

COMMON SOURCE THEORY AND COMPOSITION
OF THE STORY OF THE DIVIDED MONARCHY IN KINGS
WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS
ON THE ACCOUNT OF JOSIAH'S REFORM

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2005

ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to contribute to a dynamic scholarly debate regarding the relationship of the biblical books of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. The wider frame of reference, in which this study is set, is on the one hand, the prevailing view since de Wette that the main source of Chronicles is Samuel-Kings by and large in its existing form, and on the other, the recently revived older theory of a common source behind both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. The present investigation looks at the merits of the latter, particularly the challenge it poses to the view of Chronicles being dependent on Samuel-Kings, as the portions of Kings and Chronicles dealing with divided monarchy in general and the reform of Josiah in particular are considered.

After preliminary matters in the introduction, the regnal framework and the royal cultic reforms as presented in Kings and Chronicles are examined in chapters one and two. One of the major conclusions drawn from text and literary critical studies of the regnal formulae of these two historiographical works is that the framework of Israelite rulers in Kings may be a later (=post-chronistic) development in that book, since close links are observed between the parts of regnal formulae of Judean monarchs in Kings that are absent from Chronicles and the framework of the rulers of Israel included only in Kings. The cultic reform accounts in Kings display a set of common characteristics often considered 'deuteronomistic'. Since these language characteristics are also shared by the reform narratives in Chronicles, it is argued that, in this sense, Chronicles in its reform accounts is no less 'deuteronomistic' than Kings. Of the only two cultic reform narratives that are found in Kings but not in Chronicles, the one relating to Jehu includes a subtle link to the Elijah-Elisha cycle that occurs again only in Kings, thus implying that both Jehu's reform account and the Elijah-Elisha cycle with which it is closely connected were originally absent from the main source of Chronicles. A major investigation is launched in chapter three into the parallel texts of one of the more prominent shared cultic reform accounts, that of king Josiah (2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 and 2Chr 33:4-7 + 33). The study culminates with a tentative proposal of a primary form of Josiah's reform report that lies behind the two parallel texts. The next chapter investigates how that earlier reform account was expanded in Kings, as well as the many connections with other texts both within and outside the book of Kings in the process of its evolution. With the findings of the study of the texts of Josiah's reform in Kings and Chronicles in the major part of the thesis endorsing the main tenets of common source theory, the final chapter then hints at similar processes for other parts of Kings relating to the story of the divided monarchy, where the texts may have developed from the shorter material identifiable also as the main source for Chronicles.

WITH AFFECTION AND RESPECT

DEDICATED TO
T. RAYMOND HOBBS

PREFACE

Since my undergraduate studies I have been interested in doing research in the area of Former Prophets. This thesis began as I became caught between the one stream of Old Testament scholarship which views the Deuteronomistic redaction of the Former Prophets as a well established thesis in Hebrew Biblical scholarship and the other which shows a growing dissatisfaction with the thesis of Deuteronomistic History as being an appropriate model for explaining the formation of a number of Old Testament books. In senior courses during my Master studies, which were led by Professor Graeme Auld, and through enthusiastic discussions on this subject with my colleague then Mr. (now Dr) Robert Rezetko I have been encouraged to test some of the new avenues in this area through a comparative study of the latter part of the book of Kings, a portion traditionally thought to belong to Deuteronomistic History, and the corresponding parts of the book of Chronicles.

I would like to express my special gratitude to Professor Graeme Auld, my primary supervisor, for his guidance and constant encouragement during the process of this research. He invested a great deal of time poring over many drafts of the present work and I am thankful for the support and his comments which, whenever sought, were always graciously offered. In the initial stages of this research I also received support of scholarly literature and resources from Dr Robert Rezetko, for which I give him many thanks.

Being a non-native English speaking person I am indebted to Mr. Andrew Barclay who devoted considerable time to numerous English language revisions in various stages of my thesis writing and to his wife Christine for offering hospitality whenever I passed over the door-step of their home. In this regard I also add my thanks to Professor Auld for his careful reading of my English.

This research project would not be possible without financial support of several funding institutions. In gratitude to many more, a Faculty of Divinity Scholarship and Langham Research Scholarship deserve special mention for their most significant financial contributions towards my doctoral studies. My parents, Miroslav Kuc and Miroslava Kucová have never ceased with their support and encouragement, and it is in no small measure due to them that I have reached this stage in my studies.

Finally, my special appreciation goes to Dr. Raymond Hobbs, my first teacher of Old Testament and mentor, who had a great faith in me from the very first year of

undergraduate studies that I would make it through to PhD studies. It is to him, a very dear friend, to whom I dedicate this thesis.

Any errors which may incur in the thesis are my responsibility. I hereby declare that the thesis has been composed by myself and is the result of my own research.

Lydie Kucová

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	D. N. Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992)
<i>AJBI</i>	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>ATJ</i>	<i>Ashland Theological Journal</i>
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
<i>AusBR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>BARev</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
<i>BDB</i>	F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon</i> , (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997[=1906])
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
<i>BHK</i>	R. Kittel (ed.), <i>Biblia Hebraica</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelschaft, 3rd edn, 1937)
<i>BHS</i>	K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (eds.), <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelschaft, 4th edn, 1990[=1967/77])
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CC	Continental Commentaries
<i>CTA</i>	A. Herdner (ed.), <i>Corpus des tablettes en cunèiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i> (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963)
<i>CTM</i>	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<i>DCH</i>	David J.A. Clines (ed.), <i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-)
<i>DDD</i>	K. van der Toorn, <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> (Leiden: Brill, 2nd edn, 1999)
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
EI	Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
<i>ETR</i>	<i>Etudes Théologiques et Religieuses</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FTS	Freiburger theologische Studien

GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> (ed. E. Kautzsch, revised and trans. A. E. Cowley; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910)
HALOT	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner <i>et al</i> (eds.), <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, study edn, 2001)
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	G. A. Buttrick (ed.), <i>The interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> (4 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962)
JAOS	<i>The Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JIS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JOTT	<i>Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	JSOT Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig (eds.), <i>Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften</i> (3 vols.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1964)
KEH	Kurzgefaßtes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KHCAT	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KK	Kurzgefaßter Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes
LXX	Septuagint
LXX ^A	Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)
LXX ^B	Septuagint (Codex Vaticanus)
LXX ^L	Septuagint (Lucianic recension)
MT	Masoretic Text
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society Translation (1985)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>
Pesh	Peshitta
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBOT	Sacred Book of the Old Testament
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East

<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>StudOr</i>	<i>Studia orientalia</i>
<i>TA</i>	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
<i>TBü</i>	Theologische Bücherei
<i>TDOT</i>	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974-)
<i>Tg</i>	Targum
<i>TGUOS</i>	Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society
<i>TLOT</i>	E. Jenni and C. Westermann (eds.), <i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (3 vols.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997)
<i>TRu</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
<i>TWAT</i>	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970-)
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>Vg</i>	Vulgate
<i>VL</i>	Vetus Latina (Old Latin)
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTSup</i>	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
<i>WBC</i>	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WMANT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
<i>ZAR</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	iv
ABBREVIATIONS.....	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: REGNAL FORMULAE	13
1. Studies of Regnal Formulae in Kings	14
2. Studies of Regnal Formulae in Chronicles	16
3. Regnal Formulae in Kings and Chronicles	18
3.1 <i>Accession Formula</i>	18
3.2 <i>Duration Formula</i>	20
3.3 <i>Queen Mother Formula</i>	23
3.4 <i>Evaluative Formula</i>	24
3.4.1 'He Did Right/Evil in the Sight of Yahweh'	24
3.4.2 'Like David his Father'	26
3.4.3 'He Did/Did Not Walk in the Way of His Father/King of Israel'	28
3.4.4 'Walking in the Way' and 'Not Departing'	29
3.4.5 Evaluative Formula of Abijah (only in Kings)	32
3.5 <i>Referral Formula</i>	35
3.5.1 Content Citation	37
3.5.2 Reference Citation.....	39
3.6 <i>Supplementary Notice</i>	42
3.7 <i>Death and Burial Formula</i>	44
3.8 <i>Succession Formula</i>	50
4. Concluding Remarks on Regnal Formulae	51
CHAPTER 2: CULTIC REFORM ACCOUNTS	53
1. Reform Accounts in Kings and Chronicles with More Significant Links	53
2. Reform Accounts in Kings and Chronicles with Fewer Correspondences	57
3. Reform Accounts in Non-shared Material of Kings and Chronicles	64
4. Concluding Remarks on Cultic Reform Accounts.....	73
CHAPTER 3: ACCOUNTS OF JOSIAH'S REFORM IN KINGS AND CHRONICLES (TEST CASE – PART ONE).....	75
1. Purging the Temple	75
2. Elimination of High Places, Altars, Asherahs and Other Cultic Installations.....	78
2.1 <i>Defilement of High Places</i>	78
2.2 <i>Destruction of Altars</i>	85
2.3 <i>Cutting Down Asherahs</i>	93
2.4 <i>Breaking Down Pillars/Images</i>	96
2.5 <i>Crushing Idols to Powder</i>	98
2.6 <i>Burning Human Bones</i>	103
3. Josiah's Reform Activity in the North.....	108
4. Additional Note Regarding the Reform.....	116
5. Towards the 'Original' Report of Josiah's Reform	120
CHAPTER 4: LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF JOSIAH'S REFORM IN KINGS (TEST CASE – PART TWO).....	127
1. Purging the Temple: 2Kgs 23:4, 6-7.....	127
2. Defiling High Places and the Removal of Priesthood: 2Kgs 23:8-9.....	135
3. Defiling the Topheth: 2Kgs 23:10	139
4. Astral Worship: 2Kgs 23:5, 11-12.....	149
5. Solomon's High Places: 2Kgs 23:13	159

6.	Filling Places of Illegitimate Cult with Human Bones: 2Kgs 23:14b.....	162
7.	Altar and High Place in Bethel: 2Kgs 23:15.....	163
8.	Coda to the Story of the Man of God: 2Kgs 23:16-18.....	165
9.	Josiah's Reform Activity in the North: 2Kgs 23:19-20.....	171
10.	Additional Note to the Main Text of the Reform Account in 2Kgs 23:24a.....	173
11.	Concluding Remarks	174
CHAPTER 5: RAMIFICATIONS FOR THE COMPOSITION OF THE STORY OF THE DIVIDED MONARCHY IN KINGS.....		179
1.	'High Places' in Kings and Chronicles and Literary Development in Kings	179
2.	Elijah-Elisha Narratives (1Kgs 17-2Kgs 8[+2Kgs 9-10]).....	188
3.	Pivotal Account of Manasseh's Cultic Policies (2Kgs 21:1-10a//2Chr 33:1-10)	188
4.	Concluding Remarks	193
CONCLUSION		194
APPENDIX A.....		198
APPENDIX B.....		199
APPENDIX C.....		200
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		203

INTRODUCTION

Kings and Chronicles in their presentation of the divided kingdom exhibit a number of common characteristics, which since long ago have been the basis for establishing a relationship between the two biblical histories. In the pre-critical period these histories were seen as reliable witnesses to Israel's past and were understood as having been based on prior material known to the writers of both. Eichhorn, 'a prominent representative of the period of the research history of Chronicles when the pre-critical phase reached both its culmination and its twilight',¹ favoured a source hypothesis, in support of the traditional view of the pre-critical period, according to which the accounts in 1 and 2 Kings on the one hand and 2 Chronicles on the other derive from a common source and that Ezra (author of Chronicles in the understanding of pre-critical era) often utilized other sources beside taking excerpts from materials of the common source with extensive histories of Israel and Judah.²

With the appearance of the first volume of de Wette's *Beiträge*³ at the beginning of the 19th century, however, the pre-critical views on the relationship of biblical books dealing with the united and divided monarchies changed radically. Mainstream scholarship since de Wette assumes that '[b]y the time the author of Chronicles wrote, much of the literature that we associate with the Hebrew Bible was already written'.⁴ Accordingly, the view has found wide acceptance since it was first argued by de Wette, that the Chronicler (thereafter Chr) had used Samuel and Kings as a source. This wide acceptance may be demonstrated by an excerpt from the chapter devoted to Chronicles in Noth's *Überlieferungsgeschichte Studien*. Noth, concerning the relationship of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, wrote as follows:⁵

For the history of the Judaeen kings (1 Chron. 10-2 Chron. 36) Chr.'s main source was the traditional books of Samuel and Kings in the form that we now know them; that much is obvious and uncontroversial. While Chr. was thus following the work of Dtr., he obviously did not know of it in its original form. It had already been split up into

¹ Peltonen (1996:60).

² See Eichhorn (1787², II:606-56).

³ *Kritischer Verzug über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik mit Hinsicht auf die Geschichte der Mosaischen Bücher und Gesetzgebung. Ein Nachtrag zu den Vaterschen Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch* being the first volume of *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* published in 1806.

⁴ Knoppers (2004:66). Mathys, although he dates Chronicles to the Hellenistic period, is not so certain as Knoppers is that most of the literature of the Old Testament was already written by the time of the composition of Chronicles. He suggests that approximately 20-25% of the Hebrew Bible was written after 333 BCE and views the Hellenistic era as significant for the Jewish world in terms of its consciousness of written tradition; see Mathys (2000:41-155; 2002:278-93, esp. 280).

⁵ Noth (1987:52). His seminal work originally appeared in 1943. The reference throughout this thesis is to the English translation (1991² and 1987).

individual 'books' and had been expanded with all kinds of supplements into the form in which we find it today. This latter point can be established from the fact that Chr. not only had 2 Sam. 21.18-22 (cf. 1 Chron. 20.4-8) and 2 Sam 23.8-39 (cf. 1 Chron. 11.10ff.) but also 2 Sam. 24 (cf. 1 Chron. 21) in his source. On the whole Chr. stuck pretty closely to the narrative thread of Samuel-Kings. Most of the places where he deviates from this source of his, whether by omissions, changes or expansions, can be satisfactorily explained as being due to his own particular purposes.

One of the effects of early modern scholarship on the study of the two biblical histories has been the emphasis on Chr's theological interests and biases whenever Chronicles deviates from the canonical books of Samuel and Kings.⁶ The confidence, with which the modern interpreters of Chronicles attributed every difference in that book from its canonical counterparts in Samuel and Kings to Chr's theological interests and purpose, however, has been muted by findings and evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls discovered in the Judean Desert between 1947 and 1956.⁷ The work of Werner Lemke *Synoptic Studies in the Chronicler's History* (1963) has noticeably advanced our knowledge in this regard. He has shown in his examination of synoptic texts of the two histories that not every deviation in Chronicles from Samuel and Kings derives from Chr's *Tendenz*, but that some differences were already part of Chr's *Vorlage*.⁸ Lemke's study was facilitated by fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls related to Samuel, especially by 4QSam^a. Studying these together with the Greek witnesses to Samuel-Kings when analysing the synoptic passages of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, Lemke (1963:240; 1965:362-63) suggested that Chr's *Vorlage* was not the proto-Masoretic text but rather belonged to a Palestinian text type.⁹ He further concluded that as a consequence it can no longer be held that where the respective Masoretic texts of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles differ that this is in every case due to the tendentious interests of Chr.¹⁰

Lemke's methodology in studying the relationship between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings was in part adopted by McKenzie in his study called *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (1985). As the title indicates, McKenzie also moved beyond the elementary enquiry of Lemke relating to the manner in which Chr utilized the canonical books of Samuel and Kings. Pursuing the thesis formulated by

⁶ For a related question of Chr's historical reliability, examined from the perspective of the history of Chronicles research, see Peltonen (1996).

⁷ See Cross (1964:294 n. 41), Porter (1979:155-56), Hasel (1979:667), Williamson (1987a:17).

⁸ See Ackroyd (1967:501-515, esp. 507-508) for the significance of this conclusion when approaching the question of Chr's theology.

⁹ For this see also Cross (1995³:138-41; 1964).

¹⁰ This conclusion is nowadays generally accepted in studies and commentaries on Chronicles. See, for example, the recent commentary on 1 Chronicles by Knoppers (2004).

F. M. Cross (1973) of double redaction of the Deuteronomistic History, McKenzie suggested that only the first edition (Dtr 1 in the terminology of Cross) of the Deuteronomistic History was available to Chr. In other words, he contended that the principal source used by Chr was an earlier edition of Samuel-Kings (understood under the umbrella of ‘Deuteronomistic History’), which ended with the death of Josiah.¹¹ Recently, a similar interest in Chr’s *Vorlage* set against the discussion about multiple redactions of Kings has been expressed by Barrick whose study of the accounts of Josiah’s reform in both biblical histories, Kings and Chronicles, leads him to consent to McKenzie’s original proposal (1985) that Chr used for his history the ‘unrevised “Josianic” version of Kings’.¹² Barrick contends that ‘[t]he proposition that the Chronicler used a version of K[ings] H[istory] substantially different from today’s versions is more easily imagined by scholars who accept a pre-Exilic original than by those who accept a later original and fewer intervening revisions’ (2001:422). This contention makes it problematic, however, to account for those elements in Chronicles that have close parallels with elements in Kings, which are not considered to be part of the early, pre-exilic, edition of Kings/Deuteronomistic History also used by the author of Chronicles. Therefore a later than pre-exilic origin of such a version may have been equally, or perhaps even better, imaginable. Macy (1975), who views Chronicles being dependent on earlier Deuteronomistic material or materials not identical with Samuel-Kings, considers these materials to include ‘the entire history of the Kingdom of Judah’, since the formulaic evaluation ‘to do right/evil in the eyes of Yahweh’ appears in both Kings and Chronicles also in the formulae of the last Judean kings.

Macy’s study *The Sources of the Books of Chronicles: A Reassessment* (1975), exploring issues relating to sources used in the production of Chronicles, makes a

¹¹ McKenzie somewhat changed his views since his 1985 monograph, in which he utilized Cross’s single Dtr 1 for the Josianic and Dtr 2 for later exilic editor of the Deuteronomistic History. In his 1991 study *The Trouble with Kings*, though still espousing the view of a primary Deuteronomistic work composed in Josianic times, he considered this history to be written by a single author/editor that was only lightly updated by several post-Deuteronomistic additions. Still later, he abandoned completely a pre-exilic date for the History. He now considers the Deuteronomistic History to be an exilic work written by a single historian, thus favouring the position of Noth; see McKenzie (1996; 1998; 1999b; 2000). Yet, as McKenzie regards the Deuteronomistic History being enlarged by post-Deuteronomistic additions – although these were made according to him in no systematic way – he may be close to Van Seter’s view of the Deuteronomist as creative historian (Van Seters 1983; cf. McKenzie 1994:300-302), whose work was supplemented with several additions by later writers. For highlighting this point see Römer & de Pury (1996:100-101).

¹² Barrick (2002:109). See below chapters three and four for more in-depth conversation with aspects of Barrick’s study on Josiah’s reform.

significant contribution to the studies of the relationship between the biblical books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles. On the basis of a close examination of the standard formulaic notices, which Kings and Chronicles regularly employ at the beginning and the end in the narratives of each king's reign, Macy in his 1975 thesis formulated a conclusion, before this was argued anew in studies of Auld and Ho (see further below), that both Chr and Dtr (or the author/editor of Kings) depended on an earlier common source or sources which they utilized, each according to the aims and purposes of his own work.¹³ Macy called this primary source 'Deuteronomistic' or stemming from the 'Deuteronomistic school', this being dependent upon the occurrence of the evaluative phrase 'to do right/evil in the eyes of Yahweh' in the formulaic notices. He may not be entirely correct in calling this common material 'Deuteronomistic' as the study of the use of the phrase 'to do right/evil in the eyes of Yahweh' will further show,¹⁴ but the conclusion deriving from his study that Chronicles in its formulaic notices is not dependent on Kings in the canonical form has some merit in it as this study later will demonstrate.

Of the three Harvard theses (Lemke 1963, Macy 1975, McKenzie 1985) reviewed in passing here, all of which deal with different aspects of the relationship of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, it is the work by McKenzie (1985) which features in Auld's early discussions relating to his radical proposal of reconsidering this relationship.¹⁵ In a more forthright way than Macy mentioned above, Auld in his seminal work *Kings without Privilege* (1994) challenged mainstream scholarship relating to the composition of the books of the Hebrew Bible from Deuteronomy to Kings and Chronicles. He put forward the view that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are based on common source material from which they each developed in their distinctive ways.¹⁶ Auld first gave consideration in writing to the main thought of this argument in an essay (1983) that has further developed some issues arising from his study of prophetic terminology in Jeremiah and Kings (1984).¹⁷ Studies of the

¹³ See also Rezetko (2003:215 n. 2) who mentions others before Auld consenting to the idea of a common source employed by the author(s) of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

¹⁴ See chapter one of this thesis.

¹⁵ Auld (1992; 1993; 1994; 2004:119-25 [originally a paper read at the SBL Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 1992]).

¹⁶ A similar view to that of Auld concerning the relationship of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles has been expressed by Ho (1994; 1995), though with some differences. Craig Ho, while being in agreement with Auld about Samuel-Kings and Chronicles deriving from a common source, delimits that material differently, including in it some parts of 1Sam relating to king Saul (e.g. 1Sam 28).

¹⁷ See now Auld (2004:3-9) for evolution of that argument.

synoptic accounts of Solomon's vision (1992; 1993), in which Auld set out to probe his initial proposal of a prior material underlying both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, led him to a more substantially developed argument in book-length form, where he outlined in broad contours the proposed main source to both biblical histories establishing it on their shared text. He provided a variety of arguments in support of the identification of this primary material underlying the extant versions of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, and also adumbrated implications for wider topics such as the notion of Deuteronomistic History and the history writing, the study of the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Deuteronomy as well as implications for Pentateuchal studies.

Auld's *Kings without Privilege* with its wide-ranging implications for the criticism of the Hebrew Bible elicited a number of responses and criticisms. These include issues relating to the method and criteria for recovering 'original' material used by both Samuel-Kings and Chronicles,¹⁸ issues of coherence of that primary material, especially as regards its opening with the narrative of Saul's death (1Sam 31//1Chr 10),¹⁹ issues of provenance of characteristic terminology (Deuteronomistic language vs. language of common source),²⁰ questions regarding late vs. early Biblical Hebrew²¹ and issues of Chronicles presupposed knowledge of material in Samuel and Kings that was not in the common source – most notably the Succession Narrative and Elijah-Elisha stories.²² In light of these counter-challenges, Auld has since made some modifications to his original proposal,²³ but also has used the opportunity to develop the main tenets of *Kings without Privilege* further.²⁴ The shared source material underlying Samuel-Kings and Chronicles he now calls the 'Book of Two Houses', its focus being on the royal and the divine houses in Jerusalem. Furthermore, he reveals the integrity of that 'Book' in the way it portrays the prophetic figures who function as intermediaries through which a divine word is communicated to kings.

¹⁸ Nihan & Römer (1999); Johnstone (1997a). Cf. Ho (1994:189-91).

¹⁹ Nihan & Römer (1999).

²⁰ Nihan & Römer (1999); McKenzie (1999a); Knoppers (2004:67).

²¹ Z. Talshir (1999:249-51; 2000b:248 n. 31); Knoppers (1995).

²² Williamson (1983; 1996); Knoppers (1995); Coggins (1995); McKenzie (1999a); Z. Talshir (1999:249-51).

²³ See e.g. his response to McKenzie in Auld (1999b:91-99).

²⁴ See the essays collected in Auld (2004).

In his *Kings without Privilege* (pp. 9-10), Auld anticipating criticism which the proposal that Samuel-Kings on the one hand and Chronicles on the other derive from a common core might bring about, namely the objection of the Hebrew language of Chronicles being much later than that of Samuel and Kings, offered a brief treatment of this linguistic aspect pointing to the studies of Barr (1989) and of Verheij (1990) which each found elements in Samuel and Kings that are otherwise deemed late when occurring in Chronicles. This language issue has more recently received serious consideration from Rezetko (2003) who offered more than a dozen examples of linguistic features often labeled as 'late' Biblical Hebrew, but which do not prove the diachronical nature of the relationship between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. It may be significant in this regard to point out that in the same collection of essays in which Rezetko's important discussion occurs Young (2003:315) gives space to the idea that Chronicles may 'represent the eastern version of the primary history represented in Samuel and Kings'.²⁵

The proposal of Auld that posits a common source to Samuel-Kings and Chronicles fits into a larger context in the field of the research of the Former Prophets in recent years, within which reservations have been expressed about the books from Deuteronomy through Kings belonging to a corpus of ancient Israelite literature called the Deuteronomistic History. While on one hand many continue to assert the concept of the Deuteronomistic History, there has been a growing dissatisfaction with this model. The debate arising from that asks what constitutes 'Deuteronomism' with doubts being cast on the current redactional models of the Deuteronomistic History and even the main tenets of the notion of the Deuteronomistic History itself being undermined.

Noth in his *Überlieferungsgeschichte Studien* observed cohesive elements within the books from Deuteronomy through Kings, which prompted him to postulate a single author of the Deuteronomistic History who collected and put together the various existing sources, arranged them according to a purposeful design and gave them a unifying theme. Several scholars in recent times, however, have pointed out distinctive features of particular texts within Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, so that the notion of the Deuteronomistic History being a coherent piece of national history is undermined and found unsatisfactory.²⁶ Instead,

²⁵ See also articles by D. Talshir (2003:251-75) and P. R. Davies (2003:150-63) in the same volume.

²⁶ See especially Westermann (1994), Würthwein (1994:1-11), Knauf (2000:388-97). For arguments questioning existence of the Deuteronomistic History, see among others Auld (1994; 1998b:120-26;

the emphasis is placed by these scholars on the composition and editing of individual books²⁷ or blocks²⁸ within the corpus of the Former Prophets.

Another issue that leads to scholarly discontent with the notion of the Deuteronomistic History concerns the lack of consensus about the Deuteronomistic influence and tendencies. In the past, 'Deuteronomic' was a term generally reserved in biblical research for the book of Deuteronomy or for the so called source D in the Pentateuch. Since Noth, who applied 'Deuteronomic' to a proto-Deuteronomy and 'Deuteronomistic' to the additions in Deuteronomy and the material unifying the books from Deuteronomy through Kings, there has been a predilection in scholarship towards variety in the use of these terms. This is partly caused by different approaches to the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis that have evolved since Noth's original thesis, represented mainly by the Cross school which views there being two Deuteronomists (Dtr1 and Dtr2) and by the Smend school which reckons with at least three redactors (DtrG, DtrN and DtrP). In addition, the hands of 'Deuteronomistic' redactors have been detected in parts of the Tetrateuch, in the Latter Prophets, namely Jeremiah, and in the prophetic collection such as the Book of the Twelve. Coggins (1995) and others have recently exposed this wide and diverse usage and understanding of what the terms 'Deuteronomic' or 'Deuteronomistic' convey in current scholarly discussion with a warning of the danger of pan-Deuteronomism and calling for some sorts of control or better defined criteria pertaining to this issue.

The foregoing considerations regarding the perplexing state that surrounds the current discussion of the Deuteronomistic History are further addressed by Person in his study *The Deuteronomic School: History, Social Setting and Literature* (2002). Person proposes four new perspectives from which to move the debate about the Deuteronom(ist)ic work and literature forwards: 1) application of text-critical results in the study of redactional processes of the Deuteronom(ist)ic History, 2) consideration of a post-exilic setting for most of the Deuteronom(ist)ic endeavor, 3) use of comparative material from Ancient Near East for the study of Deuteronom(ist)ic scribal activity, and 4) exploration of the influence of a predominantly oral culture on the Deuteronom(ist)ic scribal practice.

1999a:116-26), Linville (1998:46-73), Guillaume (2004:260-61). Cf. also Schmid (1999:18-55), Kratz (2005:153-58; 216-17).

²⁷ For 'books' model, see e.g. Westermann (1994), McConville (1997:3-13), Guillaume (2004:229).

²⁸ For 'blocks' model, see e.g. Würthwein (1994:1-11), Eynikel (1996).

Of these four perspectives, it is the first one that places emphasis on the link between text-critical and redactional studies, which is of special significance and deserves further attention. Person (2002:24) is critical of the analytical methods of scholars engaged in multiple redactions of the Deuteronomistic History as they 'rely solely on redaction criticism to distinguish one Deuteronomic redaction from another'. He brings into discussion some representative studies, including his own, which combine text-critical observations with the redaction-critical issues pertaining to Deuteronomistic History. These studies in particular cases illustrate that the MT is more expansive text than the LXX and represents in these instances a later stage in the textual tradition than the Hebrew text underlying the LXX. Several of the studies, which Person discusses in his monograph, also show that the MT in its later additions, which are not present in the LXX, contains phraseology expressive of Deuteronomistic diction. This is one of Person's starting points for his further argumentation about the setting of the Deuteronomists and the presence of the Deuteronom(ist)ic activity in the post-exilic period. While Person's argument concerning the socio-political context and the chronological boundary of the Deuteronomic school's activity is open to dispute, his emphasis on how textual matters contribute to redaction-critical issues is to be applauded.

Other scholars as already mentioned by Person, as for example Ulrich, Tov, Rofé or Auld, point out the relevance of textual data for literary criticism. Auld in his essay *The Deuteronomists and the Former Prophets, or What Makes the Former Prophets Deuteronomistic?* suggests that 'we should direct more of our attention to extant texts and comparisons between them: between MT and Qumran; between Hebrew and Greek; between the LXX of Alexandria and of Antioch; between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles' (1999a:126). In a context of ideological and theological concerns of the Deuteronomists, Römer and de Pury in their article on the *Deuteronomistic Historiography* contend that 'the file on the relation between Samuel / Kings and Chronicles deserves to be taken up again' (2000:137-38).²⁹ If greater attention is paid to the counterparts of Samuel-Kings (seen by many as being part of the Deuteronomistic History) in Chronicles, this will contribute to the redactional issues of the former as well as illuminate the literary processes associated with the latter.

²⁹ A remark made by Römer & de Pury especially in the wake of Auld's alternative approach to the Deuteronomistic History according to which these collections attest to their common ancestor.

It is with this background of wider considerations regarding how to approach the biblical text which this present study seeks to take into account. Its main focus are the narratives relating to the divided kingdom as portrayed in the two biblical histories, Kings and Chronicles, with special emphasis in the central part of the study placed on Josiah's reform. Within the studies of Kings, two prominent features have been observed that constitute a significant part of Kings narrative: 1) the regnal framework which provides a structure for each king's account, and 2) the cultic reforms that are characteristic of a good number of reigns. Although Chronicles portrays only the history of southern kingdom and not of both as Kings does, it too has these dominant features observable in its history. The regnal resumé occurs for almost every king in Chronicles and the reforms appear with a number of southern monarchs just as is the case in Kings. The regnal framework and the cultic reforms are the focus of the detailed study of chapters one and two respectively. Within dominant scholarly view, under which Kings is taken as part of the Deuteronomistic History, emphasis is placed on the regnal framework as being a Deuteronomistic scheme of organizing the material.³⁰ Similarly, the reform accounts are understood as a theme in Kings derived from the Deuteronomistic hands.³¹ The detailed comparative study of the framework and the reforms in both Kings and Chronicles shows, however, that these appear to be the backbone of an earlier monarchic story, an underlying composition to be found in the shared portions of Kings and Chronicles.

The first chapter that examines anew the regnal formulae in Kings and Chronicles finds convergent results with those of Macy who suggested that Chronicles does not make a direct use of Kings in recording the regnal framework of Judean monarchs but uses an earlier source or sources underlying the present book of Kings. Macy did not deal in his study with the regnal framework of the northern kings occurring only in Kings. Observations of textual and literary links between this framework and the parts of the regnal formulae of southern monarchs in Kings without their counterparts in Chronicles lead us to the conclusion that these were made on a secondary level, being part of a subsequent development of Kings from its base text used also by Chronicles. Although deriving from a different set of considerations and evidence, this conclusion converges with the proposals of Auld

³⁰ See most recently Kratz (2005:159-63), Japhet (2003:77).

³¹ See e.g. Hoffmann (1980).

who suggested that the stories of the Northern kingdom did not belong to Chr's *Vorlage* but in Kings were added at a later stage to the source used by both authors of Kings and Chronicles. Similarly, the second chapter which explores the language of the royal cultic reforms in shared and non-shared material of Kings and Chronicles finds that, for example, Jehu's reform occurring only in Kings is more closely bound up with Kings special material relating to the stories of Elijah, Ahab and Jezebel than with other reform accounts shared by Kings and Chronicles. Thus it would appear that the reforms specific to Kings belong to an addendum in Kings and not to the core material that was available also to Chronicles.

In present day scholarship on the Deuteronomistic History, which to a significant degree departs from Noth's original notion of a historical work composed by a single author, researches distinguish between several successive strata or separate blocks of Deuteronomistic redactions.³² One may note that in some of these studies it is maintained that there was a monarchic history at the heart of the early Deuteronomistic redaction(s). Provan (1988) who argues for the Hezekian Deuteronomistic redaction contends, for example, that the first Deuteronomistic History 'was simply a history of the monarchy from Saul to Hezekiah, with its necessary prologue in 1 Samuel 1-8, and perhaps in Judges 17-21' (1988:169). He holds the view that although there existed some contacts between this history and the laws now found in Deuteronomy, the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua as such did not belong to this first Deuteronomistic edition but 'were added, along with Judges, at a later time' (1988:169). Eynikel (1996:357-64), another scholar with an interest in the multiple layers of the Deuteronomistic History, regards the work of his earliest redactor RI to begin with 1Kgs 3 and end with 2Kgs 18, later to be extended by RII/Dtr 1 to 2Kgs 23:30. It was only RIII/Dtr 2 who combined this material with other blocks (Joshua-1Sam 12; 1Sam 13-2 Sam [1Kgs 1-2]) to form a single whole. The earlier 'Josianic' redactor (RII/Dtr 1) according to Eynikel, however, 'limited himself to Kings, to the history from Solomon to Josiah' (1996:362). Würthwein (1994:1-11), who doubts the existence of a single continuous historical work in Joshua through Kings, views the oldest Deuteronomistic block as consisting simply of the book of Kings with its royal story. Samuel, Judges and Joshua prefixed Kings history only at a later stage. Similarly Kratz states that 'the beginning of the Deuteronomistic redaction does not lie in Deuteronomy but in Samuel-Kings and

³² See recent fine critique of this aspect by Van Seters (2003:487-500).

from here extends forwards into (Genesis-)Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges' (2005:158).

In sum, it appears that the emphasis which these studies place on the royal story in (Samuel-)Kings as the oldest and the most basic element within Deuteronomistic redactions is not dissimilar to the idea of a core monarchic story in Samuel-Kings which may have also formed the basis for the book of Chronicles. Kratz (2005:184-85) in his presentation of the basic document or writing (DtrG), which did not extend beyond Samuel-Kings, does not include in it a third of the material known as the 'succession narrative' (2Sam 9-20 + 1Kgs 1-2) and the substance of prophetic stories of Elijah and Elisha (1Kgs 17-2Kgs 10), which he ascribes to a secondary Deuteronomistic revision (DtrS) of the basic document. Since Chronicles has no mention of these accounts in its narrative, it is legitimate to suppose that it depended on material approximating to Kratz's notion of an earlier substratum within Samuel-Kings. Consideration of a basic or primary composition within Samuel-Kings, which Chronicles would use rather than Samuel-Kings in its canonical form, resonates with the proposal of Auld that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles derive from a common source. The advantage of this model in literary and redaction-critical studies is that by bringing Chronicles into play a text-critical control is gained to a certain degree over the redactional issues in the books of Samuel and Kings.

A major investigation is therefore launched in chapter three into one sample of the synoptic accounts of Kings and Chronicles pertaining to the divided kingdom, namely that of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 and 2Chr 34:3-7 + 33. A detailed comparative study of these two texts does not confirm the majority view that the account in Chronicles is an abbreviated version of the reform report in Kings. Rather, it provides clues towards establishing an earlier report of Josiah's reform, which on the one hand provided the basis for Kings editors in developing the report into a full-blown account of the reform and on the other hand was used by Chr in his history although in a much less extensive way than in Kings. Following this comparative study is a chapter devoted to the examination of how the 'original' reform report may have developed into the comprehensive account of Josiah's reform measures which we now encounter in Kings. A rich network of relations is observed between this extended report of the reform and other parts of Kings as well as sections of the Old Testament beyond the book of Kings, and it is concluded that the formation of the present reform report in Kings was an ongoing process of

editing and reshaping of an earlier narrative in the hands of Kings' editors who incorporated into it new and relevant material until it gradually reached its final shape in our inherited text.

The findings with regard to the account of Josiah's reform in Kings through a comparative study of its counterpart in Chronicles have wider ramifications for studying the processes involved in the literary and textual development of the book of Kings. These ramifications are explored in the final chapter, in which the focus is moved from studying the synoptic accounts of Josiah's reform to the examination of a few other biblical texts pertaining to the period of the divided monarchy. This further examination of the material relating to the history of the divided kingdom finds validity in the approach that views the book of Kings as a developed form of a shorter account of material common to both biblical histories. Auld (1994:1) in the introduction to his *Kings without Privilege* with regard to his novel proposal on a common inherited material wrote:

However, although I myself have no time in the immediate future to develop the issues further, I hope others will be interested to explore the issues from the perspective I am recommending. Even if they detect only rubble from yet another failed attempt, that in itself may save them from similar mistakes.

We believe that the following pages do not detect 'rubble from yet another failed attempt' but discover building blocks of a thesis that has a prospect of casting light on long-observed problems.

CHAPTER ONE

Regnal Formulae

A cursory view of the accounts of the divided kingdom in Kings and Chronicles indicates that they both present material relating to the history of Judah in a chronological framework, which consists of formulaic introductions, theological evaluations and stereotyped conclusions to each king's reign. Apart from a chronological framework, Kings and Chronicles in their portrayal of the divided kingdom share material pertaining to events surrounding the schism, the war and military campaigns, the temple treasures, prophecy, succession of rulers and, significantly, the cultic reforms by Judean monarchs.¹ The major difference between the two historiographical works relating to the divided kingdom rests in the inclusion of the narrative of the northern kingdom and the prophetic stories of Elijah and Elisha in Kings, whilst the incorporation of notices about various building projects, army organizations, large royal families and wealth and narratives with prophetic speeches occurs in Chronicles.² Noth (1991²:100-117), the pioneer of the notion of the Deuteronomistic History, regarded the chronological information, succession of monarchs, war notices and particularly anything that concerns the temple and its treasures in the book of Kings as the material which Dtr derived from 'the Books of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah', but he saw the regnal formulae with inclusion of the negative and positive verdicts on the kings as Dtr's own device of organising the traditional material. It is interesting to observe that Chronicles on the one hand includes war and military notices, stories relating to the temple treasures and other material, whose parallels in Kings are considered to have originated from older chronicles, and on the other hand, has much of the material, for example the regnal framework with the judgements on individual kings, whose counterparts in Kings are thought to have come from Dtr himself. Subscribing to the view of the Deuteronomistic History being the work of a single author, who worked in the early postexilic period, Hoffmann (1980) argued for the theme of the cult and the cultic reforms being the major organising principle of that work. Again, it is noteworthy that the reforms of the kings of Judah appearing in Kings feature also significantly in

¹ This is not an exhaustive, but rather illustrative enumeration serving orientation purposes. For the synoptic material of Kings and Chronicles, see helpful tools by Vannutelli (1931-34), Bendavid (1972) or Kegler & Augustin (1991²), and synopsis in English translation by Endres *et al* (1998).

² For the discussion of Chr's *Sondergut* see e.g. Welten (1973) and the constructive critique of Welten's work by Kelly (1996:111-34); on Chr's special material see also Macy (1975:38-40), Sugimoto (1989:101-190).

Chronicles. All the great religious reforms, which are noted in Kings starting with Asa and concluding with Josiah, occur in Chronicles as well.³ Further, much of the cultic phraseology and the language which Hoffmann adduced at the end of his analysis to be typical of a Deuteronomistic historian, which occur in Kings, are also part of Chronicles cultic vocabulary.⁴ Since the regnal framework and cultic reforms are part of the skeleton of the narratives relating to the divided monarchy in both Kings and Chronicles, they will receive a more detailed treatment below.

