the Chronicler had at hand shared that scope, length, and order of materials. In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, it is most reasonable to infer that the source text for Chronicles, where it parallels Samuel, was substantially like MT and 4QSam^a. A similar argument holds for Kings.[22]

A second argument is provided by positive evidence that the writers of Chronicles knew these large blocks of material. As I will demonstrate below, in a few cases, Chronicles appears to develop tropes that are present in this material, even though the source text is not as extensively reused as it was in other places. Chronicles also makes assertions that directly counter the material in Samuel-Kings. The development of such tropes and the presence of numerous, direct counterpoints to Samuel-Kings is unlikely a coincidence. It is much more likely that the text of Samuel-Kings for the Succession Narrative was known by the writer of Chronicles but, for a number of reasons that will be described below, not reproduced.

Finally, in a few places, the text of Chronicles does have direct parallels with Samuel-Kings, especially for 1 Kings 1–2. Kings expresses the wish, voiced by various speakers with the jussive of גד״ל, that YHWH make Solomon's reign great (1 Kgs 1:37b, 47; 3:12); 1 Chr 29:25a suggests that this in fact occurred (ויגדל יהוה את שלמה); joined with this wish in Kings is the wish

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[22] It is only in the case that the Greek miscellanies at 1 Kgs 2:35-36 were an alternative beginning to 1 Kings that they might bear on the argument here. They are not; see Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 10 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 171–72, and the literature there cited. Of those works, Emanuel Tov, "The LXX Additions (Miscellanies) in 1 Kings 2 (3 Reigns 2)," *Textus* 11 (1984): 89–113, has meticulously demonstrated that the Greek miscellanies are paralleled elsewhere in Kings. This portion of the Greek text may, therefore, be understood as resulting from a procedure operating in reverse fashion to the Samaritan Pentateuch, in that it gathered bits of text from throughout the work, compiling and inserting them at one place. So, the miscellanies do not substantively change the way in which Kings portrays the beginning of Solomon's reign. They reflect instead an anthologizing approach.

that Solomon be greater than any other king, including, rhetorically, David, which 1 Chr 29:25b

(ויתן עליו הוד מלכות אשר לא היה על כל מלך לפניו) suggests has in fact happened.[23] The charge to

Solomon that he be strong and courageous (חזק ואמץ) in 1 Chr 28:20–21 partly parallels 1 Kgs

2:2; as we saw above, Williamson argued that it expands on that text. In 1 Chr 29:27, part of the

regnal conclusion for David also is repeated from 1 Kgs 2:11.[24] Finally, there is another direct

verbal parallel between 1 Kings 2:12 and 1 Chr 29:23a, again with a few differences that might

be expected to arise in the course of the writer's revising work.[25]

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[23] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 542–43.

[24] Compare the texts below, which show characteristic addition of the internal *matres lectionis* (a change in spelling) and, probably, a parsimonious omission of the subject דויד, which would have been unnecessarily repetitive following 1 Chr 29:26. (Red text below shows differences.)

1 Chr 29:27

והימים אשר מלך   על ישראל ארבעים שנה בחברון מלך שבע שנים ובירושלם
מלך שלשים ושלוש

1 Kgs 2:11

והימים אשר מלך דוד על ישראל ארבעים שנה בחברון מלך שבע שנים ובירושלם
מלך שלשים ושלש שנים

"The time that he [David] reigned over Israel was forty years. In Hebron, he reigned seven years, and in Jerusalem, he reigned thirty-three years."

[25] Here, a change in the order, syntax, and morphology of the first two words occurs, even if the clauses are otherwise equivalent; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 514, has noted that the throne is characterized as belonging to YHWH, not David, in a manner consistent throughout the work. A similar change is achieved here by inserting three words which form a new construct chain, clarify Solomon's role, and subordinate the words דוד אביו ("David, his father") within a new prepositional phrase; the text of the first sentence is otherwise reused, while the second sentence (from ותכן) is changed for reasons to be discussed below. (Blue shows reordered text; red shows difference.)

1 Chr 29:23a

וישב שלמה על כסא יהוה למלך תחת דויד אביו
ויצלח וישמעו אליו כל ישראל

"And Solomon sat on the throne of YHWH as king after David his father, and he prospered, and all Israel listened to him."

Any one of these three, independent arguments—about the manuscript evidence

(especially for Samuel), about the adaptation of tropes from Samuel-Kings or opposition to it,

and the presence of direct, verbal parallels—supports the claim that the writer of Chronicles had

access to texts of Samuel-Kings similar to MT (or for Samuel, 4QSam[a]). As the two texts are

described more fully below, the description will fully reveal the evidence that supports the

second argument, showing how Chronicles relies on or directly opposes Samuel and Kings.

The Succession Narrative in Samuel-Kings

The claim that there was a long, dramatic, and independent Succession Narrative, now

preserved as part of Samuel-Kings (2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2), is best known for its

presentation by Leonhard Rost though Wellhausen had already identified it; while its boundaries,

independence, and most important features remain contested,[26] I cautiously adopt the term in this

chapter as a shorthand for the dramatic narrative that precedes (textually and chronologically)

and eventually culminates in Solomon's installation as king in 1 Kgs 1:38–40 and his secure grip

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1 Kgs 2:12

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דוד אביו   ושלמה ישב על כסא
ותכן מלכתו מאד

</div>

"And Solomon sat on the throne   of David his father,
and his kingship was firmly established."

[26] Leonhard Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids*, BWANT (third series) 6 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1926); in translation as *The Succession to the Throne of David*, trans. Michael D. Rutter and David M. Gunn, Historic Texts and Interpreters in Biblical Scholarship 1 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982). For a recent review of scholarship and noting Rost's dependence on Wellhausen, see especially Andrew Knapp, "The Succession Narrative in Twenty-First-Century Research," *CurBR* 19 (2021): 211–34. On the development of the Succession Narrative, see, in great detail, Jeremy M. Hutton, *The Transjordanian Palimpsest: The Overwritten Texts of Personal Exile and Transformation in the Deuteronomistic History*, BZAW 396 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2009), 176–227.

on the kingdom in 1 Kgs 2:46b.[27] In Rost's presentation, the Succession Narrative legitimizes

Solomon's reign, but it is unnecessary to adopt here a strongly-held view on the Succession

Narrative's aims or purposes.[28] It is a long narrative in which there is intricate detail and

substantial dialogue, a cast of many supporting or minor characters, and many turns or apparent

reversals in the fortunes of David or his children.

Here, I characterize the Succession Narrative in Samuel-Kings, especially in 1 Kings 1–2,

and then attend to the account in Chronicles. One can identify at least six significant differences

or contradictions between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. These have to do with the place of the

succession within a larger story, its overarching concerns and length, the portrayal of David's

health, the question of whether Solomon's accession is contested, the presence or absence of

court intrigue and factionalism, Solomon's violence or nonviolence, and the unity of Israel in

affirming Solomon's enthronement. Finally, the narrative in Chronicles appears to foreclose the

possibility that there were sacrifices other than those it mentions; this means that in its narrative,

Adonijah could not have made the sacrifices he is said to have made in 1 Kings 1:9–10.

David, Geriatric and Out of Touch

The Succession Narrative characterizes David as very elderly, perhaps diseased, and

inattentive to matters of the court, including his successor. 1 Kings 1:1–4 drives this point home

in several ways, especially through descriptive characterization and very short anecdotes in

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[27] Note, though, that Solomon is reported to sit on the throne only by Jonathan, son of Abiathar, in 1 Kgs 2:46.

[28] It is also perhaps unwise; see again Knapp, *CurBR* 19 (2021), 224–27. That said, see the compelling argument of Seth L. Sanders in "Absalom's Audience," *JBL* 138 (2019): 513–36.

which David does not perform his royal functions as expected. In 1 Kings 1:1, David is

characterized by his age (זקן ובא בימים) and his servants' inability to warm him. David's servants

bring multiple garments but he cannot warm up.[29] In the following verses (vv. 2–4), David's

courtiers find and bring Abishag the Shunammite to warm David, whose old age is thereafter

reiterated multiple times. For example, in 1 Kgs 1:15 the narrative indicates that the king was

indeed old (והמלך זקן מאד). Further, Bathsheba mentions David's lack of awareness of what is

happening around him. Less clearly, David "laid face down upon the bed" (וישתחו המלך על־

המשכב) in 1 Kgs 1:47. Just as David's servants go to great lengths to aid him in his old age, the

narrator goes to great lengths in making his age a major premise by which the story proceeds.

David's characterization in 1 Kings 1:1–4 need not be construed as pejorative in tone,

and even the precise conditions it evokes are secondary because David's overall condition

becomes the premise for the subsequent narrative of court intrigue involving Nathan and

Bathsheba. As Isabel Cranz has observed, then, neither diagnosis of David's condition nor

speculation about whether Abishag's presence with him amounts to a virility test is a productive

avenue of inquiry. Because it is embedded in a literary representation of old age and illness,

David's condition cannot be conclusively diagnosed.[30] While Abishag's presence with the king

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[29] The word בגד is here and in 1 Sam 19:13 to be understood as denoting a blanket, cloth, or cover—a large piece of fabric—and not strictly a garment. So also John Gray, *I & II Kings*, second revised ed., OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 77. (See without evidence, Isaac Kalimi, "The Rise of Solomon in Ancient Israelite Historiography," in *The Figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Tradition: King, Sage and Architect*, ed. Joseph Verheyden, TBN 16 [Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013], 9 n9.)

[30] Isabel Cranz, *Royal Illness and Kingship Ideology in the Hebrew Bible*, SOTSMS (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 49 n63. Cranz cites Simon J. DeVries, *1 Kings*, WBC 12 (Waco: Word, 1985), 49 and Jerome Walsh, *1 Kings*, Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996), 5, for the view that David's condition here may be connected to arteriosclerosis. (Cautiously following DeVries is also Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 10 [New York: Doubleday,

may be read as a virility test which in some way assesses the king's fitness for office, like

David's being cold, Abishag's presence and inability to warm the king is also reasonably

understood as just a further statement on his old age.[31] Cranz observes that the subsequent

narrative requires David to be in this condition and that the text of 1 Kings 1:1–4 sets up what

immediately follows.

> By clarifying from the start that the king was bedbound, impotent, and in need of
> constant care, the account of David's old age vilifies Adonijah and allows for
> Solomon's succession to appear as the result of an artfully executed court
> intrigue... the characterization of David as an old, sick man plays a key role in
> creating tensions and adding an ambiguous tone to David's conduct and

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2000], 156.) Besides the manifest problems of retrospective diagnosis and complications brought
about by the fact that the portrayal of David's state, whatever the basis for that portrayal, is here
clearly a condition by which the narrative advances and so essentially a narrative construct and
not actually information about a person's medical state, it is strange to find suggestions of
arteriosclerosis in commentary on this passage, because low core body temperature is not a
common symptom of this disease. Rather, hypothermia (perhaps subclinical hypothermia, which
does not entail exposure and is more common in geriatric persons), low thyroid levels, and even
cancer are more likely suspects; hypothermia has in fact been suggested in medical literature that
grapples with David's condition in the text at hand (William D. Weber [personal communication,
3/21/2022], to whom thanks is also due for a referral to Liubov Ben-Noun, "Was the Biblical
King David Affected by Hypothermia?," *The Journals of Gerontology: Series A* 57.6 [2002]:
M364–67). So, arteriosclerosis does not adequately explain David's condition; while there are
other more plausible explanations, like hypothermia, these can be mentioned only with the
caveat that one is dealing with an ancient representation of old age and disease embedded in
literature and not a patient. Diagnosis is basically irrelevant but should in no circumstances ever
have included arteriosclerosis. For a review of commentary on David's condition, from Josephus
to rabbinic literature and with the sole reference to Ben-Noun (2002) that I can locate in biblical
studies, see Kalimi, "The Rise of Solomon in Ancient Israelite Historiography" (2013), 9–11 and
esp. n11.

[31] On Abishag, see Cranz, *Royal Illness and Kingship Ideology* (2021), 50–51. For a brief
review of the reception history and for evidence of a double entendre in David's lack of
"knowledge" about Adonijah's deeds and David's lack of intimacy with Abishag, see Steven
Weitzman, *Solomon: The Lure of Wisdom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 38–40.

Solomon's rise to kingship… David's health problems call into question his ability to rule while reinforcing the need to designate a successor.[32]

Besides allowing Nathan and Bathsheba to steer his actions, David's condition entails his neglecting to act in naming a successor. As much is made clear by Nathan's question in 1 Kgs 1:27. David's aging, accompanying poor health, and lack of attention to the royal function of appointing an heir and successor—a function expected by at least some members of his court[33]—are evoked in multiple ways in the opening verses of Kings and allow for another important element, namely, court intrigue in Solomon's rise to the kingship.

The Succession is Contested

In the Succession Narrative, two of David's other sons attempt to gain the throne. Absalom's and Adonijah's attempts on the throne are to be understood in different ways; Absalom's attempt to gain the throne is a coup, while Adonijah's attempt to gain the throne, occurring in the twilight of David's life, may be understood without any negative connotations.[34] Together, though, the narration of Absalom's and Adonijah's deeds clearly demonstrates that in

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[32] Cranz, *Royal Illness and Kingship Ideology* (2021), 52 and 53. See similarly Isaac Kalimi, *Writing and Rewriting the Story of Solomon in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). It is unclear what Kalimi means by David's "spiritual" condition.

[33] The fact that this function seems to be expected by some in the court implies that, at least in the narrative, it is far from certain who will succeed David. If the succession was determined by primogeniture, then there would be no need for David to designate a successor. On this, see further below, especially 223 n38.

[34] Friederike Schücking-Jungblut, "Political Reasons for the Success and Failure of Absalom's Rebellion (2 Sam 15-19)," *VT* 68 (2018): 463–74 (at 465-466).

Samuel-Kings there is more than one serious contender for the throne: both of them acquire the accoutrements and posture of royalty and divide David's court.[35]

Besides this, the principal difference is the length at which Absalom's and Adonijah's attempts on the throne are narrated. The length of the narrative for each is roughly proportional with the duration over which these attempts on the throne remain viable: Absalom's viable for a longer period of time, occupies more text, and Adonijah's, viable for much less time, occupies less text. Absalom's attempt on the throne is narrated in great detail and follows on a long chain of events in a narrative, which is more or less continuous at least from Amnon's rape of Tamar in 2 Samuel 13, if not before; Absalom later orders Amnon's death, flees, and is eventually brought back to Jerusalem by Joab's intervention (2 Sam 13–14). There, he later attracts a large following of Israelites and David flees Jerusalem (2 Sam 15–16). It is only Absalom's death at the hands of Joab (2 Sam 18:14–15) that allows David to return to Jerusalem (20:3). Adonijah's attempt to gain the throne in 1 Kings 1 is narrated in less detail,[36] though still robustly given that it fails much more quickly than Absalom's. There are several elements of Adonijah's attempt to gain power, including his acquisition of an entourage and the ways in which he gains the support

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[35] For a comparative approach that situates Absalom's and Adonijah's actions against the background of ancient Near Eastern law and justice, see Meir Malul, "Absalom's Chariot and Fifty Runners (II Sam 15,1) and Hittite Laws §198: Legal Proceedings in the Ancient Near East," *ZAW* 122 (2010): 44–52.

[36] In the narrative, there are multiple levels of speech including the narrator, the characters themselves (to each other), and the character's reports of the actions or words of other characters. Adonijah's deeds are disclosed througohut this hierarchy. In 1 Kgs 1:5–10, Adonijah's actions are reported by the narrator: acquiring an entourage, conferring with key figures in the bureaucracy, sacrifice, and the exclusion of David's closest advisors. However, it is only in Nathan's words to Bathsheba in 1:11 that Adonijah is said to be king (הלוא שמעת כי מלך אדניהו, "haven't you heard that Adonijah is/has become king?").

of both Joab and Abiathar. Adonijah's machinations also divide David's court personnel: Joab

and Abiathar support him, while other court personnel remain loyal to David. Some of these

elements echo Absalom's coup, even if they are worded differently.[37] While a common

assumption in commentary on this passage is that Adonijah is in some way at fault and indicted

by the narrative for his actions, Adonijah does not have to be understood as a usurper. If one

assumes primogeniture as the ordinary model for succession, then Adonijah is rightfully king

after David (Amnon and Absalom being dead), while Solomon is an interloper. As Andrew

Knapp has argued well, if primogeniture was not customary, then Adonijah is one possible

contender for the throne from among several.[38]

For the purposes of the argument here, though, any implied or explicit evaluations of

Absalom and Adonijah (or any other characters)[39] are less important than the fact that their

attempts on the throne are portrayed as having occurred and having been viable. In the case of

Absalom, David himself assesses it as a serious threat and flees Jerusalem, while Adonijah's

attempt to gain the throne draws a strong response from other court personnel. In Samuel-Kings,

then, there is more than one serious contenders for the throne. The viability of these attempts to

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[37] See Cogan, *1 Kings* (2000), 157–58.

[38] See especially Andrew Knapp, "The Conflict Between Adonijah and Solomon in Light of Succession Practices Near and Far," *JHebS* 20.2 (2020): 1–26. Knapp points out that Adonijah is not expressly or implicitly charged with any wrongdoing. The term נש״א (*hitpael*), which appears in 1 Kgs 1:5, does not have unambiguously negative connotations. For instance, in Num 24:7; 27:7, 1 Chr 29:11, and 2 Chr 32:33 the connotation is positive (but not in Num 23:24). For Num 27:7, SamP indicates possible haplography of a single *tav*, although emending is not necessary to read as a *hitpael*, cf. BHS and cp. 2 Chr 32:33. Cogan, *1 Kings* (2000), 157, presents only part of the evidence for the meaning of התנשׂא when he writes that it "suggests criticism of Adonijah's self-exalting manner."

[39] Cogan, *1 Kings* (2000), 164–66.

gain the throne is partially illustrated by and also allows for another crucial element of the

narrative in Samuel-Kings, which is the presence of factions within David's court.

Factions and Court Intrigue

The narratives of multiple attempts on the throne in Samuel-Kings both presume and

portray factionalism within David's court. The case of Adonijah is especially illustrative of this.

In 1 Kings 1, Nathan and Bathsheba respond to Adonijah's deeds by becoming involved in

elevating Solomon to the throne. Nathan orchestrates a multi-stage intervention with the king (1

Kgs 1:13–27).[40] He first informs Bathsheba about Adonijah's actions and enjoins her to speak

with David, suggesting that her life and Solomon's life are at risk (1 Kgs 1:12–13). Bathsheba

then points out to David that Adonijah is attempting to install himself as king and that there is a

risk to her life and Solomon, and Nathan follows her immediately (והנה עודנה מדברת עם המלך).

Nathan brings David a report of contemporaneous events and even faults David for not naming a

successor.[41] It is only after this intervention that David finally decrees action to publicly install

Solomon as king (1 Kgs 1:32–37). Importantly, the narrative suggests that the necessary actions

are carried out not by David, who is reasonably understood as bedridden (1 Kgs 1:15), but by

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[40] Nathan's intervention on behalf of Solomon, in which he orchestrates an encounter between Bathsheba and David, recalls the similar intervention by Joab on behalf of Absalom, in which he orchestrates an encounter with the woman from Tekoa in 2 Samuel 14. These two scenes are in some ways similar to the one in 2 Samuel 12, a major difference being that in 2 Samuel 12:1, Y<small>HWH</small> is identified as "sending" Nathan to David. The other scenes unfold without any explicit cues of his involvement.

[41] The sentences, both questions, spoken by Nathan to the king, המלך אתה אמרת אדניהו אם מאת אדני המלך נהיה הדבר הזה ולא הודעת את עדיך מי ישב (1:24) and ימלך אחרי והוא ישב על כסאי על כסא אדני המלך אחריו (1:27) appear to place part of the responsibility for the then-current state of affairs with David and is designed to spur his response; see Volkmar Fritz, *Das erste Buch der Könige*, ZBK 10:1 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1996), 26.

other important court personnel (1 Kgs 1:38–40: Nathan, the prophet, Zadok, the priest, and Benaiah, who, as we will see below, wields other forms of power).

The way in which Nathan and Bathsheba conspire to steer David in response to Adonijah's rise has been thoroughly described.[42] In this way, developing the image of David as aged, the narrative portrays him as only reacting to actions of others, which are driven by the schism in the court between, on the one hand, Adonijah—supported by Joab, Abiathar, and a contingent of other unnamed persons—and, on the other hand, Nathan, Zadok, Benaiah, and Bathsheba, who support Solomon.[43] It is the collapse of this factional support for Adonijah that leads to Solomon consolidating power (1 Kgs 1:49–53).

The People and Their Divided Loyalties

In Samuel-Kings, it is not only the court but the people of Israel and Judah who are repeatedly described, whether by the narrator directly or in the characters' direct and indirect speech, as having divided loyalties. The phrase in 2 Sam 15:13, היה לב איש ישראל אחרי אבשלום ("the hearts of [all] the people of Israel are with Absalom"), assesses the reach of Absalom's influence in Israel.[44] The narrative also illustrates this through the physical presence of persons

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[42] See especially Joyce Willis, Andrew Pleffer, and Stephen Llewelyn, "Conversation in the Succession Narrative of Solomon," *VT* 61 (2011): 133–47.

[43] Marvin A. Sweeney, *I & II Kings*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 54–55, points out that the members of these factions are constituted of persons who were associated with David before his rise to the kingship (supporting Adonijah) and after (supporting Solomon).

[44] The reading with "all" in the versions is either an expansive reading of איש ישראל, which commonly denotes a large and indeterminate number of Israelites, or it reflects a *Vorlage* with כל איש ישראל. See the note in BHS and cp. Judg 20:48; 1 Sam 13:6, 17:2, etc.

with Absalom and Adonijah and through explicit comments about their loyalties. Absalom and

Adonijah both attract a significant following (2 Sam 15:2–6, 11–12, 13; 1 Kgs 1:5, 7, 9).

