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## Introduction to the Second Volume of the Hermeneia Chronicles Commentary<sup>1</sup>

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While I stand by the positions maintained in the introduction to the first volume of this commentary, I would like to take account of two ensuing monographs and provide other supplementary introductory material.

### Raymond F. Person's Revision of the Auld Hypothesis

In the introduction to volume 1 of this commentary, I responded critically to the hypothesis of A. G. Auld that Samuel–Kings and Chronicles were based on a common source. Auld had argued that where one history, Samuel–Kings or Chronicles, lacks an account, it was lacking in the common source.<sup>2</sup> Raymond F. Person Jr. has now published a monograph that supports and modifies the Auld proposal.<sup>3</sup> Person believes that the Deuteronomistic History<sup>4</sup> and the Chronicler's History were contemporaneous and competing historiographies that do not necessarily differ significantly from each other theologically.<sup>5</sup> In his view, the authors of the Deuteronomistic History returned to Palestine under Zerubbabel, and the Chronistic authors returned with Ezra and Nehemiah, but both were based on a common source in Babylon. This wide-ranging proposal dates the ongoing revision of the Deuteronomistic History well into the Persian period, based in part on a challenge to the distinction between Early Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew.<sup>6</sup> Since my dating of the Deuteronomistic History is based on factors other than the date of its Hebrew, I will leave the evaluation of the linguistic evidence to others. Person also discusses at length the implications of orality for written documents, concluding that what we may perceive as a conscious or intentional change may not even be considered a change at all by ancient authors/redac-

tors.<sup>7</sup> Because of what he calls the multiformity of the text of Samuel–Kings, he minimizes the significance of differences between Chronicles and its *Vorlage* and argues that Auld should have omitted even more from his shared text. While the authors of the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic Histories were clearly monotheistic Yahwists, I find them disagreeing profoundly on the reasons for the exile and surely in their muted (Deuteronomistic History) or more enthusiastic (Chronicles) theological expectations of the future. Person's stress on the multiformity of Samuel–Kings threatens to undercut many of the observations made in this commentary and the significance of the Chronicler's history. Let me respond therefore to a couple examples of his methodology.

Person, of course, admits that 2 Chr 17:2-19; 19:1-11; and 20:1-30 are material added to the account of Jehoshaphat in Chronicles, but he holds that "this unique [additional] material is consistent with the portrayal of Jehoshaphat in the synoptic passages and more broadly with the portrayal of kings in general. Therefore we should not overemphasize this difference based on the amount of material in the Chronistic account of Jehoshaphat."<sup>8</sup> I find these conclusions incredible in view of the teaching mission instituted by Jehoshaphat in 2 Chronicles 17; the oracle of Jehu son of Hanani in 2 Chr 19:1-3; Jehoshaphat's appointment of judges in 2 Chr 19:4-11; the victory over eastern enemies in 2 Chronicles 20, including Jehoshaphat's speech (vv. 6-12), the oracle of the Levite Jahaziel (vv. 14-17), and the role of the singers in the Holy War that finishes the chapter (vv. 19-30).<sup>9</sup>

Person's attempt to reconstruct a shared common source for Jehoshaphat is also not convincing.<sup>10</sup> He believes that 1 Kgs 22:41-52 (51) and 2 Chr 20:31–21:1

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| 1 | See Klein, <i>1 Chronicles</i> , 1–50, for my introduction to the Books of Chronicles. See also now Knoppers, 12A, 47–137. | 7  | Person, <i>Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles</i> , 49.  |
| 2 | Klein, <i>1 Chronicles</i> , 31–32; cf. Knoppers, 13A, 66–68.  | 8  | <i>Ibid.</i> , 152.  |
| 3 | Person, <i>Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles</i> .  | 9  | <i>Per contra</i> Person, <i>Deuteronomistic History and the Chronicler's History</i> , 154: "When we allow for a certain degree of multiformity in the tradition, these two accounts of Jehoshaphat's reign differ in the amount of material preserved but not in any significant way in their theological portrayal of his reign." |
| 4 | Person prefers to call this the Deuteronomistic History.   | 10 | In <i>Deuteronomistic History and the Chronicler's History</i> , 120, he quotes Julio Trebolle's proposal that 1 Kings 17–22 were late insertions in Kings "based primarily on the observation that these narratives are lacking   |
| 5 | Person, <i>Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles</i> , 21, 163, 167, 168.                                     |    |  |
| 6 | See Ian Young, ed., <i>Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology</i> (JSOTSup 369; London: T&T Clark, 2003).     |    |  |

may be secondary additions to the common source even though they appear at the same place in both histories. He notes that the Kings pericope appears in the LXX at 1 Kgs 16:28a-g, which may indeed be an earlier position for this passage, but the Chronicler clearly knew the location of this material in 1 Kgs 22:41-52 (51) MT.

Person also plays down the significance of the different arrangement of materials in 2 Kings 22–23 and 2 Chronicles 34 (Chronicles dates the beginning of Josiah’s reform to his eighth and twelfth years instead of his eighteenth year, and the pericope on Yahweh’s anger persisting because of Manasseh’s sins [2 Kgs 23:24-27] is omitted from Chronicles). He argues that “the two reform accounts have striking similarities, and both are clearly related to the story of the finding of the law book.”<sup>11</sup> But of course the reform of Josiah in Chronicles is not caused by the finding of the book, and, as I argue, the finding of the book in Chronicles is actually a reward for Josiah’s earlier reform efforts. To my mind, the Chronicler omitted 2 Kgs 23:24-27 because he had already told of Manasseh’s repentance in mid-reign, thus making the effects of his sins moot.<sup>12</sup>

### A Utopian Reading of Chronicles

In his published dissertation, Steven James Schweitzer has advocated for a utopian reading of Chronicles. He argues that the Chronicler may not be legitimizing current practice but rather offering an alternative system that would change the present structure. He finds that this utopianism has a great deal in common with Ezekiel’s restored temple and the future anticipated by the Qumran community. Schweitzer concludes: “Chronicles presents its utopian future as an idealized portrayal set in Israel’s historical past.”<sup>13</sup> Or again: “The organizational structure of the utopia becomes a means of social

critique . . . which constructs an alternative world that calls the present order into question at every turn.”<sup>14</sup> He pursues this utopian reading in regard to the genealogies, politics of the monarchy, and the cult.