1. Studies of Regnal Formulae in Kings

Unlike the situation surrounding Chronicles, the regnal formulae in Kings have received large scholarly attention. The stereotyped language of the formulae and their regular occurrence throughout the book of Kings have been traditionally taken as a good sign pointing to there having been one hand behind the regnal framework.⁵ In a number of studies during the last three or so decades, however, these formulaic expressions on the basis of their stylistic characteristics have been recognised as playing an important role in the understanding of Kings compositional history.

Helga Weippert in an article published in 1972 studied the judgement formulae, which are part of the regnal framework, in order to unravel the redactional strata of Kings. Using stylistic analysis and criteria, Weippert differentiated between six schemes within the judgement formulae (IS1, IS2, IN, IIS, IIN and IIIS with S referring to formulae for Judean and N for Israelite kings), which she attributed to three different redactors of Kings RI, RII and RIII (the last two resembling Dtr 1 and Dtr 2 of the Cross school).

³ In the light of differences between Kings and Chronicles in the accounts of Solomon, Rehoboam and Abijah, it is sometimes taken as a surprising element that, for instance, the reforms of Asa and Jehoshaphat are present in Chronicles; see Japhet (1997²:211-12).

⁴ For a partial list of cultic vocabulary occurring in both Kings and Chronicles, see appendices A, B, C on pp. 198-202.

⁵ Earlier works taking this view include Eichhorn (1787², II:518-19), Wellhausen (1889²:276-79, 294-98), Burney (1903:ix-xii), Cornill (1907:209), Driver (1913⁹:186), Oesterley & Robinson (1934:105). Noth (1991²:34), particularly, assigned the stereotyped regnal resumé in Kings to the hand of a Deuteronomistic historian whom he held responsible for the whole literary complex of Deuteronomy-Kings. The idea of a single Deuteronomistic compiler/redactor/author composing the formulaic framework for the kings of Israel and Judah has been further expressed in Old Testament introductions and commentaries on Kings, such as Eissfeldt (1965:284), Fohrer (1968b:229), Gray (1970:5, 25), Hobbs (1985:xx, xxiv, 106), Würthwein (1984:489-96). Scholars, however, disagree with each other, placing the Deuteronomistic composer of the regnal formulae in different periods of time.

Weippert's important discussion was influential for a number of studies that followed that used an analysis of regnal formulae as a heuristic device in unfolding the redactional strata in Kings.⁶ Two early responses to Weippert came from Barrick (1974) who basically agreed and more or less refined her argument and from Cortese (1975) who, however, rejected it arguing that variations within the formulae can be satisfactorily explained on the basis of a single author.⁷

Another major piece of work on judgement formulae after Weippert's study came from Nelson (1981) who partly rejected Weippert's view. Nelson accepted only that the regnal formulae of the last four kings are markedly different from the rest and are to be seen as the work of later redaction.

Campbell (1986), while notably influenced by Weippert, at significant points also diverged from her views, distinguishing between three patterns – A, B and C – of judgement formulae that are only partially in agreement with Weippert's redactional schemes. He concluded that the 'A' and 'B' formulae derived from different pre-Deuteronomistic sources of southern and northern provenance while 'C' was from the Deuteronomist. Campbell developed quite a distinctive view of the composition of the book of Kings identifying the oldest document lying behind Samuel-Kings with what he called the 'Prophetic Record' that extended from 1Sam 1 to 2Kgs 10:28.

Lemaire's view (1986) on the judgement formulae approximated to Weippert's, except that he saw two editors at work in Weippert's designated stratum RII rather than one. He proceeded to argue for several subsequent redactions of the books of Samuel and Kings, the last one (7th) constructed under Jehoiachin in exile.

Provan (1988), who began his thesis by reviewing Weippert's and the above mentioned studies, proceeded with an investigation of the themes of *במרת* and David in regnal formulae and elsewhere in Kings. The examination of these two themes suggested to him that there existed a pre-exilic Deuteronomistic redaction of Kings which ended with an account of Hezekiah's reign. This is close to the view of Halpern and Vanderhoof (1991), other researchers of Kings, who paid attention in greater detail to regnal formulae. Their approach was more comprehensive in that

⁶ Only a brief account of these studies can be given here. For more extensive treatment of Weippert's theory and a number of responses and reviews, which it elicited, see Provan (1988:35-55), Van Keulen (1996:35-40) Eynikel (1996:34-50) and Aurelius (2003:21-57).

⁷ See also Van Seters (1983:315-16), Römer (1990:282-85) and Aurelius (2003:24-57) objecting to Weippert's theory along similar lines.

they incorporated into their analysis death and burial formulae, reference notices, notations of queen mothers and other elements of the regnal framework. The analysis led them to contend that ‘the Books of Kings and the whole Deuteronomistic History took shape in three phases: a first Hezekian edition—H(Dtr)hez—which coincides with Weippert’s RI (but starting at the beginning of the kingdom); a Josian H(Dtr), conforming to the ‘second part’ of Weippert’s RII and an exilic H(Dtr)x corresponding to Weippert’s RIII’.⁸

Another author, who in his study extensively built on Weippert’s theory of regnal formulae, is Eynikel (1996). He started analysing the texts from Weippert’s model and constantly referred to her insights. He refined her findings concerning the extent of individual redactions, especially the first one (RI), the beginning of which he placed not with Jehosaphat/Jehoram as Weippert did but with Solomon. Subsequently, he developed a redactional theory of Kings, close to Halpern and Vanderhooft, where he identified three redactions: the first after Hezekiah (RI), the second after Josiah (RII/Dtr 1) and the last during (or after) the exile (RIII/Dtr 2), the first two of which (contrary to Halpern and Vanderhooft’s view) did not extend beyond the book of Kings.

There exists considerable diversity among these approaches but they agree at least on two main points. They conclude with respect to the compositional history of Kings that first, there existed one or more pre-exilic editions of Kings and second, the exilic edition was minor and less substantial in extent than the pre-exilic one(s).⁹ Thus it follows in one main stream of Kings scholarship that the data contained in the regnal framework plays a vital role in the study of various editions of the book of Kings and indeed of Deuteronomistic History. The regnal formulae in Chronicles received a different treatment outlined below.

2. Studies of Regnal Formulae in Chronicles

The regnal formulae in Chronicles have been treated much less extensively than in Kings. Where they received some attention this has mainly been done, not because they are part of the Chronicler’s account as such, but as supportive evidence for the different Deuteronomistic editions of Kings.¹⁰

⁸ Phrased in the words of Eynikel (1996:49).

⁹ Knoppers (1993:42).

¹⁰ Typical of this approach is McKenzie’s doctoral thesis *The Chronicler’s Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (1985). Provan (1988:141) in his study of Kings’ editions employs evidence from Chronicles

Significant attention to the regnal formulae in the book of Chronicles was paid by Macy (1975) in his doctoral thesis on Chr's sources. He dealt in detail, besides analysing source notices in both Kings and Chronicles, with two other elements of the regnal framework; accession formulae and death-burial notices. Since his important study will be referred to throughout this study on regnal formulae, it is sufficient for the moment to call attention to his final observations. From a thorough examination of the formulae as they appear in both Kings and Chronicles he concluded that Chronicles formulae did not depend on the formulae in Kings in its present form. Rather, both Chr and Dtr must have used an earlier 'Deuteronomistic' source for their regnal framework.¹¹

Macy's insights on regnal formulae have been welcomed as constructive by a few scholars, but again, mostly with regard to the question of clarifying editorial levels of Kings (resp. Deuteronomistic History). McKenzie (1985:174-76) made use of Macy's observations when he sought to resolve the question of the extent of Chr's use of the Deuteronomistic History. Similarly Halpern (1981:48) was interested, when he referred to Macy's study, what light the divergence between Kings and Chronicles in accession formulae and burial notices casts on the composition of the Deuteronomistic History.¹²

The regnal data in Chronicles have been studied and considered more seriously by Barnes (1991) when he proposed a hypothesis of a Judahite king list. Being convinced by McKenzie's argument that Chr was familiar only with the Josianic edition of the Deuteronomistic History, Barnes attempted to resolve the problem of the source of the Chronicles regnal formulae for the last four kings. He suggested that Chr, while taking information from Dtr 1, had also at his disposal the Judahite kings list which was similar, though independent of the king list underlying the second Deuteronomistic edition. Barnes (1991:142-45) made some fine observations about how this hypothesis may help to clarify the interesting phenomenon of repetition in Chronicles. However, towards the end of his chapter on this subject he again saw his study contributing to the issue of Deuteronomistic traditions lying

on the missing references to the queen mother after Hezekiah in support of his argument for a pre-exilic edition of Kings which closed with the Hezekiah account. He received for this, we think, unjustified criticism from van Keulen (1996:44) who stated that Provan's approach 'testifies to his overestimating the value of Chronicles as a text-critical source.'

¹¹ Macy (1975:169-72).

¹² See also Halpern and Vanderhooff (1991:197).

behind the present books of Samuel and Kings rather than to the problem of the sources underlying the present book of Chronicles.

Most recently the regnal formulae in Chr's work have been examined by Glatt-Gilad (2001:184-209), who found greater variation among these formulae in Chronicles than in Kings. He concluded that the differences in Chronicles from Kings derive from the historiographic interests of Chr and contribute to his particular view of the king in question. The investigation below will engage with Glatt-Gilad and the above mentioned scholars' conclusions as it proceeds to study in detail the regnal framework for Judean monarchs in both Kings and Chronicles.

3. Regnal Formulae in Kings and Chronicles

The regnal framework in Kings and Chronicles has a fixed structure consisting of introductory and conclusion formulae, which can be further subdivided into the following elements: an accession formula that comprises of the age of the king at his accession,¹³ a duration formula which includes the length of the king's reign and his capital city, a queen mother formula, an evaluative formula, a referral formula that consists of content and reference citations, a supplementary notice, a death and burial formula, and lastly a succession formula. Since these formulae display an array of rich information for it to be compared in Kings and Chronicles, they are studied below at some length.

3.1. Accession Formula

The first of the opening stereotyped phrases in the regnal framework is the accession formula consisting of the age of the king at his coming to the throne. In Kings, part of the accession formula is also formed by a synchronistic notice, which in Chronicles with exception of the regnal framework of Abijah¹⁴ never occurs.

¹³ In Kings, the age of the monarch in accession formula is preceded with synchronism until king Hezekiah.

¹⁴ The name of this king appears differently in Kings and Chronicles. In MT Kgs he is always called אבִיָּהּ while in MT Chr he is named אבִיָּה (1Chr 3:10; 2Chr 11:20, 22; 12:16; 13:1-4, 15, 17, 19, 22-23) or אבִיָּהוּ (2Chr 13:20-21). One possibility to account for the varying form has particularly attracted scholars: since the ending 'yam' may refer to a Canaanite deity Chr corrected the name giving it the more Yahwistic ending 'yah' (Gordon 1953:77 n. 1, 182; De Vries 1985:184; Dillard 1987:101; Jones 1994:422-23). However intriguing this solution may be, it is less compelling when we take into consideration variants of the name in the ancient versions that occur in Kings. A few Hebrew Mss, Syr and one Targumic evidence read אבִיָּה in 1Kgs 14:31; 15:1, 7, 8. LXX^B in all these cases reads Αβιου and LXX^L renders the name as Αβια. See further Lemke (1965:359-60). Stig Norin (1986:168 n. 21), who surveyed epigraphic as well as biblical material on personal names ending with י/יה/יָ, states that

There are greater irregularities in the opening formulae of the first three Judean monarchs after Rehoboam in Kings. The accession formulae in the cases of Abijah and Asa are incomplete in Kings, as they do not include information about the age of the monarch at his accession. Similarly in Chronicles, Abijah's formula is incomplete and Asa's does not appear at all. Jehoshaphat's formula occurs in ancient witnesses of Kings in two different places and there with different synchronistic notices. In the Greek text of 1Kgs 16:28a Jehoshaphat is said to ascend to the throne in the eleventh year of Omri but in the MT and Kaige recension in 1Kgs 22:41 in the fourth year of Ahab.¹⁵ In the corresponding verse to 1Kgs 22:41 (//1Kgs 16:28a LXX) in Chronicles, it is stated simply that Jehoshaphat 'began to reign over Judah' (וימלך יהושפט על־יהודה) before his age at the time of his accession to the throne is mentioned in the same verse (2Chr 20:31).

The opening formula of Jehoshaphat in 2Chr 20:31 with the phrase that he 'began to reign over Judah' is of further special interest. The expression על־יהודה 'over Judah', that is shared by 1Kgs 22:41¹⁶ and 2Chr 20:31 relating Jehoshaphat's formula, is also shared by 1Kgs 15:1 and 2Chr 13:1 concerning the synchronism of Abijah. Abijah's and Jehoshaphat's synchronistic notices are the only ones in Kings, which include על־יהודה, thereby reading על־יהודה [PN] מלך 'in the year...[PN] began to reign *over Judah*'.¹⁷ Nearly all other synchronisms of Judean monarchs in Kings comprise the formulaic phrase מלך [PN] מלך 'in the year...[PN] *king of Judah* began to reign'.¹⁸ Since it is precisely only in the cases

the form אבִי that is attested in epigraphic sources and seems to be supported by Αβίου of Greek texts could lie behind the form אבִים. The final *mem* then possibly goes back to a confusion between *waw* and *mem* whose appearances are much more similar in the old Hebrew script, or, as Norin further suggests, might be a case of an enclitic *mem* which is a feature well known from Ugaritic texts. Throughout this thesis, therefore, this king is called 'Abijah'. Only when we refer to a specific text in Kings, we name him, as he is called there, 'Abijam'.

¹⁵ See Tetley (2005) for the most recent discussion on chronology of kings of Israel and Judah.

¹⁶ In 1Kgs 16:28a the phrase rendering על־יהודה occurs only in LXX^L but not in LXX^B. Shenkel (1968:53), however, regards this omission in LXX^B as being 'due simply to textual disturbance.'

¹⁷ The order of the wording of this phrase in both 2Kgs 22:41MT and 2Kgs 22:41 Kaige recension is reversed. While in these texts the sentence begins with the name of the king, the Greek version of 1Kgs 16:28a has the usual order that starts with synchronism.

¹⁸ 2Kgs 8:16 (Jehoram); 8:25 (Ahaziah; מלך יהודה missing in LXX); 14:1 (Amaziah); 15:1 (Azariah); 15:32 (Jotham); 16:1 (Ahaz); 18:1 (Hezekiah). The synchronistic notice of Joash in 2Kgs 12:2 is shortened in that it does not include מלך יהודה. Asa's synchronism in 1Kgs 15:9 is the only one, in which MT has מלך יהודה, while LXX reads ἐν ἔτει Ἰουδαίῳ (rendering Hebrew על־יהודה). Asa's formula, however, comes right after Abijah's and before Jehoshaphat's – we have noted, in overall, greater irregularities in the accession formulae of these early Judean kings. A comment should also be made about the second synchronistic notice of Ahaziah in 2Kgs 9:29, which is an attempt by a late interpolator (see Kittel 1900:233, Montgomery 1951:396, Würthwein 1984:332, Otto 2001:51) to

of Judean kings Abijah and Jehoshaphat that Chr records in their opening formulae the phrase with על־יהודה, could this be an indication that Chr had before him a text that lacked the synchronistic notices, which in Kings do not contain על־יהודה but rather employ מלך יהודה? Rogers (1992:276-81) on the basis of comparisons of ancient textual witnesses made a convincing case that Jehoshaphat's regnal formula was originally without the synchronistic notice. This would leave us with the synchronism of Abijah as the only one present in the source used by Chr and thus probably the earliest synchronistic notice in the regnal formulae of Judean kings. If that is the case, it appears that Abijah's accession formula with its synchronistic notice occurring in both Kings and Chronicles served as the catalyst for the evolution of synchronistic notices in Kings, leading in a subsequent stage of Kings' development to include the synchronistic notices of Judean monarchs, all of which appear in slightly different form from Abijah's (and Jehoshaphat's) notice as they have מלך יהודה rather than על־יהודה.¹⁹ More corroborating evidence of the substantial divergences in the regnal formulae between the material used by Chr and the present text of Kings will be shown further below.

3.2. Duration Formula

The duration formula relates specifically to the length of the king's reign and to the capital city from which the king ruled. In substance, Kings and Chronicles agree with one another in their portrayals of this second aspect of the opening formulae. Apart from the discrepancy in the data in Chronicles with regard to Jehoiachin's reign (2Chr 36:9), which has been shown by Green (1982:105) to be a matter of textual confusion, there is only one divergence between Kings and Chronicles pertaining to the notice of duration of a king's reign. This relates to the placement of the phrase reporting the length of Asa's reign in the synoptic texts. In Kings, Asa's duration formula appears in its usual place at the beginning of the account of this king (1Kgs 15:10), while in Chronicles the reference to the period of Asa's rule is placed

correct the date of Ahaziah's accession to 11th year of Joram's reign (cf. 2Kgs 8:25 with the accession given as the 12th year). This lately inserted synchronism includes the phrase על־יהודה, and is thus illustrative of the phenomena that the uses of על־יהודה and מלך יהודה in the opening formulae are part of different redactional seams in the literary development of Kings. (Interestingly, LXX reads ἐπὶ Ἰουδα also in the opening formulae of Rehoboam in 1Kgs 14:21, where MT has ביהודה; cf. 2Chr 12:13.)

¹⁹ Others have argued that some or all synchronistic notices in Kings are secondary; see e.g. Eynikel (1996:122-29), Campbell (1986:139-40), Bin-Nun (1968:419; 424-29). Cf. Montgomery (1934:48).

towards the end of the narrative of Asa in association with his death (וימת בשנת ארבעים ואחת למלכו; 2Chr 16:13).

Asa's account in Chronicles, as is well known, is highly chronologically schematised. We read about Asa right at the beginning of Chr's narrative that 'in his days the land rested for ten years' (2Chr 13:23; cf. 14:5). Next follows a date within Chronicles special material of 'the third month of the fifteenth year of Asa's reign' relating to the gathering of 'all Judah, Benjamin, and those sojourning with them from Ephraim, Manasseh and Simeon' for the ceremony of covenantal renewal (2Chr 15:9-15). The ensuing chronological notice appears with reference to the absence of war till Asa's thirty-fifth regnal year (2Chr 15:19) and is followed by an announcement of Asa's conflict with Baasha in his thirty-sixth year (2Chr 16:1). Towards the end of Asa's reign he contracts a foot disease that is stated by Chr to have occurred in Asa's thirty-ninth regnal year (2Chr 16:12). This is followed soon after with the notice of him dying in the forty-first year of his reign (2Chr 16:13). The formula relating to the length of Asa's reign having been transposed in Chronicles from its usual place at the beginning of the regnal framework to the closing part of Asa's story thus clearly serves Chr's purpose of structuring Asa's reign chronologically.

In addition to recognising that the reference to the length of Asa's reign having been made at the end of Asa's narrative fits into Chr's scheme of periodization, it is frequently noted by commentators that the chronological framework of Asa's account in Chronicles significantly diverges from the chronological data provided by the book of Kings. The narrative in Chronicles mentions that Baasha, king of Israel, raged a war against Judah in the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign (2Chr 16:1), which is preceded by a note that there was no war until Asa's thirty-fifth year (2Chr 15:19). According to the account of the northern kingdom in Kings, however, Baasha reigned in Israel from Asa's third till his twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh year (1Kgs 15:33; 16:6, 8), which means that by Asa's thirty-sixth year of reign Baasha would have been some nine or ten years dead. Baasha was succeeded on the throne of Israel by Elah, who was overthrown by his general Zimri so that it was eventually Zimri's son Omri who reigned over Israel in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Asa in Judah according to Kings.

Scholars and commentators usually note two basic approaches that have been proposed regarding the problem of divergent chronology between the Asa account in Kings and that in Chronicles. One approach attempts to bring in harmony the

chronological data in the two books by contending that the data in 2Chr 15:19 and 16:1 refer to years following the schism (למלכות אסא in these verses is seen as a late addition), thus corresponding to the fifteenth and sixteenth year of Asa's reign.²⁰ However, it is doubtful that the events here should be dated in relation to the schism since this would have been the only case in the whole book of Chronicles with its numerous chronological notices where such a reckoning of the dates takes place. This approach, therefore, is not helpful since it creates new problems while purporting to solve other ones.²¹ The alternative approach places greater emphasis on the theological interests of Chr. in composing the Asa account.²² In this view the chronological data are seen as a vehicle for Chr's retribution theology. Although one may reckon with the theological consideration of Chr being a prominent factor behind the chronological framework of Asa in Chronicles, Lemke makes a valid point that this does not necessarily imply that 'the Chronicler *deliberately changed* the chronology of Kings' for this purpose.²³ McKenzie (1985:101) also contends that Chr would not have so blatantly contradicted the chronological information in Kings were it not for the force of some other sources available to him in composing the account of Asa's reign. Whether or not Chr used some other source for his account of Asa, the issue of Chr contradicting the narrative in Kings in composing the chronological framework of Asa's reign may have a simple solution, if it is admitted that Chr perhaps did not have access to the information about the succession of northern rulers, which we now have from the received book of Kings. Not knowing from his main source that Baasha was already dead by the thirty-sixth year of Asa, it is then conceivable to see how Chr may have had the liberty, with which he imposed the periodization scheme on the account of Asa's reign without deliberately contradicting the data that would not have been part of his source material.²⁴ Further observations in the study of other elements of regnal formulae will corroborate this conclusion regarding the limits of Chr's major source.

²⁰ See particularly Thiele (1983³:84).

²¹ See also criticisms by Dillard (1987:124), Japhet (1993:704), Raney (2003:108).

²² See e.g. Rudolph (1952:367-71; 1955:239-40); Japhet (1993:705).

²³ Lemke (1963:150 n. 27; emphasis supplied).

²⁴ Cf. in this regard Coggins' comment: 'it is worth remembering that the Chronicler did not give the dates of northern rulers, so that the difficulty only arises if we compare the two presentations' (1976:206).

3.3. Queen Mother Formula

The formula relating to the queen mother's name, while occurring almost regularly in the accounts of Judean kings reigning in the early period after the kingdom's division, is an object of conspicuous divergence between Kings and Chronicles in the regnal framework of Manasseh and of the kings that ascended to the throne after him. More precisely, the name of the queen mother in both Kings and Chronicles is given from Rehoboam to Hezekiah with the exception of Jehoram and Ahaz,²⁵ but for the rest of the kings following the reign of Hezekiah it is absent from Chronicles.²⁶

It has been convincingly argued that the consistent absence of the queen mother's name in Chronicles in the regnal framework of the later kings of Judah is not due to textual corruption, nor is it attributable to the theological bias of Chr.²⁷ From this it follows that the change regarding the queen mother's name in Chronicles after Hezekiah, while it has served to some as supportive evidence for differentiating the redactional stages of the Deuteronomistic History,²⁸ is a patent indication of Chr's source material being different at this part of the regnal framework from the present book of Kings. Macy (1975:119), who acknowledges this, suggests that the missing names rather than being attributed to a later deletion in one text should be seen as a corollary of the subsequent restoration in the other. The fuller form of the queen mother formula for kings following Manasseh with inclusion of both patronym and the place of origin would support such conclusion.

²⁵ On occasion there are slight differences between Kings and Chronicles in the actual name of the queen mother (cf. 1Kgs 15:2//2Ch 13:2; 2Kgs 18:2//2Chr 29:1). In the case of Asa's mother, Chronicles does not have the name in the formula as Kings does (1Kgs 15:10), but it appears later in the narrative in a non-formulaic context (2Chr 15:16//1Kgs 15:13).

²⁶ The Greek text of Chronicles provides the queen mother's name for Jehoahaz (2Chr 36:2) and Jehoiakim (2Chr 36:5) but, as is well documented, most of 2Chr 36:1-8LXX is either an intrusion from LXX Kings or its Hebrew *Vorlage* had incorporated material from 2Kgs 23:30-24:6. See the discussion on the nature of these supplements from Kings in Allen (1968:483-91; 1974a:216), Klein (1967:93-105; 1968:492-95) and Rehm (1937:48-50).

²⁷ Macy (1975:118-19), McKenzie (1985:175), Provan (1988:139-40).

²⁸ See McKenzie (1985:175-76), Provan (1988:139-41) and Halpern and Vanderhoft (1991:197-99) who argue for authorial change of Deuteronomistic History in Hezekiah, based partly on the change in Chr's source in the queen mother's name after Hezekiah's accession. In Chronicles' studies several scholars work with the hypothesis, similarly as in Kings, of multiple editions in Chronicles, the idea originated with Cross (1975). Thus it has been argued that the original work of Chr (resp. Chr 1) was extended and revised by later editors (Chr 2 and Chr 3) though these are not to be understood as systematic revisions of Chronicles towards Kings. McKenzie also proposed that the *Vorlage* of Chr 1 in Kings did not extend past Josiah's reign and that for the last four kings Chr 1 used sources other than the Deuteronomistic History.

3.4. Evaluative Formula

The evaluative formula is largely formed by the theological statement *ויעש הישר/הרע בעיני יהוה* 'he did right/evil in the sight of Yahweh' and by further remarks such as comparisons with David or with the father of the king in question.²⁹

3.4.1. 'He Did Right/Evil in the Sight of Yahweh'

In studies of Kings, the phrase *ויעש הישר/הרע בעיני יהוה* is often asserted to be typical of the Deuteronomistic presentation of monarchs. Accordingly, commentators of Kings frequently refer to this stereotypical expression as being characteristic of the Deuteronomistic commendation or condemnation of the reigns.

Despite a number of studies which make the evaluative formulae in Kings to be a case of Deuteronomistic activity, there have been voices arising recently that call into question the notion of the coherent Deuteronomistic composition running from Deuteronomy through Kings.³⁰ Rösel (1999), contributing to these trends by his recent critical assessment of the Deuteronomistic History hypothesis, reviews in the first part of his study the concept of sin and punishment within the books from Deuteronomy to Kings where he brings under discussion the motif conveyed by *ויעש הישר/הרע בעיני יהוה* (1999:17-19). This motif is noted by Rösel to occur frequently in Kings and Judges but relatively rarely in Deuteronomy, concerning which he says that '[t]he scarcity of this motif in the book of Deuteronomy and its programmatic texts is remarkable and this to a particular extent for those, who reckon with a single author of a coherent Dtr history'.³¹ Rösel further briefly examines occurrences of *ויעש הישר/הרע בעיני יהוה* in Kings and Judges and remarks on the apparent difference between them in the two books when taking into account the immediate context in which these phrases are found. He draws a conclusion, important for the present discussion, that the motif conveyed by *ויעש הישר/הרע בעיני יהוה*, does not stand firmly as evidence for the unified authorship of the Deuteronomistic work.

²⁹ Mention should also be made of the *במות* theme, which is rather typical of the regnal framework in Kings. See the discussion of *במות* on pp. 179-188.

³⁰ See e.g. Westermann (1994); Würthwein (1994:1-11); Auld (1994; 1998b:120-26); Linville (1998:46-73); Knauf (2000:388-97).

³¹ 'Die Seltenheit dieses Motivs im Buch Deuteronomium und seinen programmatischen Texten ist doch bemerkenswert und dies in besonderem Maße für den, welcher mit *einem* Autor eines einheitlichen dtr. Geschichtswerk rechnet.' (Rösel 1999:18; emphasis his). The phrase *ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה* can be found in Deuteronomy four times (4:25; 9:18; 17:2; 31:29) but the motif related to the context in Judges and Kings occurs only in Deut 4:25 and 31:29. For the full list of occurrences elsewhere see Hoffmann (1980:331).

When we turn to the phrase *ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה* with a positive connotation and investigate occurrences of this motif within the corpus from Deuteronomy to Kings we discover that it is to be found only in Deuteronomy and in the book of Kings, in the latter almost three times more.³² In most occurrences in Deuteronomy (6:18; 12:25, 28; 21:9LXX) the phrase is closely linked with the expression *למען ייטב לך*. A link such as this does not exist in Kings. In other cases in Deuteronomy (6:17-18; 12:28; 13:19), the phrase *עשה הישר בעיני יהוה* is found within the immediate context of ‘keeping commandments’ (*שמר את מצוות/דבריהם*) and has often been designated as typical Deuteronomistic language. This does occur in a few instances in Kings, although none of these instances appear in the regnal framework. The four cases of ‘doing right in Yahweh’s eyes’ that are further linked or occur in the environs of language close to cases in Deuteronomy (1Kgs 11:33, 38; 14:8MT; 15:5),³³ do not belong to regnal formulae. These observations leave us with the conviction that the phrase *ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה* in its occurrence in the regnal framework of Kings (and Chronicles) does not originate from the language of Deuteronomy, but is peculiar or inherently belongs to the regnal framework. A similar contention can be made about the occurrences of *ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה* in the regnal formulae. Although this phrase has somewhat wider use in the Old Testament, appearing repeatedly in Judges as well as in the framework of northern rulers in Kings, its rare occurrence in Deuteronomy suggests that its basis for the use in Deuteronomy through to 2 Kings does not lie with Deuteronomy itself, neither is it, as Rösel (1999:17-19) convincingly argued, a uniting motif of the Deuteronomistic work.³⁴

Data from Chronicles may also throw some light on the issue. Chr faithfully records from his source the expressions *ויעש הישר/הרע בעיני יהוה* found within the regnal formulae of the kings of Judah.³⁵ The phrase *ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה* with negative

³² Deut 6:18; 12:25, 28; 13:19; 21:9; 1Kgs 11:33, 38; 14:8; 15:5, 11; 22:43; 2Kgs 10:30, 12:3; 14:3; 15:3, 34; 16:2; 18:3; 22:2.

³³ 2Kgs 10:30-31 could be added to these verses which is also not a part of a regnal framework. It employs the terms *הלך בתורת יהוה* that are not far removed from the notion of ‘keeping Yahweh’s commandments’.

³⁴ The claim may find some support in Weippert’s study and those following her in attempts to trace the compositional history of Kings by identifying its different redactional strata. As mentioned above Weippert focuses in her study on the variations occurring within the judgement formulae. The phrase *ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה* together with other elements of regnal evaluations is used in her analysis as a criterion for differentiating various schemes that are attributed to different redactors. Since it logically follows from her argument that it is these redactors, with whom the phrases *ויעש הישר/הרע בעיני יהוה* in regnal formulae originate, the idea of a Dtr’s hand lying behind the evaluations disappears.

³⁵ *ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה* occurs in 2Chr 14:1; 20:32; 24:2; 25:2; 26:4; 27:2; 28:1; 29:2; 34:2. *ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה* occurs in 2Chr 12:14; 21:6; 22:4; 33:2; 33:22; 36:5, 9, 12.

connotation appears outside the regnal framework only in 2Chr 33:6 (shared with 2Kgs 21:6) and in 2Chr 29:6 of Chr's special material. The other phrase, ויעש הישר, בעניי יהוה, is not mentioned in Chronicles outside the regnal formulae at all. This signifies the prominent role of these expressions in the regnal framework shared with Kings.

In conclusion, it may be stated that rather than being understood as typical phraseology of the Deuteronomistic work stretching from Deuteronomy to Kings, the phrases ויעש הישר/הרע בעניי יהוה should be viewed as originating primarily from the regnal framework in Kings with their counterparts being faithfully preserved in Chronicles, since it is more narrowly the regnal framework with which they are deeply wedded and where they feature most significantly.

3.4.2. 'Like David his Father'

The evaluative formula further consists of a comparison with one's fathers or to rulers of the northern kingdom. The most frequently made comparison in these evaluative formulae is to David, but there are some variations between Kings and Chronicles regarding this element. David as exemplar is mentioned in both histories in the evaluative formula of Ahaz (2Kgs 16:2//2Chr 28:1), Hezekiah (2Kgs 18:3//2Chr 29:2) and Josiah (2Kgs 22:2//2Chr 34:2) and in Kings additionally in the formula of Asa (1Kgs 15:11) and Amaziah (2Kgs 14:3).

The two additional references to David in the formulae in Kings merit closer inspection. Unlike in 1Kgs 15:11 with its reading כדוד אביו, the evaluative formula of Asa in 2Chr 14:1 includes ויעש...הישר בעניי יהוה אלהיו after יהוה.³⁶ The difference between Kings and Chronicles over the wording in the evaluative formula of Asa may be compared with a similar kind of divergence between the two historiographical works in the evaluative formula of Ahaz. Here the text in 2Chr 28:1 reads כדוד אביו after יהוה ולאעשה הישר בעניי יהוה while the parallel verse in 2Kgs 16:2 has a fuller expression אלהיו כדוד אביו. Seen within this perspective of divergent readings of Ahaz's evaluation, the issue regarding the more original reading of the evaluation of Asa may not be eventually resolved. Also, the possibility should not be excluded from

³⁶ Another small divergence between 2Chr 14:1 and 1Kgs 15:11 is the addition of הטוב next to הישר in Chronicles. Although apart from 2Chr 14:1 the conjunction הטוב והישר does not occur in the evaluative formulae, it is attested with slight variations elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible: in Deut 6:18; 12:28; Jos 9:25; 1Sam 12:23; 2Kgs 10:3; 2Chr 31:20; Ps 25:8; 125:4; Jer 26:14; 40:4. Cf. 1Sam 29:6; 2Kgs 10:30; Neh 9:13; Mic 7:4. Hence הטוב in 2Chr 14:1 is probably a scribal addition.

further consideration that this minor divergence in the wording may have resulted from accidental change perhaps during the transmission process rather than from deliberate alteration on the compositional level.³⁷

The other formula where there is difference in Kings and Chronicles over the reference to David as comparator occurs in the regnal framework of Amaziah. The evaluation of Amaziah ends in 2Chr 25:2 with the phrase *רק לא בלבב שלם*, whereas the parallel text in 2Kgs 14:3 reads *רק לא כדור אביו ככל אשר-עשה יואש אביו עשה*. The reading in Kings offers strikingly a two-fold comparison, mentioning Amaziah's ancestors David and Joash, which has suggested to Lemke (1963:198) a possibility that the text in 2Kgs 14:3 may have been secondarily glossed. Further to this, Chr in the parallel text does not appear to be replacing his *Vorlage* of Amaziah's evaluative formula with a special terminology, since *לבב שלם* occurs once in the text shared by Kings and Chronicles (1Kgs 15:14//2Chr 15:17), and on several occasions in non-shared material of Kings (1Kgs 8:61; 11:4; 15:3; 2Kgs 20:3) as well as of Chronicles (1Chr 12:39; 28:9; 29:19; 2Chr 16:9; 19:9). The shared material of Asa (1Kgs 15:14//2Chr 15:17) with the term *לבב שלם* occurring in close association with *שלם* is particularly relevant here, since this appears in the account of Asa's reform that follows the evaluative formula of Asa in the earlier part of this king's narrative (1Kgs 15:11//2Chr 14:1). The concept of *לבב שלם* as it is applied to the king Asa, where it appears a few verses later after the mention that Asa 'did what was right in the eyes of Yahweh' could also have originally underlain the description of Amaziah as it appears in Chronicles – this time following directly and qualifying negatively the statement that Amaziah 'did what was right in the eyes of Yahweh'.³⁸ Another attractive possibility that may not be completely eliminated from consideration is Macy's suggestion that '[d]tr and C used slightly variant recensions of a source which contained these formulae'.³⁹

³⁷ Kalimi (1995:114) regards *אלהי* in 2Chr 14:1 as an instance of Chr's harmonisation with Deut 12:28. If this is the case, however, then *אלהי* in 2Kgs 16:2 should no less be considered as an instance of harmonisation.

³⁸ Cf. the use of *לבב + שלם* in 1Kgs 15:3, where it appears in Abijam's evaluative formula (only in Kings).

³⁹ Macy (1975:124). *Contra* Glatt-Gilad (2001:191 n. 27). Commentators, e.g. Williamson (1982a:327), Dillard (1987:198), or Japhet (1993:861), usually charge Chr with his own alteration in case of 2Chr 25:2, but in light of *לבב + שלם* used elsewhere also in Kings, this may not be a fair assessment of the difference between 2Kgs 14:3 and 2Chr 25:2.

3.4.3. 'He Did/Did Not Walk in the Way of His Father/King of Israel'

Another phrase occurring in the evaluative formulae that deserves consideration relates to walking in the way of one's ancestor or in the way of the kings of Israel. This formulation occurs in the evaluative formulae of kings Jehoshaphat (1Kgs 22:43//2Chr 20:32), Jehoram (2Kgs 8:18//2Chr 21:6), Ahaziah (2Kgs 8:27//2Chr 22:3), Ahaz (2Kgs 16:3//2Chr 28:2) and Josiah (2Kgs 22:2//2Chr 34:2). It has a form as follows:

הלך/וילך + בכל-דרך/בדרך (only in Kings) /בדרכי (only in Chronicles) בית אהאב/מלכי ישראל

There are divergences between Kings and Chronicles in two details of this phrase: first, in the grammatical number of דרך and second, in the use of כל. The differences in these details between Kings and Chronicles are consistent, so that Kings never employs a plural form of דרך in the regnal framework, while Chronicles never includes כל in juxtaposition with דרך in evaluative formula.

As regards plural and singular forms of דרך, the book of Kings is consistent throughout in its use of דרך in singular form within a regnal framework. Also in other ancient versions Kings does not exhibit any departure from this convention; Hebrew בדרך in Kings' regnal framework is regularly rendered in Greek versions by ἐν ὁδῷ. The same, however, cannot be said about the usage in Chronicles where דרך occurs in both singular and plural forms. The shifting between forms can also be seen in Greek texts of Chronicles, but the inconsistency within Chronicles goes even further in that the change of form takes place in different places in LXX and MT.⁴⁰ This seems to point to a secondary character in how the term דרך was handled in Chronicles. The singular form of דרך as it consistently appears in Kings should be therefore regarded as the more original form in regnal formula.⁴¹

The second point concerns the presence of כל as for instance in וילך בכל-דרך of Josiah's evaluative formula in 2Kgs 22:2 and its absence in the parallel text וילך בדרכי of 2Chr 34:2. The term כל, accentuating totality, occurs also in the evaluative formula of Jehoshaphat in 1Kgs 22:43,⁴² but is absent in the parallel text of 2Chr 20:32. This conforms to a wider pattern throughout the synoptic passages of Kings

⁴⁰ דרך occurs in the regnal framework of Chronicles in singular form in 2Chr 20:32 MT; 2Chr 21:6 MT, LXX; 2Chr 22:3 LXX^B and in plural form in 2Chr 20:32 LXX; 2Chr 22:3 MT, LXX^A; 2Chr 28:2 MT, LXX; 2Chr 34:2 MT, LXX.

⁴¹ It appears that Chronicles having plurals, where Kings uses singular forms, is part of a wider phenomena in that book. See e.g. ויבדד/ובדד (1Kgs 8:15//2Chr 6:4); אשירח/אשרח (2Kgs 21:3/2Chr 33:3); לבעלים/לבעל (2Kgs 21:3/2Chr 33:3); בני/בני (2Kgs 21:6/2Chr 33:6).

⁴² However, in the Greek supplement of 1Kgs 16:28b כל is lacking.

and Chronicles in which כּל is recorded more often within word-for-word parallels in Kings than in Chronicles.⁴³ We would suggest at this point that Chr was not simply careless about transcribing faithfully כּל from his source text. Rather his *Vorlage* in the synoptic passages was less expansionist than the present text of Kings. However, since there are differences relating to the occurrence of כּל among the ancient witnesses of Kings themselves,⁴⁴ the expansionist tendency may not be attributable to Kings authors/redactors but rather to later scribes of Kings.⁴⁵

3.4.4. 'Walking in the Way' and 'Not Departing'

In the evaluative formulae of Jehoshaphat and Josiah, 'walking in the way of one's ancestors' is closely linked with 'not departing'. Parallel texts in Kings and Chronicles regarding Jehoshaphat include after 'he walked in (all) the way of his father Asa' a phrase that reads '(and) he did not turn aside from it' (ולא־סר ממנו) in 1Kgs 22:43; ולא־סר ממנה in 2Chr 20:32). Similarly the texts with regard to Josiah read 'and he did not turn aside to the right or to the left' (ולא־סר ימין ושמאל) (2Kgs 22:2//2Chr 34:2).