Bathsheba and Nathan both characterize Adonijah as having attracted many Israelites both from

David's court and from the public (1 Kgs 1:19; 1;49).[45] In the case of Absalom, the narrative

further drives home the point of divided loyalties within Israel and Judah as David flees in 2

Samuel 15:14f and encounters many persons who help or attempt to hinder him.[46] Further, many

Israelites themselves voice loyalty to Absalom in 2 Sam 19:10–11.

Solomon's Accession is Violent

Solomon consolidates power in Kings through violence, namely, by ordering the deaths

of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei son of Gera. Indeed, David envisions such violence in his last

words to Solomon. In 1 Kings 2:5–9, he explicitly charges Solomon with taking some form of

vengeance on Joab and on Shimei son of Gera. In some contrast, Adonijah, having sought

asylum (1 Kgs 1:49–53), was initially granted safety despite his attempt at the throne.

Nonetheless, the remainder of 1 Kings 2 is occupied with Solomon's ruthless killings of

Adonijah and his supporters. After David's death and an unspecified period of time, Adonijah

requests Abishag, David's companion in old age, as a wife, and this request angers Solomon (1

Kgs 2:10–2:24). Solomon declares that Adonijah must die and promptly dispatches Benaiah,

whose *bona fides* are well-known from his earlier support for Solomon and not Adonijah (1 Kgs

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[45] Of Absalom's sacrifices at En-Rogel, the list emphasizes not only a basic and (probably) expected variety but also abundance (שור ומריא וצאן לרב) and suggests that Absalom's feast may have included not only those named as invited (David's children, Abiathar, and Joab) but others as well.

[46] P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel* (1984), 374–75.

1:10, 26, 32, 36, 38, 44), to put Adonijah to death, a task Benaiah carries out without delay (1

Kgs 2:25). As Adonijah had done immediately after Solomon's rise to the throne, Joab similarly

seeks refuge at the altar, and Solomon again dispatches Benaiah to kill him; after some further

dialogue with Solomon, necessitated because Joab was at the altar, Benaiah kills Joab at the altar.

The final episode of violence in Solomon's early reign promptly follows this. Shimei son of Gera

had been allowed to live under condition of never leaving Jerusalem (1 Kgs 2:36–38). As it

happens, he leaves and is subsequently confronted by Solomon (1 Kgs 2:39–45). Just as in the

cases of Adonijah and Joab, Solomon orders Benaiah to kill Shimei, and he does so (1 Kgs 2:46).

In this text, the violent deaths of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei are all ordered directly by Solomon.

Solomon's orders and their deaths at the hand of Benaiah lead directly to a narrative remark

concluding the episode, "the kingdom was firmly established in the hand of Solomon" (והממלכה

נכונה ביד שלמה).

Solomon's Accession in Chronicles

Closely tied to David and to the construction of the temple, Solomon's accession in

Chronicles is part of a different narrative arc from that in the Succession Narrative. As

Wellhausen noticed, the census narrative in Chronicles has been altered in founding a necessary

background for David's preparations to build the temple and Solomon's later construction of the

same.[47] The narrative thereafter, to the end of 1 Chronicles, is relentlessly focused on preparation

for the construction of the temple and temple cult,[48] and Solomon's first official acts are narrated

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[47] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (2001), 173–76.

[48] On whether 1 Chronicles 23–27 are secondary, see especially John W. Wright, "The Legacy of David in Chronicles: The Narrative Function of 1 Chronicles 23-27," *JBL* 110 (1991): 229–42. Wright rebuts the lexical basis by which Noth discerned seams in the narrative at 23:1–2

only in 2 Chr 1:2 and following. The transition from David to Solomon is therefore structurally and thematically different than that of Samuel-Kings, even though, putatively, it narrates the same period and events—the last days of David and the opening of Solomon's reign. Besides a tight focus on royal preparations for the temple, and even though some of these are developed from Samuel-Kings, in the Chronicler's story one finds counterpoints to many of the elements described above. A close examination will show that the writer selectively developed, excluded, or contradicted the text of Samuel-Kings, largely rejecting its account of Solomon's rise to the throne. Emerging from and dependent on this scribal process, Chronicles itself must be described as something more than a commentary or exegesis of Samuel-Kings, characterizations that diminish the possibilities that Chronicles opens anew for the construction of the past.[49]

Solomon's Succession is Subordinated to the Construction of the Temple

In contrast to the many chapters of drama in Samuel-Kings which develop around the possibilities of Absalom or Adonijah rising in David's place, Chronicles subordinates the transition between David and Solomon to the preparations for and construction of the temple.[50]

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and 28:1 and argues cogently for complex internal references between the genealogies and chapters 23–26; further, the persons mentioned in the lists of 1 Chronicles 27 seem to be introduced there for the purposes of the narrative following, as I will further describe below.

[49] I will more fully develop this argument in the fifth chapter below.

[50] Matthew Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles: Temple, Priesthood, and Kingship in Post-Exilic Perspective*, FAT 64 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 84–86, has noticed how another palace affair is similarly "subsumed" to considerations about the temple. He points out that Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter necessitates the creation of distance between that marriage and the temple, and this is why Solomon removes Pharaoh's daughter from the City of David (2 Chr 8:11). He concludes (ibid.), "by relocating Pharaoh's daughter, Solomon exhibits cultic loyalty and the ability to revere the *one* cult above his foreign wives—a complete reversal of his loyalties in Kings, where foreign women turned his heart from Yhwh. In Solomon's only brush with foreign wives in Chronicles, therefore, he emerges as a

This is set up several chapters before Solomon takes the throne. After the census narrative, which relates the purchase of Ornan's threshing floor and the sacrifice there (1 Chr 21:26), the text establishes the relationship between David and Solomon in a manner that fully associates that relationship with planning for the temple and its construction. As the narrative proceeds, there are minimal disruptions in the close pairing of David with Solomon not only as father and son but in their discrete tasks: David prepares for the temple, and Solomon builds it.[51] As soon as David recognizes that Ornan's threshing floor will be the site of the temple, he acts immediately to provide labor and materials to build that temple (1 Chr 22:2–4), and he then reasons that this is necessary because the (young) Solomon will eventually build that temple (1 Chr 22:5–10).

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5 ויאמר דויד שלמה בני נער ורך והבית לבנות ליהוה להגדיל למעלה לשם ולתפארת לכל הארצות אכינה נא לו ויכן דויד לרב לפני מותו 6 ויקרא לשלמה בנו ויצוהו לבנות בית ליהוה אלהי ישראל 7 ויאמר דויד לשלמה בני [בנו]52 אני היה עם לבבי לבנות בית לשם יהוה אלהי 8 ויהי עלי דבר יהוה לאמר דם לרב שפכת ומלחמות גדלות עשית לא תבנה בית לשמי כי דמים רבים שפכת ארצה לפני 9 הנה בן נולד לך הוא יהיה איש מנוחה והנחותי לו מכל אויביו מסביב כי שלמה יהיה שמו ושלום ושקט אתן על ישראל בימיו 10 הוא יבנה בית לשמי והוא יהיה לי לבן ואני53 לו לאב והכינותי כסא מלכותו על ישראל עד עולם

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5 David thought, "Solomon my son is a young lad and inexperienced, and the temple to be built for the Lord is to be very magnificent, of great fame and glory in all lands. I will make preparations for him." And David abundantly prepared

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defender of the cult." This narrative reversal of Solomon's relation with his wives is tied up with the distinctive ideology of Chronicles in which the monarchy and temple are closely bound and even described with the same language (homologies), a relationship that Lynch so well points out throughout his work.

[51] The short note in 1 Chr 21:28–29 interrupts only to clarify why David did not go to Gibeon; see Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 148.

[52] Evidence in support of the *qere* is strong. Given 1 Chr 22:5, where Solomon is in David's thoughts בני ("my son"), it is particularly likely that in verse 7, an original בני ("my son") was miscopied as בנו ("his son") in MT. The note in BHS adequately represents the manuscript evidence, but *yod/vav* interchanges are common in either direction, so the contextual evidence allows one to adjudicate between these variants.

[53] I represent MT here but admit that the verb אהיה may have been lost.

for him [Solomon] before his death. [6] Then he summoned Solomon, his son, and he commanded him to build the temple for the YHWH, God of Israel. [7] David said to Solomon, "my son, I had it on my mind to build a temple for the name of the YHWH, my God, [8] but the word of YHWH came to me, saying "you have spilled blood in great amounts, and you have fought great wars. You shall not build a house for my name, because you have spilled much blood on the ground before me. [9] Now, a son will be[54] born to you; he will be a peacable man, and I will give him rest from all his enemies on every side—for his name will be Solomon, and I will give peace and prosperity to Israel during his life. [10] He will build a temple for my name. He will be a son to me, and I will be a father to him, and I will establish the throne of his kingship over Israel forever."

This crucial text places a speech in David's mouth that provides a) the reason that David will not actually build the temple himself, and b) a divine decree that directly designates Solomon as the one to build the temple. (I will further discuss the characterizations of David as violent and Solomon as nonviolent below.)

This theme is carried forward in the final acts of David's life, where the temple is again an overriding concern.[55] David's speech beginning in 1 Chr 28:2 opens with a statement about his desire to build a temple. David provides Solomon the plan for the temple (28:11–19), and announces his donation of building materials and funds, and he convinces all Israel to support the building of the temple as well (29:1–9). David's prayer takes up the theme of provision for the temple (29:10) and names Solomon as its builder (29:19). Like much of the rest of Chronicles,

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[54] In terms of the narrative, Chronicles recounts the birth of David's sons in Jerusalem at 14:3–7, including Solomon. The promise in Nathan's vision in 1 Chr 17:10–15 does not place the birth of Solomon, but rather his rise at the end of David's life to take David's throne and complete the construction of the temple. Solomon has already been born—and named—by that point. In this text, though, working backwards from, e.g., הוא יבנה in verse 10, there is no indication that either the temporal frame of reference or the verbal aspect shifts.

[55] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 486–87, "although the actual occasion is Solomon's enthronement, the main topic is the building of the Temple, to which the election of Solomon (vv. 4–5) is presented as subordinate."

the clear theme is the importance of the temple, and the narrative of the transition from David to Solomon is entirely subordinated to that theme.[56]

David, Vigorous and in Charge

1 Chronicles 28–29 is a seamless narrative. Therefore, although Solomon assumes the throne only at 1 Chr 29:22b, David's condition at the beginning of this section persists throughout. David's actions throughout the narrative show that he is strong, in full command of Israel, and in full command of his own faculties. Because he can rise and speak at length (28:2), David is necessarily strong despite his age (23:1). Because he assembles a full representation of Israel's leadership (28:1), drawn from every quarter (tribal leaders, military leaders, bureaucrats, miscellaneous court personnel, and his best warriors), he is in full command of Israel. He speaks coherently and transfers the very detailed plan for the temple to Solomon (1 Chr 28:11–19) and should therefore be understood as in full command of his faculties.

Peter Ackroyd has well summed up the impacts of sweeping away David's age and the court intrigue.

> We may sense here that the Chronicler is countering the story of 1 Kings 1 by stressing that he rose to his feet. This is not the senile David of 1 Kings, unable to keep warm in old age and subject to the influence of intrigue on behalf of the son of Bathsheba. It is a David who in ripe old age is still in full possession of his faculties, ready to hand over the task to his son and go to his death as a great king should (cf. 29:28).[57]

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[56] Myers, *I Chronicles* (1965), 192.

[57] Ackroyd, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* (1973), 88–89.

Ackroyd has characterized the portrayal of David well. To the degree that the writer encountered the portrayal of David in 1 Kings 1, he has rejected it and developed an acount that portrays David in very different terms.

No Court Intrigue

Because David is in full command of his faculties and of all Israel, the possibility of court intrigue is foreclosed in Chronicles. The intrigue of Samuel-Kings cannot possibly occur because its necessary precondition in David's age has been removed from the story. Moreover, one cannot argue in response that, since Chronicles does not recount the intrigue of Samuel-Kings, this is an argument from silence—David might still be understood as aged. In such a response, one might say two things. One might say that Chronicles only does not describe how Nathan and Bathsheba take emergency measures to elevate Solomon to the throne before Adonijah could fully seize power. Alternatively, one might posit that the reader of Chronicles is thrown back on a knowledge of Samuel-Kings for those details. Neither of these responses is adequate. The second, positing readerly knowledge of Samuel-Kings, does not do justice to the portrait developed in Chronicles. Rather, Chronicles removes the very ground on which the intrigue is constructed: David's compromised health and age. Besides this, the account in Chronicles makes David's and the congregation's active support for Solomon a precondition for his enthronement. In this way, it is not an argument from silence to say that Chronicles portrays an accession in which there was not and could not be court intrigue. Even the possibility of such intrigue is foreclosed by the story in 1 Chronicles 28–29, and the actors who were the principal force in Solomon's enthronement in Samuel-Kings are replaced by David and the assembled and unified congregation.

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Solomon's Accession is Uncontested

In Chronicles, Solomon's accession is uncontested and, even more than that, there are not even any other candidates suitable for the kingship. David's other children appear only tangentially in the narrative; when they do, they are portrayed as subservient to David and to Solomon in every way. In 1 Chronicles 28–29, David's other sons appear only three times (28:1, 4–5, and 29:23b–24).[58] In the first instance, David recapitulates YHWH's divine choice of both him and Solomon, who was selected from among all his other sons. The narrative is very explicit: David has many sons, but YHWH chose Solomon alone (1 Chr 28:4–5).[59]

> [4] ויבחר יהוה אלהי ישראל בי מכל בית אבי להיות למלך על ישראל לעולם כי ביהודה בחר לנגיד ובבית יהודה בית אבי ובבני אבי בי רצה להמליך על כל ישראל [5] ומכל בני כי רבים בנים נתן לי יהוה ויבחר בשלמה בני לשבת על כסא מלכות יהוה על ישראל
>
> [4] And YHWH, God of Israel, chose me from my whole ancestral house to be king over Israel forever, for he chose Judah as a leader, and from the house of Judah my father's house, and of my father's children he was pleased to make me king over all Israel, [5] and from my sons—for many are the sons YHWH has given to me—he chose Solomon, my son, to sit on the throne of the kingship of YHWH over Israel.

David narrates, in the context of partial repetition of the themes in 1 Chr 22:5–10, his own selection by YHWH (in extension from the selection of Judah) and it presents Solomon's

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[58] On 28:1, see below 242, n78.

[59] The divine choice of Solomon alone as David's successor appears multiple times: 1 Chr 28:5, 6, 10; 29:1. On the relationship of the divine choice of Solomon as inseparable from the construction of the temple in Chronicles, see Vladimir Petercă, "Die Verwendung des Verbs BHR für Salomo in den Büchern der Chronik," *BZ* 29 (1985): 94–96; see also Roddy L. Braun, "Solomon, the Chosen Temple-Builder: The Significance of 1 Chronicles 22, 28, and 29 for the Theology of Chronicles," *JBL* 95 (1976): 581–90 esp. 588–590.

In 1 Chr 28:7, the text of Chronicles also makes conditional the dynastic promise to David in 2 Sam 7; see H.G.M. Williamson, "The Dynastic Oracle in the Books of Chronicles," in *Isac Leo Seeligmann Volume: Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World*, ed. Alexander Rofé and Yair Zakovitch, vol. 3 of 3 (Jerusalem: Rubinstein, 1983), 305–18, esp. 313–318; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 490.

enthronement as a direct continuation of Y<small>HWH</small>'s prerogative in making that choice and not of

the choices made by David and others. It presents a situation very different from that of 1 Kings

1, where Nathan, Bathsheba, and David work to install Solomon on the throne. As Knoppers

pointed out, the explicit categorization of the choice of Solomon as divine is exceptional in the

Hebrew Bible.[60]

Just as importantly, in this same section there is another reference to David's many other

children. These other sons appear again in 29:23b–24, וישמעו אליו כל ישראל וכל השרים והגברים

וגם כל בני המלך דויד נתנו יד תחת שלמה המלך ("…all Israel obeyed him, and all the leaders and the

mighty men, and, additionally, all the sons of king David pledged to support Solomon the

king").[61] Here, the particle גם sets off the rest of the list from what is before. The particle is not

strictly necessary and so differentiates the sons of the king and their actions from the others

listed. The unique verbal construction with נת״ן יד תחת applies only to them. This special textual

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[60] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29* (2004), 927–28.

[61] Lit. נתנו יד תחת שלמה המלך. The phrase is difficult to translate. Knoppers, ibid., 956,
translates as "paid heed to him." Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 530, translates with "pledged
allegiance," as does Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 502, 515, accepts RSV, which does
similarly. Because לתת יד תחת is not attested elsewhere, the idiom is deserving of further
investigation. LXX translated this as ὑποτάσσω, "they were subject to," while the Targum only
calques the Hebrew (יהבו ידא תחות, clarifying that this is לסייעא... ולתקפותיה בכל מלכותיה). The
nearest Hebrew phrase is לשים יד תחת in Gen 24:2; 47:29. In both cases, the text continues with
the subject of לשים taking an oath to perform a task. The equivalence is not just possible but even
likely; Japhet has examined the interchange of verbal roots and discovered cases where שים and
נתן interchange both with each other and with other verbs in Chronicles; see Japhet, *HS* 28
(1987), §4.03, 4.09. So, the text of Chronicles may denote that David's other sons took a loyalty
oath to Solomon. In other words, not only do David's other sons not contest Solomon's kingship,
but they actively support him. This is true of the statement in Chronicles whether the text denotes
merely that they show subservience in some way or whether it denotes that they swore an oath of
loyalty. At the surface level, the text denotes the placing of the hand, but the idiom and
association with the loyalty oath is nonetheless evocative.

treatment of David's children in contradistinction from the others assembled suggests, then, not

only that none of them attempted to take the throne but also makes it a point to communicate that

they lent Solomon their full support.

David's many other sons do not seem to be major characters in Chronicles. They are

present elsewhere only in the genealogies at 1 Chr 3:1–9. (Later, 1 Chr 14:4–7 partially repeats

this first text, though only for the nine sons born in Jerusalem.)[62] In 1 Chronicles 3, the writer

names nineteen of David's sons in groups according to their mother and concludes this

genealogy with the statement that David had yet other sons, with concubines, and at least one

daughter, Tamar. David's family is thus portrayed as extensive both very early in the

genealogical introduction and in the subsequent narrative of his reign. This portrayal provides a

basis in the narrative of Chronicles for David's assertion, which we encountered already above,

that he has "many sons" (1 Chr 28:5).

David's sons, again unnamed, also appear as minor characters embedded in lists in 1 Chr

18:17 (ובני דויד הראשנים ליד המלך, "and the elder sons of David were at the king's hand"), 28:1

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[62] These genealogies of David's sons were probably derived from 2 Sam 3:2–5 and
2 Sam 5:14–16. Note that in 1 Chr 3:8, the name בעלידע ("Baaliada," meaning "Ba'al knows") is
probably preserved from a text in which the DN Ba'al has not been surpressed. That is, despite
the close association of David with Yahwism and monotheism in Chronicles (on which see
especially Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions* [2014]), the writer presents him as having paid
homage to Ba'al in his own child's name. On the text-critical value of Chronicles (and some
LXX mss.), cf. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9* (2004), 319. The implications extend beyond the
realm of textual criticism. If בעלידע is a better reading, then its presence in Chronicles might be a
case of scribal fatigue of a kind in which the writer does not notice the dissonance between using
this name of David's child and the larger portrayal of David as the founder of the temple cult; on
scribal fatigue, see Jeffrey Stackert, "Scribal Fatigue in Ancient Revisionary Composition," in
The Scribe in the Biblical World, ed. Esther Eshel and Michael Langlois, OBO (Leuven: Peeters,
forthcoming), 367–96. While the text-critical evidence needs to be more fully explored, there is
enough to suggest that further inquiry is warranted.

(ושרי כל רכוש ומקנה למלך ולבניו, "and the officials of all the property and cattle belonging to the king and to his sons"), and 27:32 (ויחיאל בן חכמוני עם בני המלך "and Jehiel, son of Hachmoni, was with the king's sons"). The first occurrence, in 1 Chr 18:17, deserves a short discussion, because it suggests that David's sons actively supported his reign as they would Solomon's. Here, one might understand the word הראשנים as an adjective referring to David's eldest sons from 1 Chr 3:1–4 (Amnon, Daniel, Absalom, Adonijah, Shephatiah, and Ithream). The sons qualified in this way are said to be ליד + PN/noun ("beside PN/noun"), which in Chronicles clearly expresses support for a task or readiness to assist (1 Chr 23:28).[63] It is thus plausible that Chronicles represents David's elder sons as actively assisting in his administration, even if their precise role remains unclear.[64] Rudolph objects that there is no reason for the Chronicler to restrict his source's statement (in 2 Sam 8:18) to the eldest sons, but this is not so.[65] Three of

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[63] See also Neh 11:24. ליד appears elsewhere as a compound preposition meaning "beside, next to," a meaning for which the use in Chronicles is an extension.

[64] On the reasons why a correction was introduced as compared with 2 Sam 8:18, see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (1985), 72.