The genealogies provide a means of group definition. They identify not only who belongs to all Israel but how this expansive group is interrelated. Quoting H. G. M. Williamson, Schweitzer notes that the purpose of the genealogies is to paint a portrait of the people of God in its ideal extent. Even those tribes that remain in exile are part of all Israel, and the concluding verses in Chronicles (2 Chr 36:22-23) offer an open call for them to return. Alongside the genealogical identity of Israel stands the religious identity of Israel, namely, all those who show religious fidelity to Yahweh and to his temple. 1 Chronicles 1 (the genealogy from Adam to Jacob/Israel) acknowledges that the descendants of Israel are part of the larger human family. Schweitzer observes: “The view of foreigners in Chronicles is mixed in nature. They are neither welcomed without reservation nor rejected flatly; they can be part of ‘Israel’ genealogically, but it is ultimately religious fidelity that indicates identity. . . . It seems that Chronicles does not disregard genealogical heritage, but rather uses it to demonstrate the superiority of religious fidelity for the purpose of identity formation.”<sup>15</sup>

With regard to the monarchy, Schweitzer notes that there is no indication that Chronicles advocates or even awaits the restoration of the monarchy, and he adds four points: (1) The utopian cultic society advocated by the Chronicler does not *require* any specific political system or a Davidide in particular. A Davidide dynasty *may* be part of the future, but it is not *necessary* to that future. (2) The foreign rulers and the Persian kings in particular are presented as fulfilling the duties of the Davidic dynasty in attending to the cult. (3) At its heart Israel is a theocracy.

in Chronicles.” Trebelle, of course, errs completely on 1 Kings 22, as Person admits, but the omission of 1 Kings 17–21 fits perfectly with the Chronicler’s omission of most material dealing with the northern kingdom.

11 Person, *Deuteronomistic History and the Chronicler’s History*, 125.

12 I also do not believe that 2 Sam 23:8-39; 2 Sam 6:1-11, 20b-23; 12:26-31; 13:1—21:22; 24:1-15; and 1 Kgs 1:1—2:12 were missing from the *Vorlage* of Chronicles. *Per contra* Person, *Deuteronomistic History and the*

*Book of Chronicles*, 92, 127. On p. 125 he repeats that the differences between Kings and Chronicles on Josiah have too often been exaggerated. He does not mention the important theological justification for Josiah’s death introduced by the Chronicler (2 Chr 35:20-25) over against 2 Kgs 23:29-30.

13 Schweitzer, *Utopia*, 30.

14 *Ibid.*, 17.

15 *Ibid.*, 74. See also my comments on “Israel,” in *1 Chronicles*, 46.

Even when a Davidide is the visible monarch, Yahweh is the true ruler. The Chronicler associates the throne of the Davidic king with the throne of God (1 Chr 28:5;<sup>16</sup> 29:23;<sup>17</sup> 2 Chr 9:8;<sup>18</sup> 13:8). (4) The Davidic dynasty has demonstrated its own futility in establishing a utopia.<sup>19</sup> The apparent utopia at the time of Solomon dissipated. The monarchy could not sustain a utopian society.

Schweitzer provides this description of the temple cult in Chronicles: “The description of the temple cult in Chronicles does not reflect *any* historical reality—neither preexilic nor postexilic—but instead is a utopian construction by the Chronicler revealing his vision for a *better alternative reality* to be enjoyed in the future if it will be accepted by the community of his own time.<sup>20</sup> At another point he writes: “Chronicles is neither a manual for cultic performance nor a retrojection of the present into the past for the sake of legitimization.”<sup>21</sup>

On three occasions Levites serve temporarily as priests (2 Chr 29:34; 30:17-20; 35:11-15).<sup>22</sup> Schweitzer understands these as models for the *better alternative reality* that could be attained if the Levites would act beyond their commonly accepted duties when the situation might dictate.<sup>23</sup> The Chronicler associates the Levites regularly with the ark (1 Chr 6:16 [31]; 15:11-15, 26-27; 16:4-6, 37-38; 2 Chr 5:2-4; 35:3), but once the ark is brought to Jerusalem they need transport it no longer (1 Chr 23:26) except for its last trek to the temple (2 Chr 5:4-5).<sup>24</sup> The Levites are given instead other duties, such as assisting the priests and maintaining cultic items (1 Chr 9:28-32; 16:37-38; 23:28-32).

In the Pentateuch, the priests have duties that could be described as gatekeeping, but that duty is assigned to the Levites in 1 Chr 9:17-32; 15:18, 23-24; 26:1-19; 2 Chr 8:14; 23:4-11, 19; 34:12-13; 35:15. Gatekeepers are mentioned in Ezra and Nehemiah, but they are not called Levites there. Schweitzer differs from John Wright in suggesting that this role of the Levites as gatekeepers may be the depiction of a better, alternate future, rather than the social reality of the Second Temple period.<sup>25</sup>

The role of the Levitical singers or musicians in the military victory of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 20:21-22, 27-28) may be another utopian item in Chronicles. The Levitical singers provide a means of victory even when no other help can be offered. Other references to Levitical singers in Chronicles can be found in 1 Chr 6:16-17 (31-32);<sup>26</sup> 15:16-28; 16:4-7, 42; 23:5; 25:1-31;<sup>27</sup> 2 Chr 5:12-13; 7:6; 8:14 (the dedication of Solomon’s temple); 29:25-30 (rededication of temple under Hezekiah); 30:21 (Hezekiah’s Passover); and 35:15 (Josiah’s Passover).<sup>28</sup> It is unclear whether the role of the musicians in worshipful praise is part of Second Temple cultic practice (so the majority of scholars) or a utopian effort for change (Schweitzer). Other duties of the Levites according to the Chronicler are as overseers of the cultic treasuries (1 Chr 9:26; 26:20-28; 29:8); scribes (Shemaiah, 1 Chr 24:6; Samuel, 1 Chr 29:9<sup>29</sup>; 2 Chr 34:13); judges (1 Chr 26:29-32; 2 Chr 19:8-11); and teachers of Torah (2 Chr 17:7-9; 35:3).

Schweitzer’s utopian reading of Chronicles offers a refreshing new way to consider the anomalous items in

16 “And from all my sons—for Yahweh has given to me many sons—he has chosen Solomon my son to sit on the throne of the kingdom of Yahweh over Israel.”  
 17 “And Solomon sat on the throne of Yahweh as king in the place of David his father. . . .”  
 18 “Blessed be Yahweh your God, who has delighted in you by putting you on his throne as king for Yahweh your God.”  
 19 Schweitzer, *Utopia*, 125–27.  
 20 *Ibid.*, 133.  
 21 *Ibid.*, 144.  
 22 The following paragraphs fulfill the promise made in Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 45 n. 310, to provide a fuller statement on the Levites.  
 23 Schweitzer, *Utopia*, 154–55.  
 24 On 2 Chr 35:3, see the commentary.