The latter phrase is of particular interest since its employment in 2Kgs 22:2 has often been attributed to the Dtr's hand. Thus, for instance, Weinfeld (1972:304) contends that ולא־סר + ימין ושמאל is a 'stock phrase of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomist' but also claims its link with wisdom literature (cf. Prov 4:27). Spieckermann's argument particularly stands out as he asserts from occurrences of the phrase in Deuteronomy and Joshua that ולא־סר ימין ושמאל in 2Kgs 22:2 means 'not

⁴³ See 1Kgs 7:40//2Chr 4:11 (LXX^B Chr reads differently); 1Kgs 8:66//2Chr 7:10 (כּל is missing in LXX^{L,B} Kgs); 1Kgs 10:4//2Chr 9:3; 1Kgs 12:18//2Chr 10:18 (כּל is alternated by בני in Chr); 1Kgs 14:26//2Chr 12:9 (LXX^{L,B} Kgs is longer); 1Kgs 15:18//2Chr 16:2 (כּל is missing in LXX^{L,B} Kgs); 1Kgs 22:23//2Chr 18:22 (כּל is included in LXX^L Chr); 1Kgs 22:43//2Chr 20:32 (כּל is missing in LXX^L Kgs); 2Kgs 22:2//2Chr 34:2; 2Kgs 23:2//2Chr 34:30 (כּל is missing in LXX^B Kgs). The case of 1Kgs 12:21//2Chr 11:1 is truly complicated with many variants: MT Kgs – 'all the house of Judah and tribe of Benjamin'; MT Chr – 'house of Judah and Benjamin'; LXX^{B,L} – 'congregation of Judah and tribe of Benjamin' (Greek συναγωγή appears in the immediately preceding verse rendering Hebrew עדה.); LXX Chr – 'Judah and Benjamin'; LXX supplement – 'all the men of Judah and Benjamin'. From these variant readings MT Kgs appears to be the most extended text which may indicate that MT Kgs belongs in this case perhaps to the latest stage of development. Finally, it should be noted that 1Kgs 12:16//2Chr 10:16 may be the only exception to the pattern presented here, in which case it is Chr who records כּל that is not in Kings. But this might be due to Chr's pan-Israel interest.

⁴⁴ See the preceding note.

⁴⁵ Cf. Person (1997:54) who contends, noting the כּל variants in ancient texts in his study of parallel passages of 2Kgs 18:13-20:19 and Isa 36-39, that these variants are 'the result of scribal additions for the sake of specificity'. On the variants of כּל in the ancient witnesses of Jeremiah, see Janzen (1973:65-68) who also considers these as expansions rather than elements lost in transmission or translation.

to turn aside from the commandments in Deuteronomy'.⁴⁶ Provan, who grants that 2Kgs 22:2 is an evaluation of the king, views the dependence of this verse in its entirety upon the depiction of an ideal kingship in Deut 17:14-20.⁴⁷ He is further concerned to show that 2Kgs 22:2 is related to the whole account of 22:3-23:25 'in its perspective that Josiah alone has done right in Yahweh's sight'.⁴⁸

A close examination of the context of the collocation סור + ימין ושמואל in 2Kgs 22:2 and the passages in Deuteronomy and Joshua reveals, however, that the notion of a close relationship between 2Kgs 22:2 and these other texts may be misleading. The passage in Deut 17:20, which Provan considers in support of his view of the assessment of Josiah in Kings, has evidently a 'commandment' as the object of the verb סור in its reading סור מן-המצוה ימין ושמואל. Similarly in Deut 28:14 the reference in regard to סור is made to the 'words which Yahweh commands' – ולא תסור מכל-הדברים אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם היום ימין ושמואל. In Joshua 1:7 and 23:6 the phrase ימין ושמואל (סור) אל-תסור/לבלתי סור) ממנו ימין ושמואל refers to observing the law in the immediately preceding clauses. Finally, though there is no object specifically mentioned in the phrase לא תסרו ימין ושמואל occurring in Deut 5:32, the context of the preceding clause makes it clear enough that 'Yahweh's commandment' is involved. Contrary to all these texts just mentioned there is no explicit reference to 'commandments', or 'the words which Yahweh commanded' or to 'observing the law' in the passage pertaining to Josiah in Kings.⁴⁹ The phrase ולא-סר ימין ושמואל in 2Kgs 22:2, however, has its antecedent in the 'path of David' (דרך דוד) signifying therefore 'not to turn aside from following the way of a person'. Eynikel arrives at the same conclusion when he examines Weinfeld's list of Deuteronomistic expressions, particularly those related to סור. He notes that in two of Weinfeld's listed

⁴⁶ Spieckermann (1982:43). Apart from its occurrence in the evaluative formula of Josiah in 2Kgs 22:2//2Chr 34:2, סור + ימין ושמואל is employed with the literal sense of 'turning aside from the road one is going on' in Deut 2:27 and 1Sam 6:12. Further occurrences are in Deut 5:32; 17:11, 20; 28:14 and Josh 1:7; 23:6.

⁴⁷ 'The author of 2Kgs 22:2...seems to be claiming that Josiah is the ideal king who is referred to in Deut 17:14-20, one who behaves in accordance with the law written in the book' (Provan 1988:116).

⁴⁸ Provan (1988:116). See also his commentary (1995:270) where he argues that 2Kgs 22:2 is 'the first of many references in 2Kings 22-23 that link Josiah with the law of Moses in general and the figure of Moses in particular.' Similarly Venema (2004:64) states with regard to 2Kgs 22:2 that 'already in the introduction Josiah is implicitly linked with the *torah* of Moses' (emphasis his). Though not denying that there are links with the law (and with Moses) in 2Kgs 22-23, it will be demonstrated below that in 2Kgs 22:2 particularly there is no such reference to the law nor to Moses as Provan and Venema would like us to acknowledge.

⁴⁹ *Contra* Venema 2004:64 who asserts that 'the vocabulary of 2 Kgs 22:2 is a vague reminder of the 'book of the *torah*' (Deut. 17:18-20; Josh. 1:7-8), and at the same time of the book of Deuteronomy' (emphasis his).

passages, 1Kgs 22:43 and 2Kgs 22:2, סור is not used to indicate ‘turning aside from Yahweh and/or his laws’, but that it involves ‘turning aside from the path of a person’, in one case Asa, in the other David.⁵⁰ Eynikel by noting these two passages together in their use of סור made a valuable observation. The text in 1Kgs 22:43 does not strictly mention ימין ושמאל together with סור as the text in 2Kgs 22:2 does. Nevertheless drawing on the similar circumstance in which both texts appear the affinities between the two cannot be denied. The passages are closely related not only by including סור and דרך (דרך meaning in this context ‘moral course of a person’⁵¹) but also by their occurrence in the same formal context, i.e. regnal framework. In the light of this, 2Kgs 22:2 does not appear to be related directly with the passages in Deuteronomy and Joshua.⁵² The phrase ימין ולא-סר ימין ושמאל may mean nothing more and nothing less than just what it says, that Josiah ‘walked in the way of David his father and did not turn right nor left’, just as it is said about Jehoshaphat earlier (1Kgs 22:43) that he ‘walked in the way of Asa his father and did not turn from it.’ Whatever our thoughts about the Chronicles composition, the links between the two texts in Kings are even strengthened by the fact that they both have their parallels in Chronicles (1Kgs 22:43//2Chr 20:32; 2Kgs 22:2//2Chr 34:2).

The relationship between the evaluative formula of Jehoshaphat and Josiah points to a more significant role played by the immediate context, which is the regnal framework itself, in assessing these formulae. The links within the regnal frames of royal accounts appear to be superior to the seeming relations outside the regnal framework in the sections of the Bible recognized by scholars to be the Deuteronomistic History. Similarly, we have observed with regard to the phrases ‘he did right/evil in the eyes of Yahweh’ that they are more distinct in their occurrences within the regnal formulae from their appearances elsewhere. Outside the regnal framework the occurrences of these expressions in Kings have closer relations with the texts in Deuteronomy, but not within the regnal resums. It may be instructive to note at this point that the regnal framework with the phrases such as ‘he walked in the way...and did not depart’ and ‘he did right/evil in the eyes of Yahweh’ in the evaluative formulae in Kings forms also a significant part of the narrative of the

⁵⁰ Eynikel (1996:118; emphasis his). For Weinfeld’s list, see Weinfeld (1972:339).

⁵¹ Aitken (1998:29).

⁵² Eynikel (1996:118) similarly considers 2Kgs 22:2 to come from a different author than the texts in Deuteronomy.

divided kingdom in Chronicles. It is perhaps this context, the regnal framework shared by both Kings and Chronicles, that is the primary context of these expressions and not the wider portion of material within the Hebrew Bible called the Deuteronomistic History.

3.4.5. Evaluative Formula of Abijah (only in Kings)

As it has just been noted the evaluative formulae also appear regularly in Chronicles. There are, however, two exceptions to this pattern which concern the evaluation of Abijah and Jehoahaz. While the absence of the latter in the Chronicles history need not concern us, since this appears merely to be a matter of scribal error,⁵³ the absence of the former has wider implications. The evaluative formula of Abijah is not only missing in Chronicles but its occurrence in Kings differs markedly from all other evaluative formulae related to the kings of Judah in that book. To fully appreciate the specificity of the Abijah formula in Kings, the issues linked with this formula in the context of Abijah's narrative in both Kings and Chronicles need to be explored in greater detail.

The account on Abijam⁵⁴ in 1Kgs 15 is relatively short. It begins with a note on synchronism with the reign of Jeroboam (v. 1) and continues mentioning the length of Abijam's reign and the name of his mother. There follows a negative evaluative formula (v. 3) and an allusion to the promise to David as a reason for Abijam being retained on the throne (vv. 4-5). Then a notice comes about Rehoboam and Jeroboam being at war (v. 6) followed by a closing summary, which contains reference to other records about Abijam's life and a notice of his death and burial (vv. 7-8).

The story of Abijah in 2Chr 13, on the other hand, is of much greater length and of a different essence. The account starts as in Kings with a synchronism and the duration of Abijah's reign followed by a notice of his mother's name (vv. 1-2a). But

⁵³ So Japhet (1993:1063). Rudolph (1955:334), after mentioning proposals by Curtis & Madsen (1910:520) on one hand about Chr's deliberate omission and by Benzinger (1901:134) on the other with reference to accidental loss of the text, refrains from passing his own judgement on the absence of the evaluative phrase for Jehoahaz in Chronicles. For Williamson (1982a:412-13) it is not clear why Chr should omit the formula for Jehoahaz. To us it seems reasonable to side with Japhet who views the most likely explanation of the omission as a scribal error. In this connection, the text of Jer 52 in the LXX might be brought to attention, which in contrast to Jer 52:2 MT, 2Kgs 24:19, 2Chr 36:12a and 1Esd 1:45 does not record the evaluative formula of Zedekiah. Has this state of affairs in LXX of Jer 52 resulted from a scribal error similarly as the text relating to Jehoahaz in 2Chr 36:2? Answering this question affirmatively, Person (1993:185-86; 1997:103, 110; 2002:48) is then certainly wrong proposing that LXX of Jer 52 lacking the formula is the most original reading. For further criticisms of Person's view regarding this issue see Stipp (1998); Talshir (2000a:484-87).

⁵⁴ See note 14 above on the differences in the name of this king between Kings and Chronicles.

the name given in Chronicles is different, as well as the name of his grandfather, which comes immediately after.⁵⁵ There is no evaluative formula as in Kings. Instead, after the note on constant warfare between Abijah and Jeroboam (v. 2b) there comes a lengthy account of a battle between these two kings which Kings does not report (vv. 3-20). Then a note follows on Abijah's marriages and children also not found in Kings (v. 21). The account of Abijah's reign closes with reference formula and a note on Abijah's death and burial (v. 22).

The absence of an evaluative formula related to Abijah in Chronicles has often been noted in scholarly literature.⁵⁶ The remarks on the missing evaluation have been aided by the contrasting picture that is offered about this king in Kings and Chronicles. While in Kings nothing good is said about Abijah and his reign, in Chronicles this king is seen in much more favourable light which is demonstrated by his faithfulness and piety in his speech and by a note on the large progeny Abijah enjoyed, considered clearly to be a sign of a divine blessing. Given these opposing accounts in the two histories it is maintained that Chr simply omitted the negative appraisal of Abijah in Kings because it did not fit his 'theological understanding of the king's career',⁵⁷ or it is asserted that having at his disposal alternative source material Chr was 'correct[ing] Dtr's negative assessment of Abijah (1Kgs 15, 3-5) by omitting it'.⁵⁸ The note on 'omission' by Chr, whatever way it may accommodate the more positive portrayal of Abijah in Chronicles, may not, however, in the light of Chr's overall treatment of evaluative formulae, be a full argument. As mentioned above, with the exception of Jehoahaz that may be a case of scribal 'lapsus oculi',⁵⁹ and Abijah, it is Chr's practice throughout to provide a regnal evaluation of Judean kings. Thus Chr does not avoid recording faithfully from his source a word of either praise or criticism on a king, even though it may contrast with the depiction of events pertaining to that king in Chr's account later. Asa, for example, is positively assessed that 'he did good and right in the eyes of the Lord' (2Chr 14:2) and commented on that his heart was 'true all his days' (15:17). Yet in the narrative that follows he is rebuked that he 'did not rely on Yahweh' (16:7). Similarly we find evaluative

⁵⁵ The name of Abijah's mother is in Chronicles 'Micaiah the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah' whereas in Kings she is called 'Maacah the daughter of Absalom'. See e.g. Japhet (1993:670-71) on the difficulties created by this divergence.

⁵⁶ See e.g. Welten (1973:117, 126-27); Japhet (1997²:173), Klein (1983:210-17), Deboys (1990:48-62), Jones (1994:420-34).

⁵⁷ Klein (1983:216).

⁵⁸ Noth (1987:60).

⁵⁹ Japhet (1993:1063).

formulae of Uzziah and Manasseh taken by Chr from his source, but not fully representative of all the events concerned with their reigns which are narrated in *Chronicles*.⁶⁰ Since Chr does not set aside the evaluations of other kings found in his *Vorlage*, but with a certain freedom of interpretation integrates them, it seems that he would not have passed over the evaluation of Abijah had he had it in his source.

A further support for this contention may be provided by studying the evaluative formula of Abijam, as it occurs in 1Kgs 15:3, itself. It reads as follows:

1Kgs 15:3 וילך בכל־חטאות אביו אשר־עשה לפניו ולא־היה לבבו שלם עִמֵּיהוּהוּ אֱלֹהֵיו כִּלְבַב דָּוִד אָבִיו

The formula may appear at first sight to be similar to others with a negative evaluation of Judean kings. It brings a negative verdict upon a king expressing that Abijam ‘walked in all the sins of his father’ and that his heart ‘was not true to Yahweh’. What is significant and different about this expression is that it contains reference to חטאה ‘sin’ which no other evaluative formula related to southern kings does. To facilitate comparison we list all the negative evaluations of Judean kings in a chart below.

Rehoboam

1Kgs 14:22 ויעש יהודה הרע בעיני יהוה

2Chr 12:14 ויעש הרע

Jehoram

2Kgs 8:18 וילך בדרך מלכי ישראל כאשר עשו בית אחאב כי בת־אחאב היתה־לו לאשה ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה

2Chr 21:6 וילך בדרך מלכי ישראל כאשר עשו בית אחאב כי בת־אחאב היתה לו אשה ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה

Ahaziah

2Kgs 8:27 וילך בדרך בית אחאב ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה כבית אחאב כי חתן בת־אחאב הוא

2Chr 22:3-4a גם־הוא הלך בדרכי בית אחאב כי אמו היתה יועצתו להרשיע ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה כבית אחאב

Ahaz

2Kgs 16:2b-3a ולא־עשה הישר בעיני יהוה אֱלֹהֵיו כְּדָוִד אָבִיו וילך בדרך מלכי ישראל

2Chr 28:1b-2a ולא־עשה הישר בעיני יהוה כְּדָוִד אָבִיו וילך בדרכי מלכי ישראל

Manasseh

2Kgs 21:2 ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה

2Chr 33:2 ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה

Amon

2Kgs 21:20-21 ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה כאשר עשה מנשה אביו וילך בכל־הדרך אשר־הלך אביו

2Chr 33:22 ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה כאשר עשה מנשה אביו

Jehoahaz (only in Kings), Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah

2Kgs 23:32, 37; 24:9, 19 ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה ככל אשר־עשו אבתי/אביו/יהויקים

2Chr 36:5b, 9b, 12a ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה (אלהיו)

The evaluative formulae usually include ‘he did evil in the eyes of Yahweh’ and most of them also contain the phrase ‘he walked in the way of ...’. Not a single formula from those listed above pertaining to southern kings reads ‘he walked in the

⁶⁰ See more on this point Deboys (1990:59-60).

sin' as the assessment on Abijam, which appears only in Kings, does. Thus we see that in its use of **הטאה** 'sin' the evaluative formula of Abijam is markedly different from other evaluations relating to kings of Judah.⁶¹ Being distinct from these formulae, this suggests that Abijam's formula is a later addition in Kings. It is further interesting to observe that Abijam's evaluation by its reference to **הטאה** considerably resembles assessments of northern kings. In the material pertaining to the northern kingdom, which appears only in Kings, the evaluations of Israelite rulers typically employ expressions with references to **הטאה** 'sin'.⁶² The closer relationship of Abijam's formula in its use of **הטאה** with the evaluative formulae concerning the northern kings has further significant implications. It is tempting to conclude that the evaluative formulae on northern kings, because of their affinity with the evaluation of Abijam, may also not have been part of a source-text known to Chr but could have been added later together with the evaluation on Abijam with which they share the link in **הטאה**. Still more supporting evidence will emerge from the following study on referral formula regarding the later additions in Kings, not found in Chronicles.

3.5. Referral Formula

The first of the concluding formulae of each reign is formed by a referral formula, which points to other materials for further information. This formula is a fairly regular element, in both Kings and Chronicles, of the regnal framework. Only a few rulers do not have in their regnal resumés the reference to other documents for further information. These in both Kings and Chronicles include Ahaziah, Athaliah, and three out of the last four kings of Judah, namely Jehohaz, Jehoakin and Zedekiah. Additionally, Chronicles does not have a referral formula for the kings Jehoram and Amon. Another difference between Kings and Chronicles regarding the distribution of referral formulae relates to their occurrence in different places in the regnal frameworks of Joash and Josiah in the two historiographical works. While in Kings the formulae referring to other materials appears at a standard place preceding the accounts of the deaths and burials of the kings Joash and Josiah (2Kgs 12:20; 23:28), in Chronicles they appear almost at the very end of the structuring frame followed only by a succession notice (2Chr 24:27; 35:26).

⁶¹ It needs to be noted that **הטאה** occurs at another occasion in the regnal formulae of southern kings – in the reference notice of Manasseh (2Kgs 21:17//2Chr 33:19). This appears, however, in so-called specifying comments, discussed later (see pp. 32-34), and is not a part of regnal evaluation in an opening formula.

⁶² 1Kgs 15:26, 34; 16:19, 26; (16:31) etc.

The varied placement of the referral formulae between Kings and Chronicles in the Josiah narrative plays an important part in the argument of Williamson about a further stage in the literary development of the Deuteronomistic History witnessed, according to him, by the account of Josiah's death in Chronicles.⁶³ Williamson (1982b:244-45; 1987b:11-12) contends that since the referral formulae in Chronicles occur at the same points where they appear in Kings, except for 2Chr 35:26-27, this presupposes that Chr followed a form of Kings in which a referral formula was present following the report of Josiah's death and not before. Dillard (1987:288-89) and, in more detail, Talshir (1996:222-26) each points out the weakness of Williamson's argument precisely in his assumption that Chr would locate pedantically a referral formula at the same point as Kings. Talshir shows from the example of the introductory formulae for the reigns of Rehoboam and Jehosaphat that Chr's treatment of introductory formulae is not particularly strict in following Kings, from which she implies that Chr may not necessarily have followed the form of his source with regard to concluding formulae. Williamson's argument is also mistakenly based on the uniqueness of Josiah's referral formula in its different position in Chronicles from Kings. As we have noted above, and as Talshir also rightly argues, the same phenomenon of different placement of referral formula in Chronicles from Kings also occurs in the account of Joash (2Kgs 12:20-22; 2Chr 24:25-27).⁶⁴ The significance of the issues identified in the discussion so far naturally leads to the following closer scrutiny of the structure of referral formulae.

In his study of Chr's sources Macy offered some useful insights into referral formulae (his 'source notices') in Kings and Chronicles.⁶⁵ These formulae consist of two major parts, a content citation and a reference citation.⁶⁶ The content citation indicates what may be found in the reference that follows. It has a standard form which can be further divided into three parts: (A) identification phrase, (B) formulaic element and (C) specifying comment (a further note about the king's character, his

⁶³ See Williamson (1982b:242-48) with Begg's critical challenge to his proposal (1987:1-8) and further response by Williamson (1987b:9-15).

⁶⁴ Curiously, the Joash's referral formula has gone unnoticed in the earlier exchanges between Begg (1987:1-8) and Williamson (1987b:9-15). It has been brought to debate only later by Talshir (1996:225).

⁶⁵ Macy (1975:151-64). Cf. analysis of the structure of referral formulae by Halpern and Vanderhooft (1991:216-21).

⁶⁶ Macy (1975:152, 155) called these 'content citation' and 'source citation.' Other scholars use labels such as 'summation notice' for content citation and 'source' for 'reference' citation (e.g. Glatt-Gilad 2001:186).

activities or his reign).⁶⁷ The second major part of the referral formula then names the particular document. This structure can be seen more clearly in the chart below:

REFERRAL FORMULA	KINGS	CHRONICLES
Content citation:		
(A) identification:	ויהי דברי [PN]	ושאר/ויהנה/ויהיו דברי [PN]
(B) formulaic element:	ו(כל-) אשר עשה	הראשנים והאחרנים
(C) specifying comment:	various	various
Reference citation: ⁶⁸	הלאהם כתובים על-ספר... e.g. 2Kgs 23:28 (Josiah)	הנם כתובים על-ספר/דברי/מדרש... e.g. 2Chr 35:27 (Josiah)
	הלאהם כתובים על-ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה	הנם כתובים על-ספר מלכיו ישראל ויהודה

3.5.1. Content Citation

As the table above shows, the first part of the content citation is formed by an identification phrase such as ויהי דברי [PN]. While Kings uses this phrase in every instance, there is slightly more variation in the formulae in Chronicles. Sometimes only דברי is used (1Chr 29:29; 2Chr 12:15), in other cases שאר דברי or ויהנה דברי is attested (2Chr 9:29; 16:11), and no identification phrase is used in 2Chr 24:27 (cf. 2Kgs 12:20). The formulaic element, which is the second part of the content citation, differs markedly in Chronicles from Kings. In Chronicles this includes referring to an individual king's deeds as those being הראשנים והאחרנים 'first and last'. In Kings, however, the formula is ו(כל-) אשר עשה '(all) which he did', which also appears in the content citations relating to the northern rulers in Kings. In some instances, the formulaic element is missing in Kings, and in others it is absent in Chronicles as the table on the following page shows. This is similar to the distribution of the third element of the content citation, the specifying comment, which similarly appears irregularly in the two books. Moreover, as with the formulaic element, the specifying comments are likewise 'totally distinct and unrelated' in Kings and Chronicles (Macy 1975:153).

The features of these specifying comments in the two historiographical works are worthy of further exploration. The annotations in Kings, as Macy (1975:153; 155) has already observed, are generally related to 'political and administrative aspects of king's reign'. They refer to the king's might (1Kgs 15:23; 22:46; 2Kgs

⁶⁷ Macy's labels are used throughout this study in dividing content citation into 'identification', 'formulaic element' and 'specifying comment'. We also follow Macy (1975:153) in designating these as A, B, C respectively.

⁶⁸ Reference citations, particularly in Chronicles, vary in their structure. More on this see pp. 34-36.

CONTENT CITATIONS IN CHRONICLES AND KINGS*

CHRONICLES

KINGS

David	A, B, C	הראשנים והאחרונים	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי היד המלך	—
Solomon	A, B	הראשנים והאחרונים	הראשנים והאחרונים	ושאר דברי שלמה	A, B, C
Rehoboam	A, B	עם כל-מלכותו וגבורתו והעתים אשר עברו עליו ועל-ישראל ועל כל-ממלכות הארצות	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי חכבם	A, B
Abijah	A, C	הראשנים והאחרונים	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי חכבם	A, B
Asa	A, B	דרכיו ודבריו	הראשנים והאחרונים	והנה דברי אסא	A, C, B, C
Jehosaphat	A, B	הראשנים והאחרונים	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי יהושפט	A, C, B, C
Jehoram	—	—	—	—	A, B
Ahaziah	—	—	—	—	—
Athaliah	—	—	—	—	—
Joash	C	וכינו רוב המשא עליו ויסוד בית האלים	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי דברי אמציחו	A, B
Amaziah	A, B	—	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי דברי עזיחו	A
Uzziah	A, B	—	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי דברי עזיחו	A, B
Jotham	A, C	וכל-מלכותו ודרכיו	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי דברי יוחם	A, B
Ahaz	A, C, B	הראשנים והאחרונים	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי דברי יוחם	A, B
Hezekiah	A, C	הראשנים והאחרונים	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי דברי יוחם	A, B
Manasseh	A, C	הפלתו אל-אלהיו ודברי החזים	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי דברי חזקיהו	A, C
Amon	—	—	—	דברי דברי מנשה	A, B, C
Josiah	A, C, B	הראשנים והאחרונים	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי דברי יאשיהו	A, B
Jehoazah	—	—	—	—	—
Jehoiakim	A, C	התעבתו אשר-עשה והנמנא עליו	הראשנים והאחרונים	דברי דברי יחזקיהו	A, B
Jehoiachin	—	—	—	—	—
Zedekiah	—	—	—	—	—

The references are: David 1Chr 29:29-30; Solomon 2Chr 9:29//1Kgs 11:41; Rehoboam 2Chr 12:15//1Kgs 14:29; Abijah/Abijam 2Chr 13:22//1Kgs 15:7; Asa 2Chr 16:11//1Kgs 15:23; Jehosaphat 2Chr 20:34//1Kgs 22:46; Jehoram 2Kgs 8:23; Joash 2Chr 24:27//2Kgs 12:20; Amaziah 2Chr 25:26//2Kgs 14:18; Uzriah/Azariah 2Chr 26:22//2Kgs 15:6; Jotham 2Chr 27:7//2Kgs 15:36; Ahaz 2Chr 28:26//2Kgs 16:19; Hezekiah 2Chr 32:32//2Kgs 20:20; Manasseh 2Chr 33:18//2Kgs 21:17; Amon 2Kgs 21:25; Josiah 2Chr 35:26-27//2Kgs 23:28; Jehoiaqim 2Chr 36:8//2Kgs 24:5.

* The table has been adapted and reworked into more detailed form from Macy (1975:154).

20:20), to his battles (1Kgs 22:46) and building activities (1Kgs 15:23; 2Kgs 20:20). Only in the case of Manasseh (2Kgs 21:17) is the annotation related to the religious aspect of the king. The specifying comments in Chronicles, on the other hand, speak little of political activities (2Chr 24:27; 27:7). They do not mention (with the exception of referral formula related to David without a parallel in Kings) the king's might and they do not report on secular building activities. They reflect rather religious interests, reporting on building religious sites (2Chr 24:27; 33:19), on sin and rebellion (2Chr 33:19) and on the kings' piety (2Chr 32:32; 35:26).⁶⁹ The content of specifying comments for the kings of the divided kingdom shared by Kings and Chronicles is very distinct in both histories. Macy (1975:157-58) concluded from his study of these comments and other marked differences in the reference formulae that Chr '[did] not depend on Kg for the content or the vocabulary of its source notices', but that he 'patterned his notices after a slightly different ancient formula than the one found in Kg.'

The book of Kings further includes referral formulae with specifying comments for ten northern kings. Just as the Kings' special comments concerned with kings of Judah address political achievements, so do these concerned with kings of Israel. The characteristic elements of the comments related to northern kings are the frequent reference to the king's 'might' (גבורה), which is found with six kings as the table below shows, and the more uniform pattern in which גבורה occurs.

CONTENT CITATIONS RELATED TO NORTHERN KINGS

1Kgs 14:19	Jeroboam I	A, C	אשר נלחם ואשר מלך	ויתר דברי ירבעם
1Kgs 15:31	Nadab	A, B	וכל-אשר עשה	ויתר דברי נדב
1Kgs 16:5	Baasha	A, B, C	וגבורתו	ויתר דברי בעשא
1Kgs 16:14	Elah	A, B	וכל-אשר עשה	ויתר דברי אלה
1Kgs 16:20	Zimri	A, C	וקשרו אשר קשר	ויתר דברי זמרי

⁶⁹ The sense of חסד related to kings' actions in both Chr's passages (2Chr 35:26; 32:32), has been a subject of some debate. A range of meanings has been proposed for חסד occurring in these two texts: 'mighty acts' (Kuyper 1963:491; Elliger 1978:24), 'martial and...technological achievements' in case of Hezekiah (Whitley 1981:525), 'faithful deeds of the king' related to the 'promise of Yahweh's covenant' (Riley 1993:92), 'mankind's proper response to God' (Routledge 1995:194 n. 54), 'acts by which a person demonstrates zeal for Yahweh's temple' (Clark 1993:183), 'great deeds' (Gerleman 1978:160), 'pious acts' (Sakenfeld 1978:151-58), 'good works, pious deeds' (Williamson 1977:51) etc. The plural of חסד occurs 18 times in the Hebrew Bible (as against of 228 occurrences of singular form)—and of these, only in 2Chr 6:42; 32:32; 35:26; Neh 13:14 and Isa 55:3 חסדים is postulated of a man. Chronicles passages (32:32; 35:26) are often considered together with Neh 13:14 because of similar context. (Note the term חסד explicated by relative clause 'אשר עשיתי...' in Nehemiah text.) Nevertheless Neh 13:14 is the only instance where the phrase חסדי אשר עשיתי occurs in Nehemiah 'remember formula'. (This formula is found in positive form in 5:19; 13:22, 31 and negative form in 6:14 and 13:29.) On the grounds of distribution alone Williamson (1977:51) thus discounts the word חסד as evidence for common authorship of Chr and Ezra-Nehemiah.

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1Kgs 16:27	Omri	A, B, C		ונבורתו אשר עשה	ויתר דברי עמרי אשר עשה
1Kgs 22:39	Ahab	A, B, C	בנה	וכל-הערים אשר בנה	ויתר דברי אחאב וכל-אשר עשה ובית השן אשר בנה
2Kgs 1:18	Ahaziah	A, B			ויתר דברי אחזיהו אשר עשה
---	Jehoram	---			
2Kgs 10:34	Jehu	A, B, C		וכל-נבורתו	ויתר דברי יהוא וכל-אשר עשה
2Kgs 13:8	Jehoahaz	A, B, C			ויתר דברי יהואחז וכל-אשר עשה ונבורתו
2Kgs 13:12	Jehoash	A, B, C		אשר נלחם עם אמוניה מלך-יהודה	ויתר דברי יואש וכל-אשר עשה ונבורתו
2Kgs 14:28	Jeroboam II	A, B, C		אשר-נלחם ואשר השיב את-דמשק...	ויתר דברי ירבעם וכל-אשר עשה ונבורתו
2Kgs 15:11	Zechariah	A			ויתר דברי זכריה
2Kgs 15:15	Shallum	A, C		וקשרו אשר קשר	ויתר דברי שלום
2Kgs 15:21	Menahem	A, B			ויתר דברי מנחם וכל-אשר עשה
2Kgs 15:26	Pekahiah	A, B			ויתר דברי פקחיה וכל-אשר עשה
2Kgs 15:31	Pekah	A, B			ויתר דברי-פקח וכל-אשר עשה
---	Hosea	---			

This term נבורה occurs in Kings also in the referral formulae of three Judean kings, Asa (1Kgs 15:23), Jehoshaphat (1Kgs 22:46) and Hezekiah (2Kgs 20:20). However, it is nowhere found with regard to kings of Judah in the regnal framework material in Chronicles.⁷⁰ This observation is particularly interesting in respect of the view that Chronicles includes a number of battles and military events in its accounts. Thus the author of Chronicles would have no reason for consistently omitting this term (cf. 2Chr 16:11//1Kgs 15:23; 2Chr 20:34//1Kgs 22:46; 2Chr 32:32//2Kgs 20:20). Rather, what it suggests is that נבורה may have been introduced to the notations of southern rulers in Kings at a time when the framework of northern kings with its considerable occurrence of נבורה was included in the book of Kings. Chr thus may not have been familiar from his main source with either נבורה in the notations of kings of Judah or with the framework of northern rulers where this term in Kings significantly occurs. This conclusion is supportive of our earlier contention regarding the limitations of the major source used by Chr in relation to the present book of Kings.

3.5.2. Reference Citation

The second major part of referral formulae is formed by the reference citation. This again varies significantly between Kings and Chronicles. Firstly, when Kings states where further information can be found, it mentions ספר דברי הימים 'the book of

⁷⁰ נבורה is attested altogether only four times in Chronicles, three of which occur in the chapter relating to David's prayer and the end of David's reign (1Chr 29:11, 12, 30). The fourth instance is in Chr's special material pertaining to Jehoshaphat's prayer (2Chr 20:6). Though in 1Chr 29:30 נבורה appears in the referral formula of David, this however coheres with the theme of riches and glory (1Chr 29:28), the same theme that appears in the David's prayer earlier in the chapter that also attests to the occurrence of נבורה (1Chr 29:11-12).

chronicles' (lit. 'the book of the acts of the days'). Chronicles in referring to other materials for further information does not use this expression,⁷¹ although, interestingly enough, it itself bears the title דברי הימים.⁷²

Secondly, the reference citations are usually introduced in Kings with הלא but in Chronicles with הנה. The distinctive use of the particles הלא and הנה is almost regularly maintained throughout the parallel texts of both histories. In Kings הלא (or its equivalents הלאה; הלאהמה) introduces all the reference citations related to the kings of Judah. Moreover, Kings employs this expression in thirteen instances in referral formulae for the Israelite kings. Only in five remaining instances related to the kings of Israel is the particle הנה used. On the other hand, Chronicles predominantly uses הנה. Reference citations in Chronicles are introduced with הנה eleven times out of the sixteen instances for the kings of Judah. In two of Chronicles reference citations there is no particle used (2Chr 13:22; 26:22) and in one case, which is probably a result of a conflation, Chr has both הנה and הלא (2Chr 25:26). Only in two cases does Chr start the citation with הלאה כתובים which have parallels in Kings (2Chr 9:29//1Kgs 11:41; 2Chr 12:15//1Kgs 14:29). In the light of these two instances of the identical use of הלא in both Kings and Chronicles, the claim by Sivan and Schniedewind (1993:214) that Chr used הנה because he 'did not know the asseverative...הלא' is misleading. Equally unlikely is their assumption that Chr replaced הלא with הנה because הנה was 'current in post-exilic Hebrew' (*loc. cit.*) for Gesenius (1884:426) contends quite the opposite saying that 'in Samaritan and Rabbinic הלא is commonly used for הנה'.⁷³

If Kings reference citations are the background for Chr's composition of his formulae, one would expect closer resemblances in the form and language than that which appears. An example of a reference notice from a later text, the book of Esther, may elucidate the point. The referral formula in Est 10:2 reads וכל־מעשה חקפו וגבורתו ופרשת גדלת מרדכי אשר גדלו המלך הלאהם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי מדי ופרס. It is well known and attested in commentaries that the author or redactor of Esther

⁷¹ There is only one occurrence of דברי הימים in Chronicles when it speaks about the census numbers not recorded in דברי הימים למלך דוד (1Chr 27:24). This text however does not have a parallel in Kings.

⁷² For discussion on the name of Chronicles in early Jewish and Christian period, see Knoppers and Harvey (2002:227-43).

⁷³ On הלא see further Brongers (1981:177-89), Brown (1987:201-19); on הנה Kogut (1986:140-54).

drew on earlier traditions for the reference notice in 10:2.⁷⁴ The citation in Esther in its use of הלוא and דברי הימים resembles markedly the standard formula for citing documents used in Kings.⁷⁵ By analogy, if Chr depended for his reference citations on Kings, his formula would display closer affinities, we believe, just as the example of reference citation in the book of Esther shows. It is further instructive to observe that the reference notice of Esther contains the term נבירה. We noted this term occurs in several reference notices in Kings and predominantly in those that are related to northern kings.

The final part of a reference citation consists of the title of the actual work. In Kings, the reference is made to ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה with regard to the accounts of Judean monarchs.⁷⁶ Accordingly, the source for Israelite rulers mentioned in Kings bears the name ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל.⁷⁷ The only other record which Kings introduces in its referral formulae pertains to the King Solomon. It simply reads ספר דברי שלמה (1Kgs 11:41). Chronicles, on the other hand, is less homogeneous in citing documents in its reference notices. For the majority of kings, it refers to a composition of general character under varying names:⁷⁸ ספר המלכים ליהודה וישראל (2Chr 16:11); ספר מלכי ישראל (2Chr 20:34); ספר המלכים (2Chr 24:27); ספר מלכיהושפט ויהודה (2Chr 25:26; 28:26; 32:32); ספר מלכיהושפט וישראל (2Chr 27:7; 35:27; 36:8); ספר דברי ישראל (2Chr 33:18MT).⁷⁹ Moreover, Chronicles contains references to the works of various prophets (1Chr 29:29; 2Chr 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 20:34; 26:22; 32:32; 33:19LXX), which are sometimes said to be included in the general work of the differing titles mentioned above (2Chr 20:34; 32:32). The nature of that single document, however, continues to be debated among scholars.⁸⁰ It does

⁷⁴ See e.g. Moore (1971:99), Bush (1996:495). Eissfeldt (1965:511) regards the reference notice in Esther as an ‘artificial imitation’ of those occurring in earlier history.

⁷⁵ Loader (1992:279 n. 3) in his commentary on the book of Esther notes: ‘Die rhetorische Frage, nebst Begriffen wie „Buch der Chronik“ (*sēfer dibrē hayyāmīn*) und „Stärke“ (*g^obūrā*) sind typisch für die abschließende Wertung von Königen in Deuteronomistische Geschichte (vgl. 1 Kön 11,41; 14,29; 15,7.23 usw.).’

⁷⁶ 1Kgs 14:29; 15:7, 23; 22:46; 2Kgs 8:23; 12:20; 14:18; 15:6; 15:36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17; 21:25; 24:5.

⁷⁷ 1Kgs 14:19; 15:31; 16:5, 14, 20, 27; 22:39; 2Kgs 1:18; 10:34; 13:8, 12; 14:15, 28; 15:11, 15, 21, 26, 31.

⁷⁸ That Chronicles refers by slightly different titles to one and the same general work is generally accepted in studies of that book; see Japhet (1993:21-22) with earlier literature cited there.

⁷⁹ It is of interest to note that when Chronicles refers to general work(s) it never mentions ‘The Book of the Kings of Judah’ (or similar) alone but always has ‘Israel’ included together with ‘Judah’ in the title. On the word ‘Israel’ used in Chronicles reference citations see Williamson (1977:106, 128).

⁸⁰ For recent contribution to this debate see Rainey (1997:30-72). See also Schniedewind (1995:211-30).

not concern us for our present purposes, whether the prophetic works of the other category that are also thought to belong to that same document are authentic or invented. The point needs to be emphasised solely that Chronicles in its references to other records always differs from Kings.

Resulting from his detailed study of ‘source notices’ in which he observed ‘clear differences in every part’, Macy (1975:158) brought forward a suggestion that ‘the Chr may have had much greater independence from Kg than is generally recognized.’ Our own study of referral formulae corroborates his conclusions. What is more, on the basis of the study of the part of referral formulae formed by specifying comments, we proposed that Chr may have had independence from Kings to such an extent as being unacquainted with the Kings referral formulae related to northern kings. This adds up to the view of Chr not being familiar from the source available to him with the regnal framework of Israelite rulers appearing only in Kings.