[65] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 136. Rudolph's understanding of the predication here ("und die Söhne Davids waren die Ersten zur Hand des Königs") is similarly misguided. While הראש, ראש, or ראשי (+ noun) commonly function in the list materials of Chronicles as part of nominal sentences, this is not the case for forms of ראשון. In Chronicles, ראשון is never used with another noun to form a nominal sentence but only as an attributive adjective or as the subject itself. Besides 1 Chr 18:17, the text in question, see 1 Chr 9:2; 11:6 (2x), 12:16; 15:13; 17:19; 24:7; 25:9; 27:2–3 (3x); 29:29; 2 Chr 3:3; 9:29; 12:15; 16:11; 17:3; 20:34; 22:1; 25:26; 26:22; 28:26; 29:3 (2x); 29:17 (2x); 35:1; 35:27. 2 Chr 22:1 is to be specially noted because there הראשנים is clearly a reference to those sons of Jehoram older than Ahaziah. I am unable to find a single case in Chronicles in which ראשון occurs in predicative use. If it were part of a predication in 1 Chr 18:17, as Rudolph would have it, then it would be the only such case in the work; given the evidence of 2 Chr 22:1, this seems very unlikely. For these same reasons, the otherwise excellent analysis in H. H. Hardy, *The Development of Biblical Hebrew Prepositions*, ANEM 28 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2022), 155–58, is flawed. In particular, the syntax of 1 Chr 18:17 and 23:28

David's six eldest sons named in 1 Chr 3:1–4 caused trouble in some way for David or Solomon in the Succession Narrative: Amnon's assault of Tamar leads to his death and, subsequently, Absalom's exile, Absalom later causes David to flee Jerusalem, and Adonijah's attempt to gain the throne fractures David's most trusted officials into factions supporting either him or Solomon. The statement in 1 Chr 18:17 preempts understanding Amnon, Absalom, Adonijah, or any of David's sons in this way in Chronicles. Together with the other references surveyed above, it guards against the possibility that David's sons might be construed to obstruct or disrupt his reign or Solomon's peaceable rise to the throne. The text portrays Solomon as the only possible contender for the throne; in sharp contrast with Samuel-Kings, it thus portrays his accession as uncontested and occurring with the full support of David's other sons.

Solomon's Accession is Non-Violent

In Chronicles, David is prevented from building the temple because he has a history of violence. The prohibition is stated more than once (1 Chr 22:8; 28:3). Unlike David, Solomon is unmarked by violence in Chronicles. We saw above that in Samuel-Kings, David anticipates violence in Solomon's early reign and enjoins Solomon to take vengeance on his enemies. In Chronicles, however, David anticipates not vengeance by Solomon but peace. While David only contemplates this aspect of Solomon's reign in a manner that is directly associated with the temple, he voices, as a report of a divine message he received already before the birth of Solomon, that this son must indeed be peaceful to build the temple. In this text,[66] Solomon's

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are the same, with the prepositional phrase as a predicate in both cases. My thanks to the author for a generous correspondence about this.

[66] See above, 229, for the text and translation.

name is associated with the noun שלום ("peace, well-being"), which will be YHWH's gift to Israel during his reign (1 Chr 22:9).[67] As reported by David, YHWH anticipates a peaceful future for Solomon, and in repeating this divine utterance David himself does as well. Both associate this peaceful future with Solomon's qualification to build the temple as the inverse of David's disqualification from that task due to his violent past.[68]

That the topic of violence is studiously avoided in Solomon's accession in Chronicles can be observed from two other points of evidence: the summary of Solomon's consolidation of power and the way in which characters associated with violence disappear within the narrative at this point and are instead absorbed into the united assembly that participates in Solomon's reign. Regarding the first, both Chronicles and Samuel-Kings offer short summary statements at the beginning of Solomon's reign. The first words of 2 Chr 1:1 find a near parallel in 1 Kgs 2:46b.[69] As we saw above, MT 1 Kgs 2:46b immediately follows on the killing of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei son of Barzillai, with the *vav* + noun suggestive of a conclusion to the preceding course of events. The opening of 2 Chronicles is, however, even more strongly linked to the prior text

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[67] On Solomon's birth and naming in Samuel and ancient Near Eastern comparanda, see Kalimi, *Writing and Rewriting the Story of Solomon* (2019), 97–164.

[68] This difference in characterization also extends to the concept of מנוחה ("rest"), which Chronicles avoids assigning to David as in 2 Sam 7:11 (cf. 1 Chr 17:10); see also Braun, *JBL* 95 (1976), esp. 583-586; Mark A. Throntveit, "The Idealization of Solomon as the Glorification of God in the Chronicler's Royal Speeches and Royal Prayers," in *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. Lowell K. Handy, Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 11 (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997), 411–27 (415–416); William M. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1-17* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 129–31.

[69] See Japhet, *HS* 28 (1987), 27–28 (§3.03); Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 523; see also Ackroyd, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* (1973), 99. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (1984), 193, finds here an allusion to 1 Kings 1–2.

through the *vav* retentive form as a continuation of the main line of the narrative;[70] here, however, there is no hint of violence and so the narrative "flows" from these prior non-violent events right into Solomon's consolidation of power without so much as a hint that anything else has happened. If the writer had a text similar to MT for Samuel-Kings—indeed, he seems to have begun following such a text more closely for the narrative of Solomon's dream at Gibeon—and wanted to allude to Samuel-Kings or refer the reader to the events there, then it would have been a simple matter to recapitulate the wording of Samuel-Kings: והממלכה נכונה ביד שלמה.[71] As it stands, though, the writer does not do this, either because he did not have that summary text or more probably because that text was a summary of Solomon's use of violence to consolidate power. We have seen above how the writer parsimoniously portrays David's sons as obedient and subservient to him, avoiding any possibility that they might be construed as fractious or rebellious. In light of the use of such details, it is plausible that this text, too, was written to avoid connoting or even alluding to a narrative in which Solomon is associated with violence.

Further, the writer has also not named the agent of the executions Solomon orders in Samuel-Kings, i.e., Benaiah son of Jehoida. Rather, Benaiah—like the king's children besides Solomon—disappears at this point into the sea of anonymous characters that drive the story along. Note, though, that the writer has not withheld from Chronicles materials that name Benaiah as a military commander (1 Chr 18:17) and matchless warrior in single combat (1 Chr

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[70] See Dennis Pardee, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in a Nutshell," in *Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, ed. Rebecca Hasselbach and Na'ama Pat-El, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 67 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2012), 285–317, esp. 291–292.

[71] Wording which itself seems to pick up the language in 1 Sam 7:12.

11:22–23) who among these deeds is portrayed as attaining perhaps the height of martial prowess: killing a lion (1 Chr 11:22bβ: והוא ירד והכה את הארי בתוך הבור ביום השלג).[72] So, although the work does not shy away from characterizing Benaiah as a prominent person in David's military apparatus, it nevertheless does not reflect his activity in Solomon's reign. Because this Benaiah does not even appear in the narrative after 1 Chr 27:5–6,[73] all the acts of violence that he does commit are associated with David alone, by virtue of appearing within the account of David's reign but not in the account of Solomon's.

Finally, note that Chronicles does not universally avoid the topics of warfare or violence but rather selectively recounts them as they serve to advance its narrative. Although this selective presentation is somewhat idiosyncratic, some tendencies in the presentation of war and violence in Chronicles can nonetheless be identified. There are the instances of war narrated in the genealogical anecdotes above,[74] and David's wars are recounted in 1 Chronicles because they are the means by which he collects plunder that is later used to build the temple. Battles serve as a background for other significant events (for instance, Abijah's speech in 2 Chr 12:4–12, which

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[72] See Brent A. Strawn, *What Is Stronger than a Lion?: Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, OBO 212 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 237–38; 248. Strawn notes that killing a lion is elsewhere characteristic of royalty or of great warriors.

[73] One might include 1 Chr 27:34; here Benaiah only appears in the line of descent. For a sense of possible relationships between Jehoida, in that text a son of Benaiah, and Jehoida named regularly elsewhere as Benaiah's father, see Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 513.

[74] Recall that the Simeonite genealogy seems to allow for a more expansive understanding of Judaean population; violence in the Ephraimite genealogy is in service of presenting new and significant biographical details about Ephraim and his family; the wars of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh contribute to a characterization of those tribes as war-like, and the writer has also painstakingly generated another version of one of these wars (the second Reubenite war).

affirms the Davidic monarchy, the centrality of the temple and the basic correctness of the cultic practice there). Besides warfare, Chronicles tells of numerous other acts of violence, including sundry assassinations and extrajudicial killings, which in many cases are associated with divine retribution.[75] It is thus readily apparent that the writer was not averse to representing violence as it served the narrative and was consistent with his preferred ideology.

Therefore, if the writer had the text of the Succession Narrative from Samuel-Kings, and especially 1 Kings 1–2, he avoided representing in his own work the violence narrated in its source not due to some principle that applies universally to representing violence throughout the work. Rather, the writer seems to have selectively and carefully avoided associating violence with Solomon precisely because in his history Solomon must be non-violent. Many narrative details build towards this: Solomon's name is given an etymology by YHWH himself, who associates Solomon with peace and rest; the statement about Solomon consolidating his reign differs from the presentation in Samuel-Kings, as its narrative setting and the grammar and syntax that tie it to a peaceful transfer of power; Benaiah, the agent of violence in Samuel-Kings, disappears from the narrative before Solomon becomes king; finally, it is obvious that the writer included many acts of violence elsewhere and thus if the violence narrated in Samuel-Kings is not recounted, then this is not due to a general avoidance of violence but for some other reason.

Just as the transition from David to Solomon is subsumed to the question of building the temple, so is Solomon's very character as non-violent. Solomon must build the temple and so

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[75] 2 Chron 21:4 (Jehoram kills his brothers); 22:7–9 (Jehu kills Ahaziah); 22:10 (Athaliah's purge); 23:12–15 (killing of Athaliah); 24:21–22 (stoning of Zechariah); 24:25–6 (assassination of Joash); 25:3–4 (execution of those who conspired against Joash); 25:27 (assassination of Amaziah); 33:24 (assassination of Amon).

cannot be associated with violence, apparently, even as one who orders it. This focus on the construction of the temple and Solomon's peaceful nature is so central that, in Chronicles, the premises and all the characters that allow for violence are swept aside. The killings of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei son of Barzillai are not only not represented but made impossible, because a) the conditions (contested succession, factionalism, divided loyalties) under which they might have been put to death never arise in Chronicles, b) the agent of violence is present but only ever associated with David, and c) the narrative places a tight stricture around Solomon's enthronement and non-violent consolidation of power.

Israel is United

In Chronicles, assembled representatives of Israel play a significant role in the narrative alongside David and are unanimously supportive of Solomon.[76] As Klein says, "the Chronicler does not grow weary of emphasizing how united the nation was in its support of David and Solomon."[77] Just as with Solomon's non-violence, the writer used several strategies to bring about this characterization of the people.

- The short introductory statement in 1 Chr 28:1–2 evokes a united Israel. The list of those assembled includes sundry administrative officials and David's sons.[78] Klein

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[76] Roddy L. Braun, "Solomonic Apologetic in Chronicles," *JBL* 92 (1973): 503–16, at 508.

[77] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 541.

[78] The syntax of 1 Chr 28:1 deserves a brief comment. The verb, קהל ("to assemble") has an object designated initially by את. This object is a long list of a series of officials (all שרי, "leaders"), who are listed in descending order according to the scope of their responsibility. The list begins to break down at the phrase ושרי כל רכוש ומקנה למלך ולבניו. There is some debate about whether to read ולבניו as an extension of the prior phrase ("the stewards of all the property and cattle belonging to the king and belonging to his sons"). Surveying early modern commentaries, see already Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* [1910], 296.) The king's sons are in this first reading excluded from the list,

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points out that the list of persons assembled is "the most detailed in all of Chronicles,"[79] suggesting broad representation. Thereafter, these assembled persons act together, responding with joy to David's speech (29:6–9) and to Solomon's enthronement (29:21–24).

- There is an emphasis on the people's loyalty to Solomon (28:21).[80]
- David speaks to the people directly and at length with the aim of convincing them to support the temple and Solomon.[81]
- The people are directly involved in officially designating Solomon as king (1 Chr 29:22).
- "All Israel" is said to obey Solomon (1 Chr 29:23).[82]

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and a further problem arises: how does one then understand the phrases עם הסריסים והגבורים and ולכל גבור חיל which immediately follow? If one wishes to break the accentual link between the words למלך ולבניו, thereby distinguishing between the king's sons and stewards of the king's property and including the king's sons as another item in the list of those assembled, then a further problem arises: the rest of the objects for the verb קהל are not marked with את but instead with the preposition *lamed*, a use which is not really problematic since *lamed* can indeed mark the object.

Recognizing an internal distinction in the list between the שרים and other characters ameliorates these difficulties. As objects of קהל, the שרים are designated by את. Other categories of persons in the list, including בנים (עם הסריסים והגבורים) and גבורים חילים are marked as objects with the *lamed*. (For the point that this is the best way to explain the phrase עם הסריסים והגבורים, see Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* [1910], 297). The list therefore develops straightforwardly, distinguishing between those who had a familial or other close relationship to David and those with administrative or military responsibilities but no such relationship. Klein noticed that שרי רכוש המלך is a category of administrator and correctly divides למלך from ולבניו on the basis of 1 Chr 27:31; 2 Chr 31:3; 32:29. The evidence for dividing שרי רכוש למלך from ולבניו is therefore substantial. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 485–86, does not distinguish between the king's sons and others, despite noting the unique syntax of *lamed* in ולכל הגבור חיל.

[79] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 519.

[80] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 483.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Myers, *I Chronicles* (1965), 198.

This forms a sharp contrast to Kings, where the people appear suddenly in 1 Kings 1:39b–40, have "no antecedent in the preceding narrative," and do not play a major role.[83] This pattern of communal involvement in Solomon's reign is consistent in the following narrative. The first act of Solomon's reign is the sacrifice at Gibeon; there, too, all Israel is directly involved in his reign and especially in the worship of YHWH (2 Chr 1:2–3).[84] Chronicles repeatedly points out Israel's unanimous support for Solomon.

Sacrifice in the Chronicler's Narrative

A final point at which the writer appears to oppose his account to that of Kings might be discerned in the incorporation of sacrifice and feasting in 1 Chr 29:21–22. Adonijah's sacrifice in 1 Kgs 1:9–10 entailed a feast to which he invited only some personnel of the royal court, a group from which Solomon and others were intentionally excluded. The fact that the writer of Chronicles includes in his own account a sacrifice and feast for the whole assembly (כל הקהל), which as we saw already, is representative of Israel and included the king's sons, suggests a direct counterpoint to the narrative of Samuel-Kings.[85] In Chronicles, all of Israel is included in

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[83] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 483, "Who were these 'people', how is their presence accounted for, and what is their role? From a literary point of view, it is only the loud sound of their rejoicing which has any function in the narrative, serving as a kind of synchronous literary link between Solomon's company and Adonijah's camp at En-Rogel, where the revellers are suddenly sobered up by the news of Solomon's anointing."

[84] Braun, *JBL* 92 (1973), 509–1510.

[85] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 192–93. Rudolph also finds in Chronicles, where Solomon is anointed as "chief" or "first" (נגיד) of David's children, a revision of 1 Kgs 1:35, a point with which I am inclined to agree. That is, the writer responds to Samuel-Kings, but in a way that does not stake the new narrative on it.

this sacrifice and feast, and they are not divided by loyalty to David and Solomon, on the one hand, and Adonijah, on the other.

Summary

Above, we observed many points at which the accounts found in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are different or in contradiction with one another. First, the larger stories in which they are embedded have very different concerns. While the Succession Narrative develops extensive drama around David's children, his court, and the question of who will take the throne after him, Chronicles embeds the transition from David to Solomon in a larger narrative about preparation for and construction of the temple. Second, the portrait of David and his age in the two accounts is irreconcilable. Third, as a result, court intrigue occurs in Samuel-Kings but is impossible in Chronicles. Fourth, in Samuel-Kings, there are other viable contenders for the throne and Solomon's accession is contested, while in Chronicles, Solomon is divinely chosen even before birth and his accession is uncontested. Fifth, Solomon directly orders violence in Samuel-Kings but is non-violent in Chronicles and, indeed, must be so in order to build the temple. Sixth, Israel and David's court are separated into competing factions with divided loyalties in Samuel-Kings, while in Chronicles, they are united and all Israel, in the gathering of its representatives to the assembly ordered by David, is portrayed as loyal and obedient to Solomon just as much as David. Finally, the writer may have adapted the motif of sacrifice and feasting from 1 Kings 1 but in a way that expressly subverts or forecloses the plausibility of Adonijah being understood to also have made such a sacrifice.

Beyond Intertextuality: Production, Potential, Reception

These differences between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings raise questions not only about the relationship between these works but about how to understand each given the other. In a manner not dissimilar to how early critical assessments of Chronicles treated it as an untrustworthy historical source, therefore assigning it a lower relative value than Samuel-Kings, scholars now tend to subordinate it to Samuel-Kings by treating it as a composition that comments on or glosses those texts. For instance, Brettler, Klein, Japhet, and Myers do not, in their various comments on Solomon's accession, escape treating Chronicles as a work that only extends, corrects, or reframes the narrative of Samuel-Kings. Chronicles is thereby positioned within a literary hierarchy in which Samuel-Kings stands as an independent account while Chronicles is only partial and dependent on it.

Above, I discussed the principal texts from Chronicles that relate Yʜᴡʜ's election of Solomon. Japhet takes up this same topic and describes in connection to it the relationship of Chronicles and Samuel-Kings.

> By introducing the concept of Solomon's election, *the Chronicler is able to provide a comprehensive theological framework for the historical circumstances of his accession*, described in Samuel-Kings as the outcome of a long process, motivated by political and personal factors, in which all the candidates for kingship (Amnon, Absalom and Adonijah) had gradually been eliminated. The last stage in this process, the actual designation of Solomon, was achieved through the court intrigues of Nathan and Bathsheba – even if we accept at face value the appeal they make to David's prior promise to make Solomon his heir. According to Chronicles *this whole process is framed differently*: Solomon had been chosen for a kingship from the outset, even before his birth: 'Behold, a son shall be born to you…' (22.9). The narrative of Samuel-Kings at most reflects the external process by which Solomon's election was revealed.[86]

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[86] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 489 (italics added).

Note how this language assumes the account of Samuel-Kings while Chronicles provides only a

"theological framework" within which to understand Solomon's accession.

Klein takes a somewhat more robust approach, suggesting that "the account of Solomon's

accession in 1 Chr 29:21–25 little resembles the hasty, *ad hoc* rite performed in 1 Kgs 1:32–40,

and in fact elements of the Chronicles account can be considered critical corrections of that

account."[87] He goes on to say, for instance, that 1 Chr 29:1 is "an implicit criticism of the

account recorded only in 1 Kings 1–2 of the attempt by Adonijah to take over the throne while

David was on his deathbed."[88] He says similarly that "the Chronicler corrects the impression

gained from 1 Kings 1–2 that David was feeble and powerless in his final days."[89] So, for Klein,

Chronicles "corrects" the record of events found in Samuel-Kings while for Japhet, the story of

Solomon's accession in Chronicles offers a theological framework within which to understand

the events of Samuel-Kings.

Similar statements on Solomon's accession in Samuel-Kings are present in remarks by

Brettler and Myers. Brettler offers a sophisticated framework in which the Chronicler attempts

not to replace but rather to "*reshape* the way [Genesis-Kings] are seen. The Chronicler hoped

that his book would be read after Genesis-Kings, and to the extent that it was different, the

Chronicler wanted his account to be the one remembered by the reader. It was written as an

'authoritative commentary,' to be read in conjunction with its sources."[90] So for Brettler,

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[87] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 532.

[88] Klein, *1 Chronicles* (2006), 533.

[89] Ibid., 543.

[90] Brettler, *The Creation of History* (1995), 22.

Chronicles is explicitly a commentary on its earlier sources, assuming and correcting Genesis-Kings. Brettler later takes up the question of Solomon's accession in Chronicles. In the context of describing how the writer's "religious practice and political beliefs" affected the ways in which he narrated history, Brettler goes on to suggest that the Chronicler has almost inadvertently reshaped his account as a kind of polemic against Samuel-Kings.

> For example, he knew 1 Kings 1–2, which describes the battle for the throne between Solomon and his brothers. However, his political ideology precluded him from believing that account. He knew that Solomon could have no enemies and that there was a smooth transition between David and Solomon. Therefore, Kings was wrong; he advised his readers of that by writing polemically against Kings (1 Chr 29:24): "all of the officers, warriors and all of the sons of King David supported Solomon the king."[91]

Brettler joins the assumption of Chronicles as a commentary with an analysis of the writer's treatment of his sources in Samuel-Kings. Even though the writer does not intend to replace the account of Samuel-Kings, Chronicles retcons Adonijah's attempt on the throne in Samuel-Kings with his own strong religious and political views; in Brettler's view, this seems to be what the writer meant to do and what the writer expects readers to understand.

Similarly, Myers suggests that the writer made certain compositional choices owing to strong religious views. The Succession Narrative in Samuel-Kings was widely known—indeed, so widely known that both the writer and readers of Chronicles knew it well. Nonetheless, the writer excludes certain events because of his presuppositions and does this in service of his readers.

> There is certainly nothing unhistorical or visionary in the story. It is a unit and sets forth the pertinent facts as they relate to the accession of Solomon whose chief responsibility was the maintenance of the Davidic line and the construction of the temple. Just because certain events in the career of individuals are not

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[91] Ibid., 25. See above, 234 n61.

mentioned specifically by the Chronicler does not mean they were unknown to him or piously glossed over. They were a matter of record and everybody knew about them. He has chronicled a history of the kingdom from a religious point of view and follows a straight line rather than detours that would detract from his objective. His is a positive approach and hence he omits the aberrations that might raise doubts in the minds of his hearers (readers).[92]

There are similarities to Brettler's approach. Broad knowledge of Samuel-Kings is assumed of the writer and the readers of Chronicles, and the difference between the accounts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles is to be explained as a matter of perspective. Because the writer is producing his history from a "religious point of view," certain details are excluded.