25 See John Wright, “Guarding the Gates: 1 Chronicles 26.1-19 and the Roles of the Gatekeepers in Chronicles,” *JOT* 48 (1990) 79.  
 26 Genealogies for Heman the Kohathite, Asaph the Gershomite, and Ethan the Merarite are given in 1 Chr 6:18-32 (33-47).  
 27 In 1 Chr 25:2, 6, they are under the direct authority of the king, not of the priests or high priest.  
 28 The work of these musicians is occasionally associated with prophecy in 1 Chr 25:1-3; 2 Chr 20:14-17. The prophetic voice may be heard in their compositions (Schweitzer, *Utopia*, 163). Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun are called visionaries (חִזְוִי) in 1 Chr 25:5; 2 Chr 29:30; and 35:15.  
 29 For Samuel’s tie to the Levites, see Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 182.

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the Chronicler. Schweitzer may be right in some cases that these are efforts to construct an alternate, better future, although some of these unique features may be actual conditions or practices in Second Temple Judaism that are not recorded elsewhere. In many instances, we do not have adequate evidence for deciding between these two alternatives.

### Is Chronicles “Rewritten Scripture”?

A number of documents from Qumran are called “rewritten Bible” or “rewritten Scripture”<sup>30</sup> and include the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *Reworked Pentateuch*.<sup>31</sup> Sidnie White Crawford speaks of a “spectrum of texts,” ranging from harmonistic additions in the pre-Samaritan manuscripts found at Qumran to new compositions, such as those referred to in the first sentence of this paragraph.<sup>32</sup> She defines this genre as follows: “These Rewritten Scriptures constitute a category or group of texts which are characterized by a close adherence to a recognizable and already authoritative base text (narrative or legal) and a recognizable degree of scribal intervention into that base text for the purpose of exegesis. Further, the rewritten scriptural text will often (although not always) make a claim to the authority of revealed Scripture, the same authority as its base text. The receiving community will not necessarily accept such a claim.”<sup>33</sup> Crawford’s study is limited to evidence for rewritten Scripture found at Qumran, where she detects an inner-biblical exegesis reflecting the tenets of the Qumran/Essene community. In her introduction she sees predecessors of this phenomenon in Deuteronomy, Chronicles, and the two editions of the book of Jeremiah (MT and LXX), where the same tenets do not occur.

The purpose of such rewritten Scripture was to interpret the original text for a new, later audience. The idea of “rewritten Scripture” seems somewhat appropriate for what the Chronicler did with the history of the

united monarchy and the history of the kings of Judah (1 Chronicles 10—2 Chronicles 36). The Chronicler was heavily dependent on the “scriptural” *Vorlage* of Samuel Kings, while leaving out the questionable acts of David (adultery, murder) and Solomon (marriage to foreign wives) and most of the history of the northern kingdom, and adding extensive additional materials. The accession of David to the throne in Chronicles takes place in one verse through divine intervention (1 Chr 10:14) in contrast to 1 Samuel 16—2 Samuel 5, where David was engaged in civil strife with Saul himself and with his son Ishbaal after Saul’s death. Solomon’s accession is carefully prepared by David in 1 Chronicles 22–29 in stark contrast to the struggle among various sons of David to succeed him and the brutality of Solomon killing off potential rivals in 2 Samuel 9—1 Kings 2.<sup>34</sup> The Chronicler is a strong advocate for the authority of the temple, its clergy, and its sacrificial rites, giving due credit to David, Solomon, and the reforming kings. His interpretation of each reign departs in many respects from his *Vorlage*, but he clearly knew and used materials from that *Vorlage*. Solomon’s temple was destroyed two or more centuries before the Chronicler wrote, so that the cult he is advocating is really that of the Second Temple. The final version of the Deuteronomistic History, on the other hand, is in many ways a theodicy, ascribing the cause of the fall of the northern and southern kingdoms to the worship of other gods and lack of faithfulness toward the one central sanctuary. Kings ends with the exile and the release of Jehoiachin from prison (2 Kgs 25:27-30), but the exile in Chronicles is followed by the decree of Cyrus (2 Chr 36:22-23).

The genealogical introduction in 1 Chronicles 1–9 does not fit well within the category of rewritten Scripture. Some of the Chronicler’s genealogies are taken from the Pentateuch, but much more than half are not. Genesis begins with the creation of the world and the first human beings, and the first word in Chronicles is

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30 This title is chosen because of the anachronism of referring to a biblical canon in the Second Temple period while conceding that texts like the Pentateuch and probably the prophets did achieve authoritative religious status in that period.

31 For discussion of this phenomenon and extensive bibliography, see Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Studies in the Dead

Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

32 Ibid., 13.

33 Ibid., 12–13.

34 Contrast 1 Chr 29:24 “All the leaders, warriors, and all the sons of King David pledged their allegiance to King Solomon.”

Adam. But the Pentateuch continues with the primeval history, the story of the patriarchs and patriarchs, the exodus from Egypt, the events of Sinai, the wilderness wandering, and the homiletical collection of laws known as Deuteronomy. Chronicles, on the other hand, has almost no narrative in 1 Chronicles 1–9 and contains instead the genealogy leading to Israel (Jacob) and the genealogies of Israel's sons. *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* make a claim to equal authority with the Torah, but the Chronicler makes no such explicit claim although his work was eventually included in the canon.<sup>35</sup>

Chronicles wants to give an alternative account to the Primary History (Genesis—2 Kings) with no attempt to replace that history.<sup>36</sup> Its use of inner-biblical exegesis and its wholesale revision of the Samuel–Kings *Vorlage* may anticipate some of the exegetical procedures employed in the later rewritten Scripture. But its completely different approach to premonarchical history in comparison with the Pentateuch makes the rewritten Scripture identification less helpful for the work as a whole.

### Samaria and the Samaritans

Knoppers has made the point that the leaders of Yehud in the postexilic period were faced with a bigger, more well-to-do, and more populous neighbor in Samaria. At the same time, there is a great deal of cultural continuity between Yehud and Samaria in items like language,

scripts, and the composition of proper names, leading Knoppers to conclude that one must assume ongoing contacts between these neighboring areas during the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods.<sup>37</sup> Knoppers rightly distances himself from earlier commentators who detected in Chronicles a strident polemic against the Samaritans, but he recognizes that if the Samaritans had a rival temple at the time of the Chronicler, as recent excavations suggest,<sup>38</sup> leading figures in Jerusalem, including the Chronicler, would have made efforts to authenticate the distinctive positions of their city and their temple over that in Samaria.