3.6. Supplementary Notice

The supplementary notice, which gives additional information relating to the king in question, appears following the referral formula in several royal accounts in Kings and Chronicles. Regarding the first two kings of Judah, Rehoboam and Abijah, the notices in particular relate to war with Jeroboam (1Kgs 14:30//2Chr 12:15; 1Kgs 15:7//2Chr 13:2⁸¹). In the case of Asa, the supplementary notice pertains to Asa’s foot disease (1Kgs 15:23//2Chr 16:12), and in Chronicles is slightly expanded according to Chr’s theology of punishment and retribution. The regnal framework of Jehoshaphat has the referral formula unusually early within its structure, so that the following supplementary notice spans across a few verses in the two biblical histories. Both Kings and Chronicles include in that notice the story of a shipping expedition involving the Israelite king Ahaziah, although with some differences (1Kgs 22:49-50//2Chr 20:35-37). Kings has additionally the note on cultic reform (1Kgs 22:47) – which in Chronicles appears outside the regnal framework and in a different form (2Chr 19:3)⁸² – and further includes a comment regarding the presence of a deputy in Edom (1Kgs 22:48). The supplementary notice in the regnal framework of Amaziah – in Chronicles being coloured by Chr’s theology – deals

⁸¹ In Chronicles, the supplementary notice concerning Abijah (2Chr 13:2) precedes the referral formula (2Chr 13:22) and is augmented with Chr’s special material (2Chr 13:3-21).

⁸² More on this see below pp. 51-58.

with a conspiracy against this king and his eventual assassination (2Kgs 13:19//2Chr 25:27).⁸³ Jotham has, in his regnal framework, different notes in Kings and Chronicles. In 2Kgs 15:37, the supplementary notice relates to the Assyrian threat, while in 2Chr 27:8 the age and length of Jotham's reign are repeated from 2Chr 27:1//2Kgs 15:33. Neither of these notices, however, seem to belong to the original structure of Jotham's regnal framework, both of them being likely later additions. Certainly the repetitive notice in 2Chr 27:8 is secondary. And as for the comment in 2Kgs 15:37 relating to Yahweh's sending Rezin and Pekah against Judah,⁸⁴ Fritz (2003:339) notes that this is an addition arising from the narrative about Ahaz that followed. We have already noted that the referral formula in the cases of two kings, Joash and Josiah, appears in Chronicles in different places in comparison with Kings, being followed by succession formula (2Chr 24:27; 35:26-27). Accordingly, the supplementary note, which depicts how these two kings met their deaths, follows the referral formula *per se* only in Kings. In Chronicles instead the same information as in the Kings supplementary notice (2Kgs 12:21-22a; 23:29-30a) is treated as part of the main narrative (2Chr 24:25a; 35:20-24a). Even so, Chronicles still includes a kind of supplementary notice after the death and burial formula of Joash and Josiah. In 2Chr 24:26 the supplementary comment is a continuation of the story that has gone before, giving details of those who conspired against Joash (cf. 2Kgs 12:22a), but in 2Chr 35:25 it contains new information (not included in the parallel account of Kings) about Jeremiah's and other people's lamentation for Josiah. After the Josiah narrative, there is no supplementary notice in Kings or Chronicles that would follow the referral formula in the accounts of the last four kings of Judah.

In their study of the regnal framework of the kings of Israel, Halpern and Vanderhooft note that the regnal formulae of northern monarchs likewise contain supplementary notices. These, however, are usually more varied in their occurrence and in overall are of a different character in comparison to the ones relating to the kings of Judah shared by Kings and Chronicles. As Halpern and Vanderhooft (1991:213 n. 85) observe, in contrast to the supplementary notices bearing on the kings of Judah, the notices occurring in the regnal formulae of northern kings 'where they pertain to the king whose regnal account they follow, they mainly concern

⁸³ There is also a second supplementary notice regarding Amaziah which, however, in both Kings and Chronicles comes after Amaziah's succession formula and deals with his rebuilding Elath (2Kgs 14:22//2Chr 26:2).

⁸⁴ Note the similarities of 2Kgs 15:37 in the phrase *בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם הָחֵל יְהוָה* 'in those days Yahweh began' with 2Kgs 10:32.

prophecy'.⁸⁵ While this is taken by Halpern and Vanderhooft as supportive of their argument regarding differentiation of layers within the Deuteronomistic History, it seems to us more probable that the supplementation notices of northern kings, with their different placement within the framework scheme and different focus from the ones relating to kings of Judah, point to the northern chronological framework, of which they are part, being more distant from the framework of southern monarchs, leading us to suggest that they may belong to a different stage of Kings composition than the chronological framework of Judean monarchs shared by both biblical histories.

3.7. Death and Burial Formula

The death and burial formula as part of the regnal resumé of each king usually consists of three elements: a notice of the death of king, a notice of his burial and the place of his burial.⁸⁶ When a monarch dies peacefully, the phrase *עם־אבתי* is customarily used in Kings and Chronicles relating to kings of Judah suggesting that the death was of natural causes rather than being a consequence of war or conspiracy.⁸⁷ In the circumstance of an untimely death, a phrase with some form of the root *מָוַת* is employed. Thus, for example, Josiah's death in Kings is depicted by the hiphil form *וַיַּמִּיתוּ* 'and he killed him'. A slightly different and more expansive text in Chronicles employs qal form *וַיָּמָת* 'and he died'. The different use of the root *מָוַת* reflects the divergent situations of the two versions: in one version Josiah is said to be slain by Necho (2Kgs 23:29); in the other he is wounded encountering the pharaoh and dies after being brought into Jerusalem (2Chr 35:23-24). Similarly, relating to Ahaziah's violent death the verb *מָוַת* is used differently in the two historiographical works. This time, however, *וַיָּמָת* (qal) appears in 2Kgs 9:27, while

⁸⁵ Prophecy-fulfilment schema occurs in the supplementary notices of Baasha (1Kgs 16:7); Ahab (1Kgs 22:38) and Zechariah (2Kgs 15:12). The supplementary notices of Jeroboam (1Kgs 14:20) and Jehu (1Kgs 10:35) refer to regnal length, but the one relating to Jeroboam is found only in MT. (Two supplementary notices, in 1Kgs 15:32MT and 2Kgs 15:16, do not relate to the Israelite king whose regnal formula they follow.)

⁸⁶ Macy (1975:136); Provan (1988:134); Halpern and Vanderhooft (1991:183).

⁸⁷ See the death notices of Rehoboam (1Kgs 14:31//2Chr 12:16); Abijam/h (1Kgs 15:8//2Chr 13:23); Asa (1Kgs 15:24//2Chr 16:13); Jehoshaphat (1Kgs 22:51//2Chr 21:1); Jehoram (only 2Kgs 8:24); Azariah/Uzziah (2Kgs 15:7//2Chr 26:23); Jotham (2Kgs 15:38//2Chr 27:9); Ahaz (2Kgs 16:20//2Chr 28:27); Hezekiah (2Kgs 20:20//2Chr 32:32); Manasseh (2Kgs 21:18//2Chr 33:20); Jehoiakim (2Kgs 24:6//2Chr 36:8 LXX). A curious case of *עם־אבתי* + *שָׁכַב* appears outside the death and burial formula in 2Kgs 14:22//2Chr 26:2. This seems to relate to king Amaziah, who is however reported in his regnal resumé to have died of conspiracy (2Kgs 14:19//2Chr 25:27). On the subject of the construction *עם־אבתי* + *שָׁכַב*, see further Alfrink (1943:106-118).

וימתהו (hiphil) is employed in 2Chr 22:9. Apart from Josiah and Ahaziah, three other kings are described in both Kings and Chronicles as dying an untimely death: Joash (2Kgs 12:22//2Chr 24:25), Amaziah (2Kgs 14:19//2Chr 25:27) and Amon (2Kgs 21:23//2Chr 33:24) are all portrayed in both histories as vanishing from the throne because of conspiracies plotted against them. In addition to these, 2Chr 21:19 refers to the turbulent death of king Jehoram who is depicted by Chr to have died of 'terrible illness' (וימת בתהלאים רעים). In this case Chronicles differs from Kings, in which no mention of Jehoram's illness is made and where he is reported to 'have lain down with his fathers' (וישכב יורם עם אבותיו; 2Kgs 8:24). Jehoram's death notice is the only instance in which Kings and Chronicles give contrasting reports regarding the death notices of Judean monarchs. Whether or not Chr found information about Jehoram's illness in his source,⁸⁸ it seems clear that the account of Jehoram's end is largely Chr's own elaboration in keeping with his theological interests. This can be particularly observed in the phrase immediately following the announcement of Jehoram's death that states that 'his people did not make for him a burning like the burning for his ancestors' (ולא־עשו לו עמו שרפה כשרפה אבותיו). For a similar elaboration, only in an opposite direction, one may turn to Chr's account of the death and burial of Asa. In 2Chr 16:14 we read that Asa was laid on a bier filled with spices and further that they 'made a very great burning for him' (וישרפו־לו שרפה גדולה עד־למאד). These are representatives of Chr's greater freedom in dealing with death and burial formulae from his source. More such instances are observed further below.

The second element of death and burial formula pertaining to the notice of the burial itself includes the obvious term קבר 'to bury' accompanied by phrases עם־אבותיו 'with his fathers', בקברתו 'in his tomb', בגן־ביתו 'in the garden of his house' and the like. The verb קבר is encountered within the burial notices of both Kings and Chronicles in two different themes, in qal (ויקברו או ויקברוהו) and niph'al (ויקבר). Although there is no precise scheme discernible in the use of the verbal pattern of קבר within the burial notices, Kings shows a greater predilection towards the use of niph'al while Chronicles employs qal in most cases.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ For the view that Chr drew on older traditions for composition of his *Sondergut* in Jehoram's story see e.g. Rudolph (1955:265-69), Myers (1965:123), Williamson (1982a:303-9), Dillard (1987:164), Japhet (1993:805-18), though there are marked differences in degree to which these scholars attribute Chr's special material on Jehoram to older sources. For the view of Chr's *Sondergut* regarding Jehoram being purely his own creation see Begg (1989:35-51).

⁸⁹ See more on this Smit (1966:173-74), who notes that Kings favours the use of niph'al in eleven cases against five with qal, while Chronicles prefers qal in twelve cases against three in niph'al. A further complicating issue is the rendering of קבר in the versions, as Macy (1975:139) notes: 'the Gk

However, these are not the only specifics in each book relating to a burial notice. In Kings the verb קבר is accompanied on a number of occasions, but to a various degree in LXX and MT, by the phrase עב־אבתי. Turning to Chronicles, the phrase עב־אבתי following קבר occurs less often, while on the other hand this book elaborates to a greater extent on the place of burial. Typical for these elaborations within Chronicles are the phrases employing the noun קבר 'tomb'.⁹⁰ Accordingly, one reads about Asa that he was buried 'in the tomb he had hewn out for himself' (2Chr 16:14), Jehoram and Joash that they were buried 'not in the tombs of the kings' (2Chr 21:20; 24:25), Ahaz not 'in the tombs of kings of Israel' (2Chr 28:27) and Hezekiah that he was buried 'on the ascent to the tombs of the sons of David' (2Chr 32:33). It may be, as Provan (1988:137) suggests, that the phrases בקברות המלכים (2Chr 21:20; 24:25), לקברי מלכי ישראל (2Chr 28:27), קברי בני־דוד (2Chr 32:33) in Chronicles additional material and the expression בקברות אבתי relating to Josiah in 2Chr 35:24 refer to one and the same place for which Chr uses different names. This would correlate with the observation made earlier of Chr's particular method of using slightly different expressions for one and the same referent. In the study of referral formulae (p. 41) it was noted that Chr used a variety of names when referring to a composition of general character as a source of information on kings' reigns.

Regarding the third element of death and burial formula, the geographic location of burial, Chr again accords himself greater latitude in a few cases in handling this part of the burial notice. In Kings the actual site of burial for Judean monarchs from Rehoboam to Ahaz is commonly designated to be 'the city of David' (עיר דוד) and for Manasseh and Amon 'the garden of Uzza' (גן־עזא).⁹¹ While in Chronicles גן־עזא is nowhere mentioned, the book is quite consistent in denoting the place of burial for kings of earlier period, similarly as in Kings, to be עיר דוד or its equivalents עיר יהודה (2Chr 25:28MT) and ירושלם (2Chr 28:27MT).⁹² In two instances,

traditions of Kg and Chr also show no clear pattern in the use of conjugations and sometimes even contradict their Hebrew predecessors.'

⁹⁰ In Kings, קברה is used in burial notices of only three kings, Ahaziah (2Kgs 9:28), Amon (2Kgs 21:26) and Josiah (2Kgs 23:30), of which the last one is shared with Chronicles (2Kgs 23:30//2Chr 35:24). On the use of nominal forms קבר and קברה see discussion in Fabry (*TDOT* 12:492) and Michel (1977:54-56).

⁹¹ There are only few differences among ancient witnesses. Some Greek mss together with LXX¹ read that Hezekiah (2Kgs 20:21) and Josiah (2Kgs 23:30) were buried 'in the city of David' (ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ), and further LXX¹ notes concerning Jehoiakim (2Kgs 24:6) that he was buried in 'the garden of Uzza' (ἐν κήπῳ Ὀζᾶ).

⁹² LXX in both 2Chr 25:28 and 28:27 has 'the city of David'. According to Allen (1974a:210; 1974b:98) the LXX reading ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ in the former verse is original (העיר יהודה in 25:28 is, thus, the case of Hebrew substitution: 'The error surely came about by confusion with העיר יהודה v. 13')

in which Kings refers to the burial place of Judean kings as being עיר דוד, however, Chronicles substitutes this part with his own substantial elaboration that in both cases involves direct speech: 2Chr 22:9b states regarding king Ahaziah that ‘they buried him for they said: “He is the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought YHWH with all his heart”’ (ויקברו כי אמרו בניהושפט הוא אשר־דרש את־יהוה בכל־לבו); and 2Chr 26:23 reports with reference to Uzziah that ‘they buried him with his fathers in the burial field that belonged to the kings for they said: “He is leprous”’ (ויקברו אתו עם־אבתיו בשדה הקבורה) (אשר למלכים כי אמרו מצורע הוא).

A conclusion may be drawn from the above analysis with regard to the accounts of deaths and burials of Judean kings in the two biblical histories that in a number of cases Chronicles is more elaborate and specific in its notices on monarchic deaths and burials in comparison with Kings. The character of many details related to burial acts in Chronicles discloses a greater role being played by its author in supplementing and expanding the death and burial formulae from the earlier source material.⁹³

The death and burial formulae feature in some discussions relating to the development of the book of Kings, which merits close inspection. Among those who argue for the early edition of Kings ending with the account of Hezekiah, Provan (1988:134-38) offers in support the observation that the phrases ‘buried with his fathers’ (קבר עם־אבתיו) and ‘in the city of David’ (בעיר דוד) appear in the regnal formulae of Judean kings till the account of Ahaz but not thereafter. Similarly Halpern and Vanderhooft (1991:183-97) contend that since death and burial formulae for Judean kings up to Ahaz are consistent in referring to burial with one’s fathers in the city of David, they are the creation of one author who worked in Hezekiah’s time. These arguments, however, rely a great deal upon the MT and do not sufficiently appreciate the relative worth of variant readings among ancient witnesses. When the MT is placed alongside other ancient versions, such as LXX^B and LXX^L, it reveals that there are differences between these ancient witnesses as regards the construction עם־אבתיו following קבר in the formula of every third king

Allen 1974b:98), while in the latter ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ is the case of Greek assimilation; *contra* Kalimi (1995:93).

⁹³ This has been noted in studies by e.g. Macy (1975:142-44); Halpern and Vanderhooft (1991:238 n. 146). Cf. the view of Dillard (1987:172) who contends that Chr uses ‘his reports of the death and burial of the kings to show his approval or disapproval of their reigns.’

from Rehoboam to Hezekiah.⁹⁴ Worth mentioning, for example, is the burial notice of Ahaziah (2Kgs 9:28) who is noted to be buried ‘in his tomb with his fathers’ (בְּקִבְרֹתָיו עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו) in the MT but only ‘in his tomb’ (בְּקִבְרֹתָיו) in LXX^B and LXX^L. Halpern and Vanderhoft (1991:191 n. 26) devise a case of haplography in the Vorlage of Greek texts in 2Kgs 9:28. However, it is more probable that the MT is expansive in this instance, appending עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו to the statement in the death and burial formula that had already mentioned Ahaziah’s final resting place.⁹⁵ The reading of LXX^L pertaining to Jehoiakim in 2Kgs 24:6 (see also 2Chr 35:24LXX), although being debated whether it is original or secondary,⁹⁶ is representative of the phrase עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו being employed in the regnal formulae of Judean kings even after the account of Ahaz. The fact that this particular instance is discussed in scholarly literature as regards to its genuineness⁹⁷ does not make the issue regarding the use of עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו in burial notices easier. In view of these observations, therefore, the opinion that takes עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו simply as the author’s means of distinguishing between different literary layers of Kings is not compelling. Moreover, in light of the variety of the use of עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו evinced among ancient witnesses, some Kings commentators contend that this phrase following קָבַר should be understood as belonging to a scribal convention rather than being an authorial formulation.⁹⁸ It may be significant in this regard to note that Chronicles, where it does not include its special material in the death and burial formulae, introduces the phrase עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו after קָבַר less often than Kings.⁹⁹

A different situation obtains relating to the phrase בְּעִיר דָּוִד ‘in the city of David’ also used in the argument for Hezekiah’s edition of Kings. Regarding the usage of this expression there is considerable agreement among ancient witnesses of Kings as the phrase is consistently employed in the death and burial formulae of Judean

⁹⁴ More precisely, the accounts of five kings out of twelve differ with regard to the distribution of the phrase עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו following קָבַר in their burial notices; see the table on the following page.

⁹⁵ Cf. the reading בְּקִבְרֹתָיו in the burial notices of Amon and Josiah in 2Kgs 21:26 and 23:30. (But note also LXX^L referring to burial ‘in the tomb of his father’ regarding Amon in 2Kgs 21:26, and MT having בְּקִבְרֹתָיו אֲבוֹתָיו regarding Josiah in 2Chr 35:24.)

⁹⁶ See e.g. Benzinger (1899:197); Nelson (1981:86); Würthwein (1984:469) who regard the LXX^L reading to be original, while e.g. Montgomery (1951:553), Seitz (1989:106), Na’aman (2004:246) to be secondary.

⁹⁷ See acute comment by Seitz (1989:106 n. 4) over scholarly disagreements regarding LXX^L of 2Kgs 24:6: ‘Lucian can be considered *lectio difficilior* by one group of scholars and an accurate supplement by another.’

⁹⁸ See e.g. Stade and Schwally (1904:139, 142-43). Cf. Montgomery (1951:273, 279) and Würthwein (1985²:181 n. 4) who, for example, takes בְּעִיר דָּוִד in 1Kgs 14:31MT as a case of dittography.

⁹⁹ See 2Chr 12:16//1Kgs 14:31; 2Chr 27:9//2Kgs 15:38 and 2Chr 13:23//1Kgs 15:8 LXX.

DISTRIBUTION OF עֲבֹדָתָהֶם 'WITH HIS FATHERS' FOLLOWING קָבַר IN DEATH AND BURIAL FORMULAE OF KINGS OF JUDAH

	MT Kgs	LXX ^B Kgs	LXX ^L Kgs	MT Chr	LXX ^B Chr	LXX ^L Chr	2Chr 12:16	2Chr 13:23	2Chr 16:14	2Chr 21:1	2Chr 21:20	2Chr 22:9	2Chr 24:25	2Chr 25:28	2Chr 26:23	2Chr 27:9	2Chr 28:27	2Chr 32:33	2Chr 33:20
Rehoboam	+	+	+	0	0	0													
Abijam	0	+	+	0	0	0													
Asa	+	+	+	0	0	0													
Jehosaphat*	+	0	+	+	+	+													
Jehoram	+	+	+	0	0	0													
Ahaziah	+	0	0	0	0	0													
Joash	+	+	+	0	0	0													
Amaziah	+	+	+	+	+	+													
Azariah	+	+	+	+	+	+													
Jotham	+	+	+	0	0	0													
Ahaz	+	0	0	0	0	0													
Hezekiah	0	0	+	0	0	0													
Manasseh	0	0	0	0	0	0													
Amon	0	0	0	0	0	0													
Josiah	0	0	0	0	0	0													
Jehoiakim	0	0	+	0	0	0													

NB: There is no death and burial formula for the exiled kings Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah in Kings and Chronicles, for Amon in Chronicles and for Jehoiakim in MT Chronicles and 1Esdras.

* LXX^B lacks the whole phrase 'he was buried with his fathers' in 1Kgs 16:28h.

** The Greek translator in 2Chr 36:8 appears to follow a Hebrew *Vorlage* also underlying the Lucianic text of 2Kgs 24:6; see Allen (1974:216 n. 5).

monarchs until Ahaz. After the account of this king the phrase may be found only among some Greek witnesses, including LXX^L, pertaining to closing formulae of kings Hezekiah and Josiah. Similarly, there is greater consistency in the way the phrase בעיר דוד (or its equivalents ביהושלם or בעיר יהודה)¹⁰⁰ are employed in the closing formulae of Judean kings until Ahaz in Chronicles. As noted above, only in two instances is the reference to the place of burial for kings reigning between Rehoboam and Ahaziah absent from Chronicles: in 2Chr 22:9 regarding Ahaziah and in 2Chr 26:23 concerning Uzziah. In both cases the additional information provided by Chr is in accord with his own theological concerns.

Following Ahaz, the references to the burial place of Hezekiah vary among biblical texts in that MT Kings has no record about his burial, while LXX^L and some other Greek manuscripts of 2Kgs 20:21 mention that Hezekiah was buried בעיר דוד 'in the city of David' and 2Chr 32:33 refers to his burial במעלה קברי בני-דוד 'on the ascent to the tombs of the sons of David'. This is not a place for a detailed discussion relating this textual diversity. More significant for our purposes are the references to the burial place of the ensuing king Manasseh, who is noted in 2Kgs 21:18 to have been buried בגן-עוזא בגן-ביתו 'in the garden of his house in the garden of Uzza'. In 2Chr 33:20, the burial place of this king is stated as being ביתו 'in his house' (MT) or ἐν παραδείσῳ οἴκου αὐτοῦ 'in the garden of his house' (LXX). It emerges from this observation that Chr derives his information about Manasseh's burial from a source significantly close to Kings at this point. The considerable affinity regarding the burial notice of Manasseh between Kings and Chronicles may militate against proposals of some scholars that Chr knew only Hezekiah's edition of Kings.¹⁰¹ Rather, Chr's major source relating to the divided monarchy followed through the accounts of Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah and probably the last four kings of Judah, but at the same time was different from the present book of Kings as it would not have included, for example, the names of queen mothers in the regnal resumés of the last few Judean kings. What about the change then of burial place in the account of Manasseh from being 'the city of David' in the accounts of Judean kings until Ahaz to now '(the garden of) his house (the garden of Uzza)' that is attested in both

¹⁰⁰ See note 92 above on these variants in Chronicles.

¹⁰¹ The idea that Chr may have known only the edition of Kings which reached as far as Hezekiah is, for example, entertained by Provan (1988:141). Halpern (1981:35-54) on the one hand takes the view that Chr relied on an older Hezekian source but, on the other, allows that Chr was also familiar with Kings (1981:52), or more precisely with a Josianic edition of Kings (Halpern and Vanderhooft 1991:237-38).

Kings and Chronicles? Some scholars, most recently Na'aman (2004:245-54), propose that this change in written sources reflects the actual change in burial practice. Whatever the historical reality behind this alteration in sources may be, the argument for Hezekiah's edition of Kings based on death and burial formulae may not be substantiated by the fact that the phrase עִם־אֲבוֹתָיו 'with his fathers' has a varied occurrence in ancient versions and therefore does not count as evidence.

3.8. Succession Formula

The regnal formulae in both Kings and Chronicles usually conclude the royal accounts with a statement on succession in a pattern as follows: וַיִּמְלֹךְ [PN] בֶּן־חֲחַדִּי. The divergences from this pattern may be observed in the succession formulae of kings Amaziah, Amon and Josiah, in which it is the populace installing a future king, and in the notices of exiled rulers Jehoahaz and Jehoiakin whose successors are installed by foreign monarchs.¹⁰²

In each biblical history the regnal framework of one of the Judean kings has the anomaly of having two succession notices. Kings in the account of Amon includes next to the narration about installing his successor by עַם־הָאָרֶץ 'the people of the land' (2Kgs 21:24//2Chr 33:25) also the standard succession formula וַיִּמְלֹךְ יֹאשִׁיָהוּ בֶן־חֲחַדִּי (2Kgs 21:26). Chronicles, on the other hand, adds to the standard succession formula in the framework of Jehoram (2Chr 22:1b//2Kgs 8:24) the note about יֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם 'inhabitants of Jerusalem' appointing a new leader (2Chr 22:1a). The addition in Chronicles is usually taken to belong to a later development within this book, linked with Chr's special material relating to the account of Arab raids (2Chr 21:16-17).

Turning to the story of Amon, the special case of two succession formulae in Amon's regnal framework in Kings is often left unexplained, while much more discussion is directed towards explaining the absence of the second succession notice together with the referral formula and burial notice in Chronicles. Some scholars contend that Amon was simply unworthy of reference to his royal records and burial in the view of Chr,¹⁰³ while others see a case of textual corruption caused by haplography (from וַיִּמְלֹךְ יֹאשִׁיָהוּ בֶן־חֲחַדִּי to וַיִּמְלֹךְ יֹאשִׁיָהוּ בֶן־חֲחַדִּי) in the account of Amon in

¹⁰² Amaziah (2Kgs 14:21//2Chr 26:1); Amon (2Kgs 21:24//2Chr 33:25); Josiah (2Kgs 23:30//2Chr 36:1); Jehoahaz (2Kgs 23:34//2Chr 36:4); Jehoiachin (2Kgs 24:17//2Chr 36:10). The Judean king Ahaziah has no succession formula which does not need explanation since the power in Judah after Ahaziah is usurped by Athaliah.

¹⁰³ Japhet (1993:1014), Glatt-Gilad (2001:209).

Chronicles.¹⁰⁴ This attention to Chronicles, however, does not help in resolving the problem of double occurrence of a succession notice in the regnal resumé of Amon in Kings. Perhaps a fitting explanation for this may be found in the literary technique of ancient redactors/scribes of resumptive repetition. A later redactor of Kings, who noted missing a referral formula and burial notice in his source material on Amon, simply added these stereotyped parts of the regnal framework to his source. Following his added material he partly repeated the last phrase from the primary source to which he made an addition. Though haplography in Chronicles is an attractive possibility, resumptive repetition in Kings, seems to us better to account not only for the shorter closing formula of Amon in Chronicles, which could well be original, but also for an unusual double occurrence of a succession formula in Kings.

4. Concluding Remarks on Regnal Formulae

One or two conclusions can be made on the basis of the study of regnal formulae. First there are clear differences in the portrayal of some parts of these formulae between Kings and Chronicles, but only few of these differences can be attributed to Chr's theological interests. These interests have been mostly observed in Chronicles in the expanded death and burial formulae. In some of the differences between the two biblical books in their regnal formulae of Judean kings it is not immediately obvious, whether these are to be attributed to the author of Chronicles or whether they originated with redactional or scribal activity in the text of Kings. Others, however, clearly point to Chr having a *Vorlage* different from the present book of Kings. This has been observed for example in the instances of queen mother formulae, where it has been suggested that Chr's source text did not include these formulae in the accounts of the later Judean kings. This finding is close to Macy's conclusions who contended that Chr used an earlier 'Deuteronomistic source' common to both Kings and Chronicles rather than the canonical book of Kings for its chronological framework of kings' reigns.¹⁰⁵

Second, various observations so far in this chapter converged in the suggestion that the framework of the northern kings may be a later addition to Kings, not known

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Benzinger (1901:129), Rudolph (1955:316), Lemke (1963:225), Williamson (1982a:396).

¹⁰⁵ Macy (1975:171). Calling this early common material 'Deuteronomistic', Macy made this judgement primarily on the language of evaluative formulae 'to do right/evil in the eyes of Yahweh'. However, as we have shown above, this phraseology is not necessarily 'Deuteronomistic' but inherently belongs to the regnal framework of the two biblical histories.

to Chr from his source material. This was primarily demonstrated in Abijah's formula occurring only in Kings and its connections with regnal resumés of northern kings, and in the term גבורה also being present only in the regnal formulae of Judean monarchs in Kings and it having again connections with the framework of northern rulers. The language in synchronistic notices in Kings suggested to us that they may not be primary in Kings but rather are dependent on the very first synchronistic notice, which Kings shares with Chronicles. Our final chapter will take further the implications from the present study of regnal formulae in Kings and Chronicles with regard to the development of the material dealing with the northern kingdom occurring only in Kings. Thus far we have seen the regnal framework of Judean kings playing a significant part in texts shared by Kings and Chronicles. No less significantly, however, the accounts of royal cultic reforms feature in the two biblical histories. It is these accounts in the shared and non-shared material of Kings and Chronicles which are the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

Cultic Reform Accounts

Another set of passages deserving a closer look as suggested at the beginning of the preceding chapter is cultic reform accounts that deal with a destruction of religious objects and installations. These texts, describing an elimination of undesirable cultic entities, display common characteristics in the use of language that can be most clearly observed within the related synoptic material of Kings and Chronicles pertaining to the reforms of Judean kings.¹ There are four kings of Judah (Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah) and one priest (Jehoiada), who appear in the shared contexts of the two histories, to whom reforms are attributed. The reform notices of Asa (excepting 1Kgs 15:13//2Chr 15:16) and Jehoshaphat in Kings have fewer verbal correspondences with their counterparts in Chronicles, in comparison with those pertaining to Hezekiah and Josiah, and Jehoiada. Accordingly, the latter group with more significant links is studied first, being followed by an examination of the reform accounts of Asa and Jehoshaphat, before attention is paid in the final part to the reform accounts in the non-shared material of Kings and Chronicles.

1. Reform Accounts in Kings and Chronicles with More Significant Links

JEHOIADA

2Kgs 11:18 ויבאו כל־עם הארץ בית־הבעל ויתצוּ את־מוֹזבחתו [מוֹזבחתו^{Qere}] ואת־צלמיו שברו היטב ואת מִתָּן כהֵן הבעל הרגו לפני המִזְבְּחֹת

2Chr 23:17 ויבאו כל־עם בית־הבעל ויתצוּ ואת־מוֹזבחתו ואת־צלמיו שברו ואת מִתָּן כהֵן הבעל הרגו לפני המִזְבְּחֹת

HEZEKIAH²

2Kgs 18:4 הוא הסיר את־הבמות ושבר את־המִזְבְּחֹת וכתת נחש הנחשת אשר־עשה משה כי ער־הימים ההמה היו בני־ישראל מקטרים לו ויקרא־לו נחשתן

2Chr 29-31
(2Chr 31:1) וככלות כל־זאת יצאו כל־ישראל הנמוצאים לערי יהודה וישברו המִזְבְּחֹת ויגרעו האשרים וינתצו את־הבמות ואת־המִזְבְּחֹת מכל־יהודה ובנימן ובאפרים ומנשה עד־לכלה וישבו כל־בני ישראל איש לאחוזתו לעריהם

¹ For a helpful discussion of some of the typical terminology occurring in the reform accounts see Barth (*TDOT* 10:110-11).

² The text related to Hezekiah's reform in Chronicles is broader than the verse noted in the table. In general terms, chapters 29-31 of 2Chr are regarded as dealing with aspects of Hezekiah's reform. The verse noted in the table above (31:1) has the most significant links with the version of Hezekiah's reform in Kings and includes some of the most characteristic terminology of the reform reports shared by the two histories.

JOSIAH³

2Kgs 23:4-20

(v. 12) ואת־המזבחות אשר על־הנג עלית אחו... ואת־המזבחות אשר... נתן המלך וירץ משם והשליך את־עפרם אל־נחל קדרון

(v. 14) ושבר את־המזבחות ויכרת את־האשרים וימלא את־מקומם עצמות אדם

2Chr 34:3-7

(v. 4) וינתצו לפניו את מזבחות הבעלים והחמנים אשר־למעלה מעליהם גרע והאשרים והפסלים והמסכות שבר והדק ויזרק עליפני הקברים הזבחים להם

(v.7) וינתן את־המזבחות ואת־האשרים והפסלים כחת להדק וכל־החמנים גרע בכל־ארץ ישראל וישב לירושלם

ASA (his removal of Maacah – only)

1Kgs 15:13

וגם את־מעכה אמו ויסרה מגבירה אשר־עשתה מפלצת לאשרה ויכרת אסא את־מפלצתה וישרף בנחל קדרון

2Chr 15:16

ונס־מעכה אם אסא המלך הסירה מגבירה אשר־עשתה לאשרה מפלצת ויכרת אסא את־מפלצתה וידק וישרף בנחל קדרון

The table above exhibits frequently used stereotyped expressions related to a destruction of a cult. The verbs נתן, שבר and גרע/כרת⁴ suggesting breaking, tearing and cutting down cultic installations are part of an essential vocabulary stock in the text of both Kings and Chronicles describing reformation activity associated with the priest Jehoiada and the kings Hezekiah, Josiah and (in part) Asa. Furthermore, these verbs can be found in the reform notices linked with the Judean leaders in the fixed phrases: נתן מזבחה (2Kgs 23:12; 2Chr 34:4,7); שבר מצבה (2Kgs 18:4//2Chr 31:1; 2Kgs 23:14) and גרע/כרת אשרה (2Kgs 18:4//2Chr 31:1; 2Kgs 23:14).⁵ This standard language pertaining to the reform accounts of synoptic contexts is usually considered, with regard to its presence in the book of Kings, as being tied to the Deuteronomistic mode of expression.⁶ Such a view seems to be underscored by the

³ Josiah's reform spans across 2Kgs 23:4-20 and 2Chr 34:3-7. Only selected verses of these accounts are included in this table, namely the ones that most clearly display language that conforms to the overall pattern of typical phrases of reform accounts elsewhere in Kings and Chronicles.

⁴ The two terms כרת and גרע are used in the reform texts of Kings and Chronicles synonymously, which means that where Kings uses כרת, Chronicles employs גרע (2Kgs 18:4//2Chr 31:1; 2Kgs 23:14//2Chr 34:4,7). The only exception to this evenly divided usage seems to be 1Kgs 15:13//2Chr 15:16 where both Kings and Chronicles employ כרת. But the circumstance of this parallel usage seems to be equally exceptional because כרת is linked in these two almost identical verses with the specific term מפלצת, which is unique and does not occur in the rest of the Bible. The same phenomenon of evenly divided usage of כרת and גרע can be observed in comparable texts dealing with abolition of Canaanite worship in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Whereas Exod 34:13 employs כרת, in similar contexts Deut 7:5 and 12:3 use גרע.

⁵ See the table on these verbs and expressions in appendix A on p. 198.

⁶ On this see the comments made by commentators at various points of their exposition of the book of Kings; e.g. on the language of 2Kgs 18:4 being wholly 'deuteronomistic' see Long (1991:194), Hobbs (1985:252). Seow (1999:260) speaks in connection with the language of 2Kgs 18:4 about Hezekiah

occurrence of the very same expressions in the prescriptive texts of Deuteronomy (7:5; 12:3). More striking is the fact, however, that the characteristic language of the reform accounts, usually closely associated with the corpus of Deuteronomistic literature, is to be found utilized to a greater extent by Chr who adds the distinctive terminology of ‘breaking’ (שבר) and ‘cutting down’ (גרע) to his account of Asa’s reform (2Chr 14:2), and in the additional *אחיה מוזבה... וינתנו* (2Chr 31:1) adjusts in compliance with this language the text of Hezekiah’s cultic policies.⁷ Chr’s tendency towards an increased use of this stereotypical cult destruction terminology found in the reform reports of shared contexts by the two histories invites a question whether Chr was not indebted for this terminology only to these immediate reform accounts rather than to the wider Deuteronomistic corpus, stretching from Deuteronomy to 2Kings.

As has been noted, parallel terminology does occur in Deuteronomy (7:5 – *שבר מצבה, נתן מוזבה*; 12:3 – *שבר מצבה, נתן מוזבה*); 12:3 – *שבר מצבה, נתן מוזבה*, [שרף פסיל באש +]; 12:3 – *שבר מצבה, נתן מוזבה*); 12:3 – *שבר מצבה, נתן מוזבה*, [שרף פסיל באש +]; 12:3 – *שבר מצבה, נתן מוזבה*). No less noticeable, however, is the presence of similar language elements in the book of Exodus (34:13 – *שבר מצבה, נתן מוזבה*; cf. Exod 23:24 – only *שבר מצבה*). The passages with cult destruction terminology are part of wider literary units in Exodus (23:20-33; 32-34) and Deuteronomy (7; 12). And it is precisely between these texts, that the points of contact have more often been observed and discussed rather than between the passages with phraseology of cult destruction in Deuteronomy and Kings within what is usually taken by scholars to be one body of literature in the Old Testament, the so called Deuteronomistic historical work.⁸ An important factor for

being ‘portrayed as being faithful to the deuteronomic law’. The strongest proponent of the Deuteronomistic factor in the stereotyped language of reform notices in Kings (and other historical books) is Hoffmann (1980), who in his study, devoted to the theme of cultic reform in the Deuteronomistic narrative, considers the Deuteronomist as an inventive author rather than the redactor of older sources in the Nothian sense.

⁷ Chr has been viewed in relation to the language of Asa’s reform measures in 2Chr 14:2 as the one ‘following the spirit of the Deuteronomic precept in Deut 7:5’ (Japhet 1993:706), or as the one who ‘expounded [*gllm*] in terms familiar from Deuteronomy 7’ (Auld 1994:90). Despite obvious similarities with Deut 7:5 (and 12:3) we believe such statements, noting exclusively parallels between Chronicles passage and Deuteronomy, may give misleading impressions about the relations between these texts. Chr indeed expands an originally briefer passage, but rather in terms familiar from shared accounts with Kings, since there are equally (or even more) significant parallels with 2Kgs 18:4//2Chr 31:1. Note e.g. the term *במה* occurring in both 2Kgs 18:4//2Chr 31:1 and Chr’s expansion in 2Chr 14:2 which Deuteronomy does not know.