Brettler, Japhet, Klein, and Myers each take an approach to Solomon's accession in Chronicles in which reading that account depends also on knowledge of Samuel-Kings, whether Chronicles is taken as a commentary, theological frame, correction for, or polemic against Samuel-Kings. Further, there are several assumptions about readerly knowledge of Samuel-Kings that are expressed alongside speculation about how Chronicles was intended to be understood or was understood. This approach is symptomatic of a larger trend in which Samuel-Kings is prioritized over Chronicles in biblical studies, whether as a superior history or by interpreting Chronicles only against the background provided by Samuel-Kings.[93]

Production, Potential, and Reception

By separating the process of writing Chronicles and the material implications of that process from its mnemonic potential and from its reception history, the theory developed above

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[92] Myers, *I Chronicles* (1965), 198.

[93] Without endorsement of the approach taken thereafter, see the masterful review in Sean E. Cook, *The Solomon Narratives in the Context of the Hebrew Bible: Told and Retold*, LHBOTS 638 (London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), 4-10.

helps one to assess and clarify the analyses just described, as well as those at the beginning of the chapter. In the second chapter, I argued that social memory—even though one must infer a shared symbolic network that arises through the reading, hearing, or viewing of representations of the past ("media offers")—is best understood as a process occurring in multiple stages, which include the production, availability, and reception of media offers. Each offer has some embedded mnemonic potential—the range of ways that it might be deployed as a "medium of memory" and evoke the past, i.e., use in which it is widely received and thus affects shared knowledge of the past. This potential is separate from both the intent of its producer and its eventual uses. Separating these stages may be helpful for Chronicles and particularly for the story of Solomon's accession.

Because Chronicles resulted from a process in which a writer revised and reused a variety of sources, the production of Chronicles is bound together with the writer's reception of Samuel-Kings. One can then speak of a) the writer's reception of Samuel-Kings, and b) the "production-functionalization" of Chronicles, i.e., the ways in which it is likely imbued with shared understandings of the past in which the writer participated. It is, indeed, hardly possible to imagine a writer doing otherwise; this is why, for example, Pioske's argument about the writer of Chronicles having lived in a much-diminished Jerusalem is so powerful. One can further articulate the mnemonic potential of Chronicles, which might include multiple kinds of use— besides as commentary or corrective to Samuel-Kings that all the while assumes the basic features of that account (the potential suggested by the scholars above), an independent account of the past that need not rely on its reader's knowledge of Samuel-Kings. Finally, one can describe how this potential and the fact of its preservation in the Hebrew Bible alongside

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Samuel-Kings has led to the first kind of reading, regardless of whether that is what the writer intended or not.

Consider the writer's reception of Samuel-Kings. I argued above that the writer of Chronicles knew Samuel-Kings; while this is clearer for 1 Kings 1–2 because there are some direct verbal parallels in Chronicles to texts there, it is also likely that the writer also had access to the text of 1 Sam 9–20, i.e., the majority of the Succession Narrative, in a form similar to MT or 4QSam[a]. As demonstrated by the comparative reading above, the writer of Chronicles appears to have received this account as factually wrong in several regards. Samuel-Kings presents a history in which Absalom and Adonijah attempt to gain the throne, in which David's court is divided by factionalism, in which David is inept owing to old age and/or disease, and in which Solomon consolidates power by ordering violence. It is plausible that, as Brettler remarks, the Chronicler's ideology "precluded him from believing that account" because of what he already "knew" about David and Solomon.[94] Whatever the reasons, the writer employed a compositional method for developing Solomon's accession in Chronicles that did not involve extensive, close reuse of the text of Samuel-Kings, except for a few parallels from 1 Kings 1–2, and this method of highly selective reuse is remarkably different from the one present elsewhere in the work, and even in close textual proximity to the text in question, especially 1 Chronicles 28–29. This

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[94] See above, 248 n91. This is perhaps suggestive of the writer participating in a shared knowledge of the lives of David and Solomon that already existed apart from Samuel-Kings, a knowledge that was put to use in the production of his work. So, for example, materials from Psalms and/or Proverbs were likely available in some form and may already have been associated with David or Solomon.

should not be surprising, though, given the varied methods of rewriting that we observed in the chapter before and which we will observe in the chapter that follows.[95]

Second, we can consider Chronicles as a new "media offer" and describe its mnemonic potential. The production of Chronicles expanded the available set of materials for recalling the monarchic period in that there was now a new scroll or scrolls recalling that period. These new scroll(s) would have been available as a means by which to commemorate the past either alongside of or independently of Samuel-Kings, whether the scrolls of Samuel-Kings were not available because they were stored in another location, lost due to accidental damage, had been deliberately destroyed, or were simply unused. From a material perspective, any of these is possible and cannot be ruled out. It is possible that scrolls of Chronicles or Samuel-Kings might have been read simultaneously or comparatively (as I have read them above), but it is equally plausible that the scrolls were not read together but at separate times or that one might have been read more often than the other. (The source citations in Chronicles should not obscure this fact. For instance, considering 1 Chronicles 29:26–30, at which point the narrator refers readers to other records of David's reign does not mean those readers had also read those records, that they had to read them to understand the account just set forth, that they were actually available to be read, or even that the citations were a good-faith attempt to direct the reader to them.)[96] One of

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[95] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 14–16, notes that the writer appears to be have been highly selective in other situations as well.

[96] הנם כתובים על דברי שמואל הראה ועל דברי נתן הנביא ועל דברי גד החזה ("[the deeds of David] are written on the 'words' of Samuel, the seer, the 'words' of Nathan, the prophet, and the 'words' of Gad, the seer"). It is also not necessary to understand them as the conclusion of a first scroll and therefore as having any greater significance as its concluding remarks. The end of 1 Chronicles, with the summary notice about David's reign and his death, is not likely to have been the end of the scroll on which the work was first written; its division into more than one

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the possibilities that Chronicles allows, then, is that its account of Solomon's accession be read independently of or without any knowledge of the account in Samuel-Kings.

Here, a note on the coherence of the account in Chronicles is in order. The reader of Solomon's accession in Chronicles does not need knowledge of Samuel-Kings to understand 1 Chronicles 28–29; one can cite both positive evidence and a counterfactual argument in support of this position. In terms of positive evidence, Chronicles itself provided already much or all of the background information a reader needs to understand its account. As we saw above, well before Solomon takes the throne, all the main characters who appear in 1 Chronicles 28–29 are present, including David's other children and the assembled leaders of Israel. Narratively, it is prior to Solomon's enthronement that he is designated as David's divinely chosen successor and the builder of the temple (1 Chronicles 22). As a character in the story, David voices his plan to prepare for the construction of the temple, as well as the reasons why he is disqualified from building it. David is said to be disqualified already by 1 Chronicles 22, and the divine choice of Solomon as the temple-builder is also discussed there. As a result, when Solomon's enthronement finally occurs in 1 Chronicles 28–29, it is only the culmination of a story that has been developing over several chapters prior.

A brief argument, which I will construct here by posing a counterfactual, also supports this. There were many opportunities for the writer to allude to or evoke the text of Samuel-Kings—whether through summary, direct quotation, or reference to the source.[97] The writer did

part was only necessitated by the length of the whole. See especially Menaḥem Haran, "Book-Size and the Device of Catch-Lines in the Biblical Canon," *JJS* 36 (1985): 1–11, esp. 5–11.

[97] See for instance above, 146 n19, where Seidel's law may be visible. Any such number of more explicit means of citation might have been deployed, including verbatim reuse of Samuel-Kings or summary.

not do so, instead forging a new account with the many distinct features outlined above—an account which, as we have seen, forecloses even the possibility that events would unfold in the same way that they do in Samuel-Kings. We saw in the prior chapter, for instance, that the writer adeptly summarizes text from his sources. This might have been done, for instance, at 2 Chr 1:1 for Benaiah's killings of Adonijah (and/or Shimei and Joab): ויהי אחרי הומת אדניה ויתחזק שלמה בן דויד על מלכותו ויהוה אלהיו עמו ויגדלהו למעלה. A short reference like this explicitly positions the consolidation of Solomon's reign with respect to events that are also narrated in Samuel-Kings. However, not even such an explicit reference to Adonijah's death would have forced the reader to rely on other knowledge to understand the narrative of Chronicles. As we saw, Adonijah is introduced by name in Chronicles, so a text like this would be intelligible to the reader without knowledge of Samuel-Kings. For the reader with prior knowledge of Samuel-Kings, it allows that reader to draw on the narrative there to fill in gaps in this statement; Adonijah "was put to death," but why and by whom? But because the text has already established the king's sons and Adonijah as characters in its story, however briefly, the reader does not need the narrative of Samuel-Kings to make sense of this statement.[98] Prior knowledge of Samuel-Kings, however, can seduce the scholar to assume that readers must have knowledge of Samuel-Kings.

For example, in the source reference for David's reign, it would have been possible to include a a note about the deeds of David's children, but the writer does not. The sources mentioned are positioned as, at best, tangential to the portrayal of David's reign in Chronicles and, indeed, the deeds of David that are said to be recorded in those sources are highly stereotyped (ודברי דויד הראשנים והאחרנים...).

[98] Benjamin Harshav has described this phenomenon. The statement that Adonijah had been put to death (ויהי אחרי הומת אדניה) is what he calls a "double-directed statement," that is, it can refer to a "frame of reference" generated by Samuel-Kings or by some knowledge of the external world, in this case, perhaps "history." But a lack of access, knowledge, or even the reader's agreement with the proposition that "Adonijah was put to death" does not undermine the narrative. Rather, as Harshav says, the statement then is primarily associated with the speaker

Mitchell has dealt with precisely this problem in her essay "The Dialogism of Chronicles," though that essay subsequently moves on to consider the ways in which understanding of Samuel-Kings is shaped by reading Chronicles first. She notes, for instance, that treatments of Saul's death in Chronicles (1 Chr 10:1–11:9) are carried out by almost all commentators as comparisons between the text of Chronicles and that of Samuel-Kings.[99] She offers a reading of the narrative of Saul's death, showing that it can stand independently and that it "fits perfectly within Chronicles. Its purpose is to demonstrate the unfitness of Saul and the fitness of David. This entire reading was done without reference to Samuel. Chronicles can make sense on its own literary term—it does not have to be read with Samuel–Kings in mind."[100] Mitchell concludes, in part, that "the reader of Chronicles does not have to know Samuel–Kings in order to get the messages of Chronicles."[101] As Mitchell says about the story of Saul's death, Solomon's accession in Chronicles does not have to be read as alluding to or correcting the Succession Narrative in Samuel-Kings. It stands on its own, in service of the work's larger narrative about the preparations for and construction of the temple. In this sense, regardless of

(here, the narrator) and the speaker's "attitudes, or the attitudes of the figures thus characterized…" See Benjamin Harshav, *Explorations in Poetics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 26–27.

[99] Mitchell, "Dialogism" (1999), 319–20. "For the commentators, 1 Chronicles 10 cannot be understood except as it relates to 1 Samuel 31… my aim is first to read 1 Chron. 10.1–11:9 purely in terms of itself… I would like to show that 1 Chron. 10.1–11:9 can be read without Samuel and that it has its own literary logic."

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid., 326. She continues, "but the reader of Chronicles who also knows Samuel–Kings can appreciate the dialogue between the two, as well as the little ironies and playfulness that Chronicles has built into its text. The pleasure of reading is enhanced as we begin to understand Chronicles on many levels. It is not a pieced-together text; it is a text of complex artistry in the service of its messages."

the writer's intent, Chronicles offers a means to present the past in which the basic features of the Succession Narrative that I have surveyed above simply do not figure or play any part at all.

One can conceptualize on the basis of this chapter's argument so far two ways in which Chronicles interacts with social memory. First, it offers evidence of a decidedly negative reception of Samuel-Kings, inasmuch as Chronicles appears to negate, invert, or exclude the basic premises of its story. The composition of Chronicles creates a new material possibility, in which its scroll might be cross-referenced with Samuel-Kings (or not). Further, as a narrative, the account in Chronicles can be read with or without knowledge of Samuel-Kings. Chronicles therefore provides a means of representing the David/Solomon transition without Absalom and Adonijah's attempts on the throne, without factionalism, without violence, divinely decreed and with the full support of Israel and David's other children.

These possibilities, which must be considered because of the very existence of Chronicles as a new work of history, should not by confused with its subsequent reception. Further, as noted in the second chapter, reception floats free of the intentions of a media offer's producer. The conflation of these three stages—reception of the prefigured past, production/potential, and refiguration— are evident in the comments by Brettler, Klein, Japhet, and Myers above and in some of the other works on social memory theory surveyed in the first chapter, and this has occurred in part because the reception history of Chronicles eventually resulted in its preservation in the Hebrew Bible together with Samuel-Kings (and in the Alexandrian canonical order and later Christian traditions, immediately following Samuel-Kings).

We must make a basic distinction here between the writer's access to Samuel-Kings (and any other sources) and the access of the readers to those same sources. It appears that the writer had sustained access to these sources, which were present in a text deposit or archive. The

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precise size of that archive is beside the point, but the writer's access to it must have been

somewhat sustained to produce a work with the scope of Chronicles.[102] There are a variety of

circumstances that we could envision for readers. One such possibility is that the writer

completed Chronicles and presented it to others with access to the same archive; in this

circumstance, both the writer and readers might have basically the same level of access. Another

possibility is, as the biblical texts seems to evoke for Deuteronomy, a public presentation of the

work without making available its sources. Yet another possibility is the availability of

Chronicles through copies that were circulated well beyond the place of its composition—this is

what happened, even if we cannot tell exactly when and how, for the Pentateuch and Samaritan

Pentateuch. In such a case, the text deposit or archive that was used might well not have

circulated with Chronicles and it would have to be read without those sources. It is only in the

context of a canon or proto-canon that the availability of Chronicles alongside Samuel-Kings

(and/or the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges) becomes the base case.

The comments by scholars above reveal that they simultaneously assess the reception of

Samuel-Kings, the intent of its author, and the potentials of Chronicles as a new literary work in

a way that reads backwards from its history of reception alongside Samuel-Kings—which, as we

have seen above, is not implied by the work. For instance, Japhet assesses that Chronicles is a

"comprehensive theological framework for the historical circumstances of [Solomon's]

accession," and immediately proceeds to describe the events of Samuel-Kings. Her use of the

term "polemic" implies intent; so also does Klein's "implicit criticism" and "corrects," Brettler's

"advised," and Myers' "omits aberrations that might raise doubts in the minds of his hearers

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[102] See again du Toit (2011).

(readers)." The unstated premise that binds together all these comments on Solomon's accession is that the writer fully intended to correct or reframe a shared understanding of the past, gleaned from Samuel-Kings, and that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles were from the very beginning received alongside each other.

This is an unfounded and inadequate understanding given the range of material possibilities described above, in which a scroll of Samuel-Kings might be available and used, available but unused, or unavailable to readers of Chronicles. One cannot, therefore, make a strong claim that Chronicles stood with respect to Samuel-Kings for its earliest readers as a theological framework and that it was intended this way—or as just one possible representation of the past among many—because these are matters of its reception thereafter. And it is obvious that this reception history, and particularly the work's reception in the canon, obfuscated the possibilities latent in Chronicles by which it might have been read on its own terms without knowledge of Samuel-Kings.[103] The theoretical framework outlined above therefore becomes useful in evaluating the several conceptual layers present in commentary on Chronicles and the ways in which they obscure the range of possibilities for its use and reception.

Cultural "Forgetting" and the Media of Memory

As a a self-contained, coherent account of Solomon's accession that stands independently of Samuel-Kings, Chronicles made it possible to understand the past, and in this case Solomon's

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[103] Indeed, it is partly the float from intent to reception that makes it possible to read Chronicles as a commentary on Samuel-Kings. In part because Chronicles was preserved alongside Samuel-Kings, it is read as a commentary, critique, or polemic of it. If only Chronicles, of all biblical historiography, had been preserved, it would hardly be understood in this way.

accession, as uncontested, non-violent, and thoroughly related to preparation for and the construction of the temple. Weinbender's study of social memory and rewritten biblical texts, briefly surveyed in the first chapter above, drew attention to the ways in which some important "nodes," or points in the symbolic field of social memory with a greater level of attachment with other nodes, may become more attached to one another with the passage of time. He successfully demonstrated that, in Chronicles' version of the census narrative, this process seems to have occurred for David and the temple. Solomon's accession offers the inverse of this process: nodes or symbolic points within social memory that are not so important—or judged by a writer not to be important—are severed from that field. In the very process that attaches David and Solomon more closely to one another and to the construction of the temple, this is precisely what happened when the writer severs the links between some of the "nodes" in his source account (David's old age and Solomon's violence) from the David/Solomon succession.

It is worth considering, for a moment, the ways in which this presentation of the David/Solomon succession might have been received. First, because it can stand as an independent and coherent account of the succession, it might not have left its readers with the sense that information (about violence, for instance) was excluded—even if those readers had knowledge of the text of 1 Kings 1. Drawing on Ricoeur's theory of emplotment and narration, Newsom argues that, because not all possible events can be included in the emplotment of any given narrative and because, even with knowledge of details that might conflict with the story being narrated, an audience does not necessarily experience such excluded details as relevant to a narrative. Rather, meaning is constructed by the story in part by its exclusion of certain details.

> If the emplotment succeeds in creating coherence, then what is left out will not be noticed by the audience as an omission that threatens the plausibility of the narration. Instead, the details not chosen will simply be experienced as not

relevant to the story in question. The configured plot thus acts as a filter that clears away the static that could be caused by too much information, even as it organizes the relevant details into a meaningful pattern… significantly, this means that many stories can be told from the same body of cultural tradition. Different subjects and different emplotments select different events and details. While such stories could be told as rival stories in ideological conflict with one another, it is just as likely that they will be seen as different but equally true stories. This potential for multiple stories to be told from the same body of traditional material is of the greatest importance for cultural change and adaptation, for it allows new knowledge to be derived from that which is already known and familiar.[104]

While Newsom includes here a remark that is harmonizing of multiple narratives ("different but equally true stories"), her remarks are still insightful and have probative value for the case at hand and an assessment of Chronicles as representing a narrative independent of Samuel-Kings. If, as I suggested above, the account of Solmon's accession in Chronicles achieves a meaningful coherence within the larger narrative of the preparation for and construction of the temple, then it is reasonable that the implied reader, even if we imagine that reader as having knowledge of Samuel-Kings, would not experience the "missing" details (about David's age, violence, etc.) as missing at all. Neither would it be necessary or particularly likely that parallels to or alleged allusions to the events of the Succession Narrative would be experienced as such; rather, the text of Samuel-Kings or the events of the Succession Narrative are repeatedly positioned as irrelevant to the story being told. Indeed, the lack of specificity in the source reference of 1 Chr 29:27–28, specifically with reference to David's other deeds and any other events narrated in Samuel-Kings, may be taken in precisely this way: as positioning these other sources and other events as irrelevant to the story of Chronicles.

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[104] Carol A. Newsom, "Rhyme and Reason: The Historical Résumé in Israelite and Early Jewish Thought," in *Congress Volume: Leiden 2004*, VTSup 109 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), at 219.

Newsom also evokes the ways in which "cultural adaptation" might result from renarration. In the case of Solomon's accession, I suggest that this is a positive avenue of inquiry, and specifically, one might probe how shared knowledge of the past might be adapted by the renarration of Solomon's accession. In concluding this chapter it is, then, worth briefly considering Solomon's accession as presented in Chronicles alongside other forms of cultural "forgetting." I will note one concrete practice, *damnatio memoriae*, for some formal parallels with what has happened in Chronicles, though it implicates different media and often came with official sanction. I will also point out some research from social science that demonstrates how the omission of information, even in conversations among pairs of speakers, can propagate across social networks and result in a distributed loss of that information. Such omission of information is therefore to be attended even when it appears in situations where the reach of the media in question to the audience may be limited, i.e., it is consequential even in the case of a single work such as Chronicles, for which the earliest reception history is unknown.

Damnatio memoriae is a practice of obliterating shared knowledge through the destruction or modification of certain media.[105] This practice, in the most extensive versions of which the offender's name was removed from records and their images destroyed, had various inflections.[106] In some cases, images of the offender were not destroyed but rather recarved into some other person's image. It is as a result of this practice that busts of Caligula were recarved to

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[105] For a nice overview with some examples, see Charles W. Hedrick, *History and Silence: Purge and Rehabilitation of Memory in Late Antiquity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 88–130.

[106] Some inscriptions reflect an anxiety about this happening and attempt to guard against it by placing a curse on whomever might remove the image (e.g., Nerab II = KAI 225).

represent Claudius, by means of adding aging lines or bags beneath the eyes; other examples

rework Caligula as Augustus.[107] These reworkings are known from comparison with images of

Caligula, many of which persons attempted to destroy by tossing them into the river Tiber, from

which they were later recovered. In this practice, then, we can observe how instances of a media

that evoked a historical person were materially reconfigured to evoke another person instead.

A parallel between this practice and the production of Chronicles lies in the way that the

writer takes up the source text and transmutes it to represent the past in an altogether new way.

By removing unnecessary details and substituting them with others, the writer forms entirely new

images of David, Solomon, and the transition between them. Further, just as it is by comparison

with an unmodified bust that one discovers what has happened with images of Caligula,[108] it is

primarily by comparison with a near relative of the source text that one can tell what has

happened with Chronicles. With the destruction, or even just disuse, of the pristine bust or source

text, the past that media offer previously evoked decreases in relevance and may, eventually, be

forgotten.[109] In making this comparison, I do not endorse the theory that Chronicles was written

with the express intent that it would be a replacement for Samuel-Kings. That argument seems

plausible but is separate from the one here, which concerns the material basis of social memory

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[107] Eric R. Varner, "Beyond Damnatio Memoriae: Memory Sanctions, Caligula's Portraits and the Richmond Togatus," in *New Studies on the Portrait of Caligula in the Virgina Museum of Fine Arts*, Monumenta Graeca et Romana 26 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2020), 55–69.