Magnar Kartveit has argued for a more decisive split between Yehud and the Samaritans already during the Persian period.<sup>39</sup> He believes that the birth of the Samaritans occurred when they established a temple on Mount Gerizim, which was a response to their request to participate in rebuilding the temple in Jerusalem, a request that was denied (Ezra 4:1-4). In his view, the text of Deut 27:4-5 in an earlier form instructed the Israelites to set up standing stones and an altar on Mount Gerizim (cf. SP and VL; MT “on Mount Ebal”).<sup>40</sup> Thus, the location of the Samaritan temple claims Mosaic authority, while the location of the Jerusalem temple goes back only to David in 1 Chronicles 21. There were other Jewish temples in postexilic times at Elephantine, Leontopolis, and Araq el-Emir. A polemic against this Samaritan temple appears much later in 4Q372<sup>41</sup> and Sir 50:25-26.<sup>42</sup>

35 See Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 2.

36 See also Knoppers 12A, 129–34. Levinson (*Legal Revision and Religious Renewal*, 180) concludes: “[T]he salient issue is that Chronicles is here understood to be an autonomous work that now stands independently. The past, as historical memory but also as text, is reinterpreted, reordered, rewritten, and supplemented to serve the present needs of the community.”

37 Knoppers, “Samaritan Question.”

38 Y. Magen, “Mount Gerazim and the Samaritans,” in *Early Christianity in Context* (ed. F. Manns and E. Aliata; Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior 38; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1993) 89–148; E. Stern and Y. Magen, “Archaeological Evidence for the First Stage of the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim,” *IEJ* 52 (2002) 49–57. Magen suggests that the temple was built at the time of Sanballat the Horonite, who is mentioned in

Nehemiah. Josephus dated the Samaritan temple to a Sanballat who lived in the days of Alexander the Great.

39 Kartveit, *Origins of the Samaritans*.

40 Originally there may not have been a geographic name given for this altar. Later the Samaritans inserted Mount Gerizim, and the Jews replaced that with Mount Ebal.

41 See Kartveit, *Origin of the Samaritans*, 160–71. 4Q372 is dated to the second century B.C.E. and contains a strong attack on worship on Gerizim and a prayer for the divine removal of the inhabitants in Samaria. It calls their worship site a *במה* (“high place”) and identifies the Samaritans as fools.

42 “Two nations my soul detests, and the third is not even a people: Those who live in Seir, and the Philistines, and the foolish people that live in Shechem.”

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The Gerizim temple was razed by John Hyrcanus in the late second century B.C.E.

Frank Moore Cross and James D. Purvis dated the decisive split with the Samaritans to the time of Hyrcanus and his destruction of their temple.<sup>43</sup> The split was formalized by the pro Gerizim/anti-Jerusalem flavor of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Now it seems clear from recent excavations that the Samaritan temple existed at the time of the Chronicler. Did this lead to efforts in Jerusalem to authenticate the distinctive positions of their city and their temple over that in Samaria (Knoppers), or is Chronicles a sustained polemic against the Samaritans (Kartveit)? While the Chronicler is a strong partisan for the Jerusalem temple, I find his attitude to be far more pro Jerusalem temple and inviting other Israelites to rally to it rather than to polemicize against the Samaritan temple, as in the citations noted above from the much later book of Sirach and 4Q372. The Chronicler dates the construction of the Jerusalem temple to David and Solomon of the united kingdom, and he invites northerners to come to Jerusalem as they had in the days of Hezekiah and Josiah.

### Central Themes

#### Kingship<sup>44</sup>

##### The Kings in 2 Chronicles

Since the Chronicler constructed his narrative in 2 Chronicles around the reign of Solomon and the subsequent kings in Judah, it seems appropriate to sum up what he had to say about the reigns of these kings in 2 Chronicles.

##### Solomon

Solomon ascended to the throne without all the turmoil of 1 Kings 1–2 (no rival kingship of Adonijah and no brutal executions of potential rivals). Solomon begins his reign with a pilgrimage, including the whole assembly, to the high place at Gibeon, a sanctuary dignified by the presence of the tabernacle and the altar made by Bezalel in the wilderness period. Yahweh promised Solomon wealth in addition to wisdom. Solomon's chariots, cavalry, silver, gold, and horse trading demonstrate the

fulfillment of Yahweh's promise and the fact that Solomon had the wherewithal to build the temple (chap. 1). Solomon appealed to the Tyrian king Hiram (Kings: Hiram) to send a craftsman endowed with the skills of Bezalel and Oholiab, who worked on the tabernacle, and he also asked him for wood. Hiram affirmed that Yahweh loves his people and sent the craftsman Huram-abi, a Danite like Oholiab. Hiram's generous support of Solomon is a response to the prayer in 1 Chr 16:28: "Ascribe to Yahweh, O families of the peoples, Ascribe to Yahweh honor and strength" (chap. 2). The account of Solomon's building of the temple is drastically shorter in comparison with the Kings *Vorlage* and may reflect the more modest Second Temple of the Chronicler's time. A number of items show links with the tabernacle—cherubim, the curtain before Holy of Holies, altar, lavers, lampstands, and tables—and demonstrate continuity between the time of Moses and David–Solomon. The temple site on Mount Moriah is identified as the place where Abraham had attempted to sacrifice Isaac, where Yahweh had appeared to David, and which David had designated as the site of the altar for burnt offerings. The Chronicler suggests that the purpose of the vast amount of water in the container called the Sea was for the priests to wash in (chaps. 3–4). Solomon had the ark and tent of meeting brought into the finished temple by the Levites, not the priests. The ark affirmed Yahweh's presence, as did the manifestation of Yahweh's cloud and glory (chap. 5). Solomon's lengthy prayer at the dedication of the temple was taken over from the Kings *Vorlage*, but it is not clear whether the Chronicler himself endorsed the hope for an everlasting dynasty expressed in this prayer. Solomon asked that Yahweh hear his prayer and those of the people that would take place in or be directed toward the temple. The ending of the prayer from the *Vorlage* is replaced by quotations from Ps 132:8-10; 132:1.<sup>45</sup> The presence of Yahweh in the ark is mentioned first, the welfare of priests and people next, and the king's welfare only in the third position. There is no expression of hope for, or urgency about, the restoration of the monarchy (chap. 6). Fire from heaven confirms the legitimacy of the temple and its sacrifices

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43 Cf. Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 46 and n. 313.