⁸ Discussions centre around the nature and origin of so-called ‘deuteronomic’ elements in the first four books of the Pentateuch. The crucial passages in Exodus which show some affinity with the style, language and thought of Deuteronomy are Exod 12:24-27a, 13:3-16; 20:1-17, 23:20-33; 32-34 (Vervenne 1994:254). For Noth (1991²:28 n. 1), these passages contained later insertions in a Dtr style. Perfit (1969:219-22), however, considered it impossible to envisage a procedure by which sporadic insertions in a Dtr style would be made to the Tetrateuch. He argued for Deuteronomistic

considering the texts with cult destruction terminology in Exod 23:24, 34:13 and Deut 7:5, 12:3 together is that they exhibit a similar contextual background with stress being placed on the abolition of Canaanite worship.⁹ Formal aspects of the pericopes containing the language descriptive of cult destruction within these two books are also very similar. The compositional mode is that of speech: in Exod 23:24, 34:13 it is divine speech; in Deut 7:5; 12:3 it is speech of Moses. This is different from the reform accounts in Kings, where the terminology of cultic destruction occurs in a narrative, conveying the past. Such considerations may give support to the view that the typical phrases denoting destruction of cultic objects might have arisen first within the story of the monarchy depicting the reforms of Jehoiada, Hezekiah, Josiah (and partly Asa), and only at the subsequent phase have they been transposed to the context of warnings against the cultic practices of the Canaanites, finding their expression in the texts of Exod 23; 34 and Deut 7; 12. The thought of Levinson (1997:148) who contends that 'the Deuteronomistic editors brand[ed] the Israelite cultic norms that they wish[ed] to abrogate as objectionable practices of the displaced Canaanites' implying a late format in legal corpus is not in basic disagreement with our conclusion of cult-destruction language in Deuteronomy and Exodus being editorial and secondary to the original literary context in the story of the monarchy.¹⁰

One may note that outside the royal narratives in Kings and Chronicles, a parallel terminology linked with destruction of cult occurs, in addition to texts in Deuteronomy and Exodus, in the story of Gideon (Judg 6). However, Eynikel (1996:252 n. 368) emphasizes that Judg 6:25-32 is closely related to the episode from the Elijah cycle in 1Kgs 18:20-40; he maintains that the Gideon story in Judges (against Hoffmann's thesis) does not belong to the same authorial/redactional layer as the cult reform accounts in Kings (1996:252-53). Moreover, Auld (1989:257-67)

editing being more pervasive, penetrating the whole of the Tetrateuchal material. Brekelmans (1966:90-96) and Lohfink (1963:121-24) suggested the passages in Genesis-Numbers that resemble the language and thought of Deuteronomy to be called 'proto-deuteronomic', thus proposing an earlier dating for these texts compared with those in Deuteronomy. On the other side of the opinion pole on these matters are the views of e.g. Van Seters (1994:355) or Blum (1990:164) who regard so-called 'deuteronomic' elements in the Tetrateuch as post-deuteronomistic reworkings by either a late Yahwist (Van Seters) or the editors of the D-Composition (Blum). In this debate a quest comes to the fore for solid criteria in establishing the 'Deuteronomi(sti)c' character of passages in the Tetrateuch. See in this regard studies by Ausloos (1997:47-56; 1998:77-89).

⁹ Nielsen (1995:135).

¹⁰ We have not attempted here to make judgments on the priority of texts between Exodus and Deuteronomy in this subsequent stage of literary development. On the relationship between the texts of these two books see the works cited above in note 8.

observes a number of links between the Gideon episode in Judg 6-8 and other biblical traditions, and suggests a late date for this narrative. Conclusions of both, Eynikel and Auld, would add to our contention that we may be dealing in the Gideon narrative, similarly as in Deuteronomy and Exodus but perhaps at yet another level, with secondary adaptation of cult-destruction terminology that had its primary occurrence in the reform accounts of the story of monarchy.

Likewise at a subsequent stage, but in a different manner from the literature of the legal corpus and from the Gideon episode, the book of Chronicles treats the specific terminology pertaining to the destruction of the cult. It has been observed that the phrases, which were first introduced in the reform accounts of the monarchy, are re-used by Chr in a way which expands and elaborates on these inherited narratives. The evidence of this was seen particularly in Chr's reform reports of Asa and Hezekiah.

2. Reform Accounts in Kings and Chronicles with Fewer Correspondences

ASA

1Kgs 15:12

ויעבר הקדשים מן־הארץ ויסר את־כל־הגללים אשר עשו אבתיו

2Chr 14:2

ויסר את־מזבחות הנכר והבמות וישבר את־המצבות ויגדע את־האשרים

2Chr 15:8

ויעבר השקוצים מכל־ארץ יהודה ובנימן...

JEHOSAPHAT

1Kgs 22:47

ויתר הקדש אשר נשאר בימי אסא אביו בער מן־הארץ

2Chr 19:3

אבל דברים טובים נמצאו עמך כִּי־בערת האשרות מן־הארץ...

The texts which report the reforms of Asa and Jehoshaphat differ from those set forth in the previous section in that there are significantly less links between Kings and Chronicles in the portrayal of the reforms of these two kings.¹¹ Moreover, the few terms that are shared cannot be identified with any of those noted previously in association with the activity of cult destruction.¹²

In the examination of the reform notices pertaining to Asa and Jehoshaphat, questions concerning their location within the overall structure of Asa and Jehoshaphat narratives in the two histories, and the relationship between them in

¹¹ One exception is 1Kgs 15:13//2Chr 15:16 where Kings and Chronicles portray in an almost identical terms Asa's removal of his mother Maacah from the office and a destruction of her idol. We included this instance in the previous section (3.1.) together with the reform notices with more significant parallels.

¹² Neither the verbs נתן/שבר, גרע/כרת, שבר, נתן nor the terms מזבח, מזבחה, אשרה are shared by Kings and Chronicles in their accounts of Asa (excepting 1Kgs 15:13//2Chr 15:16) and Jehoshaphat's reforms.

Kings and Chronicles initially emerge. In what follows, an overview of the narrative sequence is provided for each king. Starting with Asa, the sequence of events regarding the reign of this king, as it is displayed in each history, is this:¹³

1Kgs 15:9-11	Introductory notice	2Chr 13:23-14:1
1Kgs 15:12a	Cultic reform notice	2Chr 14:2
	Further notice of reform	2Chr 14:3-4
	<i>[Removal of high places</i>	<i>2Chr 14:4 (cf. 2)]</i>
	Asa's building activity	2Chr 14:5-6
	War with Zerah	2Chr 14:7-14
	Oracle of Azariah	2Chr 15:1-7
1Kgs 15:12b	Reform notice	2Chr 15:8
	Covenant celebration	2Chr 15:9-15
1Kgs 15:13	Reform notice	2Chr 15:16
1Kgs 15:14-15	Further measures related to cult	2Chr 15:17-18
<i>[1Kgs 15:14</i>	<i>High places not removed</i>	<i>2Chr 15:17]</i>
1Kgs 15:16-22	War with Baasha and its aftermath	2Chr 15:19-16:6
	Hannani's oracle and Asa's reaction	2Chr 16:7-10
1Kgs 15:23-24	Concluding notices	2Chr 16:11-14

The account of Asa's reform in both Kings and Chronicles immediately follows an introductory note regarding the king. In Chronicles, the reform notice is expanded by additional information and serves as an introduction to Chr's own material related to Asa's building programme, the war with Zerah, Azariah's oracle, and covenant renewal. The second reform notice appears following Azariah's oracle in this larger Chr's expansion. After its departure from a shared introductory treatment of Asa's reign with intervening non-synoptic material, Chronicles account rejoins Kings in its report of Asa's removal of his mother Maacah and her cult. In Kings there is no such interruption and the notice of Maacah's removal is a direct continuation of the reform notice made after the introduction to the king.¹⁴

Things are more complicated in relation to Jehoshaphat and the portrayal of his reign in both histories. First, there is no common ground between Kings and Chronicles in the context in which the reform notices occur in these two books; and second, there is a chronological divergence between the Septuagint and the Masoretic traditions concerning Jehoshaphat's narrative seen in the occurrence of a doublet regnal summary of Jehoshaphat in the Greek text. The table detailing the events of Jehoshaphat's reign is as follows:

¹³ In creating this table we were aided by a similar chart in Knoppers (1996:605).

¹⁴ Clearly, Asa's reign is treated at much greater length in Chronicles than in Kings. Accordingly, scholars find several issues deserving attention when dealing with the longer account in Chronicles, most prominent among them (1) the question of sources, (2) the problem of chronology and (3) the issue of Chr's themes characteristic of his theology. See Rudolph (1952:367-71); Dillard (1980:207-18); Williamson (1982a:255-58); Dillard (1987:115-17); Japhet (1993:702-5, 715-16, 731-32).

1Kgs 15:24b		Jehoshaphat's introductory notice	2Chr 17:1
		Status of Jehoshaphat's kingdom	2Chr 17:2-19
1Kgs 15:25-16:28		<i>[Removal of high places</i>	<i>2Chr 17:6]</i>
1Kgs 16:29-34		Reign of Northern Kings	
1Kgs 17:1-21:29		Introduction to Ahab's reign	
		Prophetic stories intertwined with affairs of Ahab	
1Kgs 22:1-35		Jehoshaphat's coalition with Ahab	2Chr 18:1-34
1Kgs 22:36-40		Ahab's end	
		Prophet Jehu's rebuke of Jehoshaphat	2Chr 19:1-2
		Reform notice (in Jehu's speech)	2Chr 19:3
		Jehoshaphat's judicial reform	2Chr 19:4-11
MT, LXX ^B	LXX ^{B,L} (doublet)	Jehoshaphat's victory over Moab	2Chr 20:1-30
1Kgs 22:41-46	1Kgs 16:28a-c	Summary of Jehoshaphat's reign	2Chr 20:31-34
<i>[1Kgs 22:44</i>	<i>1Kgs 16:28b</i>	<i>High places not removed</i>	<i>2Chr 20:33]</i>
1Kgs 22:47	1Kgs 16:28d	Reform notice	
1Kgs 22:48	1Kgs 16:28e	Note on no king in Edom	2Chr 20:35-37
1Kgs 22:49-50	1Kgs 16:28f-g	Jehoshaphat's maritime venture	
1Kgs 22:51	1Kgs 16:28h	Concluding note on Jehoshaphat	2Chr 21:1

The treatments of Jehoshaphat in Kings and Chronicles differ from each other considerably. That is demonstrated not only in the amount of space devoted to this king but also in the broader literary contexts in which the story of Jehoshaphat occurs. In Kings, the wider setting of Jehoshaphat's narrative is the interest in the Northern Kingdom (1Kgs 15:25 – 2Kgs 8:16). The more immediate context is the reign of Ahab (1Kgs 16:29 – 1Kgs 22). This is fittingly illustrated in the episode of Ahab's and Jehoshaphat's campaign against Ramoth-Gilead (1Kgs 22:1-40), where the background makes the 'primary function of that narrative to account for Ahab's death'¹⁵ – contrary to Chronicles (2Chr 18:1-19:3), where the same episode appears in a context that elucidates a moral evaluation of Jehoshaphat, describing his involvement in a foreign alliance as evil. Apart from this episode related to Jehoshaphat, the book of Kings contains the standard summary of Jehoshaphat's reign (2Kgs 22:41-46, 51 MT, LXX^B) with two additional notes (vv. 47-48 MT, LXX^B) and the brief story of a maritime venture (vv. 49-50 MT, LXX^B).¹⁶ Jehoshaphat's regnal summary occurs in LXX^{B,L} also following 1Kgs 16:28, and Shenkel (1968:43-44) supposes this summary to be original in the old Greek text in

¹⁵ Dillard (1987:129).

¹⁶ One other account in Kings mentions Jehoshaphat, the battle report in 2Kgs 3. However, there exists variation among ancient witnesses in relation to Jehoshaphat's name in that his name is attested only in MT and LXX^B but not in Lucianic texts. In LXX^L the king of Judah is either anonymous, or identified as Ahaziah. Shenkel (1968:98-108) makes a convincing case that the king of Judah was originally in this chapter anonymous and that the insertions of proper names in both MT (together with LXX^B) and the Lucianic text are later developments.

comparison to the one occurring in LXX^B in 1Kgs 22:41-51. Thus in the Hebrew chronology, Jehoshaphat's summary appears after the concluding note on Ahab at the end of the Ahab narratives (1Kgs 22:40), while in the old Greek chronology, which Shenkel thinks to be primary, it comes right after the accession formula at the opening of the Ahab accounts (1Kgs 16:28).¹⁷ Notwithstanding the divergences in the location of the regnal summation of Jehoshaphat in the Hebrew and Greek texts of Kings, it is within this body of material commenting on the reign of Jehoshaphat (1Kgs 16:28a-h LXX^{B,L}; 1Kgs 22:41-51 MT, LXX^B) that the reform notice of Jehoshaphat emerges in Kings' history.

Both passages relating to Jehoshaphat in Kings – Ahab's and Jehoshaphat's expedition to Ramoth-Gilead (1Kgs 22:1-35) and the regnal summary with additional notes (1Kgs 22:41-51 MT, LXX^B) – have their counterparts in Chronicles (2Chr 18:1-34; 20:31-21:1) within Chr's much extended coverage of Jehoshaphat's reign (chaps. 17-20). A cult measure taken by Jehoshaphat is mentioned in Chronicles' special material added to the episode of Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab (2Chr 19:1-3).¹⁸ There the king's reform activity is mouthed by the prophet Jehu ben Hanani (19:3) as a positive thing balancing Jehoshaphat's failure in entering into a foreign alliance. The location of the reform notice in Jehu's speech that is Chr's own ending to the Ramoth-Gilead incident shared with Kings, however, is highly suspect. The notice originally belonged somewhere else. The regnal resumé relating to Jehoshaphat's career as witnessed by Kings may well have provided that original setting for the notice. In a similar way as in the account concerning Asa where Chr split Asa's reform notice into two (2Chr 14:2; 15:8) and inserted his own material in between, so also here Chr adjusts the reform notice of Jehoshaphat, transferring it from its original setting in Jehoshaphat's regnal summary to serve his purpose in associating it with the end of the Ramoth-Gilead story.

It might be relevant at this point to remark on another feature common to Chr's coverage of Judean kings Jehoshaphat and Asa. In both accounts pertaining to these kings Chr includes mention of the implementation of cultic reform with regard to high places. The note concerning the removal of high places appears in Chr's text dealing with Asa and Jehoshaphat near the beginning in each of their accounts by Chr (2Chr 14:4 [cf. v.2]; 17:6). Interestingly enough, it is only in connection with

¹⁷ For more detailed discussion of these two versions see Shenkel (1968:43-60).

¹⁸ The notice is repeated with some language variation and an addition of the note concerning the removal of high places in 2Chr 17:6.

these two kings – in contrast to the book of Kings – that a note occurs in Chronicles that ‘the high places were not removed’ (2Chr 15:17; 20:33). More space will be devoted to this phenomenon later. For the moment we will return to the issue of the placement of Asa and Jehoshaphat’s reform notices.

An initial, only a cursory, look at the location of the reform notices in the texts of Kings and Chronicles related to the two Judean kings, and that of Jehoshaphat in particular, may not offer much in terms of seeing the close parallels between the notices in the two histories. In fact, in the case of Jehoshaphat the divergent location of the mention of Jehoshaphat’s cultic reform in Kings and Chronicles has often resulted in commentators on these texts not noticing the link between the two at all.¹⁹ That there is a relation, however, can be most strongly demonstrated by the special use of terminology, particularly the choice of verbs that are shared by the two books in these notices.

The account of the reform of Asa in 1Kgs 15:12 involves two verbs, עבר and סור. Both terms are equally significant in the description of the reforms in Chronicles, עבר occurring in 2Chr 15:8 and סור in 2Chr 14:2. Besides these two verbs, Chronicles does not employ any other verb depicting the reform in these two verses, apart from those appearing in the imported expression וישבר אתהמצבות ויגדע אתהאשרים (2Chr 14:2b). The term עבר in the hiphil stem, as has been observed, is uniquely used within Kings (in 1Kgs 15:12) as well as within Chronicles (in 2Chr 15:8) in the context of cult destruction.²⁰ סור in the hiphil, employed in 1Kgs 15:12 and 2Chr 14:2, occurs more frequently denoting removal of objects associated with cult in each of the two histories and the contexts in Kings and Chronicles are occasionally slightly more varied.²¹ Still, the presence of סור in 1Kgs 15:12 and 2Chr 14:2 features significantly, alongside עבר in 1Kgs 15:12 and 2Chr 15:8, establishing a definite link between Kings and Chronicles in these reform passages.

Not altogether dissimilar is the situation relating to the account of Jehoshaphat’s reform in the two histories. Again, it is particularly a verb, in this case the verb בער in piel, that is shared by 1Kgs 22:47 and 2Chr 19:3. Also this term,

¹⁹ See e.g. commentaries by Japhet (1993) or Williamson (1982a).

²⁰ Hoffmann (1980:88); Auld (1994:90). Auld notes that the verb עבר in the hiphil is reserved elsewhere in Kings only for ‘a fire rite’ associated with children. Few of these instances have their parallels in Chronicles too; see the table on עבר in appendix B on p. 199. Outside 1Kgs 15:12/2Chr 15:8, there seems to be only one other occurrence of עבר (hif) in a cult destruction context – in Zech 13:2.

²¹ See the table on סור in appendix B on p. 199.

conveying a sense of the elimination of entities linked with cult, has a rather distinctive appearance in these two segments.²² *בער* might have been used once more in a generally parallel context of Kings and Chronicles, in texts dealing with Josiah's reform – 2Kgs 23:24 (וּגַם אֶת־הָאֲבֹת וְאֶת־הַיְדֹעֲנִים...בְּעַר יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ) and 2Chr 34:6 – if we allow for the commonly accepted conjecture in a difficult Chronicles passage, reading *בער בתיהם* instead of *בהר בתיהם* (Ketib) or *בהרבתיהם* (Qere).²³

Another indication of the close relationship between the cultic renovation passages in the two histories pertaining to Asa and Jehoshaphat is the usage of the phrase *מִן־הָאֲרִץ*. This expression forms a tie with the verb *עבר* in Asa's reformation texts (1Kgs 15:12; 2Chr 15:8 – *מִכָּל־אֲרִץ*), as well as with the verb *בער* in Jehoshaphat's reform notices (1Kgs 22:47; 2Chr 19:3). What is further significant to note is that the usage of *מִן־הָאֲרִץ* in relation to the verbs of cult elimination is a rather distinctive feature of these reform notices.²⁴ That is yet another indication that the texts dealing with the measures undertaken by Asa, and also by Jehoshaphat, in Kings and Chronicles are undoubtedly related.

The major point of divergence between the two histories in their reform accounts of Asa and Jehoshaphat lies in the use of terms denoting entities associated with cultic practices. Passages in Kings that portray the reforms of Asa and Jehoshaphat use *קִדְשִׁים* (1Kgs 15:12; 22:47) and *גִּלְלִים* (1Kgs 15:12), terms that are not found in Chronicles. On the other hand, Chronicles, besides its use of more common *בְּמִוֶּת* (2Chr 14:2) and *אֲשֵׁרוֹת* (2Chr 19:3), employs *מִזְבְּחוֹת הַנֹּכַח* (2Chr 14:2), an expression that never occurs in cultic contexts in Kings, and *שְׂקִיצִים* (2Chr 15:8),

²² *בער* (pi) 'remove, destroy, exterminate' occurs in the shared context of Kings and Chronicles only in 1Kgs 22:47 and 2Chr 19:3, and perhaps in 2Kgs 23:24 and 2Chr 34:6 (see below n. 23). It has further occurrences in Kings non-synoptic material in the context of judgment oracles relating to Northern kingdom (1Kgs 14:10MT; 16:3 [some Mss; otherwise hif]; 21:21). See the table on *בער* in appendix B on p. 199.

²³ MT text seems corrupt near the end of 2Chr 34:6. The reading *בהר בתיהם* of Codex Leningradensis differs from other Mss manuscripts which have *בהר בתיהם* in Ketib (see BHK). Qere, which differs from Ketib in word division, reads *בהרבתיהם*, while Septuagint's *τῶς τὸς αὐτῶς* may suggest as its *Vorlage* *בהרבתיהם* (a case of metathesis). (However, some contend that such an inference may not be warranted, since *τῶς τὸς αὐτῶς* could have been translator's rendering of an obscure text. In support of this view comes the fact that *τὸς* does not render *רהב* in 2Chr 29:4; 32:6 – the two places with *רהב* occurrence in Chronicles). Perhaps the best suggestion to account for corruption in Ketib reading *בהר בתיהם* is offered by Seeligmann (1961:202 n. 1), who sees the case of confusion in the interchange between the laryngeal letters *ע* and *ה*. He thus reads *בער בתיהם* – an emendation that is accepted by many commentators and also here.

²⁴ The only other passage in Kings and Chronicles, where *מִן־הָאֲרִץ* occurs in connection with the verb of cultic destruction is 2Chr 34:33.

which has only a single appearance of its plural form in the other history (2Kgs 23:13).²⁵

In scholarly discussions, most attention from all the above mentioned cultic terminology has been paid to the term קדשים in the context of debates on Kings and Chronicles histories. It is our contention that in these debates it has been somewhat overstated that Chr was especially careful to avoid any mention of קדשים in his record at every single point where the Kings text preserves this term (1Kgs 14:23, 15:12; 22:47 and 2Kgs 23:7).²⁶ The reference to קדש (sg.) in 1Kgs 14:24 is made in the paragraph treating Judah's cultic abuses during the reign of Rehoboam (1Kgs 14:22b-24) that includes the whole range of cultic installations and entities; קדשים figures only as one component within a whole passage that is completely absent from in Chronicles.²⁷ The verse 2Kgs 23:7 in which קדשים occurs in association with some kind of structures in the house of Yahweh doomed to destruction, and also in association with the Asherah cult and women weavers, has often been found problematical.²⁸ It is of interest to note, in addition to this text's complexity, that it is again rather the whole cluster of sentences and phrases within which קדשים emerges in the expansive story of Josiah's reform in Kings, which is not found in Chronicles. Drawing on these observations, it becomes apparent that there are only two contexts with an occurrence of קדשים in Kings that have relatively close counterparts in Chronicles in which this term does not occur. These are the texts under our discussion associated with Asa and Jehosaphat's reforms (1Kgs 15:12; 22:47). And it may be that only in relation to these two accounts may we speak of Chr's omission of קדשים *per se*. In 2Chr 15:8 קדשים is replaced by שקיזים, the expression reserved for cultic objects rather than cultic personnel, and in 2Chr 19:3 by אשרות, the term used once more by Chr in his material on Jehosaphat (2Chr 17:6). Analogous to Chr's introduction of אשרות in 19:3 (replacing קדשים) following its appearance in his own material (17:6) is his use of מזבחות הנכר in 2Chr 14:2 in substitution for גללים, which appears also (with little difference as אלהי הנכר) in his own special material relating to Manasseh (2Chr 33:15).

²⁵ On distribution of all these terms, see the table in appendix C on pp. 200-202.

²⁶ It is quite possible that there was one more instance of קדשים in the text of Kings originally, in 2Kgs 23:24. The LXX version of 2Chr 35:19 that is closer to Kings in this particular verse, mentions קדשים; Klein (1967:93 n. 4) proposes that LXX of 2Chr 35:19 reflects an early text of 2Kgs 23:24.

²⁷ Cf. Auld (1994:89) who in the context of this discussion considers the Kings plus in 1Kgs 14:22b-24 as an expansion within the developing book of Kings not known to Chr.

²⁸ See discussions by Dion (1981:41-48); Na'aman (1996:17-18); Bird (1997:37-80).

Although the reform accounts of Asa and Jehoshaphat occur in different places within the narratives of Kings and Chronicles pertaining to these two kings, their relationship can be firmly established. The link between them is not to be viewed in terms of shared stock expressions of reform reports as has been the case with the reform notices in the previous section, but in terms of a shared distinct use of verbs and a particular adverbial phrase. The original location of the reform notices concerning the two kings seems to be better preserved by the book of Kings, while a greater rearrangement occurred on the side of Chr who in one instance split the notice inserting his own material in between and in the other transposed the notice to another setting using it there for his theological purpose.

3. Reform Accounts in Non-shared Material of Kings and Chronicles

In the book of Kings, two cultic reform notices occur within the scope of texts which have their focus on the kings of the northern kingdom, and therefore they do not appear in the other history. The notices pertain to the northern kings Jehoram²⁹ and Jehu, and will be dealt with here consecutively.

JEHORAM

2Kgs 3:2

וַיִּסַּר אֶת־מִצְבַּת הַבַּעַל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אָבִיו...

2Kgs 1:18c LXX (doublet)

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν (B)/ἀπέστησε (L) τὰς στήλας τοῦ Βααλ ἃς ἐποίησεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτάς

The short reform notice of Jehoram is found within the regnal formula relating to this king in 2Kgs 3:1-3. The LXX has a double reading of the regnal formula for Jehoram, which appears following the concluding notice on the reign of Ahaziah (2Kgs 1:18a-d). The whole passage in the Greek doublet differs in several details from the text placed in 2Kgs 3:1-3; and it has been a matter of some discussion whether the Greek passage in 2Kgs 1:18a-d preserves an earlier stage in the development of the book of Kings, or whether it is a result of a secondary arrangement within the textual tradition represented by the Septuagint. Shenkel (1968:68-72) analyzed in detail the regnal formulae for Jehoram in 2Kgs 1:18a-d (LXX^B) and 3:1-3 (LXX^B, MT), and concluded that LXX^B of 2Kgs 3:1-3 reflects the Kaige revision bringing the text into greater conformity with MT, whereas the LXX^B of 2Kgs 1:18a-d points to a non Kaige-revised text that preserved an Old Greek

²⁹ The name occurs with variation as Jehoram (e.g. in 2Kgs 1:17; 3:1, 6) or in a contracted form as Joram (e.g. 8:16, 25, 28). For convenience, the longer form Jehoram that appears in regnal formula (2Kgs 3:1) is used throughout this chapter.

reading with a Hebrew *Vorlage* other than the Masoretic text. Stade and Schwally (1904:181), who likewise understood the Greek text in 2Kgs 1:18a-d as preserving an older version of the regnal formula, have already indicated, for example, that the LXX's reading *καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ κύριος (+ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ LXX^L) ἐπὶ/εἰς τὸν οἶκον Αχάαβ* in 2Kgs 1:18d, which does not occur in 2Kgs 3:3, may have been 'an original element of the text' and not a later expansion.³⁰

When we turn to the reform notice pertaining to Jehoram that is of immediate concern we may also observe a difference in the two versions of this notice. In both, 2Kgs 1:18c (LXX) and 2Kgs 3:2 (LXX/MT), the removal (סר) of the pillar(s) of Baal is noted. To this, however, the Greek text of 1:18c additionally reads *καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτάς*. It is difficult to judge on the basis of limited evidence whether *καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτάς* (= יישבר אהן) was part of an original reading, or whether this was the work of a later editorial hand in order to bring the reform text of Jehoram into greater conformity with other reform passages.³¹ While it is true that מצבה does not occur anywhere else linked with סר 'to remove', this noun in the reform texts is mainly attested in conjunction with שבר to 'break'.³² And as we shall see later, such a connection occurs also in the double reading of LXX^L and VL in the text pertaining to the reform of Jehu.

The notice of Jehoram's reform is closely tied with the subject of Baal worship which features significantly in the record of the Omride dynasty and in the narrative of Jehu's reign. Ahab, Omri's son, is first said to have promulgated Baal's cult in the northern kingdom. He erects an altar for Baal in the house of Baal which he built in Samaria (1Kgs 16:32) and makes an Asherah (1Kgs 16:33). Ahab's sons succeeding him on the throne also engage in the matters related to the cult of Baal, though each of them differently: while Ahaziah is reported to serve and worship Baal (1Kgs 22:53), Jehoram, his brother, is mentioned to act in opposition to Baal's cult (2Kgs 3:2). The Kings text reports that the worship of Baal in the northern kingdom is finally eliminated by Omri's dynastic successor Jehu (2Kgs 10:18-28).

³⁰ In addition to Stade and Schwally (1904:181) and Shenkel (1968:68-72), the view that the text of the Septuagint in 2Kgs 1:18a-d represents more original reading has been preferred by Benzinger (1899:128); Šanda (1912:18); Olmstead (1915:178-79; 209); Treballe Barrera (1982a:21). For the opposite understanding see Kittel (1900:184, 191); Montgomery (1951:351); Hobbs (1985:3-4).

³¹ No agreement exists on this issue. Stade and Schwally (1904:181) in this case suggest that *καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτάς* is 'a later expansion as in [MT 2Kgs] 23,14' but see e.g. Timm (1981:38 n. 54) who thinks quite the opposite and submits that the statement in all likelihood is authentic. For further supporting evidence he refers to texts such as 2Kgs 18:4 or 23:14.

³² 2Kgs 18:4//2Chr 31:1; 2Kgs 23:14; 2Chr 14:2; cf. Ex 23:24; 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3.

Leaving aside the account of the contest between Yahweh and Baal in the material of Elijah's cycle (1Kgs 18-19; 2Kgs 1), in which the focus is more on the prophet Elijah than on the Israelite kings, an interesting observation can be made about the rest of the passages that deal with the topic of Baal's cult in relation with Israelite kings. In these, the subject of religious practices related to the cult of Baal seems to have been developed into a chiasmic structure.

A – Ahab introduced cult of Baal	(1Kgs 16:31-33)
B – Ahaziah worshipped Baal	(1Kgs 22:54)
B* – Jehoram acted against Baal's worship	(2Kgs 3:2)
A* – Jehu eradicated cult of Baal	(2Kgs 10:18-28)

Close links that have been observed between Ahab's religious practices and those of Manasseh are discussed later (pp. 189-92), showing that Ahab's narrative has been informed in this respect by Kings' account of Manasseh, shared with Chronicles. The ramification of this is that the text of Jehoram's reform, associated by the common theme of Baal worship with Ahab's passage in 1Kgs 16:30-33, belongs most likely to the very same later redactional layer within Kings.

The reform notice of Jehu, which as we have seen is also closely tied with the subject of Baal worship, is discussed below.

JEHU

2Kgs 10:26-28

וַיִּצְאוּ אֶת־מִצְבֹּת בֵּית־הַבַּעַל וַיִּשְׂרְפוּ
וַיִּתְּצוּ אֶת־מִצְבַּת הַבַּעַל וַיִּתְּצוּ אֶת־בֵּית הַבַּעַל וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ לַמַּחְרָאוֹת [לְמוֹצָאוֹת] עַד־הַיּוֹם
וַיִּשְׂמַד יְהוּא אֶת־הַבַּעַל מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל

Jehu's reform is encoded in a text, which has often been seen as problematical among textual and literary critics. The reform notice of Jehu is preceded by a passage (2Kgs 10:23-25) in which we already encounter difficulties of a text-critical nature.³³ Focusing on vv. 26-28, a difficulty arises with the plural מִצְבֹּת (v. 26) in the majority of Hebrew manuscripts,³⁴ which does not correspond with the singular ending of וַיִּשְׂרְפוּ in the same verse. On the other hand, a number of ancient versions and a few Hebrew manuscripts attest singular מִצְבַּת (constr. state) in v. 26.³⁵ Stade (1885:278) understood the plural מִצְבֹּת in v. 26 as a scribal error, but did not consider the

³³ On this passage see Treballe Barrera (1984a:17-36).

³⁴ Cf. BHS and Kennicott (1776-80).

³⁵ 2 mss read מִצְבַּת in singular in v. 26 according to de Rossi (1784-88). With regard to Greek versions, Brooke-McLean-Thackeray (1930:334) mention that mss d e^a f g^b i m n p q t v w^a z e₂ e₂ attest to στήλην. The reading of singular is also supported by Armenian and Syro-hexaplar versions. LXX^b reads erroneously στήλην which has been preserved in 'uestem' of VL and in 'uestimenta' of Ethiopian version; see Treballe Barrera (1982b:200 and n. 9).

singular *מצבה* an original reading either. Arguing that *מצבה*, a stone object, cannot be burned (*שרף*), he suggested reading *אשרה* for *מצבות* in the Hebrew text. Stade's emendation of *אשרה*, favoured by a number of exegetes,³⁶ has been challenged by Gray (1970:558) who insists on retaining the term *מצבה* on the basis that (1) the etymology of *מצבה* signifies merely a standing object, which says nothing about its material substance, (2) even if *מצבה* does designate a stone object, the efficient method of breaking down the large piece of stone was to subject it to fire and then pour cold water over it.³⁷ Gray's only suggestion then is to read in v. 26 a singular *מצבה* instead of the plural *מצבות*, in agreement with the versional evidence.³⁸

The passage that follows in v. 27, which reads *ויהצו את מצבת הבעל*, has often been viewed as a repetition of what was said immediately before in v. 26, or as a doublet of the phrase immediately following that reads *ויהצו את-בית הבעל*. This has led to further suggestions of corrections to the text, particularly in the light of another occurrence of *מצבה* in v. 27 and a double occurrence of *נתן* in that same verse.³⁹ Relating to the term *מצבה/ות* in v. 27 there is again a discrepancy among ancient witnesses concerning the singular and plural forms. The majority of Hebrew mss have the singular *מצבה*, but LXX and a few Hebrew mss attest to a plural form.⁴⁰ Since *מצבה* occurs in v. 27 in a less usual conjunction with the term *נתן*,⁴¹ Stade (1885:279) suggested *מצבה* in v. 27 be emended, reading *מזבה* instead. This emendation has been more readily accepted by commentators in an attempt to resolve the problem of the double use of *מצבה/ות* in vv. 26, 27.⁴² Assuming *מזבה* and

³⁶ Skinner (1893:334), Benzinger (1899:154); Kittel (1900:242), Burney (1903:306), Šanda (1912:117), Würthwein (1984:341), Long (1991:140), Eynikel (1996:214); Beck (1999:196).

³⁷ Another challenge questioning the motivation behind Stade's emendation of *מצבה* to *אשרה* comes from arguments pointing to other biblical passages such as Ex 32:20; Deut 9:21; 1Kgs 15:13; 2Kgs 23:4, 11, 15, where objects are mentioned being burnt whose substance would have been inconsumable (Gugler 1996:194 n. 742 and Mulzer 1992:191 n. 616 following Hoffmann 1980:346), Begg (1985:208-9; 213-14) who looks at the very same problem in the story of golden calf (Ex 32:20) notes close parallels in this regard with Ugaritic material. On the basis of these close parallels he concludes that the problem of the 'factual applicability of [destructive] actions to the object in question' (1985:214) is an imaginary one.

³⁸ Gray (1970:558). His proposal has been followed e.g. by Robinson (1976:101), Jones (1984:471), Fritz (1998:56) in a more recent commentary also prefers the singular *מצבה*.

³⁹ See e.g. Klostermann (1887:426), Ehrlich (1914:304).

⁴⁰ Kennicott (1776-80:660) notes 4 mss and de Rossi (1784-88) adds 2 other mss that read plural *מצבות*. LXX^B has *τὰς στήλας* (cf. LXX^A - *πάσας τὰς στήλας*).

⁴¹ See the table on *נתן* in appendix A on p. 198 for more typical combinations of words with *נתן* appearing in the context of cult destruction.

⁴² See, e.g., Benzinger (1899:154), Šanda (1912:117), Gray (1970:558), Robinson (1976:101-2), Jones (1984:471). In addition to these, Kittel (1900:242), Burney (1903:306) and Montgomery (1951:416) are sympathetic to the view that *מזבה* is a likely reading in v. 27.

not מַצְבָּה being originally used in the initial clause of v. 27, some scholars take the first clause as more genuine in comparison to the reading וַיַּחַצּוּ אֶת-בֵּית הַבַּעַל that follows after, since this second clause of v. 27 does not occur in LXX^B.⁴³ Others, however, point out that the absence of the phrase in LXX^B can be explained in terms of parablepsis due to homoioteleuton (הַבַּעַל...הַבַּעַל), thus weakening the argument which favors the first clause in v. 27 as being more original than the second one.⁴⁴ Various propositions towards a solution of textual difficulties in vv. 26 and 27 having been noted thus far, it is apparent that the problem posed by the text of Jehu's reform notice has not been satisfactorily settled.

A different approach to the text-critical problem of the passage dealing with Jehu's reform from those mentioned above has been exemplified by Treballe Barrera (1982b:198-209),⁴⁵ who pays greater attention to the double readings in VL and LXX^L.⁴⁶ Analyzing data from Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts of 2Kgs 10:25b-28, he contends that the doublets in VL and LXX^L involve two variant readings: one being identified by him as the proto-Lucianic reading and the other belonging to the Kaige recension (1982b:199-203). There are significant differences between VL and LXX^L in their arrangement of the doublets. This leads Treballe Barrera to conclude that VL juxtaposes the alternative variant of the Kaige recension to the proto-Lucianic text without making direct recourse to the double reading in LXX^L, where the Kaige version is integrated with the proto-Lucianic reading rather smoothly (1982b:200).

It is further maintained by Treballe Barrera that the proto-Lucianic text, with which the reading of Kaige recension was combined forming doublets independently in each, LXX^L and VL, is the reading of Old Greek with a *Vorlage* different from the MT (1982b:200). According to this Old Greek reading, preserved in the LXX^L and

⁴³ Gray (1970:558), Jones (1984:471).

⁴⁴ Stade and Schwally (1904:233); Montgomery (1951:416); Treballe Barrera (1982b:206).

⁴⁵ A very similar version appears in Treballe Barrera (1984b:126-138).

⁴⁶ VL (4Rg 25b-28): et percussit eos qui colebant bahal gladio et euertit tempulum bahal et accepit idolū bahal et contriuit eum et proiecit eum at sinistrā templi et tempulū bahal posuit in sterculino et eradicauit tempulum bahal de israel et percussit eos qui seruiebant bahal gladio et abierunt in ciuitatem praecursores et triari at domum bahal et protulerunt uestem bahal et succenderunt eam et detraxerunt t'ulos bahal et aus et domum eius euerterunt et proiecerunt eam in sterculino et eradicauit ieu bahal de israel (Text taken from Fischer 1983:84.)

LXX^L (4Rg 25b-28): καὶ ἐπάταξαν αὐτοὺς οἱ παρατρέχοντες καὶ οἱ τριστάται ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας καὶ ἔρριψαν, καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕως τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Βάαλ. καὶ ἐξήνεγκαν τὴν στήλην τοῦ Βάαλ καὶ ἐνέπηρσαν αὐτήν. καὶ κατέσπασαν πάσας τὰς στήλας τοῦ Βάαλ καὶ καθείλον τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἰου τὴν στήλην τοῦ Βάαλ καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτήν καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτήν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν τοῦ Βααλεὶμ, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Βάαλ ἔθετο εἰς κοπρῶνα ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης. καὶ ἠφάνισεν Ἰου τὸν Βάαλ καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐξ Ἰσραήλ. (Text taken from Fernández Marcos & Busto Saiz 1992:113.)

VL at 2Kgs 10:25b-27, the action of the reform was performed solely by Jehu. His reforming acts according to the Old Greek text in view of Trebolle Barrera were as follows:⁴⁷

Jehu « pulled down » (*katheilen, ntš*) the temple, « brought out » the pillar (*elaben, lqh* instead of usual *hwšy²*), « broke in pieces » the pillar (*synetripsen, šbr*) and « cast out » (*erripsen, šlk*) the rest.

This course of actions is different from MT and LXX^B in vv. 25b-27 in three ways: 1) in the subject exercising the reform, 2) in the order of the reforming actions and 3) in some of the terminology describing the reform. Trebolle Barrera argues that the sequence of the reforming actions – יצא ‘bring out’, שבר ‘break’ (or שרף ‘burn’) and שלך ‘cast out’ – as noted in the reading of the Old Greek text, represents rather the usual order of activities detailing the destruction of foreign worship.⁴⁸ He gives examples of this sequence of the verbs occurring in 2Kgs 23:6 and 23:12 (LXX^L).⁴⁹

A relevant final point in Trebolle Barrera’s discussion concerns the alternative readings שבר (non Kaige in LXX^L and VL) and שרף (MT, LXX^B) linked with נצבה in 2Kgs 10:26-27. Drawing on other cases, where שבר is used rather than שרף in conjunction with נצבה in the context of destruction of cultic objects (2Kgs 18:4; 23:14; 23:12 LXX^L) Trebolle Barrera concludes that Old Greek in 10:26-27 (LXX^L καὶ συνέτριψεν; VL et contriuit eum) should be preferred as the more original reading (1982b:209). The fact that a number of emendations and corrections to the difficult passage of MT in 2Kgs 10:25-27 have been proposed by critics, suggests in itself that this text as it now stands in the MT cannot reflect the exact original reading.

The study of the final part of 2Kgs 10:27 may throw some more light on the account of Jehu’s reform, showing that this text has a distinctive flavour, which distances it from the other reform accounts, particularly those shared by Kings and Chronicles, and makes it instead closer to the material that is narrated only in Kings, known as the Elijah-Elisha cycle. At the end of 2Kgs 10:27, the verse just studied, a phrase occurs which mentions the ‘house of Baal’ that it was made a ‘latrine’ to this:

⁴⁷ ‘Jehú « destruye » (*katheilen, ntš*) el templo, toma la estela (*elaben, lqh* en lugar del usual *hwšy²*), « rompe » la estela (*synetripsen, šbr*) y « arroja » (*erripsen, šlk*) sus restos’ (Trebolle Barrera 1982b:208).