[108] Ibid., 55.

[109] Other, non-destructive, means of manipulating the representation and meanings of commemorated persons and events also provide interesting parallels, especially as they reveal how a producer's intent is not determinative of an offer's later, collective reception; see James Osborne, "Counter-Monumentality and the Vulnerability of Memory," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 17 (2017): 163–87.

and the ways in which one understands changes to that basis as they relate to the distributed loss of information, i.e., cultural "forgetting."

Whatever, then, the intentions of the writer of Chronicles, the work partakes in a process with formal similarities to the parade example of active, cultural "forgetting," *damnatio memoriae*. Whether or not the media offer in Chronicles ever had the outcome of diminishing knowledge of David's old age, Solomon's violence, or other aspects of the story in Samuel-Kings described above, is not demonstrable. Neither are assertions that Chronicles was intended to be read together with Samuel-Kings or was read that way from its very production and that such a reading was the primary means by which it shaped shared knowledge of Israel and Judah's past (for instance, as an "equally true story"[110] or as a theological framework).

Social science research also suggests that the loss of information, even among small parties, can propagate across networks and result in a collective "forgetting" of that same information. For events in the recent past, even just a single speaker's exclusion of details— details known by the audience—results in a loss of the ability to subsequently retrieve those details on the part of both the speaker and the hearer.[111] Such a loss of information is inherent in Chronicles. Whatever the extent of its early reception, the writing of Chronicles thus made possible the eventual loss of the information it excludes or differently emplots, i.e., the characters, characterizations, and events of the Succession Narrative in 2 Samuel 9 – 1 Kings 2.

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[110] See above, 260 n104.

[111] William Hirst, Jeremy K. Yamashiro, and Alin Coman, "Collective Memory from a Psychological Perspective," *Trends in Cognitive Science* 22 (2018): 433–34.

From Intertextuality to Cultural "Forgetting"

I opened this chapter by noting intertextual links between the story of Solomon's accession in Chronicles and others and by suggesting that such readings are constructive. Then, we observed how the narrative in Chronicles differs from and even contradicts that of Samuel-Kings. In concert with the theory set out in the second chapter, this has allowed for an analysis of the writer's reception of Samuel-Kings; considered together with the process of writing, it is reasonable to say that the writer functionalized one set of "memories" of the past, embedding it in the new account.[112]

Separating three levels of analysis—reception of its sources and the production of Chronicles, its mnemonic potential, and its subsequent reception—allows us to discern the ways that these three have been conflated in scholarship on Chronicles. This conflation results in the portrayal of Chronicles as a commentary, a new narrative frame, or a polemic against Samuel-Kings. Each one of the various approaches to the text, as represented above in the comments of several scholars, makes unnecessary and unfalsifiable assumptions about the intentions of the writer and about the early readership of Chronicles—assumptions that are colored by the later reception of Chronicles alongside Samuel-Kings as in the Hebrew Bible.

I also provided an account of the mnemonic potential of Solomon's accession in Chronicles apart from Samuel-Kings. In recounting Solomon's accession, Chronicles presents a coherent narrative and embeds the characters and events relating to that accession within a larger narrative about the preparation for and construction of the temple. I suggested by achieving this coherence and connecting Solomon's accession securely to a larger story about the temple,

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[112] See especially the comment by Brettler above.

Chronicles allows the exclusion of events and characters represented in Samuel-Kings. That

these events and persons are not represented in Chronicles, even if they were known from a

textual source (Samuel-Kings) or an oral, traditional source,[113] may not have been experienced

by the readers or hearers of Chronicles as a problem or even a true absence.

Finally, I suggested that the way in which the account of Samuel-Kings was reshaped in

Chronicles and can stand alone there has formal similarities to the material processes that take

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[113] Positing knowledge derived from a non-written source is what Person does in *The Deuteronomic History and the Book of Chronicles* (2010), 165. There, he responds to a counterargument against Auld's theory of a shared textual source for Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. He notes a common criticism of Auld's theory that reading Chronicles requires some background knowledge and that the assumed source of this is the text of Samuel-Kings. (In the counterargument to Auld's theory of a shared source, if Chronicles alludes to parts of Samuel-Kings that are not in the shared source, then Auld's theory cannot be true because Chronicles then presumes parts of the non-shared material, i.e., the unique additions to Samuel-Kings.) Person aptly responds that narratives commonly assume some background knowledge of their readers and that the source of that knowledge need not be textual; in the case of Chronicles, he suggests an oral tradition. While at this point I would differ with Person, he is quite astute in pointing out the falsity of the assumption that the background knowledge necessary for reading Chronicles must come from familiarity with the text of Samuel-Kings: "the unnecessary assumption is that this background knowledge could come only from one specific literary work—that is, the audience of Chronicles necessarily must be familiar with Samuel–Kings in order to understand fully Chronicles, including especially what the Chronicler omitted of his *Vorlage*."

We might also take recourse to literary theory in rebutting this assumption. In the first chapter of *Explorations* (2007), Benjamin Harshav set forth a theory of referentiality in literature. One of the most crucial concepts is that although referents in a literary work may also exist outside of that work or even in other works, the references to them in the work may be either *internal* to it or *external*. As a work iteratively establishes its own internal frames of reference—by putting more than one referent in relation to another—they begin to constitute a larger field of reference with which the reader interacts to make sense of the story. At any rate, in the event that Chronicles refers to one "Benaiah," it will likely be enough for the reader when Benaiah is situated in a frame of reference in which the king he serves has a large contingent of military and bureaucratic personnel. In this case, the referent is situated in a frame of reference and an internal field of reference that might be modeled on palace administration. The work need not evoke Benaiah from any other literature or even from any palace administration in the real world. The field of reference established by the story itself constitutes all the background knowledge the reader needs.

place in another form of cultural "forgetting," *damnatio memoriae*, in that Chronicles excludes from representation the materials unnecessary for its own account. Social science research indicates that the loss of information between even a single speaker and hearer can propogate across social networks; Chronicles' mnemonic potential therefore includes the possibility that it would trigger a distributed loss of knowledge regarding the characters, characterizations, and events represented in Samuel-Kings.

Williamson suggested that 1 Chr 28:4–5 is an explicit reference to the Succession Narrative, writing "**the Lord has given me many sons**: this makes the election of Solomon even more remarkable. The intention of this comment is doubtless to draw attention to the 'Succession Narrative' in the second half of 2 Sam. and the beginning of 1 Kg. The Chronicler has thus in these verses given his theological commentary on the intriguing narrative of those chapters."[114] With this comment, Williamson participates, as do many others, in another iteration of Chronicles' mnemonic potential, one brought fully into force by millenia of preservation and readings alongside Samuel-Kings in the Hebrew Bible. We should not, however, mistake this fact of preservation with the writer's intent, which I have suggested is beside the point. Another possibility, now worked out above, is that Chronicles offers its own narrative of Solomon's accession complete with a set of "alternative facts" and without a need for or even a place for almost all elements of the Succession Narrative.

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[114] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (1984), 181.

Chapter Five:
Frames and Fields of Reference, the Story of Joash, and the Source Citations

Natürlich treffen ihre Weissagungen immer genau ein, und es ergibt sich somit ein ganz wunderbarer Einklang zwischen innerem Wert und äußerem Ergehn. Nie bleibt auf die Sünde die Strafe aus und nie mangelt dem Unglück die Schuld.[1]

En fonction des normes immanentes à une culture, les actions peuvent être estimées ou appréciées, c'est-àire jugées selon une échelle de préférence morale. Elles reçoivent ainsi une *valeur* relative, qui fait dire que telle action *vaut mieux* que telle autre. Ces degrés de valeur, attribués d'abord aux actions, peuvent être étendus aux agents eux-mêmes, qui sont tenus pour bons, mauvais, meilleurs ou pires.[2]

In this chapter, I will extend the line of argument from the previous chapter, concluding with particular reference to the source citations in Chronicles. The chapter will do this through a reading of the reign of Joash in 2 Chronicles 24. Unlike 1 Chronicles 28–29, the writer of 2 Chronicles 24 appears to have extensively reused 2 Kings 12. Despite this substantial reuse, the changes the writer introduced alter the course of events, as well as the evaluation of Joash within the story, and offer a harshly negative moral judgment against Joash, a judgment which is thoroughly expressed even in the circumstances of his death. The net result, I argue, is not a potential for "forgetting," in exactly the same way as in Solomon's accession. Rather, by presenting a complete and internally coherent narrative of Joash's reign, Chronicles, in this case a very highly derivative text, narrates a different series of events and imposes a starkly different frame of values on the characters. Because this text, like the story of Solomon's accession, is internally consistent, it, too, could be read without Samuel-Kings. Whether they were known or

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[1] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (2001), 198. "Naturally, their predictions always come true, and there is an entirely wonderful harmony between inner worth and outer result. The punishment for the sin is never left outstanding, and the misfortune never lacks explanation."

[2] Ricouer, *Temps et Récit* (1983), 93.

unknown to the reader, the characters are judged in a manner consistent with the rest of the work. The irony developed in the account only strengthens the force of the narrator's judgments of Joash and his interactions with the temple and YHWH, for whom that temple is a proxy. Joash did everything right with respect to the treatment of the temple and the worship of Yhwh, but even he could fall from grace. Even more than the ways that it could configure or reconfigures understandings of Joash's deeds, the mnemonic potential of the story lies in the way that it transmits this single imperative: the temple and the worship of YHWH must always be maintained.

<p style="text-align:center">2 Chronicles 24 and 2 Kings 12: Texts and the Question of Sources</p>

As in the other case studies, I will deal here with the question of the source for 2 Chronicles 24 and show that it was a text very similar to 2 Kings 12. I first provide for reference a text and translation of 2 Kings 12, followed by a parallel edition of 2 Kings 12 and 2 Chronicles 24, and finally, a translation of 2 Chronicles 24. Text-critical notes are dispersed throughout. This very short edition of the texts on their own and in parallel will clearly represent them and provide a visual summary of the parallels, all of which will serve as a point of reference for the discussion that follows.

2 Kings 12[3]

¹¹:³¹ Jehoash was seven years old when he began to reign. ¹ In the seventh year of Jehu, Jehoash began to reign, and he reigned forty years in Jerusalem. (His mother's name was was Zibiah, from Beersheba.) ² Joash did what was right in the eyes of Yₕwₕ all his days, because Jehoiada the priest taught him. ³ But the high places were not removed; the people were still sacrificing and burning incense on the high places.

⁴ Jehoash said to the priests, "as for all the consecrated silver that is brought to the temple of Yₕwₕ—the silver of each person according to its equivalent value [and] all the silver that may be on a man's heart to bring to the temple of Yₕwₕ, ⁵ let the priests take it for themselves, each one from his own sales, and they will repair the temple's damage everywhere there is found damage.

¹ בן שבע שנים יהואש במלכו ² בשנת שבע ליהוא
מלך יהואש וארבעים שנה מלך בירושלים ושם אמו
צביה מבאר שבע ³ ויעש יהואש הישר בעיני יהוה כל
ימיו אשר הורהו יהוידע הכהן ⁴ רק הבמות לא סרו
עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות

⁵ ויאמר יהואש אל הכהנים כל כסף הקדשים אשר
יובא בית יהוה כסף עובר איש כסף נפשות ערכו⁴ כל
כסף אשר יעלה על לב איש להביא בית יהוה ⁶ יקחו
להם הכהנים איש מאת מכרו⁵ והם יחזקו את בדק
הבית לכל אשר ימצא שם בדק

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³ I represent only here the discrepancy between the Hebrew verse numbering and the standard numbering in translations; all other references in the chapter will be to the Hebrew verse numbering.

⁴ The text of MT for the phrases כסף עובר איש כסף נפשות ערכו has very likely been disrupted, though determining precisely how is difficult. LXX here begins with ἀργύριον συντιμήσεως, a phrase equivalent not of MT's כסף עובר but rather of כסף ערך, i.e., "silver of equivalent value" (Lev 27:4, 18; Num 18:16; 2 Kgs 23:35). It is more difficult to understand ἀνὴρ ἀργύριον λαβὼν συντιμήσεως, but if there is indeed influence not only from Leviticus 27 but also from Exodus 30:11–16, then MT and LXX may both be understood as resulting from the combination of these influences: עובר from Exod 30:13–14 together with λαβὼν (which may also have been inferred on the basis of יקחו in 2 Kgs 12:6), and נפש from Lev 27:1–8 (especially v. 2, where it appears with בערכך). On probability of such textual influences, see Gray, *I & II Kings* (1970), 584 (note a), whom the translation at this point also follows in taking כסף נפשות as a gloss.

⁵ See Logan S. Wright, "mkr in 2 Kings XII 5–17 and Deuteronomy XVIII 8," *VT* 39 (1989): 438–48.

⁶ But in the twenty-third year of king Jehoash, the priests had not repaired the temple's damage. ⁷ So king Jehoash summoned Jehoiada, the priest and the [other] priests, and he said to them, "why aren't you repairing the temple's damage? So now, don't you take any silver from your sales, but direct it to the temple's damage. ⁸ And the priests agreed not to accept silver from the people, and not to repair the damage to the temple.

⁹ Jehoida, the priest, took a box, and he bored a hole in its lid, and he put it beside the east, to the right as a man entered the temple of Yʜwʜ, and the priests attending the entrance put there all the silver that was brought to the temple of Yʜwʜ. ¹⁰ And when they saw that there was a lot of silver in the box, then the king's scribe went up (and the high priest), and they uncovered it, and they counted the silver that was found in the the temple of Yʜwʜ, ¹¹ and they would hand over the assessed [or accounted, etc.] silver to those doing the work, the ones entrusted with the temple of Yʜwʜ. They brought it to the woodworkers and to the builders who were working on the temple of Yʜwʜ, ¹² and to the masons [lit. "wallbuilders"] and stonecutters to purchase wood and hewn stones to repair the damage of the temple of Yʜwʜ, for every outlay concerning the temple, for its repair.

⁷ ויהי בשנת עשרים ושלש שנה למלך יהואש לא
חזקו הכהנים את בדק הבית ⁸ ויקרא המלך יהואש
ליהוידע הכהן ולכהנים ויאמר אלהם מדוע אינכם
מחזקים את בדק הבית ועתה אל תקחו כסף מאת
מכריכם כי לבדק הבית תתנהו ⁹ ויאתו הכהנים
לבלתי קחת כסף מאת העם ולבלתי חזק את בדק
הבית ¹⁰ ויקח יהוידע הכהן ארון אחד ויקב חר
בדלתו ויתן אתו אצל המזבח בימין בבוא איש בית
יהוה ונתנו שמה הכהנים שמרי הסף את כל הכסף
המובא בית יהוה ¹¹ ויהי כראותם כי רב הכסף בארון
ויעל ספר המלך והכהן הגדול ויצרו⁶ וימנו את הכסף
הנמצא בית יהוה ¹² ונתנו את הכסף המתכן על יד
[ידי]⁷ עשי המלאכה הפקדים [המפקדים]⁸ בית יהוה
ויוציאהו לחרשי העץ ולבנים העשים בית יהוה ¹³
ולגדרים ולחצבי האבן ולקנות עצים ואבני מחצב
לחזק את בדק בית יהוה ולכל אשר יצא על הבית
לחזקה

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⁶ It is best to read here with the parallel in 2 Chr 24:11, ויערו.

⁷ The *qere* is to be preferred.

⁸ The *qere* is again preferable. On the meaning of פק״ד, see Stuart Creason, "PQD Revisited," in *Studies in Semitic and Afroasiatic Linguistics Presented to Gene B. Gragg*, SAOC 60 (Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, 2017), 38–39.

¹³ But silver basins, snuffers, bowls, trumpets, or any vessel of gold, or any vessel of silver, were not made from the silver that was brought to the temple of Y<small>HWH</small>, ¹⁴ because they gave it to those doing the work, and by means of it they repaired the temple of Y<small>HWH</small>. ¹⁵ They didn't think twice about the men who they handed the silver over to, to give the workers because they were working faithfully. ¹⁶ Silver from the offerings for guilt and silver from the offerings for sin was not brought to the temple of Y<small>HWH</small>, because it belonged to the priests.

¹⁷ Then Hazael, king of Aram came up, and he fought against Gath and captured it. Then Hazael set his face to Jerusalem. ¹⁸ Then Jehoash, king of Judah, took all the consecrated things that Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his ancestors, had consecrated, and the things that he had consecrated—all the gold that was found in the storehouses of the temple of Y<small>HWH</small> and the king's palace, and he sent [it all] to Hazael, king of Aram, and he went away from Jerusalem.

¹⁹ As for the rest of the deeds of Joash and everything that he did, are they not written on the scroll of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? ²⁰ But his servants arose and conspired against him, and they smote Joash in the house of the Millo, on the way down to Silla. ²¹ Jozabad, son of Shimeath, and Jehozabad, son of Shomar, his servants, smote him. He died, and they buried him with his ancestors in the city of David, and Amaziah reigned after him.

¹⁴ אך לא יעשה בית יהוה ספות כסף מזמרות מזרקות חצצרות כל כלי זהב וכלי כסף מן הכסף המובא בית יהוה ¹⁵ כי לעשי המלאכה יתנהו וחזקו בו את בית יהוה ¹⁶ ולא יחשבו את האנשים אשר יתנו את הכסף על ידם לתת לעשי המלאכה כי באמנה הם עשים ¹⁷ כסף אשם וכסף חטאות לא יובא בית יהוה לכהנים יהיו

¹⁸ אז יעלה חזאל מלך ארם וילחם על גת וילכדה וישם חזאל פניו לעלות על ירושלם ¹⁹ ויקח יהואש מלך יהודה את כל הקדשים אשר הדישו יהושפט ויהורם ואחזיהו אבתיו מלכי יהודה ואת קדשיו ואת כל הזהב הנמצא באצרות בית יהוה ובית המלך וישלח לחזאל מלך ארם ויעל מעל ירושלם

²⁰ ויתר דברי יואש וכל אשר עשה הלוא הם כתובים על ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה ²¹ ויקמו עבדיו ויקשרו קשר ויכו את יואש בית מלא היורד סלא ²² ויוזבד בן שמעת ויהוזבד בן שמר עבדיו הכהו וימת ויקברו אתו עם אבתיו בעיר דוד וימלך אמציה בנו תחתיו

2 Kings 12 and 2 Chronicles 24

It is now necessary to present a parallel version of 2 Kings 12 and 2 Chronicles 24, because a visual presentation is the best way to demonstrate the ways in which the sequence of the two texts overlaps. Due to the complexity of the relationship, I utilize here a different color

scheme than above: blue shows letter-for-letter correspondence, red shows parallels with an allowance for differences in syntax, lexicon, morphology, or idiom, and black what is unique in each text.[9]

2 Chronicles 24	*2 Kings 12*
¹ בן שבע שנים יאש במלכו וארבעים שנה מלך בירושלם ושם אמו צביה מבאר שבע ² ויעש יואש הישר בעיני יהוה כל ימי יהוידע הכהן ³ וישא לו יהוידע נשים שתים ויולד בנים ובנות ⁴ ויהי אחריכן היה עם לב יואש לחדש את בית יהוה ⁵ ויקבץ את הכהנים והלוים ויאמר להם צאו לערי יהודה	¹ בן שבע שנים יהואש במלכו ² בשנת שבע ליהוא מלך יהואש וארבעים שנה מלך בירושלים ושם אמו צביה מבאר שבע ³ ויעש יהואש הישר בעיני יהוה כל ימיו אשר הורהו יהוידע הכהן ⁴ רק הבמות לא סרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות
	⁵ ויאמר יהואש אל הכהנים כל כסף הקדשים אשר יובא בית יהוה כסף עובר איש כסף נפשות ערכו כל כסף אשר יעלה על לב איש להביא בית יהוה
וקבצו מכל ישראל כסף לחזק את בית אלהיכם מדי שנה בשנה ואתם תמהרו לדבר ולא מהרו הלוים ⁶ ויקרא המלך ליהוידע הראש ויאמר לו מדוע לא דרשת על הלוים להביא מיהודה ומירושלם את משאת משה עבד יהוה והקהל לישראל לאהל העדות ⁷ כי עתליהו המרשעת בניה פרצו את בית האלהים וגם כל קדשי בית יהוה עשו לבעלים	⁶ יקחו להם הכהנים איש מאת מכרו והם יחזקו את בדק הבית לכל אשר ימצא שם בדק ⁷ ויהי בשנת עשרים ושלש שנה למלך יהואש לא חזקו הכהנים את בדק הבית ⁸ ויקרא המלך יהואש ליהוידע הכהן ולכהנים ויאמר אלהם מדוע אינכם מחזקים את בדק הבית ועתה אל תקחו כסף מאת מכריכם כי לבדק הבית תתנהו ⁹ ויאתו הכהנים לבלתי קחת כסף מאת העם ולבלתי חזק את בדק הבית
⁸ ויאמר המלך ויעשו ארון אחד ויתנהו בשער בית יהוה חוצה ⁹ ויתנו קול ביהודה ובירושלם להביא ליהוה משאת משה עבד האלהים על ישראל במדבר ¹⁰ וישמחו כל השרים וכל העם ויביאו וישליכו לארון עד לכלה ¹¹ ויהי בעת יביא את הארון אל פקדת המלך ביד הלוים וכראותם כי רב הכסף ובא סופר המלך ופקיד כהן הראש ויערו את הארון וישאהו וישיבהו אל מקמו כה עשו ליום ביום¹⁰ ¹² ויאספו כסף לרב ויתנהו המלך ויהוידע אל עושה מלאכת עבודת בית יהוה ויהיו שכרים חצבים וחרשים לחדש בית יהוה וגם לחרשי ברזל ונחשת	¹⁰ ויקח יהוידע הכהן ארון אחד ויקב חר בדלתו ויתן אתו אצל המזבח בימין בבוא איש בית יהוה ונתנו שמה הכהנים שמרי הסף את כל הכסף המובא בית יהוה ¹¹ ויהי כראותם כי רב הכסף בארון ויעל ספר המלך והכהן הגדול ויצרו וימנו את הכסף הנמצא בית יהוה ¹² ונתנו את הכסף המתכן על ידי עשי המלאכה המפקדים בית יהוה ויוציאהו לחרשי העץ ולבנים העשים בית יהוה

[9] I have consulted Abba Bendavid, *Parallels in the Bible* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Carta, 1972), borrowing some of the color coding and layout. Other decisions taken here are my own.