44 See Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 44–45.

45 See the similar use of quotations from the Psalter

in 1 Chr 16:8-36 (Pss 105:1-15; 96:1-13; and 106:1, 47-48).

and offers a positive response to Solomon's prayer. Lavish sacrifices are offered, and the celebration lasts for two weeks (see Hezekiah below). In times of trouble people are to humble themselves, pray, seek the face of Yahweh, and repent. In the subsequent narratives, kings and the people are criticized for not carrying out these duties (chap. 7). Hiram gave Solomon a number of cities—in contrast to the *Vorlage*—and engaged with him in a profitable shipping adventure. In both of these activities Hiram is subservient to Solomon. Solomon's only military activity during his reign was against Hamath-zobah. Solomon used forced labor from the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land on his building projects. Solomon used Israelites only in his armed forces or as supervisors of those who did forced labor. Solomon appointed priests and Levites to specific duties (chap. 8). The queen of Sheba marveled at Solomon's wisdom and wealth. She too testified that Yahweh loved Israel. Great wealth was brought in by the sea ventures of Solomon and Hiram. Solomon's wealth is demonstrated by the golden shields he made and by his magnificent throne. Solomon lived up to David's admonition in 1 Chr 28:9: "You, my son Solomon, acknowledge the God of your father and serve him with a perfect heart and a willing spirit." Solomon's wisdom enabled him to build the temple, and his wisdom and wealth are hailed by both Hiram and the queen of Sheba (chap. 9). This positive final appraisal of Solomon contrasts dramatically with 1 Kgs 11:1-40, omitted by the Chronicler, which told of Solomon's many marriages to foreigners and his resultant apostasy.

#### **Rehoboam**

Rehoboam foolishly followed the hard-line advice of his young advisors at the Shechem assembly, leading to the division of the kingdom. But the breach was also a turn of affairs brought about by Yahweh (cf. the divinely engineered transition between Saul and David), and it was the fulfillment of the word of the prophet Ahijah. When Rehoboam attempted to use his army to restore the kingdom, the prophet Shemaiah convinced the people not to march against the north. Despite the division of the kingdom, the Chronicler referred to the north as "Israel" and indeed as brothers. For three years Rehoboam and the people followed Yahweh, and good fortune came to Rehoboam. He built and staffed fifteen fortress cities, and priests, Levites, and laypeople deserted the north, came to Jerusalem, and sacrificed

to Yahweh. Rehoboam also enjoyed domestic prosperity—eighteen wives, sixty concubines, twenty-eight sons, and sixty daughters (chaps. 10–11). After three years, the king's and the people's unfaithfulness led to the invasion of Pharaoh Shishak. Rebuked by the prophet Shemaiah, the king and people humbled themselves and confessed that Yahweh was in the right. Shemaiah promised deliverance but indicated that the northerners would in the future serve both Yahweh and the kings of the lands. Shishak took away the golden shields Solomon had made, and Rehoboam replaced them with bronze shields. The Chronicler's judgment on Rehoboam is mixed: a foolish initial act at Shechem, a period of faithfulness, followed by apostasy and contrition. Even his foolish initial actions were attributable in part to his opponents taking advantage of his youth. He was both villain and victim (chap. 12).

#### **Abijah**

Abijah (Kings: Abijam) becomes an ardent spokesperson for the Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem cult, without the criticisms raised against him in the Kings *Vorlage*. Jeroboam I, the first king of the northern kingdom, on the other hand, made golden calves at his worship sites, expelled the legitimate clergy, and installed clergy without a proper pedigree. Abijah's sermon, added by the Chronicler, draws sharp contrasts between the perfidy of Jeroboam and the north and the correctness of the Davidic dynasty and the worship at the Jerusalem temple. God gave Judah a decisive military victory over the north. Abijah's blessing is shown by the multitude of his wives and children (chap. 13).

#### **Asa**

The first thirty-five years of Asa's reign were quiet, without wars. He got rid of foreign altars, high places, and chapels (traditionally, "incense altars"). He sought Yahweh and had an extensive building program and a large army. Zerah the Cushite invaded with a million-man army, but Yahweh intervened against him in response to Asa's prayers. Judah's role in this military conflict was limited to mop-up operations (chap. 14). In response to the prophecy of Azariah, Asa removed idols from Judah, Benjamin, and the cities of north Israel he had captured. At an assembly, which included delegations from the north, the people made a covenant to seek Yahweh. Asa deposed his mother and destroyed her Asherah. He put the votive gifts of Abijah and his own votive gifts

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in the temple (chap. 15). The northern king Baasha encroached on Judah's territory in Asa's thirty-sixth year, but Asa sent money to Ben-hadad so that he would break his treaty with north Israel. When Ben-hadad attacked the north, Baasha retreated, and Asa pushed the border farther north and built the cities of Geba and Mizpah. Hanani the seer criticized Asa for relying on Aram rather than on Yahweh. Asa imprisoned Hanani and inflicted cruelties on the people. Because of these actions Asa contracted a severe foot disease, but Asa did not seek Yahweh, only physicians. Asa's reign is divided into a positive and a negative period (cf. Joash, Amaziah, and Uzziah; chap. 16).

#### **Jehoshaphat**

Jehoshaphat's piety is matched by his strength. He removed high places and Asherim and thrived because of tribute given him by the Judeans. In his third year he appointed a commission to teach Torah throughout Judah. The Philistines and Arabs also brought tribute, and Jehoshaphat built fortresses and store cities. Jehoshaphat's army was larger than Zerah's despite the peace established by Yahweh (chap. 17). Jehoshaphat is criticized for his marriage alliance with Ahab (his son Jehoram was married to the daughter of Ahab; 2 Chr 21:6), and he was criticized by Jehu the son of Hanani for helping the wicked and loving those who hate Yahweh (namely, Ahab). His punishment was mitigated because of his reforms (banishing Asheroth and setting his heart to seek God). The Chronicler includes Jehoshaphat's joint military venture with Ahab from 1 Kings 22, in which four hundred prophets urged the kings to fight Aram, but Micaiah, who was summoned at Jehoshaphat's instigation, announced that this battle would be a disaster and that a lying spirit had inspired the four hundred false prophets. Ahab was wounded mortally in the battle with Aram despite putting on a disguise (chap. 18; 19:1-3). Jehoshaphat carried out a judicial reform, which may indicate how the Chronicler thought judicial matters should be handled in the postexilic community.<sup>46</sup> Local judges were urged to act with justice, and the king appointed a court of reference for difficult cases in Jerusalem, consisting of Levites, priests, and laypeople. The chief priest was to be in charge of religious questions,

and the leader of the house of Judah was supervisor over state questions (19:4-11). Judah was attacked by three Transjordanian nations, the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Meunim. Jehoshaphat and the people sought Yahweh in this crisis and Jehoshaphat uttered a community lament. Jahaziel, a spirit-endowed Levite, assured them that the battle was not theirs but God's. The enemy nations destroyed one another while Judah gathered the spoil and expressed their thanksgiving. Eliezer, a prophetic figure, criticized Jehoshaphat's alliance with king Ahaziah of the north and announced that Yahweh would destroy their ships. The picture of Jehoshaphat in Chronicles is ambivalent. He is hailed for his reforms in chap. 17 and chap. 19 and for his leadership in war (chap. 20), but criticized for his alliance with Ahab (chap. 18) and his commercial venture with Ahaziah (chap. 20).