⁴⁸ Trebolle Barrera (1982b:207). A phrase involving the verb נרץ occurs either at the beginning or at the end of the chain of these actions.

⁴⁹ Trebolle Barrera (1982b:206-208). Cf. our argument on pp. 76-77, however, where we show that in a more narrower sense the verb שלך in 2Kgs 23:6 and 12 does not refer directly to the removal of cultic object as in e.g. 2Chr 33:15 but to a dispensation of its elements (נפר) to the place of impurity.

day (ישמחו למחרתו^{Ketib} ער-היום).⁵⁰ Of a particular interest in this phrase is the reading למחרתו (=Ketib; למוצאת Qere).⁵¹ Though the word מחרתו is a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Bible, it appears to convey a sense of ‘latrine’ or ‘dung’.⁵² A related term, possibly derived from חרא, occurs in 2Kgs 6:25 and 18:27//Isa 36:12, with the meaning ‘(dove’s) dung’.⁵³ In general terms, the idea conveyed by these expressions is that of excrement, filth or dung. It may be a puzzle for some that מחרתו occurs in 2Kgs 10:27, the text chiefly dealing with the destruction of an illegitimate cult, where one might have expected more likely a term of defilement (טמא) or similar instead. However, as it becomes clearer from the following discussion, מחרתו plays a significant role in the context of Jehu’s reform. It actually links the account of Jehu’s reformation with the motif of dung that runs through the stories of Jehu, Jezebel and Elijah. This theme of dung, urine and blood is recurrent in Kings since the arrival of Elijah on the scene with the final mention of it in the text of Jehu’s reform in 2Kgs 10:27.⁵⁴ The first reference to this motif may perhaps already be found in 1Kgs 18:27 in the story of the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal, where Elijah mocks the prophets asking them among other things, whether their god is not away defecating.⁵⁵ Then in 1Kgs 21:21 and 2Kgs 9:8 we read about cutting off from Ahab ‘the one who pees on the wall’ (משתין בקיר).⁵⁶ Similarly another liquid is also described as spouting ‘on the wall’ in these stories: the text in 2Kgs 9:33 tells about the blood of Jezebel being ‘spattered on the wall’ (ויו מרמה אל-הקיר). The blood motif can further be observed in 1Kgs 18:28 and especially 21:19; 22:38, in which the blood of Naboth and Ahab is referred to as being licked by dogs. In 2Kgs 9:37 the corpse of Jezebel is described as becoming ‘dung’ (רמין) on the field, and finally, the house of Baal as being turned to a ‘latrine’ in 2Kgs 10:27. Thus 2Kgs 10:27 forms a significant part of a particular motif within the story of the strife between Elijah’s Yahwism and Jezebel’s Baalism. The motif of dung, (blood and urine,) which links

⁵⁰ LXX^H reads καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς λυτρώνας ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης and LXX^L has καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Βααλ ἔθετο εἰς κοπρώνα ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.

⁵¹ למוצאת in Qere is thought to be supplied by masoretes as a euphemism for מחרתו. See 2Kgs 6:25; 18:27 for similar cases of a later correction by Qere.

⁵² See e.g. HALOT 1:572; DCH 5:229.

⁵³ See e.g. BDB 351a; DCH 3:305.

⁵⁴ We owe this point and much of the following discussion to Mr. Robert Merez (personal communication).

⁵⁵ The term שׂיץ in 1Kgs 18:27 is often discussed with one suggestion among others being supported by the Targum that it is a euphemism for relieving himself; see e.g. Fohrer (1968a:16).

⁵⁶ This phrase also occurs once in divine speech with regard to Jeroboam (1Kgs 14:10).

the account of Jehu's reform more closely with the Elijah-Elisha cycle suggests that the story of Jehu's reform does not belong to the same layer with the other cultic reform accounts in Kings, shared with Chronicles, but is probably a part of a further stage within the Kings development, to which also the stories of Elijah, Jezebel and Jehu belong.

MANASSEH

In the book of Chronicles, the only cult reform approved of that is not shared by the two histories appears in Chronicles' record of the reign of Manasseh. It is well known that the account of Manasseh in Chronicles is very close to Kings in its first part (2Chr 33:1-10//2Kgs 21:1-10a) but radically different in the second (2Chr 33:11-17 cf. 2Kgs 21:10b-16). While in Kings Manasseh is described as thoroughly wicked, where in vv. 10b-16 all the blame for Judah's downfall is laid upon him, in Chronicles in the part that differs from Kings (2Chr 33:11-17) Manasseh is portrayed as repentant king. He is taken to exile in Babylon where he humbles himself before Yahweh; and he, on account of this, returns him to Jerusalem. It is in this context that we read only in Chronicles about Manasseh's positive reforms. These are the result of his conversion in Babylon and restoration by Yahweh upon the throne in Jerusalem. The passage with reforms reads as follows:

2Chr 33:15

ויסר את־אלהי הנכר ואת־הסמל מבית יהוה
וכל־המזבחות אשר בנה בהר בית־יהוה ובירושלם וישלך חוצה לעיר

2Chr 33:16

ויכן [ויבן^{Qerc}] את־מזבח יהוה ויזבח עליו זבחי שלמים ותודה ויאמר ליהודה לעבד את־יהוה אלהי ישראל

Manasseh's reform is centered around the removal of cultic objects from the temple and the elimination of altars from the temple and the city of Jerusalem. While it is noticeable that the terminology used to describe Manasseh's reform is not strictly characteristic of reform reports shared by Kings and Chronicles,⁵⁷ there are a few elements of this report that are related to one of the texts dealing with elimination of cult in Kings. In Chronicles' report of Manasseh's reform we read about the removal of הסמל from the house of Yahweh. In a similar way we read about the removal of האשרה from the temple in Kings' depiction of Josiah's reform. The text in 2Kgs 23:6a reads *ויצא את־האשרה מבית יהוה מחוץ לירושלם אל־נחל קדרון* – מבית יהוה – מחוץ לירושלם; הסמל – האשרה; מבית יהוה are sufficient enough to demonstrate

⁵⁷ Japhet (1993:1010) notes that the passage consisting of Manasseh's cultic reform 'is phrased in non-Deuteronomistic terminology'.

that the two texts are related.⁵⁸ It may seem less probable to contend that the reading of the removal of *סמל/אשרה* from Yahweh's house stood originally in the text related to Manasseh and that later editors of Kings, because of their different perspective of Manasseh as king, replaced Manasseh's exile and conversion episode with the verses condemning the king (2Kgs 21:10b-16), while attributing the removal of *אשרה* to Josiah. On the contrary, it is more probable that this reading belonged originally to the text related to Josiah's reform and that Chr adopted this account of the elimination of the cultic entity from the temple and placed it in his own version of Manasseh's story. This possibility is even more likely in the light of the fact that Chr acted in a rather similar manner when he dealt with the cultic reform of Asa. There we saw the reform report, which in Kings is held together in vv. 12-15 of 1Kgs 15, split in Chronicles and separated by Chr's own material. Chr might have treated his *Vorlage*⁵⁹ dealing with the reform of Josiah in a similar way in that he might have divided the text and transferred the phrase with the removal of *אשרה* to the story of Manasseh where he expanded his account with his own additional material.

Further, we may observe the expansion of Manasseh's reform in Chronicles as having similar elements with Chr's expanded text of Asa's reform. There are striking parallels in the use of the term *הנכר* in connection with the removal of cultic objects (*מזבחות הנכר* in 2Chr 14:2; *אלהי הנכר* in 2Chr 33:15); in the mention of repairing the altar for Yahweh (2Chr 15:8; 33:16); sacrificing to Yahweh (2Chr 15:11; 33:16) and finally in commanding Judah to worship Yahweh (2Chr 14:3; 33:16).⁶⁰ Even the added note in Manasseh's text about people's sacrificing on high places but only (*רק*) to Yahweh in 2Chr 33:17 echoes a similar comment in Asa's reform text. There it is stated – this time in the shared text with Kings (1Kgs 15:14//2Chr 15:17) – that the high places were not taken out of Israel. The particle *רק*, qualifying the immediately preceding statement related to high places, is used in this way only in 1Kgs 15:14//2Chr 15:17 (the shared text of Asa) and 2Ch 33:17 (Chr's expansion on Manasseh). While on the one hand similarities can be observed in the use of *רק* between 1Kgs 15:14//2Chr 15:17 and 2Chr 33:17, a strong candidate for exerting an influence on the added note with regard to high places in 2Chr 33:17 appears to be

⁵⁸ To the links above we may add the verbal correspondence in *וישלק*, though admittedly this term occurs in a slightly different context in each verse. For a more detailed treatment of the correspondences mentioned above see pp. 75-77.

⁵⁹ We argue in the following chapter that Chr's *Vorlage*, however, cannot be equated with the present account of Josiah in Kings but with a prior and much briefer version of that narrative.

⁶⁰ Smelik (1992:184).

the original phrase relating to the worship on the high places in Jehoshaphat's formula – now better preserved in 1Kgs 22:44 – that reads אך הבמות לא־סרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות במהות.⁶¹ We discuss this case in more detail later in the section on pp. 182-83.

Another interconnection with regard to the text of Manasseh can be noted among Chr's passages dealing with reforms: the particular combination of the verbs סור and שלך in 2Chr 33:15 appears also in the extended narrative on the Passover as a part of Hezekiah's reform, in 2Chr 30:14, but nowhere else in a cultic destruction context within the Hebrew Bible. It can be inferred that this parallel in Chr's own text of Hezekiah's reform developed concurrently with Chr's adaptation of the older reform notice in his account of Manasseh.

We may conclude from the above that Manasseh's reform in Chronicles has been built around one phrase shared by Kings and Chronicles (2Kgs 23:6a; 2Chr 33:15a) which states that a cultic object (סמל/אשרה) has been taken out from the house of Yahweh outside the city. The phrase was originally employed in Chr's *Vorlage* relating to Josiah's reform, which Chr adapted to his text describing Manasseh's exile and conversion, being redeveloped in line with some aspects of his presentation of Asa as a cultic reformer. On the other hand, some of the phraseology with which Chr reworked the older reform notice and attributed to Manasseh (סור and שלך in 2Chr 33:15), occurred in Chr's expansive reshaping of Hezekiah's reform (2Chr 30:14).

4. Concluding Remarks on Cultic Reform Accounts

The study of the cultic reform accounts has shown that the most characteristic terminology regarding the reform notices appears in the accounts of Judean monarchs with close links between Kings and Chronicles. The analysis of the reform reports of Jehoiada, Hezekiah, Josiah (and partly Asa) suggested that the typical phrases denoting cultic reforms may have first arisen within the story of monarchy before being reused in the material of Exodus and Deuteronomy warning against the cultic practices of the Canaanites.

Kings and Chronicles both also narrate the reform of Asa and Jehoshaphat. Although the reforms of these two Judean monarchs in Kings have less strong links

⁶¹ The parallel text in 2Chr 20:33 reads differently in its second part: אך הבמות לא־סרו ועוד העם לא־הכינו לאלהי לבנם אבותיהם.

with their counterparts in Chronicles, a firm relationship between them has been shown to exist through linkage of specific terms and expressions.

In Kings non-shared material, the reform accounts of Jehoram and Jehu show some textual divergence among its ancient witnesses. More significantly, however, it emerged from the study above that these reform reports have further characteristics, which on one hand detach them from the accounts of the reforms of Judean rulers in Kings (with their counterparts in Chronicles), and on the other hand, associate them with the material dealing with Ahab, Jezebel and Baal worship that is specific only to Kings. This was particularly observed in the account of Jehu's reform in its link of 'dung' theme with the material known as Elijah-Elisha cycle. On the basis of this, the suggestion was proposed that the reforms of Jehoram and particularly that of Jehu should not be affiliated with the same layer within the composition of Kings, to which also other royal cultic reforms belong, but perhaps are part of a further stage within the literary growth of the book of Kings, a stage that would have also included the material pertaining to the Ahab narrative and the Elijah-Elisha cycle, with which these reforms have close affinity.

Finally, it has been noted that in addition to the reforms in Chronicles that have their counterparts in Kings, this book also includes a positive reform of Manasseh. This account in Chronicles of the positive reforming measures by Manasseh grew out of one phrase from Chr's source that originally occurred in the reform of Josiah in Chr's *Vorlage*, which in turn served to provide the phraseology in another verse in the development of another reform account in Chronicles, that of Hezekiah. The conclusion from the examination of Manasseh's reform occurring only in Chronicles that it employs the text, which originally stood in the account of Josiah's reform has a significant implication for the study of the next chapter, in which our main focus will be the synoptic texts of Josiah's reform in Kings and Chronicles.

CHAPTER THREE

Accounts of Josiah's reform in Kings and Chronicles (test case – part one)

Following the study of the regnal formulae and reform reports in the previous chapter, we have chosen the story of Josiah's reform as a test case to probe in more detail the relationship between the texts of Kings and Chronicles pertaining to a divided monarchy. Using the accounts of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 and in 2Chr 34:3-7 + 33 it is hoped they will reveal something of the relationship between the two histories in miniature that will have wider implications for understanding the relationship between the texts of Kings and Chronicles narrating the story of the divided monarchy as a whole.

As has been noted by previous studies, there is some similarity between the accounts of Josiah's reform in the two histories regarding various actions Josiah undertakes. In both, Kings and Chronicles, Josiah is portrayed as eliminating high places, altars, asherahs and other cultic objects. He reduces cultic entities to a powder, which he casts on graves. He also annihilates priests. Furthermore, in both accounts there is a recognition of Josiah's activities in the north. To these parallels in content can be added Kings' reference to the reform activity in the temple which – though not having a parallel in Chr's portrayal of Josiah's reform – is reflected in Chronicles in the account of Manasseh and which was identified as being originally part of Chr's *Vorlage* of Josiah's story.

The relationship between the two Josiah's reform reports in their content has been seen at a glance. A more thorough investigation will follow, which will commence with an analysis of the corresponding links in the reference to the purge of the temple as an initial reform measure in Kings, and (most likely) in the text of Chr's *Vorlage*.

1. Purging the Temple

2Kgs 23:6	ויצא את־האשרה מבית יהוה מחוץ לירושלם אל־נחל קדרון וישרף אתה בנחל קדרון וידק לעפר וישלך את־עפרה על־קבר בני העם
2Chr 33:15	ויסר את־אלהי הנכר ואת־הסמל מבית יהוה וכל־המזבחות אשר בנה בהר בית־יהוה ובירושלם וישלך חוצה לעיר

The previous chapter showed that Chr adapted the text describing reform activity in the temple from his *Vorlage* of Josiah's reform into his version of Manasseh's story. We may now look more closely at the links which the two verses, relating originally

to Josiah's activity in the temple, share. Both, 2Kgs 23:6 and 2Chr 33:15, albeit they employ different terms (Kings *אשרה* whereas Chronicles *סמל*)¹, refer to the same cultic entity as a major item being taken out of the house of Yahweh – for which they use identical phrase *מבית יהוה*. Both texts indicate that the object (*סמל/אשרה*) is taken or thrown *outside* Jerusalem/the city (Kings *מחוץ לירושלם*; Chronicles *לעיר*). Kings further specifies that it is taken 'to the brook Kidron' (*אל-נחל קדרון*).² Despite the fact that there is no such detail narrated in Chronicles, a case can be made that the phrase referring to Wadi Kidron might have been present in Chr's *Vorlage* of Josiah's reform. Although the Wadi Kidron is never mentioned in the inherited text of Chronicles pertaining to Josiah or Manasseh, it occurs twice in Chr's special material relating to the reformatory events in Hezekiah's time (2Chr 29:16; 30:14). From these two occurrences it can be deduced that Chr actually utilized the expression *נחל קדרון אל-ל* from his *Vorlage* of Josiah's reformation, relocating the phrase to his expansive account of Hezekiah's reform.

The verb *שלך* in Chr's account of Manasseh's reform (33:15), occurring also in his record of the reform of Hezekiah (30:14) but not of Josiah, has virtually no parallel in the present text of Kings in this particular usage denoting elimination of objects of cultic significance (except for one isolated case of LXX¹ and VL in 2Kgs 10:27).³ Where Kings does employ *שלך* in the text of Josiah's reform (vv. 6, 12) it always uses this term in conjunction with *עפר* 'dust'. It seems, however, that *שלך* in 2Kgs 23:6, 12 might have originally been much more closely linked with items of cult, having the cultic entity itself and not the 'dust' (*עפר*) of it as its direct object. The particular combination of *שלך* and *עפר* occurring in 2Kgs 23 and once in Deuteronomy (9:21) is probably a secondary embellishment in Kings. This might clearly be the case in the expression *והשלך את-עפרם אל-נחל קדרון* in v. 12, where the excision of *את-עפרם* does not violate the structure of the phrase (cf. similar syntactical construction in Ex 32:20) nor the meaning in its immediate context. The immediately

¹ Kings and Chronicles use these differing terms for the same referent consistently as can be seen in 2Kgs 21:7//2Chr 33:7.

² The other two references to the 'brook Kidron' in the account of Josiah's reform in Kings are in vv. 4, 12. The brook Kidron appears to play a significant role in the elimination of a cultic object also in the story of Asa in 1Kgs 15:13//2Chr 15:16.

³ 2Kgs 10:27b is rendered in the LXX¹: *καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἰου τὴν στήλην τοῦ Βάαλ καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτήν καὶ ἔρριψεν αὐτήν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν τοῦ Βααλεῖμ, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Βάαλ ἔθετο εἰς κοπρῶνα ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης* (text taken from Fernández Marcos & Busto Saiz 1992:113), and in the VL: *et proiecit eum at (sic) sinistrā templi et tempulū bahal posuit in stercolino* (text taken from Fischer 1983:84).

preceding text-critically problematic clause *וירץ משם* in the MT⁴ has no bearing on the view of *את־עפרם* being in this text secondary. There is no reference for instance to ‘grinding to powder’ (*דקק*) or to ‘burning’ (*שרף*) in v. 12, that would make mention of dust/ashes in this verse more appropriate.

The second instance of the occurrence of *עפר + שלך* in 2Kgs 23 is in the second part of v. 6 where it refers to the dust of Asherah pole being thrown upon the burial ground. Yet it is reasonable to argue that the term *שלך* alone (without it being attached to *עפר*) may have originally stood rather in the first part of the verse – between either *מבית יהוה* and *מחוז לירושלם אל־נחל קדרון*, or *מחוז לירושלם* and *אל־נחל קדרון*. This part of the verse with inclusion of *שלך* would form the original much briefer statement narrating simply that the cultic object was taken from temple and thrown out of Jerusalem to the brook Kidron. The phrase *וישרף אתה בנחל קדרון* that introduces the second part of the verse is repetitive in its reference to the brook Kidron and this may point to it being secondary. The following *וידק בני העם על־קבר* in v. 10, as will be shown in a subsequent section (pp. 101-2), is probably an adaptation of an expression that originally stood at another place in the report of Josiah’s reform. It was attached here (with small changes in the formulation such as e.g. *שלך* being borrowed from the above mentioned shorter statement and tied with *עפר*) in order to emphasise the complete destruction of the illicit cult object found in the house of Yahweh. As for the Chronicles history, the expansion of the ‘original’ report takes off in another direction in 2Chr 33:15. There is no such elaboration as in 2Kgs 23:6 relating to the destruction of an idolatrous object being taken out of the temple. An earlier version of Kings account of Josiah’s purification of the temple, which could be identifiable with Chr’s *Vorlage*, may therefore be tentatively outlined as follows:

וּיצֹא/וּיֹסֵר (את־האשרה/הסמל) מִבַּיִת יְהוָה וְיִשְׁלַךְ מִחֻז לְיְרוּשָׁלַם (חֻצָה לְעִיר) אֶל־נַחַל קְדְרוֹן.

Aspects of Josiah’s reform activity in or near the temple are in Kings also narrated in vv. 4, 7, 11, 12. Equivalent parallels to these texts are not found in

⁴ The expression *וירץ משם* (MT) which can mean either ‘he ran from there’ (from the root *רץ*) or ‘he crushed from there’ (from *רצץ*) makes little sense in its present context in v. 12. There seems to be a wrong word division – *mem* at the beginning of *מִשָּׁם* probably belongs with preceding term. Standard treatments of this problematic text go back to Kimchi who suggested revocalization of *וירץ* to *וירץ* (as mentioned by Burney 1903:360). From this it follows that some consider the verb as *רץ* ‘run’ in hiphil; see e.g. Thenius (1873:444) ‘er liess mit aller Schnelle fortschaffen’; *BDB* 930a; Cogan & Tadmor (1988:289) who read *וירצם* ‘he hastened them, kept them distant’. Others propose the verb *רצץ* ‘crush’ in hiphil; see e.g. Rudolph (1951:215), Montgomery (1951:540) and Washburn (1991:74 n. 52) who read *וירצם שם* ‘broke them up there/crushed them there’. Cf. Burney (1903:360) who adopts *רצץ* and Eynikel (1996:257-58) who prefers the meaning ‘mistreat, oppress’. Less likely is the suggestion to emend to *וירקם* proposed by Gray (1970:731), followed by Jones (1984:623-24).

Chronicles – neither in the account of the reform of Josiah nor of Manasseh. Barrick (2002:106) contends that ‘the purging of the Temple and its precincts which Kings attributes to Josiah (2 Kgs. 23:4a-ba, 6-7, 9, 11-12) the Chronicler credits to Manasseh (2 Chron. 33:15-17)...’ and in this way Chr’s unique report of Manasseh’s reform ‘accounts for [his] omission of 2 Kgs. 23:4, 6-7, 9, 11-12.’ (2002:20). Barrick’s presentation on this point, however, remains at a quite general level in which individual verses of Manasseh’s account of the reform are not subjected to any detailed analysis as regards their relationship to Josiah’s account in Kings. Contrary to Barrick’s contention this analysis has shown that Chr’s account of Manasseh’s reform relates strictly speaking only to v. 6a in Kings report of Josiah. Could it be then that Chr’s *Vorlage* of Josiah’s reform contained – as far as the purge of the temple is concerned – only the report of the removal of a single cultic entity from the temple complex, yet a report of particular significance? It will be shown later that the verses in Kings dealing with actions pertaining to the temple and its precincts that do not have counterparts in Chronicles (vv. 4, 7, 11, 12), can be better accounted for as being Kings own additions. They extend the report while also incorporating material alluding to the cultic innovations of previous rulers, most notably Manasseh.

2. Elimination of High Places, Altars, Asherahs and Other Cultic Installations

2.1. Defilement of High Places⁵

2Kgs 23:8	ויבא את־כל־הכהנים מזערי יהודה ויטמא את־הבמות אשר קטרו־שמה הכהנים מגבע עד־באר שבע ונתין את־במות השערים אשר־פתח שער יהושע שר־העיר אשר־על־שמואל איש בשער העיר
2Chr 34:3	ובשמונה שנים למלכו והוא עודנו נער החל לדרוש לאלהי דויד אביו ובשתים עשרה שנה החל לטהר את־יהודה וירושלם מן־הבמות והאשרים והפסלים והמסכות

The account of Josiah’s reform begins in Chronicles – after the report of the purge of the temple has been removed and employed by Chr in the story of Manasseh – with elimination of high places (במות). The concern for the temple and the attention paid to high places are the two distinct elements figuring in the structure of the present text

⁵ We are aware of scholarly debate regarding the English rendering ‘high place(s)’ for the Hebrew בְּמִהוֹת, which goes back to the Latin *excelsus/a* and the Greek *ὕψιλος/ά*; suspicions about this conventional understanding have been expressed by Emerton (1997:116) and Kogan & Tishchenko (2002:319-52); cf also Gleis (1997:246). The translation ‘high place(s)’ is, therefore, used throughout the present study only for convenience regardless of whether this conveys the real sense of the Hebrew בְּמִהוֹת or not.

of Josiah's reform in Kings.⁶ The topic regarding *במות* that dominates Josiah's account in this book can be contrasted with the brief occurrence of the *במות* theme in Chronicles. Only once is *במות* mentioned in 2Chr 34:3-7, but it is encountered no less than ten times in 2Kgs 23:4-20 MT.⁷ Of these references to *במות*, Josiah's direct action against high places is referred to in six cases in the MT (vv. 8 [2x], 13, 15 [3x]).⁸ In another four instances *במות* is used in conjunction with priests (*במהני הבמות*; vv. 9, 20), with houses or shrines (*בתי הבמות*; v. 19) and once in a phrase that mentions priests burning incense in 'the high places' (*וירקשו בבמות*; v. 5). A closer inspection of verses that define Josiah's direct action against high places finds his deeds being referred to as defiling (*ממא*; vv. 8, 13 [MT]), breaking down (*נתן*; vv. 8 [MT], 15) and burning (*שרש*; v. 15 [MT]) the cultic installations.

The reference to 'burning' (*שרש*) of a high place that occurs in v. 15 (MT) is a disputed case. There are repeated occurrences of the verb *שרש* in 2Kgs 23, but a clause using the combination of *שרש* with *במות* which is without an example elsewhere in the Old Testament seems to sit uncomfortably in its immediate context in the MT of v. 15.⁹ The text in the MT reading *ושרש את הבמה* ('he burnt the high place') may have been affected by another *שרש* that follows shortly after in that very same verse.¹⁰ The LXX does not mention *במות* nor *שרש*, but reads instead *καὶ συνέτριψε τὸς λίθους αὐτοῦ* and continues *καὶ ἐλέπτουεν εἰς χόυν...* ('and he broke in pieces its stones and he beat [them] to dust...'). The Hebrew text underlying the Septuagint's reading *καὶ συνέτριψε τὸς λίθους αὐτοῦ* would have *ושיבר את אבניו* with a suffix obviously referring to an altar. In that case *ואת הבמה* between *ואת המזבח ההוא* and *נתן* earlier in that verse appears intrusive.¹¹ It could be a later gloss, accommodating the text underlying the Septuagint to the version of MT. If this is so, LXX is giving clues

⁶ O'Brien (1989:253) observes the presence of an alternating pattern in the final text of 2Kgs 23:4-14, in which 'a report of cultic reform in the temple is followed by a report of cultic reform against the high places' (mentioning vv. 4, 6-7, 11-12 related to the temple and vv. 5, 8-9, 13-14 to the high places). He views the pattern reappearing in a similar manner in 23:15-20 where 'an account of Josiah's activities at Bethel in vv 15-18 is followed by an account of his destruction of high places elsewhere in Samaria in vv 19-20'.

⁷ Seven times in LXX.

⁸ In three cases in LXX (vv. 8 [1x], 15 [2x]).

⁹ The phrase *ושרש את הבמה* stands in the MT in an awkward relation with the following asyndetic expression *הדך לעפר*. Against the arguments of some commentators (Klostermann 1887:481; Kittel 1900:303; Benzinger 1899:194; Burney 1903:361; Skinner 1893:422; Montgomery 1951:540) that burning of high place may seem an improbable action to undertake, see now Barrick (2002:47-48 n. 66) and earlier Šanda (1912:349).

¹⁰ So Knoppers (1994:205 n. 64).

¹¹ Šanda (1912:349).

in this verse to the older reading, where references to *במה* did not appear in that text. That this is the case is confirmed by the editorial considerations of scholars, who do not necessarily subscribe to the LXX version, who view v. 15 as being a conflated text and contend that there was no mention of *במה* in the original version of this verse. Thus e.g. Spieckermann in his literary analysis of the minute detail considers the earliest text of v. 15 to contain simply <המלך> נתן אשר בבית-אל (‘moreover <the king> pulled down the altar at Bethel’).¹² Similarly Barrick (2002:47 and n. 66), though on different grounds, proposes one of the possible readings of the original text in v. 15 to include only נתן אשר בבית-אל. Thus it can be concluded that Josiah’s activity against *במה* being described as *וַיִּשְׁרֹף אֶת-הַבְּמֹתָה* in v. 15 does not belong to the earliest stratum of Josiah’s account in Kings. It is not attested in LXX which seems to point more faithfully to the original text. The expression *וַיִּשְׁרֹף אֶת-הַבְּמֹתָה* can be confidently ascribed to a later stage of the development of Josiah’s story, a stage peculiar to the MT version of Kings.

Another term used in Kings’ reform report of the treatment of *במות* by Josiah is the verb נתן ‘break down’. This verb occurs in v. 8b in connection with *במות השערים* ‘the high places of the gates’ (MT).¹³ The relationship of 8b with 8a, where a verb טמא ‘defile’ is used to depict Josiah’s elimination of *במות*, has long been regarded as being redactional.¹⁴ A few critics argue that v. 8b comes from an older annalistic

¹² Spieckermann (1982:427). Everything else in that verse, including the references to the destruction of the high place, are all according to Spieckermann post-deuteronomistic additions.

¹³ The expression *במות השערים* (MT) is problematic. First, the ancient versions differ in rendering MT’s *במות*. Targum’s consonantal text *bmt* is ambiguous in that it can be understood as either singular or plural. The main text of the Peshitta reads *כַּלְדַּי*, while the original Pesh reading *כַּלְדַּי הַגָּדוֹל* found in 9alfam follows the MT. In place of the Hebrew *במות השערים*, LXX^B has *τὸν οἶκον τῶν πυλῶν*, whereas LXX^L includes *τὸν οἶκον τῶν ὑψηλῶν*, and Vg speaks of *aras portrarum*. Second, it is not clear what is meant by MT’s plural *השערים*. On account of this many commentators suggest an emendation by re-pointing to *השערים* (e.g. Benzinger 1899:193; Burney 1903:359; Stade and Schwally 1904:294; Šanda 1912:344; Montgomery 1951:532, 539; Jones 1984:621), suggestion already made by Houbigant (1753) as referred to by Barthélemy (1982:419), and more than a century later also by Graetz (1875:287 n. 1) and Hoffmann (1882:175). Two most frequently cited passages for elucidating the meaning of re-pointed *השערים* in 23:8 are Lev 17:7 and 2Chr 11:15, where *שערים* is thought to mean he-goats—or rather, demons in shape of he-goats (cf. HALOT 2:1341). For a fuller discussion see Eynikel (1996:236-38) and Barrick (2002:80). Gray (1970:730) emends to read *שערים* (gatekeepers) and thus translates the passage ‘the shrine of the gate-genii’. His interpretation, however, is questionable; see Emerton (1994:457) for a fair refutation of this view. Barthélemy (1982:419), Snaithe (1975:116) and Emerton (1994:455-67) see no need for re-vocalization of *השערים*, while they make efforts to understand the MT as traditionally pointed.

¹⁴ See e.g. Gressmann (1924:327-28) regarding earlier views on the relationship of vv. 8a, b and 9.

source.¹⁵ The majority among scholars, however, ascribe the second half of v. 8 to a later hand.¹⁶ Despite the verbal construction of the passage, consisting of a w^cqatal form, figuring prominently in these arguments in which v. 8b is seen compositionally uncertain,¹⁷ there are other propositions advanced for considering the text a secondary addition. Yadin (1976:9) and Hollenstein (1977:333) note that the location of בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ in that half-verse is specified in an unusual way by means of a double reference; בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ is said to be placed ‘at the entrance of the gate of Joshua the governor of the city’ and ‘on one’s left at the gate of the city’. The prominent concern to describe the exact location of בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ may indicate that the first readership was not familiar with the position of the cultic installation.¹⁸ The appeal to the name Joshua, the city governor after whom the text says the gate was named, was made perhaps in order to heighten the historical credibility of the note. All in all this implies as Hollenstein (1977:333) contends that v. 8b could be a later note based on aetiology, ‘explaining some feature at the city gate that was associated with Josiah’s reform’ as Jones (1984:621) tentatively adds.¹⁹ If the interpretation of v. 8b based on aetiological notion is correct, Barrick (2002:80) subsequently points out that ‘this would account for anomalous use of *NTS*...rather than the expected *TM*’ with regard to Josiah’s action of elimination of בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ.

In the Kings text of Josiah’s reform the verb נָתַן linked with בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ appears—beside its occurrence in the late v. 8b—also in v. 15, in which the destruction of the altar is mentioned alongside the destruction of the high place. It was observed above in the study of שָׁרַף + בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ that the structure of v. 15 is particularly complex. The use of

¹⁵ E.g. Hardmeier (2000:124-25; 138-39). Nelson (1981:80-81) calling v. 8b ‘annalistic’ was influenced in this his designation by Montgomery (1934:46-52), who believed that several cases of the use of w^cqatal forms in Kings (e.g. 2Kgs 18:4; 23:8, 10, 12) recalled ‘lapidary style’ of royal official records.

¹⁶ Benzinger (1899:189 [tentatively], 193); Stade and Schwally (1904:55); Šanda (1912:362-63); Würthwein (1976:415; 1984:458-59); Hollenstein (1977:333-34); Rehm (1982:216); Spieckermann (1982:99-101, 426); Jones (1984:617, 621); Provan (1988:87); O’Brien (1989:256); Eynikel (1996:238, 245); Barrick (2002:3, 65, 80).

¹⁷ The w^cqatal criterion, the form being a sign of redactional activity, is employed by Šanda (1912:362; Aramaic influence); Würthwein (1976:415); Hollenstein (1977:333); Rehm (1982:216); Jones (1984:621). The w^cqatal form where it is taken as an indication of late usage in past-time context, however, has been recently challenged by Rezetko (2001). His observations call for caution in using w^cqatal form as a literary critical criterion on a diachronic level. Other evidence than the presence of w^cqatal construction in a text needs to be brought forward if a passage is to be designated late or secondary.

¹⁸ From this contention, Yadin then goes on to argue that v. 8 actually refers to the בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ in Beersheba. For a sound refutation of this claim see Herzog *et al* (1977:55-56).

¹⁹ In addition to the two scholars named above, also Würthwein (1976:415) and Barrick (2002:80) subscribe to the view that v. 8b is a late aetiological note. Cf. Barthélemy (1982:419).

נָתַן in this verse is made to describe at one time ‘breaking down’ of בְּמִזְבֵּחַ as well as מִזְבֵּחַ. A number of scholars have observed some uneasiness in the flow of composition of this verse with ‘high place’ featuring alongside ‘altar’ in the present text.²⁰ This has led to the explanation that the references to בְּמִזְבֵּחַ were made at a later stage and that the original wording of v. 15 consisted only of references to מִזְבֵּחַ. It is interesting to observe that in this suggested original wording of v. 15 the term of cult destruction נָתַן appears linked with the altar, since this linkage is particularly close to the standard language pertaining to the reform accounts shared by Kings and Chronicles. Consequently, the construction of נָתַן with בְּמִזְבֵּחַ in v. 15 exists only at a secondary level. By the same token it was concluded earlier that the connection of נָתַן with בְּמִזְבֵּחַ in v. 8 was occasioned by a later editorial hand. This leaves only one alternative – to view בְּמִזְבֵּחַ linked with שָׁמָּה as a construction belonging to the original report.

Josiah’s defiling high places (בְּמִזְבֵּחַ + שָׁמָּה) is referred to in vv. 8a and 13. The verb שָׁמָּה is not a frequent term in Kings. In fact, it is specific to 2Kgs 23 occurring in vv. 8, 10, 13 and 16.²¹ In v. 8a where the defilement of בְּמִזְבֵּחַ is mentioned first in this chapter, this occurs in the context of a reference made to priests who served at these בְּמִזְבֵּחַ, and who were being removed from ‘the cities of Judah’. It is generally accepted that vv. 8a and 9 (often regarded as a unit together) treat the theme of cult centralization in Jerusalem which is essential to the final version of Josiah’s reform report in Kings. A number of scholars, when uncovering redactional layers, see a cult centralization theme playing a significant role also in the original shorter version of the report. One may question, however, whether the theme of centralization was always present in the text of Josiah’s reform since the earliest stage of its composition or whether the theme emerged only at some point during the gradual revisions of the original material. That material in its earliest form may have included from vv. 8a and 9 merely the statement that ‘Josiah defiled the high places’. On the one hand, Barrick (2002:183) in his recent monograph discusses his reconstructed ‘original’ version of the reform report that included, according to him,

²⁰ E.g. O’Brien (1989:261) says: ‘The provenance of 2 Kgs 23:15 is somewhat obscured by the complexity of its formulation. In v 15a there is an abrupt shift from the mention of the altar in Bethel to the high place. The difficulty created by this is reflected in the phrase immediately preceding the main verb *nātas*. It emphasizes that both the altar and the high place were pulled down and appears to be a clarifying addition.’

²¹ Except in 2Kgs 23, the term is frequently mentioned in Lev, Num and Ezek. In Ezek שָׁמָּה often relates to גִּלְגַּלִּים—the word which is used in Kings but never in Chronicles.

the centralization aspect expressed in vv. 8a and 9. On the other hand, when he speculates about the source of this ‘original’ version being some kind of royal memorial inscription (2002:141), he states that there must have been ‘a measure of adaptation’ when the reform report was drawn from the inscription. The example he gives of such adaptation is the addition of ‘the relocation and change in status of the bamoth-priests’ in vv. 8a + 9. This contributes to the view that the oldest material may have contained from vv. 8, 9 no reference to a centralization aspect but perhaps only the statement that ‘Josiah defiled the high places’.

Turning to the second occurrence of *במות* linked with *שמוא*, in v. 13 the phrase comprising of Josiah’s defilement of high places occurs in a context, in which focus is directed towards *במות* erected by Solomon. The state of affairs surrounding v. 13 is more debated, since there are obvious similarities – but so too differences – between this verse and 1Kgs 11:5 (MT), 7 and 33. Because of these associations between v. 13 and the cultic innovations depicted in 1Kgs 11, the scholarly view is not so unified concerning the verse’s originality.²² Barrick argues on the basis of great congruity in the list of deities between 23:13 and 11:33 (in opposition to marked difference between 23:13 and 11:7-8a) that these two verses are primary, belonging to the same compositional level. Consequently, according to Barrick’s analysis, 11:7(-8) comes in a stratum later, and 11:5, which does not occur in LXX, is only a secondary elaboration in the MT.²³ Eynikel also observes significant agreements in the list of deities between 11:33 and 23:13.²⁴ It should be noted however, that 11:33

²² Some, e.g. Montgomery (1951:534), Hölscher (1922:199), O’Brien (1989:257), Campbell & O’Brien (2000:462-63), Rösel (2000:207), consider v. 13 to be a late addition while others, e.g. Noth (1991²:97), think otherwise and view v. 13 to be a basis for material in 1Kgs 11:1-13. (However, see the critique of Noth’s reasoning by Hoffmann 1980:50 n. 21.) Still others, though each of them in different ways, propose a common authorship behind 2Kgs 23:13 and 1Kgs 1-5, 33 (Eynikel 1996:268), or 23:13 and 11:7 (Spieckermann 1982:194), or 23:13 and 11:5, 7 (Hoffmann 1980:51). For a more detailed treatment of these and other views (including his own assessment) on the relationship between 1Kgs 11 and 2Kgs 23:13, see Eynikel (1996:260-68, 348 n. 49).

²³ Barrick (2001:441-42; 2002:205, 210-11). It is generally recognized that 1Kgs 11 exhibits a variety of problems in MT, revealing complicated compositional history. LXX differs considerably from MT in vv. 1-8 and this adds to the textual complexity seen when comparing the two versions of the narrative. While some, e.g. Provan (1988:68 n. 31) or Eynikel (1996:266-67) reject the LXX reading as a later smoothing out of disordered MT caused by redactional process, others, e.g. Knoppers (1993:140), prefer the reading in LXX as closer to the original Hebrew narrative. According to Barrick (2002:208) in the most recent study ‘the MT and the LXX versions of [1Kgs 11:1-8] evolved differently from a common ancestor.’ See the reconstruction of this proposed ‘ancestor’ in Barrick (2002:208-9).