[10] The writer of Chronicles has picked up on the variation of perfective/imperfective forms in the source text and, despite mostly levelling those forms to the perfective *wayyiqtol*, explicitly signaled that it was a customary practice to empty the donation box.

13 ולגדרים ולחצבי האבן ולקנות עצים ואבני מחצב לחזק את בדק בית יהוה ולכל אשר יצא על הבית לחזקה

14 אך לא יעשה בית יהוה ספות כסף מזמרות מזרקות חצצרות כל כלי זהב וכלי כסף מן הכסף המובא בית יהוה 15 כי לעשי המלאכה יתנהו וחזקו בו את בית יהוה 16 ולא יחשבו את האנשים אשר יתנו את הכסף על ידם לתת לעשי המלאכה כי באמנה הם עשים 17 כסף אשם וכסף חטאות לא יובא בית יהוה לכהנים יהיו

18 אז יעלה חזאל מלך ארם וילחם על גת וילכדה וישם חזאל פניו לעלות על ירושלם

19 ויקח יהואש מלך יהודה את כל הקדשים אשר הקדישו יהושפט ויהורם ואחזיהו אבתיו מלכי יהודה ואת קדשיו ואת כל הזהב הנמצא באצרות בית יהוה ובית המלך וישלח לחזאל מלך ארם ויעל מעל ירושלם

21 ויקמו עבדיו ויקשרו קשר

לחזק את בית יהוה 13 ויעשו עשי המלאכה ותעל ארוכה למלאכה בידם ויעמידו את בית האלהים על מתכנתו ויאמצהו 14 וככלותם הביאו לפני המלך ויהוידע את שאר הכסף ויעשהו כלים לבית יהוה כלי שרת והעלות וכפות וכלי זהב וכסף

ויהיו מעלים עלות בבית יהוה תמיד כל ימי יהוידע

15 ויזקן יהוידע וישבע ימים וימת בן מאה ושלשים שנה במותו 16 ויקברהו בעיר דויד עם המלכים כי עשה טובה בישראל ועם האלהים וביתו 17 ואחרי מות יהוידע באו שרי יהודה וישתחוו למלך אז שמע המלך אליהם 18 ויעזבו את בית יהוה אלהי אבותיהם ויעבדו את האשרים ואת העצבים ויהי קצף על יהודה וירושלם באשמתם זאת 19 וישלח בהם נבאים להשיבם אל יהוה ויעידו בם ולא האזינו 20 ורוח אלהים לבשה את זכריה בן יהוידע הכהן ויעמד מעל ויאמר להם כה אמר האלהים למה אתם עברים את מצות יהוה ולא תצליחו כי עזבתם את יהוה ויעזב אתכם 21 ויקשרו עליו וירגמהו אבן במצות המלך בחצר בית יהוה 22 ולא זכר יואש המלך החסד אשר עשה יהוידע אביו עמו ויהרג את בנו וכמותו אמר ירא יהוה וידרש

23 ויהי לתקופת השנה עלה עליו חיל ארם ויבאו אל יהודה וירושלם וישחיתו את כל שרי העם מעם וכל שללם שלחו למלך דרמשק 24 כי במצער אנשים באו חיל ארם ויהוה נתן בידם חיל לרב מאד כי עזבו את יהוה אלהי אבותיהם ואת יואש עשו שפטים

25 ובלכתם ממנו כי עזבו אתו במחליים [במחלוים][11] רבים התקשרו עליו עבדיו בדמי בן[12] יהוידע הכהן ויהרגהו על מטתו וימת

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[11] Here, I follow the *qere*.

[12] I accept the suggestion here from BHS of a dittography of *yod*, which resulted in an erroneous plural in MT.

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ויכו את יואש בית מלא היורד סלא

22 ויוזבד בן שמעת ויהוזבד בן שמר עבדיו הכהו
וימת ויקברו אתו עם אבתיו בעיר דוד וימלך אמציה
בנו תחתיו

20 ויתר דברי יואש וכל אשר עשה הלוא הם כתובים
על ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה

ויקברהו בעיר דויד ולא קברהו בקברות המלכים
26 ואלה המתקשרים עליו זבד בן שמעת העמונית
ויהוזבד בן שמרית המואבית 27 ובניו ורב המשא
עליו ויסוד בית האלהים הנם כתובים
על מדרש ספר המלכים
וימלך אמציהו בנו תחתיו

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2 Chronicles 24

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1 בן שבע שנים יאש במלכו וארבעים שנה מלך

בירושלם ושם אמו צביה מבאר שבע 2 ויעש יואש

הישר בעיני יהוה כל ימי יהוידע הכהן 3 וישא לו

יהוידע נשים שתים ויולד בנים ובנות 4 ויהי אחריכן

היה עם לב יואש לחדש את בית יהוה

5 ויקבץ את הכהנים והלוים ויאמר להם צאו לערי

יהודה וקבצו מכל ישראל כסף לחזק את בית

אלהיכם מדי שנה בשנה ואתם תמהרו לדבר ולא

מהרו הלוים 6 ויקרא המלך ליהוידע הראש ויאמר לו

מדוע לא דרשת על הלוים15 להביא מיהודה

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[1] Joash was seven years old when he began to reign. He reigned forty years in Jerusalem. (His mother's name was Zibiah, from Beersheba.) [2] Joash did what was right in the eyes of Yhwh all the days of Jehoiada, the priest. [3] Jehoida got two wives for him [Joash], and he fathered sons and daughters, [4] and after this, Joash desired[13] to renovate the temple of YHWH.

[5] He summoned the priests and the Levites and said to them, "Go through the cities of Judah and gather, from all Israel, silver to repair the temple of your God—a sufficient amount from year to year. You must act quickly in this matter."[14] But the Levites did not act quickly. [6] Then the king called Jehoiada, the chief [priest], and he said to him, "Why haven't you called the Levites to account to bring from Judah

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[13] The phrase עם לב + PN (lit. "with the heart of PN") is unique, but the לב is clearly the center not only of desire but of thought and intent. See HALOT for לֵב, especially subentries 6 and 8.

[14] MT should not be repointed to the infinitive לְדַבֵּר in accordance with the LXX. This is commonly accepted in the commentaries; see, e.g., Ralph W. Klein, *2 Chronicles*, Hermeneia 14 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 332.

[15] This is another instance of a unique prepositional complement, this time for the verb דר״ש. Because there is a clearly imagined outcome (להביא מיהודה, "to bring from Judah"), it probably here has a stronger sense than just investigation or inquiry alone; while the preposition על could be understood as just the equivalent of אל, Joash seems to ask the question with the presumption that if indeed Jehoiada had דר״ש על the Levites, they would already have done what they were supposed to do. Otherwise, the question loses its force.

and from Jerusalem the portion instituted by Moses, servant of Yʜwʜ, and the congregation of Israel, for the tent of the testimony." [7] Because Athaliah, that wicked woman, [and] her children had broken into the temple of God, and they even used all the consecrated things of the temple of Yʜwʜ for the Baals. [8] Then the king spoke, and they made a box and put it at the gate of the temple of Yʜwʜ, outside. [9] They sent a decree in Judah and Jerusalem to bring to Yʜwʜ the contribution of Moses, servant of God, [that] was upon Israel in the desert. [10] All the officials and all the people rejoiced, and they deposited [silver] in the box until it was full.

ומירושלם את משאת משה עבד יהוה והקהל

לישראל[16] לאהל העדות[17] [7] כי עתליהו המרשעת

בניה פרצו את בית האלהים וגם כל קדשי בית יהוה

עשו לבעלים [8] ויאמר המלך ויעשו ארון אחד ויתנהו

בשער בית יהוה חוצה [9] ויתנו קול ביהודה ובירושלם

להביא ליהוה משאת משה עבד האלהים על ישראל

במדבר [10] וישמחו[18] כל השרים וכל העם ויביאו

וישליכו לארון עד לכלה

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[16] The phrase והקהל לישראל is puzzling. It may be read as an extension of the previous one, suggesting that the contribution was levied by Moses and the assembly, or as a verb with LXX, as suggested by BHS. This verbal rendering is difficult unless one understands *lamed* as a direct substitution for the object marker, a use not attested with קהל. I follow here a nominal rendering, but tentatively, especially given the evidence of verse 9, where Moses is clearly said to levy this contribution upon Israel.

[17] On the עדות and the אהל עדות see Baruch J. Schwartz, "The Priestly Account of the Theophany and Lawgiving at Sinai," in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran*, ed. Michael V. Fox et al. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 126 n52.

[18] Δίδωμι reflects a Hebrew text with נת״ן except here and in 1 Chr 16:28 (3x); 28:15, 16; 29:3; 2 Chr 23:15; 28:15; 32:33; 33:8; 36:4, a very small portion of its occurrences in the book. It is highly likely that the translator understood a different verb (שים?), had a different *Vorlage*, or intentionally translated with a different verb; for some suggestions on this, see Klein, *2 Chronicles* (2012), 332. Nonetheless, the text of MT is likely to be correct for several reasons. First, it would be redundant if the chest was placed again (see here verse 8, ויתנהו). Second, the motif of rejoicing is consonant with the rest of the work and functions here to explain a key detail of the story. Rejoicing is elsewhere associated with obedience to royalty and divine commands (see Japhet, *Ideology* [2009], 322–23). Joyful giving on the part of the people and their leaders explains the abundance of the silver and the fact that the box filled regularly (verse 11).

¹¹ And when the box was brought to the king's appointee (by the Levites), when they saw that there was a great amount of silver in it, then the king's scribe would come with the designee of the chief priest, and they would empty the box. Then they would pick it up and take it back to its place. They did this daily. ¹² They gathered an abundance of silver, and the king and Jehoiada gave it to the ones doing the work of the service of the temple of YHWH, and they were hiring cutters and craftspeople, as well as metalworkers, to repair the temple of God.

¹³ And the workers worked, and the repair work advanced in their care, and they established the temple of God according to its proper dimension and made it strong. ¹⁴ And when they finished, they brought before the king and Jehoiada the rest of the silver, and they made vessels for the temple of YHWH: vessels of service and sacrifice, and dishes, vessels of gold and silver. And they were offering burnt offerings in the temple of YHWH, continually, for all the days of Jehoiada.

¹¹ ויהי בעת יביא¹⁹ את הארון אל פקדת המלך ביד הלוים וכראותם כי רב הכסף ובא סופר המלך ופקיד כהן הראש²⁰ ויערו את הארון וישאהו וישיבהו אל מקמו כה עשו ליום ביום²¹ ¹² ויאספו כסף לרב ויתנהו המלך ויהוידע אל עושה מלאכת עבודת בית יהוה ויהיו שכרים חצבים וחרשים לחדש בית יהוה וגם לחרשי ברזל ונחשת לחזק את בית יהוה

¹³ ויעשו עשי המלאכה ותעל ארוכה למלאכה בידם²² ויעמידו את בית האלהים על מתכנתו ויאמצהו ¹⁴ וככלותם הביאו לפני המלך ויהוידע את שאר הכסף ויעשהו כלים לבית יהוה כלי שרת והעלות וכפות וכלי זהב וכסף ויהיו מעלים עלות בבית יהוה תמיד כל ימי יהוידע

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¹⁹ The subject is unclear; I have translated the impersonal construction as an English passive.

²⁰ Brian E. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles*, JSOTSup 211 (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1996), 201, identifies this phrase as unique to Chronicles.

²¹ The writer of Chronicles has picked up on the variation of perfective/imperfective forms in the source text and, despite mostly leveling those forms to the perfective *wayyiqtol*, explicitly signaled with this phrase that it was a regular practice to empty the donation box.

²² The phrases על״ה ארוכה ל and בידם are idiomatic and I have translated them idiomatically; see Neh 4:1.

¹⁵ Jehoiada grew old and full of days, and he died. He was one hundred and thirty years old when he died. ¹⁶ They buried him in the city of David, with the kings, because he had done good in Israel, and with God and his temple. ¹⁷ And after Jehoiada died, the officials of Judah came and the bowed down to the king. Then, the king listened to them. ¹⁸ They abandoned the temple of Yhwh, the god of their fathers, and they served the Asherahs and idols, and there was [divine] wrath on Judah and Jerusalem because of this sin of theirs. ¹⁹ And [Yhwh] sent prophets among them to bring them back to Yhwh and they warned them, but they did not listen. ²⁰ And the spirit of God clothed Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, the priest, and he stood tall and said, "thus says God, 'why have you transgressed the commandments of Yhwh, and so not have not prospered? Because you abandonded Yhwh, he has forsaken you." ²¹ But they conspired against him, and at the command of the king, they stoned him in the court of the temple of Yhwh.

²² Joash, the king, did not remember the kindness that Jehoiada, Zechariah's father, had shown him, so he slaughtered his son. As he died, he said "may Yhwh see and demand justice."

²³ And at the turn of the year, the army of Aram came up against him [Joash], and they came to Judah and Jerusalem, and they destroyed all the officials of the people, and they sent all the plunder to the king of Damascus. ²⁴ Even though the army of Aram came with little manpower, Yhwh handed over to them a very great army, since they

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15 ויזקן יהוידע וישבע ימים וימת בן מאה ושלשים שנה במותו 16 ויקברהו בעיר דויד עם המלכים כי עשה טובה בישראל ועם האלהים וביתו 17 ואחרי מות יהוידע באו שרי יהודה וישתחוו למלך אז שמע המלך אליהם 18 ויעזבו את בית יהוה אלהי אבותיהם ויעבדו את האשרים ואת העצבים ויהי קצף על יהודה וירושלם באשמתם זאת 19 וישלח בהם נבאים להשיבם אל יהוה ויעידו בם ולא האזינו 20 ורוח אלהים לבשה את זכריה בן יהוידע הכהן ויעמד מעל ויאמר להם כה אמר האלהים למה אתם עברים את מצות יהוה ולא תצליחו כי עזבתם את יהוה ויעזב אתכם 21 ויקשרו עליו וירגמהו אבן במצות המלך בחצר בית יהוה 22 ולא זכר יואש המלך החסד אשר עשה יהוידע אביו עמו ויהרג את בנו וכמותו אמר ירא יהוה וידרש²³

23 ויהי לתקופת השנה עלה עליו חיל ארם ויבאו אל יהודה וירושלם וישחיתו את כל שרי העם מעם וכל שללם שלחו למלך דרמשק 24 כי במצער אנשים באו חיל ארם ויהוה נתן בידם חיל לרב מאד כי

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²³ Because he is dying, Zechariah's request is portrayed as very short and perhaps even laconic. The sense of דר״ש here is clearly more than to make an investigation or inquiry alone; it implies that Yhwh should seek justice or take vengeance. See above, 274 n15.

abandoned Yhwh, the god of their fathers, and they carried out judgment on Joash. ²⁵ When they went away, because they left him gravely wounded, his servants conspired against him on account of the blood of the son of Jehoiada, the priest, and they killed him on his bed. He died, and the buried him in the city of David, but they did not bury him in the royal tombs. ²⁶ These were the conspirators: Zabad, son of Shimeath, the Ammonite woman, and Jehozabad, son of Shimrith, the Moabite woman. ²⁷ As for his sons, and the many pronouncements against him, and the founding of the temple of God, they are written on the *midrash* of the scroll of the kings. And Amaziah his son ruled in his place.

עזבו את יהוה אלהי אבותיהם ואת יואש עשו
שפטים ²⁵ ובלכתם ממנו כי עזבו אתו [במחליים]
במחלוים רבים התקשרו עליו עבדיו בדמי בן²⁴
יהוידע הכהן ויהרגהו על מטתו וימת ויקברהו בעיר
דויד ולא קברהו בקברות המלכים ²⁶ ואלה
המתקשרים עליו זבד בן שמעת בן שמעת העמונית ויהוזבד בן
שמרית המואבית ²⁷ ובניו ורב המשא עליו ויסוד בית
האלהים הנם כתובים על מדרש ספר המלכים וימלך
אמציהו בנו תחתיו

2 Chr 24:27 and the Writer's *Vorlage*

In keeping with the two lines of inquiry outlined in the second chapter above, there are two ways to approach this and all the other source reference in Chronicles. The first is to approach such a reference with attention to the question of rewriting and scribal activity. The other line of inquiry is to approach the source citations as related to the mnemonic potential of the work. Here, one would query the literary characteristics, social background, and media environment in which Chronicles was situated, inasmuch as these are known. Taking these two lines of inquiry in this order, let us consider the source text of 2 Chronicles 24.

From the parallel edition above, it should be immediately apparent that the evidence differs from the situations contemplated in the third and fourth chapters above, on the genealogies and anecdotes in 1 Chronicles 1–9 and Solomon's accession in 1 Chronicles 28–2

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²⁴ I accept the suggestion from BHS of a dittography of *yod*, which resulted in an erroneous plural in MT.

Chronicles 1:3. For anecdotes in 1 Chronicles 1–9, there are very few parallel texts; for the longest anecdotes, there are none. The argument therefore proceeded by combining internal and external evidence. I characterized the relationship between parallel texts elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible; that characterization allowed the suggestion about a method (summary/abstracting or block reuse) by which those texts were included in Chronicles. Then, I argued that some anecdotes did not fit this method. They appear neither to have been summarized nor to reflect Chronistic rewriting or expansion. I concluded that several of these anecdotes were likely included in the genealogies from written sources that did not survive. In the case of Solomon's accession, the relationship between 1 Chronicles 28–29 and 1 Kings 1–2 presents limited parallels. After one takes into account these parallels and other external evidence about Samuel, it appears that the writer of Chronicles drew from scrolls of Samuel-Kings that were substantially similar to the versions that have survived. This is very likely even though the evidence is not direct.

Because of the strength of the evidence here, a circumspect argument like those made in the first two chapters is not necessary here. In the parallel edition above, one observes many identical sequences of letters and words. Besides such cases of letter-for-letter identity, there are repeated phrases and sentences in which the texts have similar meanings when one allows for syntactical or lexical differences. At a higher level of abstraction, the two texts follow a similar sequence, which has been correctly summarized by other scholars as having four parts: 1) the introduction (1 Kgs 12:1–4 // 2 Chr 24:1–3), 2) the temple renovation (2 Kgs 12:5–17 // 2 Chr 24:4–14), 3) the Aramean attack on Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:18–19 // 2 Chr 24:23–24), and 4) the

assassination of Joash and conclusion (2 Kgs 24:20–22 // 2 Chr 24:25–27).[25] (I will discuss

below the Zechariah episode in 2 Chr 24:14–22.) The account in Chronicles is rewritten from a

text like Kings, with an updated idiom and vocabulary; at the same time, it reflects the interests

similar to those observed elsewhere in the work, especially in heightening the role of the Levites

and introducing a prophetic warning in vv. 15–17. In the absence of any complications, one

could suggest that this is a clear-cut case in which the writer of Chronicles relied on a text

substantially like MT Kings and move forward.

The source reference in 2 Chr 24:27, to the מדרש ספר מלכים ("the *midrash* of the scroll of

the kings"), throws a wrench into such an argument because, on the surface, it may be read as

suggesting that there was another text, perhaps quite different from 2 Kings 12, that the writer of

2 Chronicles 24 exploited.[26] Here though, one must avoid conflating the two lines of inquiry. The

function of this reference in the narrative of Chronicles cannot be confused with a definitive

statement on the existence (or nonexistence) of a source different than Samuel-Kings in the

world. And in fact, Chronicles provides several subtle clues, confirmed by comparison with

Samuel-Kings, that the writer most likely did not have a source other than Samuel-Kings or, at

least, it was not very extensive or very different than Samuel-Kings.

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[25] See Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 273; Klein, *2 Chronicles* (2012), 334.

[26] The source reference has been taken in this way, i.e., as denoting an altogether separate source from Kings, by some: Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (1901), XII–XIII; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 273–74; Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles*, AB 13 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 139; Klein, *2 Chronicles* (2012), 325–26. Rudolph suggests that this source would have included some of the information that is mentioned briefly in Chronicles but not in Kings, for example, further information about Joash's wives and sons, his restoration of the temple, or the prophecies against him.

These cues are the nomenclature, the summary of materials that it contains, and finally, the relationship demonstrated by the parallel text above. The name of the source does not itself imply a work fully distinct from Kings. Curtis and Madsen rightly suggested that this might just be another way of referring to the work mentioned several other times in Chronicles, ספר מלכי יהודה וישראל ("The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah").[27] That is, this work is plausibly identical to sources cited by other names within Chronicles, in much the same way as the source reference for David's reign has three appellates but appears to have been just the book of Samuel and the first two chapters of Kings.[28] Because Chronicles also allows for some variation in references to the Pentateuch[29] and for variation in the way that it characterizes what is written in its sources for the reign of Judah's kings,[30] a variety of names even for a single source text is not

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[27] Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (1910), 23, "it is not apparent why if, as its title [i.e., *midrash*] shows, it was a comprehensive work dealing with the kings generally, it should not be the same work as the one just mentioned." Anson Rainey has spelled this out more fully, arguing that the term מדרש ("midrash") is also plausibly taken as an "inquiry" or "investigation" (cf. Deut 13:15), parallel to Greek ἱστορία ("inquiry"); the term may be rendered as "history" and מדרש ספר המלכים and ספר המלכים are both equivalents of the ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה. See Anson F. Rainey, "The Chronicler and His Sources—Historical and Geographical," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth J. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 238 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 30–72 (at 37–38).