#### **Jehoram**

Jehoram is the first of three successive monarchs who posed a threat to the Davidic dynasty because of the marital link to the Omri-Ahab dynasty. One of the worst kings of Judah, Jehoram abandoned Yahweh, built high places, and made Judah go astray. In a letter, Elijah indicted him for leading the people into unfaithfulness and murdering his brothers. The retributive consequences were rebellions by Edom and Libnah, invasions by Philistines and Arabs, and a devastating bowel disorder that led to a terrible death (chap. 21).

#### **Ahaziah**

Ahaziah was the sole surviving royal male of his generation and was strongly influenced by his mother Athaliah. He engaged in a joint military operation with his uncle Jehoram of the northern kingdom, but this was part of a divine plan that would lead to his downfall. After Jehoram was injured in battle by Jehu, who was anointed to bring judgment on the house of Ahab, Jehu assassinated the relatives of Ahaziah and the king himself. Ahaziah was not buried in Jerusalem, let alone in the royal graves (22:1-9).

#### **Athaliah**

Athaliah attempted to kill off all the surviving royal heirs in Judah and took the throne for herself, but the infant Joash was saved by his aunt Jehoshabeath, who also was married to the priest Jehoiada, according to the Chroni-

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<sup>46</sup> It also serves as a commentary on Deut 16:18-20 and 17:8-13.

cler. Under Athaliah, the Davidic dynasty and worship at the Jerusalem temple almost came to an end. Jehoiada meticulously planned the coup against Athaliah, with the help of all the people, and the prominent role of the priests and Levites preserved the sanctity of the temple. Athaliah was executed (chaps. 22–23).

#### **Joash**

Saved from the violence of Athaliah as an infant, Joash was installed as king at the age of seven. After the installation of Joash, the priest Jehoiada initiated a covenant with the people and the new king that led to doing away with all the vestiges of Baal worship, including the execution of the priest of Baal and the appointment of priests and Levites to care for the temple (chaps. 22–23). Joash's reign is marked by a period of fidelity followed by a period of infidelity, with the death of Jehoiada coming between these two periods. In his time of faithfulness, Joash repaired the temple and collected the annual tax for the support of the temple, a tax mandated by Moses himself. Joash criticized Jehoiada and even the Levites for not bringing this tax in more quickly. There was enough money left from the tax to replace cultic utensils even though that had been prohibited in the Kings *Vorlage*. After the death of Jehoiada at age 130, Joash listened to royal advisors and fostered the worship of Asherim and various idols. Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, rebuked Joash and the people and said that their forsaking Yahweh had led to Yahweh's forsaking them. Zechariah was stoned to death at the initiative of Joash, and Zechariah's dying wish was for divine vengeance. So the Arameans invaded, and, although vastly outnumbered, prevailed thanks to Yahweh's intervention. Joash was wounded in the battle and later murdered in his bed by his own servants. The mothers of his assassins were an Ammonite and a Moabite, thus discrediting the assassins themselves (chap. 24).

#### **Amaziah**

Amaziah's reign is divided into positive and negative periods. He killed the assassins of his father but not their children (cf. Deut 24:16). In addition to his own army of three hundred thousand, he hired one hundred thousand mercenaries from north Israel but sent them home when he was rebuked by a man of God, who assured him that victory does not depend on numbers, and that God is able to compensate for much more than the loss of one hundred talents. The dismissed soldiers sacked a num-

ber of cities and killed three thousand people. Amaziah won a victory over Edom apparently because he had listened to the man of God, and the Chronicler added that Amaziah threw ten thousand Edomites off a cliff. His negative period began when he brought back from Edom the gods of Seir and worshiped these defeated deities. A prophet chastised him for this, but Amaziah ordered this prophet to stop. The prophet did stop but then announced that Yahweh had decided to destroy Amaziah. Amaziah proposed a marriage alliance with Jehoash, king of Israel, but this proposal was ridiculed. Judah was invaded by Jehoash, who captured Amaziah and plundered Jerusalem, in punishment for the king's not listening to the prophetic message delivered by Jehoash and because the people had sought the gods of Edom. God, who had not been with Israel (v. 7), brought about the victory of Jehoash over Amaziah and Judah (v. 20). Amaziah was assassinated at Lachish, but his body was returned by horses to the city of David (chap. 25).

#### **Uzziah**

Uzziah's reign too was divided into a positive and negative period. Following the instructions of Zedekiah (a priest or prophet), Uzziah was successful against Philistines, Arabs, and Meunim and gained an international reputation. He also prospered in building projects and agriculture, and he had a large army. His fidelity led to his fifty-two year reign. His strength, however, led to pride and corruption. He offered incense in the temple, a rite restricted to priests. He was therefore afflicted with a skin disease that lasted for the rest of his life and made him ritually unclean. His son Jotham became his coregent, and Uzziah was not buried in the royal graves (chap. 26).

#### **Jotham**

Jotham did what was right, although the people acted corruptly. He defeated the Ammonites and received heavy tribute from them. Jotham may have preceded his father in death (chap. 27).

#### **Ahaz**

The themes of this chapter run parallel with items in Judah's final years and make it a foretaste of the coming destruction of Judah. Ahaz was the worst of the kings of Judah, walking in the ways of the kings of Israel and following the abominations of the nations that had preceded Israel in the land. After a punitive raid by Arameans, Pekah of north Israel killed one hundred

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twenty thousand and took two hundred thousand prisoners. The prophet Oded criticized the Samaritan army for taking Judean captives, and his opinion was seconded by four Ephraimite leaders. The good Samaritans released their captives in Jericho after clothing them, giving them sandals, food, and drink, anointing them medicinally, and providing donkey rides for those who needed them. Ahaz sent a bribe to Tiglath-pileser for help because of raids by Edomites and Philistines, but the Assyrian king provided no help. Ahaz worshiped the gods of the Arameans who had defeated him. He closed the doors of the temple and set up altars throughout Jerusalem. He was buried in Jerusalem but not in the royal graves (chap. 28).