²⁴ Eynikel (1996:265). Moreover, he notes agreements in the divine names with 11:5. However, as Barrick (2002:210) states, v. 5 is a later ‘doublet of sorts’ in the re-arranged MT. It is not present in the shorter text of LXX.

with which 23:13 shares the closest links,²⁵ does not occur in the LXX alternative account of division of the kingdom in 3Kgdms 12:24o. The list of deities in 11:33 belongs to the part of Ahijah's speech to Jeroboam (1Kgs 11:31b-38), which is considered to be an elaboration of the more primitive oracle in 1Kgs 11:29-31a (more or less corresponding to 3Kgdms 12:24o). If, as e.g. Knoppers and others²⁶ argue that 11:33 is a part of subsequent (deuteronomistic) elaboration within the developing book of Kings, it has a significant implication for the composition of 23:13 with which v. 33 is closely related. 23:13 then cannot be viewed original as to the report of Josiah's reform in Kings but must also be considered a part of successive strata, perhaps an elaboration drawn on a simple statement in the original version of the reform report that 'Josiah defiled high places'.

In the account of Josiah's reform in Chronicles, the action against בָּמוֹת is never depicted by the verb שָׁמַד²⁷ (or indeed by any other term, שָׁרַף or נָחַן, as found in later additions to Josiah's account in Kings). Instead, the account in Chronicles uses טָהַר, a term with a basic import 'purify' which is antithetical to the meaning conveyed by שָׁמַד used in Kings. Both terms belong to the same category with shared notions of purity and impurity. They occur predominantly in Leviticus, Numbers and Ezekiel. Though they can be abundantly found in qal and piel conjugations, in the two histories – שָׁמַד in Kings and טָהַר in Chronicles both appear in piel. With their inherent concepts of purity and impurity שָׁמַד and טָהַר function in Kings and Chronicles respectively in the context of illicit worship. In Josiah's story, the term שָׁמַד in Kings conveys defilement of, whereas טָהַר in Chronicles purging from, high places. In 2Chr 34:3b, the action of purification associated with טָהַר has further a geographical dimension to it: Josiah is said to begin to purge *Judah and Jerusalem* from high places and other cultic objects. Purification of Judah and Jerusalem is also reiterated in 34:5 with the verb טָהַר used, whereas in 34:8, which is Chr's addition not found in

²⁵ The links are made even stronger by the singular readings in 11:33 occurring in LXX, Pesh and some Vulgate Mss (as against plurals in the MT) and are preferred by a number of scholars. Thus Gray (1970:291) states: 'In view of the reference in the end of the verse to 'David his father' the singular should probably be read for the MT plural.', or Provan (1988:101) asserts: '11:33 originally concerned Solomon rather than people'. The singulars are also favored more recently by Knoppers (1993:186-88); Eynikel (1996:62) and Barrick (2002:197). For contrasting opinion see Noth (1968:243); Nelson (1981:113); Campbell (1986:29 n. 18); Mulder (1998:590-91); Barthélemy (1982:363). (Cf. discussion in Eynikel 1996:61-62.)

²⁶ Knoppers (1993:180-86, 196); Trebelle Barrera (1980:147); Nelson (1981:109-16); De Vries (1985:148-49); cf. Gray (1970:288).

²⁷ The only occurrence of the verb שָׁמַד in Chronicles is in the account of the reign of Zedekiah (2Chr 36:14).

the parallel text of 2Kgs 22:3 in the account of temple repairs, mention is made of purification of the land (הארץ) and of the temple (הבית). The phrases referring to Josiah's purification of Judah and Jerusalem in 34:3b and 34:5 are part of a framework delimiting Josiah's reform activities to the south, which appears to be Chr's own way of structuring the account. Therefore, it seems likely that the original story of Josiah's reform employed the verb טמא in connection with במה as it appears in Kings. This has been later altered by Chr who employed טהר instead of טמא, and used it together in construction with 'Judah and Jerusalem' in such a way as to form an inclusio to the account of Josiah's reform in the south. The additional support for the contention that the verb טהר, occurring in 2Chr 34, replaced the original טמא linked with במה in an earlier account of Josiah's reform is provided by the heightened interest in the usage of טהר by Chr in his special material relating to Hezekiah's reform. טהר occurs in 2Chr 29:15, 16, 18 carrying obviously the same notion of purge from illicit cultic objects as when it appears in Chr's account of Josiah.²⁸ This is different from the usage of טהר in the story of Naaman (2Kgs 5:10, 12, 13, 14), the only account in Kings where this verb is employed, and rather in qal than piel, in the context of Naaman's 'cleansing'/healing from leprosy.

2.2. Destruction of Altars

- 2Kgs 23:12 ואת־המזבחות אשר על־הנגנ עלית אחז אשר־עשו מלכי יהודה ואת־המזבחות אשר־עשה מנשה בשתי הצרות ביתיהוה נתן המלך וירין משם והשליך את־עפרם אל־נחל קדרון
- 2Kgs 23:15 וגם את־המזבח אשר בבית־אל הבמה אשר עשה ירבעם בן־נבט אשר החטיא את־ישראל גם את־המזבח ההוא ואת־הבמה נתן וישרף את־הבמה הדק לעפר וישרף אשרה
- 2Chr 34:4 וינתצו לפניו את מזבחות הבעלים והחמנים אשר־למעלה מעליהם גרע והאשרים והפסלים והמסכות שבר נהדק ויזרק עלי־פני הקברים הזבחים להם
- (2Chr 34:7 וינתין את־המזבחות ואת־האשרים והפסלים כחת להדק וכל־החמנים גרע בכל־ארץ ישראל וישב לירושלם)

The religious reform that involves action against altars is in the account of Josiah in each, Kings and Chronicles, conveyed by language consisting of the construction נתן + מזבח that is in wider terms characteristic of the reform accounts shared by these two histories. The verb נתן, beside its use in a typical construction with מזבח, is also employed in Josiah's account in Kings depicting the action against במה (vv. 8b and 15). It was pointed out earlier (pp. 80-82), however, that these phrases involving נתן + במה do not belong to the primary material relating to the reform report in Kings. In

²⁸ There is one more occurrence of טהר in the account of Hezekiah, 2Chr 30:18, which however relates to cultic purification of priests.

one instance the verb נתן is employed in 2Kgs 23 in the text that contains a description of the reform activity pertaining to the temple. In v. 7 it is linked with the peculiar expression בתי הקדשים within a context, which is indirectly associated with the focus of the previous verse on the elimination of Asherah's cult through its reference to the women weaving בדים to Asherah. It will be seen later (pp. 127-35) that v. 7, in which נתן occurs in connection with בתי הקדשים, together with v. 4 is a subsequent addition providing more detail than the earlier material which dealt simply with the removal of the cultic object (אשרה in v. 6a) from the temple.

The action against altars, characterized by the basic terminology מזבח + נתן, is in Kings account of Josiah reported in two verses. In v. 12 the altars which Josiah demolished are depicted in more detail with regard to their location and their provenance. First, the verse mentions that Josiah broke down the altars that were on the roof of the upper chamber of Ahaz,²⁹ which is followed by another phrase emphasizing that these altars were constructed by the kings of Judah. In a similar vein in the later part of the verse it is stated that Josiah destroyed the altars built by king Manasseh at the temple's two courts. The preceding relative clause referring to the kings of Judah is not unique in its occurrence in this verse (v. 12) within the report of Kings as in the same chapter it also occurs in vv. 5 and 11 (with the difference of נתן being used instead of עשה). A suggestion has been proposed by some scholars that these statements about the kings of Judah, being understood as generalized allegations, are secondary to the primary text.³⁰ Following the reference to 'kings of Judah' in v. 12 (ואתהמזבחות...אשרעשו מלכי יהודה), the statement about altars being destroyed which Manasseh erected (...ואתהמזבחות אשרעשה מנשה...) partly repeats the language of the clause referring to kings. The mention of altars being built by Manasseh finds also a recognizable parallel in the account of Manasseh in 2Kgs 21:5//2Chr 33:5. Taking into account a possibility explored by previous

²⁹ MT reads המזבחות אשר עלהנת עליה אתה. The expression אתה עליה 'the upper chamber of Ahaz' is grammatically problematic following the noun ז with the article, thereby is thought to be a later explicative gloss (Burney 1903:360; Stade and Schwally 1904:295; Gray 1970:731; Hollenstein 1977:335; Jones 1984:623; O'Brien 1989:260 n. 113; Knoppers 1994:178 n. 9; Eynikel 1996:254-55, 347; Barrick 2002:31 n. 11; 76 and n. 43). It can be further noted that LXX^L alters the text in its usual fashion, adding βασιλέως Ιούδα after Αχάζ and substituting ἃ ἐποίησεν Αχάζ for the LXX^B reading ἃ ἐποίησεν βασιλεὺς Ιούδα. (The addition of 'the upper chamber of Ahaz' seems to have influenced the reading in the following phrase in LXX^B which has changed plural 'kings of Judah made' to singular 'king of Judah made'. LXX^A and MT both read plurals.)

³⁰ Hollenstein (1977:334-35); O'Brien (1989:255 n. 95). But as regards the phrase מלכי יהודה in v. 11 see the criticism of Hollenstein's view by Spieckermann (1982:107-108) repeated in Eynikel (1996:219-20).

scholars that the note regarding the kings of Judah represents a later addition and seeing close ties in terminology between this expression and the following one about altars being destroyed which Manasseh erected which also connects with the account of Manasseh's reign in 2Kgs 21//2Chr 33, it may be suggested that these phrases have been formulated in the course of subsequent supplementation of an originally quite brief piece of information concerned with the destruction of altars. Some further considerations while studying Chr's text regarding the action against the altars will provide confirmation that much of v. 12 in Kings is a development of what was originally a concise statement about Josiah's dealing with the altars.³¹ Before that, however, an attention needs to be paid to the second instance in 2Kgs 23 referring to the destruction of altar at Josiah's reform.

Verse 15 mentions the destruction of the altar along with the high place. The difficulties created by this particular combination in v. 15 were touched on earlier when discussing how *אֶת־הַבִּמָּה* ויִשְׂרַף occurs in the MT of that verse. A conclusion has been drawn agreeing with proposals of other scholars that *בִּמָּה* had no place in the original phrasing of v. 15 and that the earliest stratum of the compositional development of this text would deal only with the destruction of altar(s). This is close to what we concede to be the earliest reading from which much of v. 12 later emanated. Furthermore, the statement about the action against altars in the earliest material of Josiah's reform in Kings is noticeably comparable to the account of such action in Chronicles. It is Chr's treatment of Josiah's activity with regard to altars which will now be examined.

Chr mentions the destruction of altars in 2Chr 34 in two places. Verse 4 relates to the reforms in Judah; v. 7 describes Josiah's northern activity. The reforming measures in v. 7 seem to be deliberately drawn in a form parallel with those described in v. 4.³² Attention will be focused therefore on the reforming activity related to the destruction of altars which is described in v. 4 as being of primary value. This verse begins by portraying the destruction of altars in the following words: ויִתְחַצֵּר לִפְנֵי אֵת מִזְבְּחוֹת הַבְּעָלִים. What is of interest at the beginning of this verse is the designation of the verb *נָחַץ* in plural form in the MT. Hence the particular

³¹ The last part of verse 12 reading *וַיִּדְרֹךְ מִשֵּׁם וְהַשְׁלִיךְ אֶת־עַפְרוֹם אֶל־נַחַל קָדְדוֹן* in MT is repetitive of language elsewhere in 2Kgs 23 (namely vv. 4 and 6). Furthermore, there is a significant divergence in this part of v. 12 between MT and LXX. These considerations contribute to the view which regards the end of v. 12 as being part of a secondary development.

³² Odgen (1978:30).

reforming act of demolishing altars is not in a strict sense carried out by Josiah himself but by his agents who do the task לפני 'before his face'. The plural ויחצו in the MT seems to interrupt the chain of activity, in which every action associated with reform is assigned to Josiah alone (vv. 3b-7; החל לטהר...וישב לירושלם). The major Greek versions (LXX^B and LXX^L) render the verb נחץ in the singular but they disagree over the related detail.³³ Another ancient Greek text (LXX^A) does not follow the pattern of either LXX^B nor LXX^L but reads the verb in the plural as the MT.³⁴ This incongruity among Greek witnesses in rendering the phrase with נחץ contributes to the view that the MT reading in 2Chr 34:4 must be primary. Additional support for this understanding can be offered on the basis of an analogy with the text occurring in another part of the same chapter that has a parallel in Kings. In 2Chr 34:24 the verb קרא (followed by לפני) is used in the plural in the phrase that denotes the reading of the book found in the temple before the king. The phrase reads אשר קראו לפני מלך יהודה. In the parallel text in 2Kgs 22:16 on the other hand קרא, employed in the same context, occurs in the singular with מלך יהודה as its subject. The parallel phrase in Kings thus reads אשר קרא מלך יהודה. The expression אשר קראו לפני מלך יהודה occurring in Chronicles does not necessarily point to Chr's greater sense for accuracy as it was Shaphan alone who earlier had read the book before the king (2Kgs 22:10//2Chr 34:18) but rather alludes to an aspect of Chr's own style characterized by his tendency towards the use of the plural.³⁵ In both cases in Chronicles, 34:4(MT) and 34:24, we observe the plural form of the verbs being used and in both cases being followed by the expression לפני + בנים. The parallel text for the latter verse, 2Kgs 22:16, conveys the singular form; and it may well be that in the source which Chr used both verbs נחץ and קרא occurred in singular. Accordingly it can be stated that Chr in these two instances adjusted his source material in conformity with his customary mode of writing, opting for plurals used here particularly in combination with the expression לפני + בנים.

³³ LXX^B reads καὶ κατέσπασεν τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ τὰ θυσιαστήρια τῶν Βααλεὶμ. LXX^L has καὶ κατέσκαψε τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν θυσιαστήρια τὰ τῶν Βααλεὶμ.

³⁴ LXX^A offers καὶ κατέστρεψαν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ τὰ θυσιαστήρια τῶν Βααλεὶμ. Cf. Curtis & Madsen (1910:504). It is further noticeable that each of these three Greek versions render the verb נחץ by different equivalents. Both κατασπάω (LXX^B) and κατασκάπτω (LXX^L) are fairly common in rendering נחץ by Greek versions. The verb καταστρέφω (LXX^A) translates נחץ in majority of cases. However, at least in one other instance apart from present case, Judg 8:17 LXX^B, it also translates נחץ; (cf. Hatch-Redpath 1998²:743-46).

³⁵ Polzin (1976:42).

The text in 2Chr 34:4 in its initial part describes the destruction of altars, where the altars are defined as being those belonging to Baals (בעלים). The text of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23 refers to altars being demolished in vv. 12 and 15 but without any particular specification of them being related to Baal. We find בעל occurring in the reform report in Kings at another occasion but not in specific connection with מזבח. The initial phrase in 2Chr 34:4 that relates altars with Baal, though it does not have a corresponding parallel in the Kings account of Josiah, is not unique to Chronicles in the Old Testament. Earlier in the history of the Judean kingdom, king Manasseh is mentioned in both Kings and Chronicles as erecting altars to Baal(s) (ויקם מזבחת לבעלים in 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3), and the same expression also occurs – included only in the Kings narrative – in Ahab's story (1Kgs 16:32). Judges reports how Gideon, instructed by Yahweh, destroyed the altar of Baal (Judg 6:25-32).

While Chr's account of Josiah's reform has in common the use of 'Baal' with some other biblical texts as has just been noted, the parallel account in Kings is in this respect very different. On two occasions 'Baal' is encountered in 2Kgs 23, once in association with vessels in the temple (v. 4) and once in the context of the cultic practice of burning incense (v. 5). The occurrence of בלים of 'Baal' outside this passage, however, is nowhere attested; and nowhere else except here and in Jeremiah and Hosea does 'Baal' appear in the context of מקדשים.³⁶ This may imply that Chr probably did not derive his מזבחות הבעלים (2Chr 34:4) from the source corresponding in detail to 2Kgs 23. Rather, his mention of בעלים linked with מזבחות is more reminiscent of the text shared by Kings and Chronicles relating to the reign of Manasseh, where it is stated that Manasseh ויקם מזבחת לבעלים (2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3). Did Chr add בעלים to the text of his source on Josiah after the pattern of usage he found in the earlier story of Judean kings? Or had he already had מזבחות הבעל in the source material he used? How, or from what source, was the theme of 'Baal' in Josiah's account in Kings developed? In both Kings and Chronicles the theme of 'Baal' after it appears in the accounts of Manasseh's reign does not appear again until in connection with king Josiah. Could it be that 'Baal' was introduced to the text of Josiah's reform in Kings under the influence of its occurrence in Manasseh's story—very differently though from the manner the term was taken and re-used from that same story by Chr in his version of Josiah's reign? Or was the theme of 'Baal' elaborated by later editors of Kings from a much briefer and more original account of Josiah's reform that would also have served as a source to Chr and in which 'Baal'

³⁶ For occurrences in Jer and Hos, see p. 91 in this study.

was mentioned in connection with Josiah's elimination of altars: *את מזבחות הבעל ויהתקרינתן*?³⁷ Perhaps this second suggestion is more likely: editors of Kings are viewed as having expanded the theme of Baal from a briefer note in an earlier account of the reform, stating that Josiah 'broke down the altars of Baal'.³⁸ A interesting observation can be made then that while Chr in his *את מזבחות הבעלים* (v. 4) remains more faithful to the original text of Josiah's reform, the editors of Kings alter and expand the original note in a much more radical way. In their re-writing of Josiah's elimination of the altars of Baal, 'Baal' is moved to another setting within the same account and replaced by a longer text that provides more detail concerning the altars being demolished. In the focal passage in this regard, 2Kgs 23:12, an originally simple report about the altars' destruction is split into two statements – one refers to roof-top altars which had been built by kings of Judah and the other to altars which had been built by Manasseh. This second phrase of the expansion with its direct reference to Manasseh is a subsequent adaptation of *בשתי הצרות בית-יהודה* from the account of Manasseh (2Kgs 21:5//2Chr 33:5). The earlier part mentioning roof-top altars constructed by the kings of Judah in its reference to 'roof-top' (*הגג*) as a location of altars is a unique case in the book of Kings. Only in few instances elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, namely in Jeremiah (19:13; 32:29) and Zephaniah (1:5), is a 'roof-top' associated with cultic practice. Viewed from this perspective it is perhaps easier to see how 'altars of Baal' could have been later substituted for 'altars on the roof-top', this being followed by more expansion of the text – elaborating on the original quite brief comment in the report stating that Josiah destroyed the altars of Baal.

One may further observe how 'Baal', being replaced by an expanded text in its original location in which it qualified *מזבחות*, was transposed by the editors of Kings to the two new contexts within the report of Josiah's reform. One is in v. 5, the verse that is believed by the majority of scholars to be intrusive in the present arrangement

³⁷ We leave open the question whether the verb *נתן* would have been in the qal or piel theme in that primary text, since 2Kgs 23 uses consistently *נתן* in qal (vv. 7, 8, 12, 15) while 2Chr 34 only in piel (vv. 4, 7).

³⁸ If this reconstruction of the development of the text in Kings from the 'original' account of Josiah is correct, an interesting observation can be made that the phrase *את מזבחות הבעל ויהתקרינתן* of the 'original' Josiah's account has a direct parallel in its reference to altars of Baal with the story of Manasseh, which we would regard to belong to the same literary strata in the composition of Kings (and in the composition of Chronicles) with the 'original' account of Josiah's reform—the primary text underlying histories of both Kings and Chronicles (cf. Auld 1994). This close relationship in phraseology testifies to the internal coherence of that primary source.

theme into a new context in which the action is described as being carried out by priestly personnel⁴¹ under the king's command.⁴² It also elaborates on the subject of concrete items being taken out of the temple. Originally a single cultic entity (referred to as אֲשֵׁרָה in 23:6 or סִמְלָה in 2Chr 33:15) was reported as being removed from the temple. The text in v. 4 speaks of the implements (כְּלִיִּים) for Asherah and also the implements made for Baal and the hosts of heaven. All three—בַּעַל, אֲשֵׁרָה, and צְבֵא הַשָּׁמַיִם—occur together also in Manasseh's story in 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3, and we may well suspect that the text in Manasseh's account exerted some influence on the formulation of this triad in v. 4.⁴³ It is here within this triad, that the term 'Baal' ends up as one of the two new contexts after having been relocated from the phrase in the primary material (וַיִּתְקַיְיֶמֶת אֶת מִזְבְּחֹת הַבַּעַל).

On the basis of the above analysis it may be concluded that the reform reports of Josiah in both, Kings and Chronicles, reflect the use of מִזְבַּח + נָחַץ to describe the destruction of altars. Chronicles provides less additional detail, yet it is specific in including that the altars destroyed were of Baals. Kings on the other hand presents more complex information as to the location and origin of the altars destroyed. It was noted, however, that in this elaborative account of Kings there are expressions drawn from elsewhere: some from the story of Manasseh, and some having links with Jeremianic texts, which illustrates their secondary nature. Thus the primary material that describes the destruction of altars is reflected more closely by the brief account in Chronicles that speaks merely of the demolishing of altars of Baals. In Josiah's account in Kings, in which the phrase 'altars of Baal' does not occur, it has been suppressed in favour of a longer expansion. Subsequently, the mention of 'Baal' in the Kings report is made in two new contexts, which themselves belong to a following stage within the developing composition of Josiah's reform in that book.

⁴¹ The tripartite division of priesthood – שְׁמֵרֵי הַסֵּף and כַּהֲנֵי הַמִּשְׁכָּה, הַבְּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל – occurs elsewhere only in 2Kgs 25:18//Jer 52:24 (with the difference of כַּהֵן הַרֵאשִׁי used instead of הַבְּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל).

⁴² The introductory 'king commanded' (occurring also in 22:12; 23:21) together with 'king sent' (occurring in 22:3; 23:1) has been recognized as a structural device of the whole account in 2Kgs 22-23; see Lohfink (1987:461). This, however, does not undermine our argument that v. 4 with its introductory phrase 'king commanded...' belongs to the later stage of the composition of the text, since, as Barrick (2002:2) notes, this structuring 'applies only to the final form of the narrative which may incorporate earlier version(s) of the story which could have been structured differently'.

⁴³ אֲשֵׁרָה, בַּעַל, and צְבֵא הַשָּׁמַיִם occur together in one other text, 2Kgs 17:16. But as we shall later see, this is also dependent on the occurrence in the story of Manasseh (2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3).

of the texts shared by Kings and Chronicles regarding Hezekiah's reform (2Kgs 18:4//2Chr 31:1). That this piece of standard phraseology of the reform texts common to Kings and Chronicles is also characteristic of the original account of Josiah's reform used by composers of Kings and by Chr will become clear when analyzing the occurrences of אֲשֵׁרִים in Josiah's story in Chronicles.

The word אֲשֵׁרִים appears three times in 2Chr 34, twice within the series הַמִּסְכּוֹת וְהַפְּסָלִים וְהָאֲשֵׁרִים (vv. 3, 4) and once in combination with הַפְּסָלִים only (v. 7). The triad הַמִּסְכּוֹת וְהַפְּסָלִים וְהָאֲשֵׁרִים forming at the end of v. 3 the list of cultic objects from which Josiah purged Judah and Jerusalem seems to have been drawn from the subsequent reading in v. 4 with the occurrence of the very same grouping of cultic entities, to which אֲשֵׁרִים belongs. The reference to the destruction of אֲשֵׁרִים in v. 7 is made within the context of Chr's presentation of Josiah's northern reforms that displays a deliberate continuity with Chr's portrayal of the reform measures in the south (v. 4). The occurrence of אֲשֵׁרִים in v. 4 might therefore be considered of primary significance in the present investigation. In this verse, which divides into several parts that specify the reform activities, the second and the third clauses associated with the verbs נָדַע and שָׁבַר are of particular interest. The term אֲשֵׁרִים does not occur in this text as an object in its usual connection with נָדַע, but in a subsequent phrase linked with שָׁבַר.⁵⁰ The verb נָדַע in the second clause of the verse is employed with the less common noun הַמִּנִּים, which occurs only three times in Chronicles (2Chr 14:4; 34:4, 7) and five times elsewhere (Lev 26:30; Isa 17:8; 27:9; Ezek 6:4, 6). With regard to the presence of הַמִּנִּים in Chr's account of Josiah's reform, Barrick (2002:21) makes a trenchant comment. He states that despite other scholars maintaining that Chr summarized Kings account of Josiah's reform in 2Chr 34:3b-5 resorting to generalized language, the passage in 2Chr 34:4 in its reference to the altars destroyed in Josiah's presence and to הַמִּנִּים being placed somewhere above the altars is 'oddly specific'. It has not always been a matter of certainty what precisely הַמִּנִּים means. The prevailing view in the determination of the function and meaning of הַמִּנִּים has until recently been, based on the evidence of Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions, that it should be rendered as 'incense altars'.⁵¹ More recent studies re-examining the

⁵⁰ Nowhere else does the term אֲשֵׁרִים occur in the context of cult destruction with the verb שָׁבַר but almost as a rule with כָּרַח/נָדַע.

⁵¹ This interpretation, found in dictionaries and standard works on ancient Israel such as *HALOT* 1:329, *DCH* 3:256, Galling (*IDB* 1-J:699-700), Beyse (*TDOT* 4:475-77), Albright (1946:215), de Vaux (1961:286-87) goes back to studies of Ingholt (1939:795-802) and Elliger (1939:256-65 and 1943:129-39) who concluded independently of each other that the nature and function of הַמִּנִּים was that of incense stands.

Palmyrene evidence suggest, however, that the word refers to 'shrine' or 'sanctuary'.⁵² Irrespective of its factual physical import, *המנין* occurs only a few times in the Hebrew Bible – in Lev 26:30; 2Chr 14:4; 34:4, 7; Isa 17:8; 27:9; Ezek 6:4, 6. The impression is created by this limited group of texts employing *המנין* that it reflects a later use of this word.⁵³ In the case of 2Chr 34:4 *המנין*, then, does not belong to the original reform report of Chr's sources but is a term used by Chr in his elaboration of the older story of Josiah's reign.

The removal of *המנין* in the account of Josiah's reform in Chronicles is stated in terms involving the action of *גדע* 'hew down'.⁵⁴ It is of interest to note that in 2Chr 34:4 this verb stands in close proximity to *אשרים* which, however, belongs to the following clause and together with the other two terms *מסכות* and *פסלים* is the target of the activity of *שבר*. An implication can be drawn that *גדע* linked with *המנין* in the present text, before the later introduction of *המנין* into this passage, was tied with *אשרים*. When *המנין* subsequently became part of Chr's text, some rearrangement took place in which *אשרים* was disassociated from *גדע* and became part of the activity of *שבר*. The reading in v. 7, which is to some extent parallel with v. 4, similarly reflects a further expansion of the text in its inclusion of *המנין*, now combined in phrase with *גדע*. Comparing the two verses one may observe a slight difference in the use of the verb for destruction of *אשרים* in that v. 4 uses *שבר* while v. 7 employs *כרת*. Notwithstanding this difference, a conclusion can be drawn on the grounds of *המנין* being a later term in 2Chr 34:4, 7 that the earlier reading underlying Chr's version of Josiah's reform had *גדע* tied with *אשרים*. This has been later superseded by the present reading that links *גדע* with *המנין*. The restored earlier text which had *גדע* linked with *אשרים* corresponds well with the reading in Kings which comprises *ויכרת אתהאשרים* (2Kgs 23:14). This demonstrates that the collocation *גדע/כרת* + *אשרהים* belongs to the core language of the reform texts and occurs not only in the shared passages of Kings and Chronicles regarding Hezekiah's reform but is also fundamental to the original text of Josiah's reform used by both histories.

⁵² Fritz (1976:41-50 and slightly revised 1981:9-20 [eng. tr. 1980:103-115]); Drijvers (1988:165-80) followed by Hillers (1995:57-58) and Barrick (2002:62). For further literature see Barrick (2002:62 n. 4).

⁵³ Cf. Fritz (1976:41 and revised 1981:9-10 [eng. tr. 1980:103-104]).

⁵⁴ The destruction of *המנין* is portrayed in terms of *כרת/גדע* also in Lev 26:30 and Ezek 6:6.

2.4. Breaking Down Pillars/Images

2Kgs 23:14

ושבר אתהמצבות ויכרת אתהאשרים ויטלא אתמוקומם עצמות אדם

2Chr 34:4

וינתצו לפניו את מזבחות הבעלים והחמנים אשרלמעלה מעליהם גרע והאשרים והפסלים והמסכות שבר והדק ויזרק עלפני הקברים היבתיים להם

The phrase denoting breaking of cultic installations, which is characterized by the use of שבר + מצבה, is another expression that reflects the typical language of the reform reports found in the shared contexts of Kings and Chronicles. In the account of Josiah's reform in Kings it appears in v. 14 preceding ויכרת אתהאשרים, the phrase discussed above pertaining to the destruction of אשרים. It may be contended that both ושבר אתהמצבות and ויכרת אתהאשרים in v. 14 that display features of standard language of the reform accounts in synoptic contexts preserve in their formulation the traces of an earlier text of Josiah's reform, subsequently expanded in Kings.

The verbs שבר and כרת of the two expressions in v. 14 convey action that is similarly manifest in the account of Josiah's reform in Chronicles with the parallel occurrence of שבר and the use of גרע, a term appearing frequently in Chronicles in a synonymous way to כרת. Chr's text of Josiah's reform, however, has several specifics in its employment of שבר and גרע. As has been shown above, the verb גרע originally linked with אשרים, was later used by Chr in the text of Josiah's reform with reference to the destruction of חמנים (2Chr 34:4, 7). The other verb, שבר, is in 34:4 used in combination with פסלים, אשרים and מסכות. A plausible reason for Chr to include the term מסכות⁵⁵ among the list of cultic items that were destroyed (שבר) may be the subsequent reference in the same verse to them being beaten to dust and scattered over the graves. This terminology particularly recalls the destruction of the calf narrated in Exodus and Deuteronomy (Ex 32:20; Deut 9:21), in which contexts the description of the calf, as object of cultic worship, is made in terms of מסכה (Ex 32:2, 4; Deut 9:12, 16).⁵⁶ It should be noted that apart from the list of cultic objects in the report of Josiah's reform, and with exception of 2Chr 28:2, מסכה is not attested elsewhere in Chronicles. Leaving aside the occurrence of מסכה in 2Chr 28:2, which

⁵⁵ On this term see Dohmen (*TDOT* 8:431-37); Schroer (1987:310-14). The collocation פסל ומסכה is sometimes regarded in passages, such as Judg 17:3, 4; 18:14; Deut 27:15; Isa 48:5, as hendiadys; see North (1958:153-54); Schroer (1987:312-13). Note, for example, the NRSV translating פסל ומסכה in Judg 17:3 as 'an idol of cast metal', but יפסלי ויפסי in Isa 48:5 as 'my carved image and my cast image' or הפסלים והמסכות in the passage under discussion, 2Chr 34:4, as 'the carved and the cast images'.

⁵⁶ It might be relevant at this occasion to mention Halpern (1976:36) who notes that מסכה occurs elsewhere in the Old Testament 'mainly where the calf either of Sinai or of Samaria is specifically alluded to', and he cites Ex 32:4, 8; 34:17; Lev 19:4; Deut 9:12, 16; 27:15 1Kgs 14:9; 2Kgs 17:16; Hos 13:2 and Ps 106:20.

has been questioned by some scholars,⁵⁷ the appearance of this term in 2Chr 34:4 (repeated in 34:3) then seems to have been influenced by the reverberations of some of the terminology within the passage to which it was introduced by Chr with the language of the calf's destruction in Exodus 32 and Deuteronomy 9.

The other term beside *אשרים* and *מסכות* used in connection with *שבר* in Chr's account of Josiah in 2Chr 34:4 is *פסלים*.⁵⁸ This word occurs several times in Chronicles. Its root, *פסל*, appears first in Chronicles in the construction *פסל הסמל* which is employed in the story of Manasseh (2Chr 33:7; cf. parallel *האשרה* in 2Kgs 21:7). Afterwards, Chr uses *פסלים* on several occasions in his accounts of Manasseh, Amon and Josiah (2Chr 33:19, 22; 34:3, 4, 7), in places where there is no corresponding occurrence of it in the stories of these three monarchs in Kings.

Studying the language involved with *שבר* in the text of Josiah's reform in Chronicles and how it differs from the account of Josiah's reform in Kings, a question arises concerning the phrase with *שבר* in the source material Chr used for his account. Would the original text of Chr's source contain *שבר* linked with *מצבות* as it is in Kings (23:14)? If so, would then Chr in rewriting his source change *מצבות* for *פסלים* and make further alterations adding *אשרים* and *מסכות* as objects to *שבר*? Though this possibility cannot be discounted, one needs to bear in mind that Chr does not seem to be against the usage of *מצבות* in connection with *שבר*. This combination of terms is shared by Kings and Chronicles in the story of Hezekiah's reform (2Kgs 18:4//2Chr 31:1), and Chr uses it additionally in his account of Asa (2Chr 15:13). Could it be then that Chr used a source material which slightly departed from the text used by Kings in that it already included the phrase *שבר + פסלים* in Josiah's narrative, which was later supplied by Chr with other terms such as *אשרים* and *מסכות*? This remains a matter of speculation. In any case, both possibilities of original reading, *שבר + מצבות* or *שבר + פסלים* would be acceptable for later expanding of the original text by Chr into an expression that reads in the received text *והאשרים והפסלים והמסכות שבר*. The phrase with *שבר* associated either with *מצבות* or *פסלים* in the source material Chr used would

⁵⁷ See, e.g., Dohmen (*TDOT* 8:435); cf. a suggestion of emendation in *DCH* 5:363. In 2Chr 28:2, LXX has *γλυπτά*, while Peshitta reads *לחבקים* in 28:2, on the basis of which some suggested the original Hebrew reading *מזבחות*. However, great caution is needed regarding the value of the Peshitta of Chronicles for a text-critical argument. Weitzman (1999:111-21) points out that the writer of the Peshitta of Chronicles worked with a defective Hebrew text and had a poor knowledge of the Hebrew language.

⁵⁸ On the root *פסל* see Dohmen (*TDOT* 12:30-38).

also be fairly close to the text of the original reform report which was employed by the authors/editors of Kings in 2Kgs 23:14.

2.5. Crushing Idols to Powder

2Kgs 23:6 ויצא את־האשרה מבית יהוה מחוץ לירושלם אל־נחל קדרון וישרף אתה בנחל קדרון וידק לעפר וישלך את־עפרה על־קבר בני העם

2Chr 34:4 וינחצו לפניו את מזבחות הבעלים והחמנים אשר־למעלה מעליהם גרע והאשרים והפסלים והמסכות שבר והדק ויזרק על־פני הקברים הזבחים להם

Both Kings and Chronicles utilize in their accounts of Josiah's reform the verb דקק with reference to 'grinding' cultic paraphernalia. דקק is not a frequent term in biblical texts,⁵⁹ and is used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible to describe 'crushing' objects (e.g. grain Isa 28:28; mountains Isa 41:15) as well as people (e.g. enemies 2Sam 22:43; nations Mic 4:13). In the books of Kings and Chronicles, this verb appears in a hiphil theme denoting specifically 'grinding' or 'crushing' of illicit cult objects.⁶⁰ In the account of Josiah's reform in Kings, דקק occurs twice – in vv. 6 and 15. Assenting to the proposition already discussed that the latter verse has developed in stages from the kernel relating to Josiah's destruction of altar(s), it can be inferred that the appearance of דקק in v. 15 is not primary but belongs to one of the editorial expansions of the original brief note.⁶¹ Its employment in v. 15 seems to have been indebted to the text which is in the present form of Josiah's account in Kings associated with the destruction of אשרה found in the temple: verse 6 first refers to אשרה being removed from the temple and then burnt in the Kidron valley, crushed (דקק) to dust, and the remains from it being dumped in the burial ground. דקק features in the second half of v. 6 alongside another verb describing the activity following the grinding to dust. This verb, שלך, is used to describe the treatment of the dust of the pulverized cultic entity as it is *thrown out* onto the graves of common people. The parallel text with regard to pulverization of cultic paraphernalia and the subsequent casting on the graveyard in 2Chr 34:4 shares with the account in 2Kgs 23:6 the use of the verb דקק to refer to crushing of cultic entities but in depicting the act of

⁵⁹ Occurring 13 times: Ex 30:36; 32:20; Deut 9:21; 2Sam 22:43; 2Kgs 23:6, 15; 2Chr 15:16; 34:4, 7; Isa 28:28 (2x); 41:15; Mich 4:13.

⁶⁰ See 2Kgs 23:6, 15; 2Chr 15:16; 34:4, 7.

⁶¹ Cf. Barrick (2002:48 n. 66).

expulsion on ‘the graves of those who had sacrificed to them’ it uses זרק (scatter), unlike in Kings where שלך (throw out) is employed.⁶²

Scholars have previously noted literary parallels, regarding the manner in which cultic entities are demolished, between Josiah’s destruction of cult objects in Kings (2Kgs 23:6, 12) and Moses’ destruction of the golden calf in Deuteronomy (9:21; cf. parallel in Ex 32:20).⁶³ Begg (1985:208-51) in his detailed study of the biblical passages recounting the calf’s destruction in Deut 9:21 and Ex 32:20 further explored the ways in which the text in Deuteronomy, representing ‘amplifying and specifying rewriting’ (p. 235) of the text in Exodus, is related through verbal links with the passages in Kings that refer to the reform measures of Josiah as well as other reforming kings. What has escaped attention, however, when uncovering the interrelationships between the texts describing the calf’s destruction in Ex 32:20 and Deut 9:21 and further between Deut 9:21 and the texts dealing with reforms in Kings including Josiah’s account in 2Kgs 23, is the relevance of parallel material depicting the destruction of cultic entities in Chronicles, that of Josiah’s reform in particular. To see how the evidence from Chronicles may elucidate some points in the nesting of these literary links, the formulations depicting the calf’s destruction in Ex 32:20 and Deut 9:21 are compared below with the phrases referring to demolishing cultic entities in the parallel accounts of Josiah in 2Kgs 23:6 and 2Chr 34:4.

Ex 32:20	2Chr 34:4
...וושחן עד אשר ידק וזר על־פני המים וישק את־בני ישראל	...והדק ויזרק על־פני הקברים הזבחים להם
Deut 9:21	2Kgs 23:6
...ואכח אתו טחון היטב עד אשר ידק לעפר ואשלך את־עפרו אלי־הנחל הירד מן־ההר	...ויזרק לעפר וישלך את־עפרה על־קבר בני העם

The two texts depicting the pulverization of the calf, Ex 32:20 and Deut 9:21, employ the term דקק (in qal), which is also used (in hiphil) in Josiah’s reduction of the illicit cult in 2Kgs 23:6 and 2Chr 34:4. The verse in Deuteronomy, which Begg (1985:235) finds more ‘verbose, elaborate and specificatory’ than the text in Exodus, links דקק with עפר. This particular combination also occurs in 2Kgs 23:6, but is absent from 2Chr 34:4 just as it is not found in Ex 32:20. Following the action involving דקק, the next reform measure is portrayed in Deut 9:21 by עפר + שלך.

⁶² In the account of Josiah’s reform, Chr employs the verb דקק also in 34:7. However, the text of this verse, though to a great extent repetitive of 2Chr 34:4, is not a parallel to 2Kgs 23:6 in the way the text of 2Chr 34:4 is.

⁶³ Tillesse (1962:58-60); Spieckermann (1982:90-91); cf. Hoffmann (1980:312-13).

Again, this formulation also appears in 2Kgs 23:6 but neither in 2Chr 34:4 nor in Ex 32:20. On the other hand, the corresponding text to Deut 9:21 uses in Ex 32:20 the verb זרה. Obviously this is not exactly the same term as employed in the depiction of Josiah's further action in Chronicles. Nevertheless זרק of 2Chr 34:4 and זרה of Ex 32:20 are semantically rather closer to each other in their connotation of 'scatter' when compared with שלך used in Deut 9:21 and 2Kgs 23:6.⁶⁴ Finally, the combination זרה + על-פני appearing in Ex 32:20 recalls the collocation זרק + על-פני in 2Chr 34:4. In contrast, Deut 9:21 links שלך with אלה-החל, which corresponds to the reading וזשלך את-עפרם אל-נחל קררון that occurs in 2Kgs 23, though not in v. 6 but a little later in v. 12.