[28] Note, too, that Samuel, Nathan, and Gad appear in the source citation in Chronicles in the same textual order in which they appear in 1–2 Samuel. This would suggest that Chronicles does indeed evoke 1–2 Samuel.

[29] See above, 124 n114.

[30] A very concise taxonomy would include a) דברי הראשונים והאחרונים (1 Chr 29:29; 2 Chr 16:11), b) יתר דברי (2 Chr 20:34), c) שאר דברי for Solomon, d) combination of types "a" and "b" (2 Chr 25:26), e) type "b" with various additions, including וכל מלחמותיו ודרכיו (2 Chr 27:7) or, for Hezekiah, חסדיו (2 Chr 32:32) , f) ויתר דבריו וכל דרכיו הראשנים והאחרונים (2 Chr 28:26). There is significant diversity here and it is partly stylistic; parsing it too closely for clues about

at odds with the rest of the work. A second, and stronger argument, is that the three kinds of information this source purportedly contains—about Joash's children, the taxes he levied, and the temple repairs—may instead be read as references to the events recounted in the text immediately prior.[31] That is, the purported "contents" of the source reference may be constructed from the account immediately prior and not the other way around. Finally, as Klein argues, all the substantial differences between the account in 2 Kings 12 and the one in 2 Chronicles 24 are consistent with other parts of Chronicles which do not purport to follow this other source.[32]

Despite the surface meaning of the source reference, then, we can make an inference about the writing process from some cues that accompany it and using what we know of the source references and most likely sources elsewhere in the work. It is reasonable to infer that the writer(s) knew and relied on a text substantially like 2 Kings 12. Whether or not information

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what was in the sources named in Chronicles overlooks this fact. On the variation in style, see also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 21–22.

[31] Isaac Kalimi, *Zur Geschichstsschreibung des Chronisten: Literarisch-historiographische Abweichungen der Chronik von ihren Paralleltexten in den Samuel- und Königsbüchern*, BZAW 226 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1995), 176–77.

[32] Klein, *2 Chronicles* (2012), 335, puts it somewhat differently, referring to the "factual differences" between the two accounts, which he assesses as implicating the following items in the Chronicler's account: the details about Joash's wives and children, the role of the Levites, the position of the chest, the production of instruments for cultic service, Jehoiada's burial, the prophetic warning through Zechariah, and differences in the account of Hazael's invasion and Joash's assassination. At a higher level of abstraction, the premise is the same as the one suggested in the third chapter above: if one can explain features of the Chronicler's work as consistent with tendencies that appear throughout that work, then one cannot convincingly posit another source to explain those features. This principle grounds my assessment of the For instance, Klein points out that the Chronicles elsewhere has a clear concern with the Levites, that the process of collecting revenues simplifies the account presented in Kings, and that the name of the prophet sent to Joash contributes to elaborate internal references developed in the account. The position that there is no need to posit a substantially more detailed account of Joash's reign was stated already by Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 854.

from other sources (oral or written) was included, one cannot work out with the evidence at hand. If it was, though, those sources were probably not very extensive, because elements of Chronistic writing here pervade where there is a difference between Kings and Chronicles.

The Textual Relationship Between 2 Kings 12 and 2 Chronicles 24

We will now return to the relationship between these two narratives of Joash's reign, reviewing the most substantial similarities and points of difference. The writer of Chronicles worked from a text substantially similar to 2 Kings 12.[33] The most substantive additions or changes to the text involve the replacement of the priests by the Levites in the section on the temple repair, the suggestion that the temple cult was fully reinvigorated by Joash, the explicit remarks about his apostasy, and the the prophetic warnings he received from Zechariah. Besides these, the writer adjusted the story of the collection for the temple away from a complicated scheme of priestly dues to a more streamlined collection by the Levites. The writer nonetheless followed the text of Kings closely.

The Joash Account in 2 Chronicles 24 and Internal/External Fields of Reference

In this section, I will argue that the Joash account, like the account of Solomon's accession, can stand on its own. Despite the myriad elements taken directly from the text of Samuel-Kings, the most significant aspects of the story are legible within Chronicles' own internal field of reference, which has already been established throughout the work. Even though they are shared by Kings and Chronicles, each of the major elements can be read solely within

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[33] Nadav Na'aman, "Queen Athaliah as a Literary-Historical Figure," *Sem* 58 (2016): 181–205 (at 201–203).

the field of reference established by Chronicles. This is true of the introduction, the temple restoration and the role of the Levites in it, the prophetic warning, the Aramean attack, and the death of Joash. In this last case, the internal field of reference allows for a very tight and even ironic presentation and judgment of Joash, which hinges on the (expected) prophetic warning and the use of foreigners in punishment. For all of these, the internal frames and field of reference in the account are sufficient to make sense of them without invoking the text of Samuel-Kings— even as that text is itself repeated. This leads somewhat naturally to a question: does the source reference in 2 Chr 24:27 (which as we saw above, despite its nomenclature and its purported content, appears to refer to Kings) evoke a text—whether Kings or something else—that the reader must already have knowledge? And how might we know whether the מדרש ספר מלכים was a referent that exists both within the text and beyond it? This same question applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to all of the source references in the work. What do such references require or assume of their reader?

Frames and Fields of Reference

In the last chapter, I made a passing reference to Benjamin Harshav's *Explorations in Poetics*.[34] Here, a few more of Harshav's concepts will be helpful, particularly, the way in which he understands internal and external fields of reference.[35] Harshav defines a frame of reference as any two referents set in relation to one another. A field of reference is a hierarchy of frames of reference. In a literary work, frames of reference may stand in many different ways with respect

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[34] See above, 254 n98.

[35] Harshav, *Explorations* (2007), 12–31.

to the reader. They may be absent (in another place and/or time) or present (in the same place and time), and known or unknown, that is, in some way present in the reader's prior knowledge. Importantly, frames of reference are constituted as a work describes them, so that what is available to a reader to make sense of a literary work (whether it is a work of fiction, a historical novel, or a history) becomes available as it is evoked in relationship to the frames of reference that the work begins establishing from the outset. That is, a literary work builds out its frames of reference and an internal field of reference as it advances, and the characters, temporality, and sequences of events are all embedded and interpreted within this internal field of reference.

The Introduction (2 Chr 24:1–3)

The introduction to Joash's reign in Chronicles was subjected only to minor changes. The writer has removed the synchronization with the reign of Jehu.[36] There were very minor adjustments to the initial evaluation of Joash, which involved striking the words אשר הורהו and a single *vav* to remove the 3ms pronominal suffix from ימיו ("his days") in the source text, with the result that the narrator's assessment of Joash is now tied closely to the life of Jehoiada.[37] The statement that Jehoiada found wives for Joash and that he had children is new.

This text, despite the fact that it derives from Kings, can be understood entirely on the basis of the frames of reference that Chronicles itself work has established so far. Joash was introduced already in the genealogies (1 Chr 3:11); both Joash and Jehoiada are characters in the

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[36] Such removal is ordinary. See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 841. Yigal Levin, *The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah: 2 Chronicles 10–36* (Bloomsbury T&T Clark: London; New York, 2017) notes that this results in an even more positive take on Joash's early reign.

[37] See ibid.

previous chapters and these two were already paired quite early (2 Chr 22:11). So, the text has already introduced Joash and established an association between him and the high priest, both by evoking the two of them together and through a story (2 Chronicles 23) in which one finds repeatedly that Jehoiada is one of the driving forces behind Joash's installation as king. The precise nature of their association is articulated more fully now, with Jehoiada being assigned the role of Joash's teacher. The statement that Jehoiada found wives for Joash and that he had a family are easily understood without reference to any other text, because this is what persons do in Chronicles' internal field of reference (cf. the genealogies) and because this internal field of reference is modeled on an external field of reference, family and royal family life in ancient Israel and Judah, and shares some frames of reference (having wives and children, for example) with it.[38] So, even if the writer had some other source for this information, the reader does not need access to that source to understand the reference.

The Temple Renovation (2 Chr 24:4–13)

Even as it shares the chest or donation box as a means of collecting funds, the temple restoration is presented very differently in Chronicles than it is in Kings.[39] The temporal ויהי אחריכן situates this account after Joash has grown up and after he has had sons and daughters.

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[38] I refer here to Harshav's "'Double-Decker' Model of Reference in Literature," wherein the internal field of reference is modeled on an external field of reference and adopts them. That is, the internal field of reference is constructed in some ways as "parallel to the real world." See Harshav, *Explorations* (2007), 28–29.

[39] Antje Labahn, *Levitischer Herrschaftsanspruch zwischen Ausübung und Konstruktion: Studien zum multi-funktionalen Levitenbild der Chronik und seiner Identitätsbildung in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels*, Neukirchener Theologie 131 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2012), 282–83.

The phrase עם לב לחדש את בית יהוה alludes forthrightly to David's speech to Solomon (1 Chr 22:7),[40] associating royalty with the temple in a relationship such that the monarchy is responsible for, in Chronicles, preparation for the construction of the temple (David), its construction (Solomon), and, thereafter, maintenance of its facilities and the monotheistic worship of Yhwh.[41] Both the chronology and the disposition of the king towards the temple can be understood in the terms established already in Chronicles.

In contrast with the dispute between Joash and the priests that one finds in Kings, Chronicles suggests a dispute with the Levites and then sets up a different and straightforward scheme by which collections to repair the temple are to be collected. Joash's intent to restore the temple leads him directly to act (2 Chr 24:5). Here, only the word ויאמר appears to have been reused from Kings. Once again, everything that the text evokes has already appeared in it, including the priesthood—and especially the Levites as significant temple personnel.[42] Subsequently, while there is a thematic parallel with Kings, once again, none of what Kings evokes—some form of payment generated from revenues collected in the course of priestly activity, probably from sacrifice[43]—is necessary to understand the course of the narrative in Chronicles. Joash instructs the Levites to collect "from all Israel silver to renovate the temple."

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[40] Observe the tight parallels in syntax and lexicon (and cf. above 229):
עם לבבי   לבנות   בית לשם יהוה (1 Chr 22:7)
עם לב יואש לחדש את בית   יהוה (2 Chr 24:4).

[41] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions* (2014), 81–97, and on Joash specifically, 87–88.

[42] On the role of Levites in Chronicles, see recently Labahn, *Levitischer Herrschaftsanspruch* (2012).

[43] Wright, *VT* 39 (1989); Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955), 275.

The problem that Joash must overcome in Chronicles is not a dispute with the priests over the assignment of various revenues, but a problem with the Levites, who failed to promptly collect funds from "all Israel" for the temple.

The solution to this problem is the institution of a new scheme, which is the collection of a donation instituted by Moses (and the people). While this is transparently the writer's interpretation of the text of Kings, probably also informed by his reading of the Pentateuch,[44] the question is whether the reader needs to know those texts. Here again, we might appeal to Harshav: by mentioning these details as an extension of the frames of reference with which it operates, the text establishes them as part of its own internal frame of reference.[45] The "collection that Moses, servant of YHWH, and the congregation" established is—whether the reader knows anything about the texts on which it is based—readily understood within the narrative as an alternative means of collecting funds to repair the temple. Because it is already situated with respect to the dispute between Joash and the Levites and with respect to the goal of Joash's actions—to repair the temple—it is "anchored"[46] in such a way that, even if Moses were a brand-new character in the story (though he is not), the reader likely has enough to make sense of the text.

We could proceed through the rest of 2 Chr 24:8–14 in a similar fashion. The text evokes new referents by anchoring them to the problem of funding the renovations, describes the manner by which this obstacle is overcome and the means by which the temple is restored. Joash

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[44] See above, 269 n4, and Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 843–44.

[45] Harshav, *Explorations* (2007), 24.

[46] Ibid., 25.

decrees a collection box and proscribes its placement (24:8), issues a decree that the people should make donations (24:9). The administrators and all the people respond favorably (24:10), donations are made, the collections accounted for and used to hire various craftspeople and builders (24:11–12), who work to restore the temple and its implements as well (24:13–14). The text is coherent and advances, from the time the narrator identifies Joash's desire to renovate the temple (24:4) to the completion of this work and the restoration of sacrifice there (24:14).[47]

Jehoiada's Death and the Prophetic Warning (2 Chr 24:15–22)

The major addition, in 24:15–22, completes the bifurcation within Joash's life that is figured very briefly in the introduction and which, in the conditions set by the narrative, itself allows for Joash's abandonment of Yʜwʜ. The phrase כל ימי יהוידע in 24:2b already implies that, at some point in Joash's life, Jehoiada would die. In 24:15, the text then proceeds to narrates the death of Jehoiada in a highly stereotypical manner, with זק״ן, שב״ע ימים, and מות in sequence, "Then Jehoiada grew old and full of days, and he died…" Importantly, here, no recourse to the text of Kings is even possible, because Jehoiada's death is only implied in that text insofar as he is a human being and humans die. A similar internal frame of reference—human persons live and die—is present in Chronicles and, as in the case of Joash having a wife and children, is modeled on the way humans universally live and then die.[48] But Chronicles does not rely on Kings either to establish Jehoiada as a referent or to situate him in this frame of reference and then to narrate the end of his life and his burial. So, too, Jehoiada's burial with the kings (24:16), which is

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[47] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 846–47, suggests that the account in Chronicles is more complete because it has this introduction and conclusion.

[48] Harshav, *Explorations* (2007), 29.

exceptional in the work and a favorable sign; the writer has transposed this honor from Joash, in

Kings (2 Kgs 12:22) to Jehoiada, but this transposition needs not to be known to tell that this is,

implicitly, a favorable assessment of Jehoiada.[49] In Chronicles, only good kings are buried with

the kings.[50] Once Jehoiada has died, the constraint the narrative set on Joash's good behavior has

lifted, and Joash immediately[51] falls prey to bad advice, abandons his focus on the temple of

Yhwh, and he and the people engage in illicit religious practice. The specific offense, besides

abandonment of the temple, is cult service to the אשרים and עצבים (24:18). The text has

associated the אשרים as a polar opposite of the worship of Yhwh in such a way that the עצבים,

not yet specified in Chronicles, are intelligible in this same scheme as the two are paired.[52]

The prophetic message, here a warning, may also be understood within the terms in

which Chronicles evokes it. While this is the only case in which a general warning is followed by

a warning from a specific prophet,[53] such prophetic figures have already appeared to warn

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[49] Conversely, it need not be known for the reader to understand, as Rudolph says, that his death is a great loss for Joash and the people. See *Chronikbücher* (1955), 277.

[50] Klein, "How Many in a Thousand?" (1997), 348 n93.

[51] The precise temporal phrase, ואחרי מות יהוידע, is not specific, but because no events are narrated in the intervening period it lends the impression that Joash's apostasy follows logically on Jehoiada's death and is temporally situated immediately after it.

[52] Cf. 2 Chr 14:3, 17:6, 19:3. The עצבים may be evoked in the text in an associative movement from Zechariah in the text immediately following and Zech 13:2, but once again, knowledge of Zech 13:2 is not necessary to understand that service of the עצבים is unremittedly negative.

[53] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (1993), 849, points out that this is the only instance in which a general articulation of the prophetic warning is paired with the appearance of a specific prophet.

Rehoboam (2 Chr 12:5–8) and Asa (2 Chr 16:7–10).[54] Like Rehoboam and Asa, Joash does not heed this warning and gives the order that Zechariah be killed (24:21–22). Having established Joash's actions in this part of his life as negative and in sharp contrast with the first part of his life, the narrative proceeds to the account of his death.

The Aramean Attack and the Death of Joash (2 Chr 24:25–27)

Chronicles regularly depicts foreigners as a means of divine judgment on Israel and Judah,[55] and it does so again in 2 Chr 24:23–24. By reason of this theme, which has already been developed (e.g., 2 Chr 12:2–4), it does not matter in this case so much where the foreigners are from but that they are not Israelites or Judaeans, and this is satisfactorily evoked by the phrase חיל ארם—clearly originating from outside Judah and Israel both because it is an army, because it "comes to" (ויבאו אל) Judah and Jerusalem, and because it sends the plunder away to some other place, דרמשק. Divine aid in battles is also a feature of the internal field of reference for Chronicles, having been evoked already in the second Reubenite/Hagrite war (1 Chr 5:19–22),[56] its reversal here heightens the sense of divine displeasure at Joash and the people.

The end of Joash's life, set up as the direct outcome of this battle, deserves special attention because it draws intricately and in such depth on the frames of reference that have by this point been established throughout the chapter (and to some degree, in 2 Chronicles 23).

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[54] Klein, *2 Chronicles* (2012), 345 n60, and see the excursus at 161–163.

[55] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (2001), 203–4.

[56] See above, The Reubenite/Hagrite Battles (1 Chr 5:9–10, 19–22), 172.

Klein has argued convincingly that the account of Joash in Chronicles as ironic.[57] He suggests that, especially in the account of his death, many of the changes introduced by the writer result in a narrative balance or play on other elements of the plot.[58] First, Joash dies after he had been responsible for the death of Zechariah, the son of Jehoida, but Jehoida had saved Joash's life when he was a child (2 Chr 23:11). Second, the people transgress YHWH's command but act in accordance with the command of Joash (2 Chr 24:20–21).[59] Third, there is a constellation of conspiracies in the text: one against Athaliah (2 Chr 23:14) and another against Joash (24:25–26). Joash's death in a conspiracy is ironic because the ouster and death of Athaliah in another allowed for Joash's rise to power. Fourth, the temple as the location of Zechariah's death is surprising. Joash had been protected within the temple, yet he gave the order to kill Zechariah there. Fifth, Jehoida, not Joash, is buried with the kings (2 Chr 24:16, 25b). Sixth, the narrative swerves between idolatry in the reign of Athaliah, the temple restoration at the beginning of Joash's story, and the end of Joash's story, in which the people commit idolatry. Seventh, beds figure in both Joash's protection and his death (2 Chr 23:2; 2 Chr 24:25). Eighth, there is a play on the Chronicler's characterization of what Joash does (he does not "remember," זכ״ר) the goodness with which Jehoida treated him (24:22), and the name of Jehoiada's son, זכריה ("YHWH

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[57] Ralph W. Klein, "The Ironic End of Joash in Chronicles," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 117–27.

[58] In the section on translation above, I have treated only 2 Kings 12 and 2 Chronicles 24, but here it will be necessary to make reference to the Athaliah episode, which precedes both.

[59] Klein (ibid., 126) makes this point only in the footnotes, but it is compelling.

has remembered"). Ninth, Joash listens (שמ״ע) to the wrong party in the narrative, but crucially, does not heed (אז״נ) the prophet sent to warn him (24:17, 19).

Klein concludes that all of these elements develop Joash as an ungrateful and irresponsible king, and that there is an implicit comparison between Joash and Athaliah. This develops, in my view, especially by the parallels between the circumstances of their death—at the hands of those who are purportedly their subjects or servants—and the central role the temple as a site at which lives are protected or ended. Klein does note that it is the "additional material and theological interpretation" introduced by the Chronicler that allows for the ironies he points out to develop. I would suggest that we can extend this argument by noting that almost all of the ironies that Klein points out hinge on the insertion of the Zechariah episode, which itself relies on the account of Jehoiada's death. The large insertion, from vv. 15–22, is therefore crucial to the characterization of Joash and to the way in which the text situates his actions.

First, the death of Joash at all is predicated on the death of Zechariah, which is presented in this large addition. Though the text says that he was grievously wounded, the conspiracy that killed him is predicated on Zechariah's death (בדמי בן יהוידע, "on account of the blood of Jehoiada's son"). The addition to the text also sets the necessary conditions for many of the ironies Klein identifies, especially the fourth (killing in the temple), sixth (idolatry after the temple restoration and in parallel with Athaliah), and the eighth (the play on Joash's poor memory of Jehoiada's kindness to him and the name of Zechariah).

As it does in the account of Solomon's accession, Chronicles develops a strong internal field of reference, that is either modeled on an external field of reference (human life) or developed over the course of the work (foreign punishment, the אשרים as the inverse of worship of YHWH, prophetic warning, etc.). It should not be taken lightly that in some cases—like the

case of divine aid in battle, or the Levites, or Joash as a character—these referents or frames of reference are already present in the genealogies. Even though the writer made extensive use of the text of Kings, what Chronicles evokes as its narrative proceeds is not what is present in another text, but what is presented by its own.

2 Chr 24:27 and Its Referent

We may now return to the question of the source citation for the reign of Joash. In keeping with this dissertation's separation of two lines of inquiry—one about the writer's reception of some sources, and another about the mnemonic potential of Chronicles—we can now ask what this source citation refers readers to. In light of the sections immediately above, in which I attempted to show that Chronicles is basically comprehensible on the conditions its own text sets out, we should also ask whether the source citation is similar to the kinds of references that allow this reading or whether it is different. That is, the referents in Chronicles are situated in an internal field of reference that the work develops. Does the source citation point beyond this internal field of reference?

I would like to suggest that this question actually cannot be answered, given the state of our knowledge. The situation of the rest of Joash's deeds having been recorded in the *midrash* of the book of the kings is a what Harshav calls an "absent frame of reference"; its existence or non-existence and its nature as a source can only be judged by what of it is represented within the work itself. Because in the internal field of reference for Chronicles such sources exist, and because there are no cues within the work that undermine this proposal, we have to affirm that such a source is present in the internal field of reference and that its contents were what the

internal field of reference suggests—the considerations about the *writer's* source above notwithstanding.