#### **Hezekiah**

Hezekiah was a second Solomon or even a second David in his efforts to reform the temple. His reform started on the first day of his first full year as king and was completed by the sixteenth of the month. The king planned a covenant so that the divine wrath would abate. Impurities from the temple were deposited in the Wadi Kidron. Sacrifices brought about atonement for all Israel, and they were followed by sacrifices of thanksgiving in which Levites assisted the small number of priests (chap. 29). The Passover celebrated by Hezekiah, the historicity of which has been extensively debated, has a number of unusual traits, among which are that it was a centralized festival; people from the former northern kingdom participated in it; it was held in the second rather than the first month of the year; and some participants had not fully purified themselves before the Passover began. No mention of such a Passover was given in the book of Kings. The combined celebration of Passover and Unleavened Bread lasted for two weeks, just as Solomon's dedication ceremony lasted two weeks. Unclean people partook of Hezekiah's Passover with royal permission and requiring royal intercession. In the account of Hezekiah's Passover, the destruction of offensive cultic materials is the result of the Passover celebration, whereas in Josiah's reform the Passover comes last. There had not been such joy in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon. Hezekiah promised that repentance would lead to the abatement of Yahweh's anger and the people's finding mercy before their captors. The people humbled themselves, prayed, turned from their evil ways, and set their hearts to

seek God (cf. 2 Chr 7:14). Yahweh listened to Hezekiah and healed the people (chap. 30). Hezekiah extended the reforms undertaken in Judah to Ephraim and Manasseh. He reappointed priests and Levites, following the example of David and Solomon. Hezekiah showed great generosity and instructed the people to provide support for priests and Levites. He appointed Levites to administer the storing and distribution of contributions. Hezekiah was dedicated to the temple and lived up to the expectations of the Torah (chap. 31). The invasion of Sennacherib in Chronicles is neither a reaction to a rebellion by Hezekiah nor a punishment for Hezekiah's or Judah's sin. Rather, Sennacherib invades despite the faithfulness of Hezekiah, and Sennacherib gains almost nothing by the invasion. There is no tribute taken by Sennacherib from Hezekiah, no prisoners of war, and no real attack on Jerusalem. Instead, an angel sent by Yahweh attacks the Assyrians, and Sennacherib returns home in disgrace. Although he mocked Yahweh as a deity unable to help Judah, Sennacherib was assassinated in the temple of his own god and by members of his own family. Yahweh's victory elicited positive responses from the nations whose gods had not been able to rescue them from Sennacherib as Yahweh had. The Chronicler reported Hezekiah's illness briefly and found its cause in Hezekiah's inadequate response to the benefits given him in the victory over the Assyrians. Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem humbled themselves; Hezekiah was cured; and the consequences of the wrath of Yahweh were avoided in the days of Hezekiah. The incident about the envoys from Babylon found in the Kings *Vorlage* is repeated very briefly. These envoys had heard about the sign that had been done in the land and came to inquire about it. This was a test to see what was in the heart of Hezekiah, and he apparently satisfactorily passed the test. The Chronicler linked the sources about the reign of Hezekiah to the prophet Isaiah. Hezekiah died peacefully and was given a distinguished burial (chap. 32).

#### **Manasseh**

Manasseh is the only king of Judah to have a negative period followed by a positive period. In Kings, Manasseh was the worst of the kings of Judah, and in the early part of his reign in Chronicles he behaves in an identical manner. He was captured by Assyrian forces at Yahweh's initiative, however, and taken as a prisoner to Babylon.

There he repented, humbled himself, prayed, and his prayer was answered. Manasseh is the model of the kind of response to divine discipline that can bring an end to exile and lead to renewed blessing. On his return to Judah, Manasseh instituted building projects, military measures, and extensive cultic reforms (chap. 33).

#### **Amon**

Amon's reign was characterized by unrelieved evil (chap. 33).

#### **Josiah**

Already in his eighth year Josiah begin to seek the God of David, and in his twelfth year he initiated a series of cultic reforms, purging Judah and Jerusalem and large parts of the former northern kingdom. In his eighteenth year he restored the temple, financed by funds from portions of the north, Judah, Benjamin, and Jerusalem. Hilkiah found the book of the Torah, something close to the present shape of the Pentateuch. This discovery rewards Josiah for his reform efforts. Josiah consulted the prophet Huldah, who announced judgment that could not be avoided because the people had sought other gods and practiced idolatry. She noted, however, that the king had been penitent and had humbled himself. Josiah is told that he will die in peace and not witness the destruction destined for the temple and the people. The king read the book of the covenant to the people and enlisted them in a covenant to do the words of the covenant written in this book (chap. 34). Josiah's Passover was held at the right time and in the right way. He institutionalized the centralized Passover that had been first observed under Hezekiah. The roles of the priests and the Levites are carefully laid out, with the Levites assuming roles previously played by priests or laypeople. The Passover was "cooked in fire," not boiled as in Deut 16:7 or roasted as in Exod 12:8. Precedent for Josiah's Passover is found in the days of Samuel. Chronicles attributes the death of Josiah to his failure to listen to a prophetic word delivered by Pharaoh Necho. Details from the final battle of Ahab are added to the account of Josiah's death. The fact that he died in Jerusalem rather than on the battlefield may indicate that his death was in accord with Huldah's prophecy: he died in peace (chap. 35).

#### **Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin**

Each of these kings did evil and was removed to a foreign land by a foreign king.

#### **Zedekiah**

Chronicles blames the exile on the behavior of Zedekiah and his generation. Zedekiah did not humble himself or listen to Jeremiah. He rebelled against the king of Babylon and hardened his heart from repenting. The clergy and the people were equally culpable. They had practiced abominations and ignored the prophetic warnings issued by a compassionate Yahweh. The Chaldeans attacked Jerusalem and its temple, with no explicit mention of the wider destruction of Judah. The exiles served as sons and slaves of Nebuchadnezzar until the rise of the Persian kingdom, which fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah. The Chronicler joined Jeremiah's prophecy about a seventy-year exile with passages from Leviticus 26, which foretold that the land would pay back for all the missed Sabbath years, but now the Chronicler looks back to these seventy years of restitution and does not consider them a future threat. At Yahweh's behest, Cyrus authorized a return to the land and a rebuilding of the temple. The status quo in which the Chronicler lived was one initiated by Yahweh through Cyrus, and the final wish of the book is that other Jews would make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and, presumably, to its temple (chap. 36).

#### **Temple and Cult<sup>47</sup>**

I have nothing to add on this subject, although the reader is referred to the contributions of the kings to the temple and cult described in the section "The Kings in 2 Chronicles" above.

#### **Israel<sup>48</sup>**

##### **Reward and Retribution<sup>49</sup>**

I would like to add to my earlier remarks on this topic the following: While Ehud Ben Zvi admits that there are numerous instances where there is a coherence between human actions and divine responses in Chronicles, there are also many cases that show a lack of this coherence.<sup>50</sup> Not all pious people enjoy blessing (Zechariah the son of Jehoiada is killed; Hanani the seer is put in prison).

47 See Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 45.

48 See *ibid.*, 46.

49 See *ibid.*, 46–47.

50 Ben Zvi, "The Book of Chronicles," 263–67.

Good kings also experience foreign invasions (Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah). Certain individuals may receive great blessings without doing anything to deserve them (Solomon; 1 Chr 22:9-10). Hezekiah calls attention to the ways in which the sins of the ancestors led not only to their exile but to the ways in which “our” sons and daughters and our wives are in captivity (2 Chr 29:6-9; cf. 2 Chr 36:20-21). Seventy thousand people died as a result of David’s census, without any fault of their own (1 Chr 21:14). While Ahaz, arguably the most wicked king, was punished, he was not killed, but one hundred twenty thousand of his contemporaries were because they had forsaken Yahweh (2 Chr 28:6). Those responsible for the book of Chronicles were not able to predict or even understand particular events.

#### **Attitude toward the Persians**

See the introduction to vol. 1.<sup>51</sup>

#### **Personal Piety**

See the introduction to vol. 1.<sup>52</sup>

#### **Future Hope?**

See the introduction to vol. 1.<sup>53</sup>

### **Outline of 2 Chronicles**

The following outline replaces the preliminary outline of 2 Chronicles in the first volume of this commentary.<sup>54</sup>

- III. 2 Chronicles 1–9 The Reign of Solomon and the Building of the Temple
  - A. 1:1-17 God appears to Solomon at Gibeon; Solomon’s wealth and trading ventures
  - B. 1:18—2:17 (2:1-18) Solomon’s correspondence with Hiram; conscription of laborers
  - C. 3:1-17 Solomon constructs the temple (the vestibule, holy place, the most holy place, the cherubim, the curtain, and the pillars)

- D. 4:1—5:1 Solomon constructs additional items for the temple and brings into the temple items David had dedicated
- E. 5:2-14 The transfer of the ark and the tent of meeting; a theophany after the deposit of the ark
- F. 6:1-42 Solomon’s prayer at the dedication of the temple
- G. 7:1-22 The two-week celebration at the dedication of the temple; Yahweh appears a second time to Solomon
- H. 8:1-18 Miscellaneous incidents after the dedication of the temple
- I. 9:1-31 The visit of the queen of Sheba; the conclusion of Solomon’s reign
- IV. 2 Chronicles 10–36 The Reigns of the Kings of Judah from Rehoboam to Zedekiah
  - A. 10:1—28:17 The divided kingdom
    - 1. 10:1—12:16 The reign of Rehoboam
      - a. 10:1—11:4 The division of the kingdom
      - b. 11:5-23 Rehoboam’s first three years of blessing
      - c. 12:1-16 The invasion of Shishak; the death of Rehoboam
    - 2. 13:1-23a (14:1a) The reign of Abijah
    - 3. 13:23b (14:1b)—16:14 The Reign of Asa
      - a. 13:23b (14:1b)—14:14 (15) The piety and successes of Asa; his defeat of Zerah the Cushite
      - b. 15:1-19 The admonition of Azariah, followed by a second reform and a covenant
      - c. 16:1-14 Asa’s alliance with Baasha, rebuke by Hanani, sickness and death
    - 4. 17:1—21:1 The reign of Jehoshaphat
      - a. 17:1-19 Early successes of Jehoshaphat
      - b. 18:1—19:3 The war of Ahab and Jehoshaphat at Ramoth-gilead
      - c. 19:4-11 Jehoshaphat’s judicial reform

<sup>51</sup> See Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 47.

<sup>52</sup> See *ibid.* On joy in Chronicles, see Endres, “Joyful Worship.”

<sup>53</sup> See Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 50. See also what was said under “A Utopian Reading of Chronicles” above.

<sup>54</sup> See Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 50.

- d. 20:1—21:1 Jehoshaphat's war against an eastern coalition; his alliance with Ahaziah and his death
5. 21:1-20 The reign of Jehoram
6. 22:1-9 The reign of Ahaziah
7. 22:10—24:27 The reigns of Athaliah and Joash
  - a. 22:10—23:21 The execution of Athaliah and the installation of Joash as king
  - b. 24:1-27 The two periods in the reign of Joash
8. 25:1-28 The two periods in the reign of Amaziah
9. 26:1-23 The two periods in the reign of Uzziah
10. 27:1-9 The reign of Jotham
11. 28:1-27 The reign of Ahaz
- B. 29:1—36:21 The reunited kingdom
  1. 29:1—32:33 The reign of Hezekiah
    - a. 29:1-36 Purification of the temple and restoration of the cult
    - b. 30:1-27 The Passover of Hezekiah
    - c. 31:1-21 The completion of Hezekiah's cultic reforms; provisions for collecting and distributing contributions to the priests and Levites
    - d. Hezekiah survives the attack by Sennacherib; Hezekiah's final years and his death
  2. 33:1-20 The reign of Manasseh
  3. 33:21-25 The reign of Amon
  4. 34:1—35:27 The reign of Josiah
    - a. 34:1-33 Josiah's reforms and the discovery of the book of the Torah
    - b. 35:1-27 The Passover of Josiah and the death of Josiah
  5. 36:1-23 The reigns of the last kings of Judah (Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah) and the rise of Cyrus

#### Table 6. High Priests

See the introduction to vol. 1.<sup>55</sup>

Three typographical errors in this table must be corrected. For Azariah, #15, the biblical reference 2 Chr 31:10, 13, has been placed one row too high, opposite the name Uriah. In the box now vacated to the left of Uriah, the reference 2 Kgs 16:10, 11, 15, 16 should be inserted. The name Amariah, placed between #13 Azariah and #14 Johanan should be moved one column to the left.

My major contention in the discussion of 1 Chr 5:27-41 (6:1-15) is that this list is not a combination of various shorter lists, but it is a master list of high priests that may have accidentally omitted the names of Jehoiada, Azariah, and possibly Uriah. Gary Knoppers adopts a similar position, although he holds that this list has its own signs of selection, stylization, and textual corruption and is therefore only indirectly related to the original source (= master list).<sup>56</sup> Hence, we both agree that the longest list is the more original list of the six lists contained in Table 6. I agree with Knoppers that this genealogy does not constitute a charter for Zadokite control of the postexilic priesthood, but I disagree with his contention that this list does not constitute a list of chief priests.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 178.

<sup>56</sup> Knoppers, "Priestly Genealogies," 122 and n. 39.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 127 and 116, respectively.