The question, then, becomes whether we could tell if the reference exists both in the internal frame of reference and in an external frame of reference. This can happen, in a "double-directed" statement, which has a referent that is shared by an internal field of reference and an external field of reference.[60] In Harshav's examples, such a statement might include a reference to Paris, which "refers at the same time both to the real Paris in the External [Field of Reference] and to the selection from Paris presented in the [Internal Field of Reference]."[61] One might accept an assertion about Paris to be true both in the Internal Field of Reference or the External Field of Reference. For instance

> "Paris has the Eiffel Tower" is true for our external field of reference but might not true for the internal field of reference in a literary text. And so, if we were to encounter the statement that "Paris does not have the Eiffel Tower" in a literary work, we would not accept this as true of the external field of reference. It might nonetheless be "true" for the internal field of reference inasmuch as it does not "disturb the coherence of the Internal [Field of Reference]. Furthermore, we reflect back on the speaker (or the narrator) and from such a 'one-sided' statement construct his attitudes or the attitudes of the figures thus characterized or of society as represented in the novel…"[62]

This means that a literary work may have referents that are both within the internal field of reference and beyond it, in the external frame of reference. Crucially, even if the referent is to an entity that exists in both the external field of reference and the internal field of reference, the known/unknown or absent/present nature of that referent for the reader does not necessarily

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[60] Harshav 26.

[61] Ibid 26.

[62] Ibid., 26–27.

disrupt the internal frame of reference. Furthermore, in the absence of knowledge about the external field of reference (in the situation above, Paris), one cannot actually tell whether the referent is constituted only in the internal field of reference, only the external field of reference, or whether it is what Harshav calls a "double-directed" referent that is present in both the internal and external field of reference directly.

All this is to say that, in the absence of a position in which both the external frame of reference and the internal frame of reference are already known to us, we cannot say whether the reference is to the internal field of reference or the external field of reference. The "'Midrash' to the Book of Kings" is, for us, an unknown frame of reference. This means that it is unfalsifiable to argue that the work directs the reader to sources beyond itself that were well-known and that existed in some shared external field of reference. The case of Paris is again probative. If someone with no prior knowledge of Paris were to read the statement "Paris has the Eiffel Tower," then they would not know from this statement alone whether Paris exists only in an internal field of reference or in both an internal and an external field of reference. Likewise, because we do not already partake in some external field of reference in which a "'Midrash' to the Book of Kings" exists, we cannot tell whether this is a double-directed reference.[63] For us, it

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[63] It is of some probative value to consider again how the internal frame of reference is modeled on an external frame of reference. In the statement "Paris, a large city, has the Eiffel Tower," if someone knows a little bit about what cities are like, then they gain some understanding of what Paris might be like. In this case, the internal field of references includes Paris, cities, and the Eiffel tower, and we know it to be modeled on an external field of reference in which all three of these things are present. For the source references in Chronicles, we might say that the internal field of reference is similarly modeled on an external field of reference in which scribes and works of history were present—indeed, this argument is predicated on Chronicles being written by a scribe or scribes making use of such works of history—and that, therefore, even if the particular source is "unknown" to the reader—like Paris might be— modeling of the internal field of reference on an external field of reference allows for some

exists only as an "absent" frame of reference within the internal field of reference in Chronicles, a field of refernence within which many sources for the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel are present. Just as much as the statement cannot be tested, the presence of this referent cannot be taken to disrupt the internal field of reference for the work. Throughout, the narrator ernestly repeats that facts about Joash (or David, or Solomon, etc.) are recorded in these works and presumes to call them by these names. Posing the question of whether the source reference points the reader beyond the text (to an altogether different source or directly to Kings) and of the reality of this referent[64] distracts from the story that Chronicles tells,[65] because we do not have the grounds to answer the question. The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the other source references.

The Mnemonic Potential of 2 Chronicles 24

If the above argument that Chronicles—even though the writer manifestly derived its text from Kings—develops a robust internal frame of reference (a frame of reference comprehensive enough that essentially the whole story of Joash makes sense when read only within that frame of reference and not with respect to any other text) holds, then it follows that a part of the mnemonic potential of Chronicles is to evoke the reign of Joash to readers who are hearing that story for the very first time.[66] For a reader with no knowledge of Joash at all, Chronicles

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understanding of what the source citation refers to—even if that source does not actually exist in the external field of reference.

[64] E.g., Ackroyd, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* (1973), 161–62.

[65] See above, 127ff.

[66] On the force of this alone and because of the float from intent to reception, it is unproductive to speak about the "intended readership" of Chronicles (as persons familiar with

presents a coherent and complete account—from the beginning of his reign to his death—and portrays Joash in starkly negative terms. The framework in which he is evaluated is consistent across the work and the judgments that the narrator and the characters (Zechariah) in the text make against him rely on this framework. Another situation would obtain for the reader with prior knowledge of Joash's reign as it is portrayed in Samuel-Kings. For such a reader, the account in Chronicles might function much like the account of Solomon's accession. Being complete in all its details—even though some of those details contradict the ones in Kings—it might trigger collective "forgetting" of those details and of the concept of Joash as a positively-appraised king.

These literary characteristics of the account in Chronicles should be contemplated jointly with its materiality. As a new media offer which has a material basis, also encoding a text that, in this case, does not need to take any recourse to other offers and especially to those on which it is based, Chronicles could indeed replace Kings as a representation of Joash's reign. It is not necessary to appeal to intent, to genre, or to the writer's process (insofar as we can discern it) to make this claim. Conversely, evidence that Chronicles was read at any time alongside Kings does not mean that this potential is not inherent in the work.

Wellhausen's remark above is part of his argument undermining the historical reliability of Chronicles. Made in the context of his survey of prophetic warnings to kings who are punished, its effect there is to contribute to the argument that Chronicles is in some sense too schematic, too internally consistent to meet the standard of historical probability, because it

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Samuel-Kings) in order to characterize its functions in collective memory. Cf. Ben Zvi, *SR* 31 (2002).

represents a sin for every punishment and a virtue for every reward. Wellhausen used this observation to destroy Chronicles' value as a historical source. As we observed in the last chapter, Chronicles is still treated as if it is subordinate to Samuel-Kings, if not as a historical source then by virtue of being understood as a sort of commentary.

I would like to suggest that what Wellhausen observed is functionally a remark on Chronicles as literature, particularly on its coherence and on the strong internal frame of reference described above. All the evidence Wellhausen then proceeds to cite supports the argument that I am making here, namely, that Chronicles develops a markedly robust internal field of reference, in which the prophetic warnings are just a part of the relationship between Y<small>HWH</small> and his people—especially the monarchs—and by which their actions are situated in a causal relationship involving a clear system of values and judgments on the characters. That is to say: Chronicles tells a story fully its own, and it might as well be read in this way.

Conclusion

This dissertation has pursued two lines of inquiry. The theoretical work sought an answer to the question of whether one can relate social memory and scribal practices, i.e., phenomena of textual history, rewriting, and the study of textual criticism, to each other and whether it might be productive to do so. The other line of inquiry has been narrowly focused on the book of Chronicles, which is manifestly the result of a scribe or scribes composing a work of history and making varied use of source texts in the process. Chapters three, four, and five situated this scribal work fully in the theoretical framework developed at first and made claims about the mnemonic potential of Chronicles. In this conclusion, I will briefly consider the findings of these two lines of inquiry, in the order in which they were taken up above. Although the second part of the dissertation proceeded through case studies of Chronicles, I summarize these studies in only a limited way here, instead synthesizing what they demonstrate for the work as a whole.

Social Memory Theory and Biblical Studies

In the first chapter above, I argued that social memory is undertheorized for biblical studies, leading to terminological confusion and to the covert repackaging of other methods and assumptions under the banner "memory." I attempted to show that terminological problems have attended memory studies since their genesis in the early twentieth century. It is perhaps unsurprising then, that biblical scholars use the term "memory" with a whole variety of meanings, even as "memory" is improperly assigned to texts, objects, or particular *topoi*. Besides this terminological confusion, tradition history and canonical or harmonizing readings have commonly attended or been presented as memory studies. In retrospect, this is not particularly surprising. Tradition history and memory studies have some affinities. Both are interested in the

transmission of stories, concepts, or knowledge of one kind or another through time and the ways in which these are stable or change. As for the presence of canonical approaches in memory studies, we saw that one of the first works on memory and the biblical text was by Brevard Childs, an influential advocate for canonical readings. Although I did not identify a direct genealogical relationship from Childs' study to more recent works, we can say at least that the connection between canonical modes of reading and memory studies has been present since the earliest modern studies of biblical literature that used "memory" as a category.

In the second chapter, I related social memory theory to the Hebrew Bible through the phenomenon of scribalism. This theorization forces one to consider processual and human elements in memory studies. The theory is necessary processual, because it understands social memory to work in repeated cycles in which the past is prefigured, that prefiguration is received by some memory agent, and the work of that memory agent—inasmuch as it is received by an audience—then reconfigures collective or cultural memory. This cycle or process of social memory is iterative, in that new media offers are regularly produced and in that each one may reconfigure collective or cultural memory. In this cycle, one contemplates both the production and reception of memory offers. Of these two elements, reception is the more important, since it is only as memory offers are received that they become salient for social memory. By theorizing scribes as memory agents, who both received and produced texts, one can begin to work around the problem of reception that arises for synchronic approaches to social memory.

The theoretical framework offered here has the advantage of keeping a historical, material process involving scribes at some distance from how we analyze their products (or media offers) and the subsequent reception of those products. It does this by accounting for the float from productive intent to reception. I argued that we might understand every media offer as

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having a unique mnemonic potential. For every media offer, this mnemonic potential arises from its particular medium, its social setting(s), and its literary features, which partly determine how it may be understood to interact with other media offers (or not); together, these determine how it may affect shared understanding of the past (collective/cultural memory) and reconfigure it. Even when we do not have access to evidence of a media offer's reception, we may characterize this mnemonic potential by attending to its medium and its particular features with a method of analysis appopriate to that medium. In the case of the biblical texts, literary analysis is necessary.

A significant aspect of this theory is its two-stage separation of historical persons and texts as literature and a contemplation of both. The theoretical framework takes seriously scribes as persons reading and writing texts or interacting with their historical, geographical, and social environment. This is essential to any inquiry about social memory in any period because of the mediated nature of social memory and because only some group of persons can be said to have a collective memory. Any inquiry into social memory therefore requires one to contemplate the ways that persons might interact with media offers—scrolls, monuments, artworks, etc.—and the ways that they most probably received these media offers and produced new ones.

This is one side of the process of social memory. For the other side, reception, if we had the means to conduct quantitative surveys about the reception of Chronicles, or any other work of literature or art, in antiquity, then this would be the single most productive way to approach it. Even though we do not, we can proceed with a sober analysis of a text's (or artwork's) mnemonic potential. One such aspect of this study is a close look at internal cues for the ways in which a work is positioned with respect to other representations of the past.

I pause to note here, however briefly, another possible use of this theoretical framework that lies beyond the immediate concerns of this dissertation. In principle, the theory translated

and developed above for biblical studies stands readily adaptable to other regions and periods, including, broadly, the ancient Near East and/or ancient Mediterranean world. Thinking along these lines, continuities in scribal practice or training and the presence of scribes across the region are promising. The theory faces the same limits as it does for biblical studies, though: depending on the region and period, the same evidentiary problem (for reception) that obtains in biblical studies will be more or less present.

Memory Studies: A Renewed Tradition History?

This dissertation has left a significant question outstanding, which I raise here as a point of intellectual honesty and because it is, in my view, a difficult and important question to answer. This is the question of the relationship between tradition history and memory studies. In the first chapter, we saw that some scholars have claimed that certain versions of memory studies are no more than tradition history in new guise. I would now like to query whether such a charge should be directed at this dissertation and suggest, tentatively, an answer which is reservedly but partially affirmative: the approach taken here is akin to tradition-historical research, but not identical to it. I would argue that it is distinctive in its theoretical foundations and in its capacity to incorporate some other elements. For instance, the approach taken here allows for some flexibility to incorporate insights from social sciences research, or at least to offer a positive account of how such things might be integrated if one had the right kinds of evidence for ancient Israel and Judah. Another point of distinction is the pairing between Funkenstein's characterization of social memory as an intersubjective, symbolic field of meaning, and Weinbender's insight about graph network theory; these work together to generate a theory that helps us to think about and analyze how people might share an understanding of the past and

how that shared understanding might change. I propose, though, that an account of the degree to which tradition history and memory studies share a foundation, as well as the points of convergence and divergence in the results that each one yields, would be productive.

Social Memory and the Writing and Reception of Chronicles

Here, I will briefly touch on a few points that arose across the case studies. Across the three case studies, one observes a range of scribal techniques; these techniques resulted in the varied possibilities presented by Chronicles as a new media offer. Two of the three case studies dealt with the problem of reading Chronicles alongside Samuel-Kings and suggested that it offers its own independent and coherent account.

Scribal Techniques

Somewhat incidentally, the case studies above have surveyed a set of working methods apparently deployed in the composition of Chronicles. These include summary and abstraction, chronological reordering, elaboration of an earlier episode with careful attention to avoiding overlap between the source text and the new one, stylistic variations (particularly in the source references), linguistic updating, and *de novo* composition. Further, at two ends of a spectrum, we observed both wholesale departure from a source text and close adherence to it, but with both executed in such a way that Chronicles tells its own story and so carefully evokes the past to its reader that those sources are in no way needed. At a basic level, this illustrates the usefulness of the theoretical section: scribes make new media offers by receiving, in a whole variety of ways, what is already present.

In the first chapter, I also made what is, to my knowledge, a novel argument for identifying some points at which the writer incorporated unpreserved sources in the genealogies.

This argument relied on texts which do have a parallel, assessing the method by which they were incorporated in the genealogies. That method was found to be abstraction, summary, or block reuse. I then studied the longest anecdotes which do not have a parallel, exclusive of birth notices and short characterizations. The results show that some, though not all, of the longer anecdotes exhibit features that do not align with the method of abstraction/summary and do not appear to have been subjected to Chronistic rewriting. Here, the exception confirms the rule. The second Reubenite/Hagrite war, which almost irrefutably derives from the first, demonstrates features consonant with an ideological rewriting that is consistent across the work. The best explanation for the texts that are not mere summary and are not ideologically rewritten is that they derive from unpreserved sources and likely entered Chronicles in much the same form as they appeared in those sources. The difficult remark הדברים עתיקים, which in all the most reasonable analyses evokes a textual source, supports this claim; as we saw in the later chapters, Chronicles characteristically varies in the terminology with which it evokes sources, and this remark may also be read as one more variation—albeit a significant one—within this system of citation.

The Textual and Literary Relationship of Chronicles to Samuel-Kings

The scribal work of the writer or writers of Chronicles resulted in a new work that had a particular material basis and a unique mnemonic potential. In the second chapter, I introduced the fact that scholars have understood Chronicles as directed to an audience that knew Samuel-Kings. The fourth and fifth chapter followed this up in more detail.

One theme in the study of Chronicles, which this dissertation first picked up in the second chapter and then dealt with head-on in the fourth and fifth chapters, is the question of whether Chronicles was intended to be or must be read alongside Samuel-Kings. As we saw in the fourth

chapter,[1] this claim is variously articulated. It is sometimes articulated in a way that takes the narrative of Chronicles as theological reframing or as a religious take on a sequence of events that were well-known. In other cases, it is understood as a polemic, correction, or reshaping—again, presumably of a story known from another text or by other means. As we saw, both in the case of Joash and for Solomon's accession, Chronicles does not actually throw the reader back on such prior knowledge.

The theory of social memory proposed above was clarifying to this end, in that it calls for a separation between any analysis of writing/rewriting (production) between two texts and the characterization of the new text's mnemonic potential and, when it is known, its reception. I would, however, like to state briefly that, however important reception is, behind every media offer is a scribal process. We saw in the first chapter that, where scholars have contemplated memory and biblical literature, there has been little attention to the process of textual production. Attending to that scribal and human process, both theoretically and throughout the case studies, is one way in which this project has attempted to make a contribution to the field.

Scribal reception and rewriting creates a new media offer and partially determine how it might interact with social memory, but production is not the end of the story. The features of the media offer—whether it is literature, film, or a monument—give rise to its mnemonic potential. This mnemonic potential must be assessed with recourse to the media and the type of discourse encoded in that medium. In the case of Chronicles, this is a written narrative. A close reading of that narrative shows that Chronicles, as a story, does not require knowledge of Samuel-Kings. The literary relationship, then, is one in which Chronicles can be read alongside Samuel-Kings,

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[1] See above, 246–249.

but this is not the only relationship in which the two can stand. It appears that in at least the two cases I explored at length above, Chronicles can present its story to readers with no prior knowledge.

The Mnemonic Potential of Chronicles

The case studies show us that as a media offer, Chronicles had the capacity to act on collective memory in a multitude of ways. In the third chapter, we saw that Chronicles might have advanced knowledge of events and characters that may only have been known from limited sources or in a limited way. By bringing those stories into a narrative with a more extensive chronology that deals so substantially with the religion and central institutions of Judah, it resignified these bits of information as of importance for that national story. As we saw in the case of the story of Simeonite expansions to the southeast, Chronicles may also have created the means for an extension of Judaean identity. The scribal process also appears to have created events for the first time and represented them in the same course of this history.

The production of Chronicles allowed for other changes in social memory. In the fourth chapter, I argued that Chronicles would also have made possible the loss of knowledge, or collective "forgetting," particularly in the case of Solomon's violence and the contested succession to the kingship after David. In the fifth chapter, I suggested that despite the dependence of the writer on the text of Samuel-Kings and the sources citations which, apparently, direct the reader to a source substantially like Samuel-Kings, Chronicles does not require knowledge of Samuel-Kings to be comprehensible or to achieve a high degree of coherence. Moreover, we cannot even fully assess the source citations because of our position outside of the external field of reference Chronicles invokes. As we saw, it does not matter

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whether Chronicles was ever received as a source that stands on its own. For the earliest history of its reception, we cannot really tell, and over the very long term, we know that it was not. The point is that the very fact of its existence in the world altered, in consequential ways, the manner in which the past might be understood.

On Reading Chronicles

Throughout, this dissertation has taken an approach to Chronicles that compares it with Samuel-Kings or other sources and, at times, attempted to situate it historically or socially. All of this was necessary to describe the textual relationship between Chronicles and its sources, the scribal processes that we infer from that relationship, and to theorize Chronicles as a new media offer. It was also necessary to show that in two paradigmatic cases, readers of Chronicles do not need access to or any knowledge of other media offers—especially those that we now know to be the sources of this work—in order to understand its narrative. It is now fitting to clear some room to contemplate Chronicles at a distance from this theory and apart from these various concepts or critical modes of analysis.

Chronicles is present to us now within a set of texts that are taken as canonical in both Judaism and Christianity. If Chronicles had not been preserved in this way, it probably never would have been known to us. The Dead Sea Scrolls recording Chronicles are very fragmentary and limited and, while it was apparently read by Josephus and others, what we can ascertain about its earliest reception would not allow for the secure reconstruction of hardly any of it.[2]

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[2] See recently Pamela Barmash, "A New Approach to the Canonization of the Hebrew Bible: The Case of Chronicles, Not Contested Yet Not Cited Often," in *Ve-ʾEd Yaʿaleh (Gen 2:6): Essays in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Edward L. Greenstein*, ed. Peter Machinist et al., 2 vols., *WAWSup* 5 (Atlanta: SBL, 2021). See also Joseph Verheyden, "Some Comments on the Earliest Evidence for the Reception of the Book of Chronicles in

Ironically, then, we see that the very circumstance that allows us to read it today—its preservation in a canon—is also the circumstance that leads to being subordinated to other texts and underread, for no other reason than that it was clearly produced by rewriting some of them. For Wellhausen, Chronicles was subordinated to Samuel-Kings because it was ideologically aligned with the Priestly source and, therefore, historically untrustworthy. Now, one hundred fifty years on from Wellhausen's attempt to reconstruct the history of Israelite religion, scholarly work on Chronicles has not fully escaped the tendency to keep it in a similar, subordinate position. As we saw above, this subordination is articulated explicitly or implied by some influential scholars of Chronicles; this state of affairs is even maintained by synchronic approaches to Chronicles in memory studies, by claiming that Chronicles must have been read alongside Samuel-Kings from the earliest period. (In saying this, I am mindful that this dissertation relies at every turn on the insights of many others; indeed, several decades of productive, even excellent, scholarship on Chronicles is the condition that allows for the argument above.)

We also saw that the closest point of comparison for Chronicles within the Hebrew Bible is not Samuel-Kings, but all of Genesis through Kings.[3] The comparison is imperfect, and it is insightful. A book like Chronicles, of such complexity, comprehensive scope, coherence, and literary independence, calls by virtue of these very features for treatments that take it, as much as possible, on its own terms. What seems most important, then, to state here as clearly and

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Christian Tradition," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 16 (2013): 58–65; Mika S. Pajunen, "The Saga of Judah's Kings Continues: The Reception of Chronicles in the Late Second Temple Period," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 136 (2017): 565–84.

[3] This was Knoppers' point. See above, 125 n115.

definitively as possible, is that we should try to read Chronicles within the frameworks it establishes as a literary work. If this means that Chronicles does not really direct us to other texts to understand it, then this should be taken seriously, and if Chronicles does not seem to suggest that we should understand its source texts in light of it, then that should be taken seriously, too. Reading Chronicles as scripture, as a commentary, or as retelling a familiar story—whether one does this out of religious conviction or because these impulses are so deeply engrained in the history of scholarship that they are nearly inescapable (to date even in the "new" approach of memory studies)—obscures its literary characteristics and skews our understanding of how it might have been read in antiquity. Perhaps, in part to redeem ourselvs as readers, we could approach Chronicles anew, as a story.

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