The foregoing discussion of verbal linkage does not undermine the substance of Begg's argument that the portrayal of the destruction of the golden calf in Ex 32:20 has been reworked and expanded in Deut 9:21.⁶⁵ What the above mentioned links seem further to suggest is that the text relating to Josiah's destruction of cultic entities in 2Chr 34:4, showing some affinity with Ex 32:20 in the way in which these two verses are distanced from Deut 9:21 and 2Kgs 23:6, may be preferable as the more original reading than the corresponding formulation in 2Kgs 23:6. At the same time it needs to be reckoned that 2Chr 34:4 includes late elements too. The final two words, הזבחים להם, display marks of secondary addition. They do not square easily with the preceding הקברים, which would require to be in construct state or at least without the definite article in order to accommodate הזבחים להם.⁶⁶ Perhaps this addition referring to those who sacrificed to illicit cultic entities is part of the same

⁶⁴ Note the dictionaries, e.g. Holladay (1988:92-93) or *DCH* 3:134, 144, attributing the first meaning to both verbs as that of 'scatter'; cf. *HALOT* (2:280, 283).

⁶⁵ Begg (1985:208-51) and more recently (1997:469-79). For the opposite view of Ex 32:20 being dependent on Deut 9:21 see Van Seters (1994:303-307).

⁶⁶ Various proposals have been offered to resolve this problem. Begrich in the apparatus of BHK suggests a conjecture of הקברים to construct state קברי, presuming this to have been in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of ancient versions (see e.g. LXX reading καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῶν μνημάτων τῶν θυσιαζόντων αὐτοῖς); thus also Curtis & Madsen (1910:504). Rudolph proposes in the apparatus of BHS (see further his 1955:318) to insert אשר קברים which in his view has fallen out of the original text by homoioteleuton. Washburn (1991:63-65) and Barrick (2002:21-22) who take a very different stand from the earlier proposals maintain that זרק, being a transitive verb, needs a direct object, and they opt for הזבחים להם, thus translating 'he...scattered before/over the graves [the remains of] those who had sacrificed to them'. However, their argument against viewing והאשרים והבסלים והמסכות as the collective object of זרק, which is the usual understanding, is not persuasive since the missing pronominal object/suffix of זרק can be easily understood as the case of ellipsis; see GKC §117f; Gibson (1994:110). Because there is no unanimity among interpreters of this biblical passage concerning its grammatical difficulty it seems best to resort to the view that הזבחים להם is a later, grammatically not too careful, addition.

modifications to the original text which started a few verses earlier: in the account of Amon in 2Chr 33:22, a similar statement is made about ‘sacrificing’ to illicit cultic objects with the verb זבח employed next to עבד, whilst the parallel text in 2Kgs 21:21 uses שחה together with עבד, and in this in all likelihood preserves the original string of verbs.⁶⁷ Returning to 2Chr 34:4, apart from the final two words, the part of this verse that begins with the mention of crushing (דקק) cultic entities may point to the reading that precedes the formulation in 2Kgs 23:6. That reading would involve זרק rather than שלך, and would not include עפר. The reconstructed text might have read: וידק ויזרק עליפני הקברים.

A plausible explanation exists for the development of the second half of 2Kgs 23:6 from the primary text just outlined. In the discussion comparing 2Kgs 23:6 and 2Chr 33:15 it has been proposed that the verb שלך originally appeared in the first part of the verse rather than the second. It was also suggested that the statement in v. 6 was originally much briefer than the present text, consisting only of the report about a cultic object being taken out of the temple and thrown out of Jerusalem to the brook Kidron, and that the second part of the verse, starting with וידק לעפר, was adapted and transferred from another section of the original material pertaining to Josiah’s reform (p. 77). This contention can now be substantiated and further specified with the help of the parallel text in 2Chr 34:4. In Chr’s account of Josiah’s reform the crushing (דקק) with subsequent dispersing (זרק) on the burial place is not mentioned with reference to a particular cult object located in the temple but it is stated to take place with regard to a variety of cultic entities. The action is reported in close relation with the mention of cultic objects being cut down (גדע) and smashed (שבר). It may well be that in the original report of Josiah’s reform in Kings, identifiable with Chr’s *Vorlage*, the act of ‘crushing’ cultic objects together with ‘dispersing’ on the graves came later in the narrative and was associated more generally with the destruction of altars (cf. 23:12), pillars and asherahs (cf. 23:14). Only at a subsequent stage of re-drafting the earlier version of Josiah’s reform, the phrase relating to ‘crushing’ and ‘dispersing’ has been transposed from its original

⁶⁷ The verb זבח is used four times in the last two chapters in Chronicles (33:16, 17, 33; 34:4), but only once in the corresponding chapters in Kings (23:20). The sole string of verbs זבח and עבד, occurring in 2Chr 33:22 appears elsewhere in Kings and Chronicles only in 2Chr 33:16 (Chr’s special material on Manasseh), while the combination of שחה and עבד, found in 2Kgs 21:21 appears also in the shared material of Kings and Chronicles in 1Kgs 9:6//2Chr 7:19, 1Kgs 9:9//2Chr 7:22 and 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3. It is thus more probable that the text in 2Kgs 21:21 is more original in its choice of verbs, and the one in 2Chr 33:22 in its preference of זבח over שחה is later.

setting of being associated with the destruction of a variety of cultic entities to be linked specifically with the measures carried out against a cultic statue in the temple. This would have taken place because of the heightened interest of Kings editors in emphasizing the total annihilation of the cultic object found in the temple. The re-arrangement of the material would have allowed for further alterations being made to the original phrase relating to ‘crushing’ and ‘dispersing’ the cultic entities on the burial ground; the verb שִׁלַךְ originally occurring in the passage about removal of the cultic object from the temple replaced the term for ‘scattering’ (זָרַק) and has been further augmented with עָפַר, the word supplementing also the preceding verb דָּקַק.

The term עָפַר appears to be specific to the final version in Kings of Josiah’s reform. It occurs five times in 2Kgs 23, more often in this chapter than in any other chapter in the Hebrew Bible. In 2Kgs 23 it is linked twice each with שִׁלַךְ (vv. 6, 12) and דָּקַק (vv. 6, 15) and once with נָשָׂא (v. 4). We may also note that while both שִׁלַךְ and דָּקַק are used elsewhere in connection with idolatrous objects – שִׁלַךְ in Isa 2:20; Ezek 20:7, 8; 2Chr 30:14; 33:15 and דָּקַק in Ex 32:20, 2Chr 15:16; 34:4, 7 – nowhere in these texts is the reference made to עָפַר as the ‘dust’ of illicit cultic entities. The only exception is Deut 9:21, the text derived from Ex 32:20 which in its development has been influenced as well as itself exerted an influence on the shaping of the story of Josiah’s reform in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24, with which it shares a number of significant links.⁶⁸ Therefore, it is likely that just as עָפַר is not found in Ex 32:20 but belongs to the more elaborate text of Deut 9:21, so also the occurrences of עָפַר in 2Kgs 23 are not part of the original version of Josiah’s reform but belong to the literary growth of Josiah’s account in Kings. The references to עָפַר in v. 6 being of secondary nature have been discussed above. The employment of עָפַר in conjunction with דָּקַק in v. 15 might be safely regarded as belonging to a later stage of production of Josiah’s text in Kings since as it was argued elsewhere the basic nucleus of v. 15 rests in the comment about Josiah destroying altar(s). Also the phrase ending v. 4 which refers to עָפַר being carried to Bethel is regarded by most commentators as a secondary addition.⁶⁹ Lastly in v. 12, similarly as in v. 6, the term עָפַר appears as the direct object of שִׁלַךְ. It has been suggested earlier that the combination שִׁלַךְ + עָפַר in v. 6 in the received text of Kings belongs to a later adaptation and re-writing of the primary

⁶⁸ See the links explored in Begg (1985:236, 238-39) and in an earlier literature cited there.

⁶⁹ See e.g. Montgomery (1951:529), Gray (1970:732), Jones (1984:618). The majority of these commentators, however, argue for the secondary status of the final part of v. 4 on the basis of w-qatal criterion, regarding which we have expressed some doubts (see above p. 6 n. 16). For our view, that the whole v. 4 is late and secondary, see pp. 127-30.

version of Kings account of Josiah's reform with the verb שלך originally appearing in the expression that describes the removal of the cultic statue from the temple. The occurrence of שלך + עפר in v. 12, then, therefore merely follows the construction appearing already secondarily in v. 6, in which it has been an outcome of the changes made during the rearrangements of the primary material. During these rearrangements the placing of the phrase והשליך את־עפרם אל־נחל קדרון to v. 12 would have been a limited attempt to compensate for the relocated and modified phrase concerning crushing and dispersing cultic objects now occurring in v. 6, which being in the original material associated with the destruction of a variety of cultic objects would have occurred nearby the texts that mention the destruction of altars (v. 12), asheras and pillars (v. 14). A final point to note is that v. 12 shares some distinctive features with Deut 9:21. The mutual influence between Deut 9:21 and 2Kgs 23 as these texts gradually expanded from older materials has already been acknowledged.

It can be concluded that the discussion about Josiah's destruction of cultic entities being conducted against a background of the study of the text dealing with Moses' destruction of the calf has been enriched by bringing into consideration the text of Josiah's actions in Chronicles. This has proved to have a transforming effect on the understanding of the development of the older materials dealing with Josiah's reform.

2.6 Burning Human Bones

2Kgs 23:16 ויפן יאשיהו וירא את־הקברים אשר־שם בהר וישלח ויקח את־העצמות מן־הקברים וישרף על־המזבח וישמאהו כדבר יהוה אשר קרא איש האלהים אשר קרא את־הרברים האלה

2Kgs 23:20 ויזבח את־כל־כהני הבמות אשר־שם על־המזבחות וישרף את־עצמות אדם עליהם וישב ירושלם

2Chr 34:5 ועצמות כהנים שרף על־מזבחותים [מזבחותם]^{Qerc} וישתח את־יהודה ואת־ירושלם

Josiah's actions in the course of his religious reform included as an instrument of destructive force the use of fire. In the reform account in Kings the destruction by fire relates to human bones as well as to entities of cultic significance. The verb שרף associated with 'burning' is found seven times in 2Kgs 23 MT, twice in reference to human bones (vv. 16, 20) and in five cases describing the destruction of cultic objects (vv. 4, 6, 11, 15 [2x]).⁷⁰ The first occurrence of שרף in 2Kgs 23 associated with cultic objects is made in v. 4 where it follows the mention of the removal of

⁷⁰ It occurs, rendered as κατακαίω, six times in 2Kgs 23 LXX. Verse 15 in the LXX includes only one reference to 'burning' and not two as in the MT.

cultic vessels from the temple. The verb שָׂרַף refers in this verse to cultic paraphernalia which, after they are taken out of the temple, are burnt outside of Jerusalem in שְׂדֵמֹת⁷¹ of Kidron. It has been proposed above (pp. 91-92) that the theme of the removal of objects of illicit worship in v. 4 is a later expansion of the same theme concerned with the removal of the statue of cultic significance in v. 6a. From this it follows that the occurrence of שָׂרַף in v. 4 is not primary but belongs to the later elaboration in this verse of the theme of cultic objects' removal. A further point of interest relates to the interconnectedness of the final form of vv. 4 and 6. The links which these verses share in the use of for instance the verbs יָצַא and שָׂרַף and the expressions מִחוּץ לִירוּשָׁלַם, מִקְדָּרוֹן and עָפַר might be due to a mutual influence in the growth of the material of these two passages from the original core, more or less represented by v. 6a. It may be observed by having a closer look at the phrase וַיִּשְׂרַף אֹתָהּ בְּנַחַל קְדָרוֹן 'he burnt it at the brook Kidron' in v. 6, how the process of mutual influence within the expansion may have taken place. This expression shares a link with the expansionist v. 4 in its use of שָׂרַף while at the same time it repeats the reference to נַחַל קְדָרוֹן from the immediately preceding text. The secondary character of וַיִּשְׂרַף אֹתָהּ בְּנַחַל קְדָרוֹן in v. 6 is thus easily discerned.

The verb שָׂרַף occurs twice in v. 15 (MT) linked with the destruction of cultic entities. First, it appears in the variant וַיִּשְׂרַף אֶת־הַבַּמָּה. The secondary character of this reading specific to the MT has already been discussed in connection with occurrences of בַּמָּה in 2Kgs 23. The second mention of שָׂרַף in v. 15 is made with reference to אֲשֶׁרָה. It has been noted in discussing the occurrences of אֲשֶׁרָה in 2Kgs 23 that the report on the burning of אֲשֶׁרָה in v. 15 also belongs to the subsequent development of Kings composition, though not being so late as the MT variant in the same verse pertaining to burning of בַּמָּה.

The final case to be considered, in which שָׂרַף is used to indicate the burning of a cultic entity, appears in v. 11. This verse, which mentions burning of chariots of sun, is not without complications. Scholars recognize uncertainties regarding the location of the events described in this verse as well as the provenance of terminology occurring in the passage. The expression מִרְכַּבֹּת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ 'chariots of sun' used as an object of שָׂרַף in the latter part of v. 11 occurs unparalleled elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. In the immediate context of v. 11 its appearance is in connection with solar worship. Consequently, 'chariots of sun' appearing in the second half of

⁷¹ See the discussion of this term on p. 129 n. 5.

the verse cannot be separated from the first part of the verse referring to ‘horses’ (הסוסים) dedicated to the sun. And since the text in v. 11 as a whole ‘conveys some notions associated more closely with the second [temple]’,⁷² it is highly probable that the use of שרף in the phrase באש שרף באש comes from the pen of later authors/editors of Kings and not from the author of the original report.

After paying attention to the occurrences of שרף in Josiah’s story in Kings, which involve the elimination of cultic entities, there are two remaining instances of שרף in 2Kgs 23 to be discussed that are employed to designate the destruction of human bones. With regard to bone-burning the text in v. 16 states that Josiah ‘sent and took the bones out of the tombs, and burned them upon the altar.’ A few lines later v. 20 reports that Josiah ‘slew all the priests of the high places who were there, upon the altars, and burned the bones of men upon them.’ On a related point turning to the account of Josiah’s reform in Chronicles it should be observed that despite the predominant use in Josiah’s story in Kings of the verb שרף in connection with elimination of cultic paraphernalia, in the account in Chronicles this is never the case. To the contrary, the use of שרף in 2Chr 34 revolves around the destruction of human bones as it is in the case of 2Kgs 23:16 and 20. Several issues are involved in the discussion of these two verses in Kings and the related text in 2Chr 34:5, which reports that Josiah ‘burnt the bones of the priests on the altars’.

First, as recently noted by Barrick (2002:40) the two texts describing the destruction of human bones in Josiah’s account in Kings portray slightly different pictures with regard to bone-burning. 2Kgs 23:16a reports that the bones burnt on the altar were those from nearby tombs on the mountain. Verse 20, on the other hand, mentions עצמות אדם ‘bones of people’ burnt on the cultic installation, this being preceded in the same verse by the reference to slaughtering priests on the altars. In this detail, narrating the slaughter of priests before reporting on the bone-burning, v. 20 seems to be distanced from v. 16a where there is no mention of such action relating to priests taking place. The slaughter of priestly personnel followed by bone-burning, however, is recorded in the story of the man of God (1Kgs 13:2) in a manner almost identical with 23:20, which may suggest that these two verses in their

⁷² Taylor (1993:181). In other words, Taylor (1993:179) thinks regarding the description of topographic places in 23:11 that it more likely ‘reflects the situation of the post-exilic temple’. See also our discussion of v. 11 on pp. 149-54.

final form belong to the same literary stratum of the book of Kings, being probably of later date than the material in 23:16a.⁷³

The view is widely held with regard to the related text in 2Chr 34:5 that this verse is Chr's compilation of material derived from 2Kgs 23:16 and 20.⁷⁴ The passage in Chronicles does not mention עצמות אדם 'bones of people' (cf. 23:20) nor does it state that the bones burnt were those from nearby tombs (cf. 23:16). Instead 2Chr 34:5 refers to עצמות כהנים 'bones of priests' being burnt on their altars. Despite the mention of כהנים in 2Kgs 23:20, the occurrence in particular of the verbs שרף and שחר in 2Chr 34:5 and the sequence in which they are found in this verse indicates that 34:5 shares links primarily with 2Kgs 23:16. In both 34:5 and 23:16 the verb שרף used in the context of bone-burning is followed by a verb conveying the notion of purity/impurity – שחר in 34:5 and טמא in 23:16.

2Kgs 23:16

ויקח אחיה עצמות מן הקברים
וישרף עליהם
ויטמאו

2Chr 34:5

...
ועצמות כהנים שרף על-מזבחותם [מזבחותם]⁷⁵
ויטהר את יהודה ואת ירושלים

Obviously שחר has a different function in 2Chr 34:5 than טמא used in 2Kgs 23:16. In the final form of Josiah's account in Chronicles, ויטהר את יהודה ואת ירושלים in v. 5 and לטהר את יהודה וירושלים in v. 3 together belong to a formal framework bracketing the section 3b-5 of Josiah's activities in the south. It seems that this has been a deliberate device by Chr to create a kind of inclusio by these expressions. Thus it is highly probable that Chr altered the original wording ויטמאו (reflected in 23:16) to suit his purposes here. Studying particular terminology in 34:5 by means of comparison with expressions used in 23:16, one may concede that the text of the original reform report concerning Josiah's action in relation to עצמות, the text which Chr also used, included the reference to bones being burnt followed by a subsequent note on Josiah's pollution of the altar.

As already observed, 2Chr 34:5 differs from 2Kgs 23:16 in its details regarding the bones burnt on the altar. While the verse in Kings relating to this issue mentions עצמות 'bones' from nearby tombs, the verse in Chronicles refers to עצמות כהנים 'bones

⁷³ A similar conclusion about primary significance of the bone-burning in 23:16a over the one in 23:20 is made by Barrick (2002:40, 48).

⁷⁴ Curtis & Madsen (1910:504); Japhet (1993:1023). Rudolph (1955:319) and Williamson (1982a:399) suggest to compare 2Chr 34:5a also with 2Kgs 23:14 alongside 23:16 and 20.

⁷⁵ Qere reading, מזבחותם, is supported also by LXX^l τὰ θυσιαστήρια αὐτῶν and Tg אריותן 'their altars'. Ketib reading, מזבחותם, appears to be a scribal error, a slip of the pen.

of priests.’ There is no need to suppose, however, that Chr was influenced in his choice of ‘priests’ in the expression עֲצוֹת כֹּהֲנִים by Kings account in 23:20 since, as Barrick (2002:23) points out, ‘2 Chron. 34:5a does *not* say that the bones burned were those of priests slain in the course of Josiah’s pogrom as in 23:20’ [emphasis his]. Other factors may have contributed to the variation of כֹּהֲנִים in Chronicles. It is quite possible that the term כֹּהֲנִים was incorporated into 2Chr 34:5 under the constraints of the changes made in the final part of the preceding verse (34:4) that resulted in the inclusion of הַזֹּבְחִים לַיהוָה in that verse.⁷⁶ Whatever the most decisive factor in attributing the bones to כֹּהֲנִים in 2Chr 34:5, it seems that this has emerged independently from the development in 2Kgs 23 in which v. 20, being distanced from v. 16 and sharing closer ties with 1Kgs 13:2, belongs to a later stratum in the composition of that chapter.

The question which remains to be dealt with concerns the identification of ‘bones’ in the primary material of Josiah’s reform. Did the original text identify the bones as those taken from the tombs on the mountain in a similar vein as it is described in 2Kgs 23:16a? The Chronicler provides no such detail in his account and it is quite possible that the ‘bones’ originally were not given any further specification and that the text simply read: וַיִּשְׂרֹף עֲצוֹת עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַיִּשְׂמְאוּהוּ. The comment in 2Kgs 23:16a about the bones having come from nearby tombs relates more closely to the narrative that follows concerning Josiah spying a particular tomb. It will be demonstrated later (pp. 169-70) that this part of v. 16a which depicts the scene of Josiah seeing the tombs on the mountain and taking the bones from there to be burnt on the altar developed alongside the additional material in vv. 16b-18.

Another issue arising from consideration of the texts denoting bone-burning in 2Kgs 23 and 2Chr 34 relates to Barrick’s observation that while in Kings’ reform report the burning of bones on the altar is presented as taking place in the north, in Chronicles this is described as happening during Josiah’s purge of Judah and Jerusalem.⁷⁷ In 2Kgs 23:16 the bone-burning scene follows the episode in the preceding verse which describes the destruction of the altar in Bethel. This gives the impression that the bone-burning mentioned in v. 16 happened in the Bethel area in the north. However, as has already been discussed, much of v. 15 evolved

⁷⁶ Cf. Barrick (2002:23) who is convinced that כֹּהֲנִים mentioned in 2Chr 34:5 are ‘either identical with, or a sub-group of, the deceased “sacrificers” (*hazzōbēhîm*)’, referred to in 34:4.

⁷⁷ Barrick (2002:22).

secondarily around the core phrase relating to Josiah's destroying altar(s). Thus originally there would have been nothing at this point within the sequence of events depicting the reform which would indicate the geographical change to Bethel. Concluding with Barrick (2002:48) that 'v. 15 is a secondary addition, inserted into a narrative which already contained v. 16a', it seems highly probable that the bone-burning scene in v. 16a originally followed the text of v. 14—that is to say, its earlier version without *וַיִּמְלֹא אֶת־מְקוֹמָם עֲצָמוֹת אֲדָמָה* and which included the phrase referring to dispersing dust on the graves (*וַיִּדְק וַיִּזְרֹק עַל־פְּנֵי הַקְּבָרִים*) that was later relocated and adjusted to the earlier part of the narrative in v. 6.⁷⁸ Only secondarily, by insertion of v. 15, the bone-burning scene in Kings has been located in the north, while in the original version of Josiah's reform – without v. 15 – the burning of bones would have naturally been understood as taking place during the reforms in Judah.⁷⁹ This in substance receives support from Chr's account of the reform where there is no reference to the change of location made prior to the bone-burning scene in 34:5. It is only after this episode in v. 6 that the reform activity in the north is recorded in Chronicles. This last comment leads to the following section discussing the reforms in the North.

3. Josiah's Reform Activity in the North

2Kgs 23:19 וְגַם אֶת־כְּלֵי־בְתֵי הַבַּמֹּת אֲשֶׁר בְּעָרֵי שְׁמֹרֹן אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַכְעִיס הַסִּיר יְאֲשִׁיחֻוּ
וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם כְּכָל־הַמַּעֲשִׂים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה בְּבֵית־אֵל

2Chr 34:6 וּבְעָרֵי מְנַשֶׁה וְאֶפְרַיִם וְשִׁמְעוֹן וְעַד־נַפְתָּלִי בְּהַר בְּתֵיהֶם [בְּחַרְבַּתְיָהֶם] ^{Qere} סָבִיב

Enquiry into the biblical material regarding Josiah's activity in the north has often led biblical scholars to discussions about the size and boundaries of the Judean kingdom in Josiah's days. Scholarly opinion varies to a large degree in this respect. Some scholars hold the view that following the retreat of Assyria from the country Josiah enjoyed years of prosperity and independent rule and expanded the territory of his kingdom to include substantial areas that were formerly part of the northern kingdom of Israel.⁸⁰ Others, however, regard it as unrealistic to see Josiah being

⁷⁸ See the reconstructed original text of Josiah's reform on p. 121.

⁷⁹ That the bone-burning scene in 2Kgs 23:16 may have been originally located in Judah and not in the north is similarly argued by Barrick (2002:46-50, 61).

⁸⁰ E.g. Cross & Freedman (1953:56-58), restated anew in Cross (1998:177). See also Suzuki (1992:32-37); Laato (1992:76); Hallo (1998²:140). Cf. Donner (2001³:379). On the expansion to the east see Stern (1994:399-409).

powerful enough to extend his rule deep into the territory of Samaria.⁸¹ Their view is that Josiah's activity outside the Judean heartland was no more than small encroachment into the foreign territory, extending his presence in the north only as far as Bethel.⁸² It is worth pointing out that in the biblical accounts of Josiah's reign it is nowhere explicitly stated that Josiah annexed the territories of the former Northern Israel to his kingdom.⁸³ As a matter of fact, the mention of the northern territory in the accounts of Josiah in Kings and Chronicles is confined to the portions of the narrative describing Josiah's reform told from a particular angle (2Kgs 23:15-20; 2Chr 34:6-7), and to the portions dealing with Josiah's death (2Kgs 23:29-30; 2Chr 35:20-24). Given the nature of the context in which the references to the northern territory occur, it should not be assumed that accurate historical information concerning the size and the scope of Judean kingdom in the early seventh century BCE can be distilled out of these notices. More importantly, the text in which these notices are found is subject to compositional history, which makes the question of the historical situation of the seventh century Judah less relevant in respect of study of the original and later versions of Josiah's reform. This also implies that the text referring to Josiah's activity in the north cannot be accepted or rejected as being part of the original or later versions of Josiah's reform purely out of historical consideration. Its occurrence in the early version, for instance, could already be attributed to the literary interests of the composers of the original text rather than to attest to Josiah's actual conquering of vast land in the north.

In the two biblical accounts of Josiah's reform the most frequently quoted references to the northern territory are found in 2Kgs 23:19 and 2Chr 34:6. Though both these texts refer to Josiah's reform activity in the north they differ in the use of the terminology for the description of that territory. In 2Kgs 23:19 the reforming measures are described to take place *בְּעָרֵי שָׁמָרָא* 'in the cities of Samaria', while in 2Chr 34:6 *בְּעָרֵי מְנַשֶּׁה וְאֶפְרַיִם וְשִׁמְעוֹן וְעַד-נַפְתָּלִי* 'in the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim and Simeon and as far as Naphtali'. The tribal terminology used for the description of people and territory of the kingdom of Israel occurs more often in Chronicles and

⁸¹ E.g. Ahlström (1993:764-65); Na'aman (1991:3-71); see also Finkelstein & Silberman (2002:347-53).

⁸² According to Zevit Bethel 'was taken by Hezekiah when he revolted against Assyria *c.* 705-701 BCE.' This suggests to him that 'Josiah's northern foray may have been a purely internal affair – not a matter of flexing muscles on foreign territory' (2001:474 n. 82). For the view that the northern border of Judah never extended in the first temple period beyond the region of Bethel, see now Lipschits (2004:350-55).

⁸³ Noted by Ahlström (1993:764).

seems rather characteristic feature of that book. For instance, the phrase *מְנַשֶּׁה וְאֶפְרַיִם* ‘Manasseh and Ephraim’, that is never found in Kings, appears in Chronicles again in the narrative relating to Josiah’s reign: in 2Chr 34:9 the collection of money for the restoration of the temple is said to come from ‘Manasseh and Ephraim’ among others, whereas the parallel text in 2Kgs 22:4 mentions only the collection of money ‘from the people’. In Chr’s special material of Asa, the people which Asa gathered together with people from Judah and Benjamin for the renewal ceremony are designated as those ‘from Ephraim, Manasseh and Simeon’ (2Chr 15:9). Similarly, Chr employs tribal terminology in his special material of Hezekiah, mentioning Manasseh, Ephraim, Issachar and Zebulun as the origin of the people participating in the celebration of Passover (2Chr 30:11, 18).⁸⁴ After the celebration of Passover finished, it is further stated in Chronicles that the reforming activity under Hezekiah took place in the land of Judah and Benjamin as well as in the land of Ephraim and Manasseh (2Chr 31:1). It can be concluded from these considerations of the use of terminology in Chr’s special material, which involved tribal designations for the people and the land north of kingdom of Judah, that the territory described in tribal terms in 34:6 is wholly Chr’s own expression.⁸⁵ The source material for Chr’s elaboration on the geographical extent of the reform can be identified with the passage in Kings that states that Josiah was active ‘in the cities of Samaria’ (23:19).⁸⁶

The action which Josiah performed ‘in the cities of Samaria’ is described in 2Kgs 23:19 as a destruction of the houses of the high places. The parallel text in 2Chr 34:6, however, is not at all clear with regard to the description of Josiah’s activity in the north since the present text of 2Chr 34:6 lacks a verbal constituent of speech.⁸⁷ The phrase *בָּחַר בְּתִיבָם* (=Ketib; *בַּחֲרֵבְתִיבָם* Qere)⁸⁸ in this verse has been difficult to interpret. Seeligmann, however, suggested a persuasive conjecture to read *בַּעַר* instead of *בָּחַר* in this complicated case on the basis of several instances of the letters *ח* and *ע* being confusingly interchanged in the Hebrew text.⁸⁹ If the textual

⁸⁴ Other references to the territory of ‘Ephraim and Manasseh’ within that account are made in 2Chr 30:1, 10.

⁸⁵ See also Noth (1987:104); Odgen (1978:30) followed by Malamat (2001:288); Williamson (1982a:399). On the tribal system in Chronicles, see Japhet (1997²:278-308).

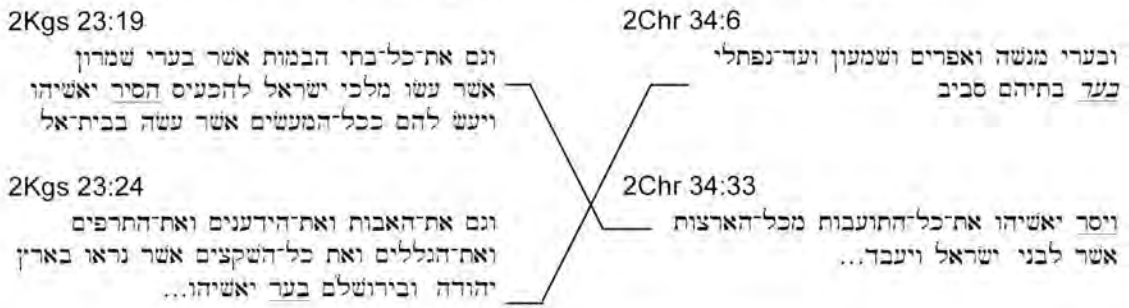
⁸⁶ So Auld (1998a:76).

⁸⁷ Washburn (1991:65) for example regards v. 6 as ‘an incomplete sentence’. See further discussion on the syntax of v. 6 in Odgen (1978:30).

⁸⁸ Codex *Leningradensis* reads *בָּחַר בְּתִיבָם* (Ketib); cf. BHK and Barthélemy (1982:514-15).

⁸⁹ E.g. *חָן* in 1Sam 17:7 Ketib but *עָן* Qere and many Mss; *וַיִּשְׁמַע* in 2Kgs 20:13 but *וַיִּשְׁמַח* in the parallel passage Isa 39:2; *זָרַע* in Ps 97:11MT but *ἀνέτελεν* (=זָרַע) in Ps 97:11LXX; Seeligmann (1961:202 n.

emendation is accepted, this would lead to a straightforward reading in 34:6 בער בחיהם סביב 'he destroyed their houses round about', which can be compared with the statement made in 2Kgs 23:19 וגם את־כָּל־בְּתֵי הַבָּמוֹת אֲשֶׁר...הִסִּיר יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ 'and also all the houses of the high places Josiah removed'. It appears to be significant in examining these passages closely that the verbs סור and (recovered) בער of these two verses occur once more in the texts of Josiah's reform. The verb סור, which is used in 2Kgs 23:19, appears in 2Chr 34:33, while the term בער, recovered in 2Chr 34:6, is used in 2Kgs 23:24. The following table illustrates the relationship.



These four passages, which employ either the verb סור or בער, have further interesting links that may be observed. The first two verses of each biblical book in the table, 2Kgs 23:19 and 2Chr 34:6, both refer to Josiah's activity in the north. The other two verses, 2Kgs 23:24 and 2Chr 34:33, both appear loosely connected with the main narrative of Josiah's reform in their respective histories, being separated from the main account by other episodes (in Kings by the story of the celebration of the Passover; in Chronicles by the report of the discovery of the scroll and the episode of covenant-making). This demonstrates that the two verses in Kings are related to those in Chronicles despite the fact that in their present form there appears to be very little vocabulary shared between them. It also shows that the verbs סור and בער, which these texts share in the reverse order, were once part of the original version of Josiah's reform and later were interchanged in one of the successor texts.

In the examination of the verses dealing with Josiah's activity in the north, 2Kgs 23:19 and 2Chr 34:6, there remains to be considered the aim or the focal point of that endeavour. In 2Kgs 23:19 a reference is made to the removal of בתי הבמות 'the houses of high places', in 2Chr 34:6 it is בחיהם 'their houses', i.e. the houses of the priests mentioned in v. 5, that are stated to be eliminated (reckoning with the

1). Cf. Tov (2001²:251) who regards instances of interchange between אה/הע being rather of phonetical character.

conjectured (בער). Some commentators translate בתיהם in 2Chr 34:6 as ‘their sanctuaries’ or ‘their temples’ thus implicitly emphasizing the connection with the parallel passage in 2Kgs 23:19. Interestingly, בתי הבמות never occurs in Chronicles. Yet it is possible to suppose that this expression may have been originally included in Chr’s source. We may briefly digress to expand this point.

In Kings בית במות in either its singular or plural expression is mentioned altogether five times (1Kgs 12:31; 13:32; 2Kgs 17:29, 32; 23:19). The reference to בתי הבמות in 1Kgs 13:32 that is based on the wording in 2Kgs 23:19a is part of the story of the man of God (1Kgs 12:33-13:32) that more recently is thought to be an addition to the earlier account of Kings.⁹⁰ The occurrences of בית הבמות in 2Kgs 17:29, 32 are part of the account of the fall of Samaria that generally is thought to be of composite character and whose later section (2Kgs 17:24-41) has been variously attributed to the late exilic or postexilic period.⁹¹ Both the story of the man of God and the report of the fall of Samaria belong to material in Kings that is not present in Chronicles.

1Kgs 12:31 reports that Jeroboam built בית במות as part of his programme of cultic innovations in northern Israel after the split of the kingdom.⁹² Though the

⁹⁰ For various formulations of the position that the story of the man of God is an insertion into the original account with the precise limits of this insertion still being debated, see Van Seters (1981:170-74; 2000:214-16), Rofé (1974:143-64; 1988:172); Provan (1988:81); McKenzie (1991:51-52); Barrick (2002:42-43). The statement in 1Kgs 13:32b that the man of God spoke against בתי הבמות goes beyond the actual words of the man of God in 13:2, strengthening the links between the later story of 1Kgs 12:33-13:32 with the events described in 2Kgs 23:19a; cf. Jones (1984:268); Provan (1988:81 n. 69); McKenzie (1991:52).

⁹¹ See, e. g., MacDonald (1969/70:29-41); Würthwein (1984:397-403); Talmon (1981:57-68); Van Seters (2000:220); cf. McKenzie (1991:140-42). For the discussion of passages with בית הבמות in 2Kgs 17, see especially Talmon (1981:62-63) who regards 17:29b as secondary to the original text and 17:32 as an editorial comment, which he characterizes as ‘slightly paraphrastic quotation of a distinctive line in the report on Jeroboam’s I’s actions’, and he refers to 1Kgs 12:31 (noting also 12:32 and 13:33).

⁹² LXX has οἴκους ἐφ’ ὑψηλῶν and Vg reads *fana in excelsis*, both being plural constructions. The MT reading בית במות in 1Kgs 12:31 cannot be a possible reference to a cultic structure located in Bethel. Against this view of Provan (1988:80; 1995:110) and Barrick (1996:624 and n. 19 with earlier literature; 2002:47), followed by Campbell & O’Brien (2000:376), Cogan (2001:359) and Kogan & Tishchenko (2002:341-42, 347) stands the fact that there is no evidence of a sanctuary in Bethel referred to specifically as בית במות elsewhere in the Old Testament. Furthermore, Bethel as a location is not mentioned in 12:31 at all. Barrick contends on the basis of the whole pericope (12:26-32 + 12:33-13:34) revolving primarily around Bethel that the reference בית במות in 12:31 must be to the Bethel sanctuary. However, by giving primary attention to the whole passage 12:26-13:34 insofar as the significance of Bethel is concerned, Barrick fails to recognize in this context the importance of the compositional development of this pericope, which he himself discusses in another place. According to his compositional scheme of the book of Kings mentioned elsewhere, the original immediate context of 12:31 is the shorter passage 12:26-32 (Barrick 2002:107). From this perspective of having a much narrower immediate context to v. 31, it is less compelling to understand בית במות in this verse as

narrative in 1Kgs 12:26-32 and 13:33-34 as such is not found in Chronicles, Jeroboam's policies it depicts in 12:28, 31 and 13:33 do occur incorporated among Chr's special material relating to Rehoboam (2Chr 11:14-15) and Abijah (2Chr 13:8-9). The initiatives of Jeroboam that are shared by both histories include: making golden calves (עגלי זהב – 1Kgs 12:28; 2Chr 13:8; cf. 2Chr 11:15), appointing non-levitical priests (1Kgs 13:33; 2Chr 13:9; cf. 2Chr 11:14), establishing priests of high places (כהנים לבמות/כהני במות – 1Kgs 13:33; 2Chr 11:15), and ordaining as priest anyone who came for consecration (1Kgs 13:33; 2Chr 13:9). The nature of these related texts between Kings and Chronicles concerning Jeroboam indicates that Chr was not necessarily familiar from his source with all the material included in 1Kgs 12:25-13:34.⁹³ The notices relating to Jeroboam's religious policies reported in 2Chr 11:14-15 and 13:8-9 have counterparts within 1Kgs 12:25-32 and then in 13:33-34. These passages serve as brackets to the story of the man of God in Kings, the account of which is nowhere found in Chronicles. Thus a plausible suggestion can be made that Chr worked with a narrative of Jeroboam's cultic installations in the elementary form that could be identified with an early version used by authors/editors of Kings in the production of 12:25-32 and 13:33-34, into which the story of the man of God (12:33-13:32) was inserted.⁹⁴ On the basis of the foregoing considerations the original version of Jeroboam's cultic inventions may have included the following:⁹⁵

a specific reference to the sanctuary in Bethel. If, as some scholars have suggested (e.g. Toews 1993:101), v. 32b with its repeated mention of Bethel is part of a later gloss, then the contention that בית במות in v. 31 referring to the Bethel sanctuary is the 'most contextually compatible understanding of 12:31a' (Barrick 1996:624) has little ground. The perfectly reasonable proposition, then, is that there are several sanctuaries built by Jeroboam in view in 12:31. In fact, this has been the more common understanding of this verse (see e.g. Montgomery 1951:259; Gray 1970:313; Jones 1984:260; De Vries 1985:160-61; Noth 1968:268; Knoppers 1994:27-28; Van Seters 2000:215 n. 31; Fritz 2003:146; cf. also modern English translations NRSV, NJPS, NIV). This view is based either, on the understanding of בית במות as a collective plural (see GKC §124q[c]), or on the witness of ancient traditions, LXX and Vg, which employ plural constructions 'houses', 'sanctuaries'. For the priority of LXX reading οἴκους ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν 'houses on high places' see now an interesting discussion in Schenker (2004:36-40).

⁹³ *Contra* Goldingay (1975:103-104).

⁹⁴ Barrick (2002:109) contends that Chr used 'the unrevised "Josianic" version of Kings', which did not include the story of the man of God. According to him, 1Kgs 12:33-13:34 was added in stages to the later versions of Kings history (2002:107). Though one may agree that the story of the man of God is a late composition, the ending of that story as delimited by Barrick, however, may not be correct as belonging to the addition, since 1Kgs 13:33 clearly has a parallel in 2Chr 13:9.

⁹⁵ Since the original material concerning Jeroboam is used in Chronicles in the context of Chr's own material marked by his strong theological interests it seems reasonably certain that the early version of Jeroboam's account is better preserved in Kings. The reconstructed text therefore follows the substance of what appears in the present text of 1Kgs 12:28-32 + 13:33. (Italics in the reconstructed report designate the text which Chr failed properly to integrate.) Due to Chr's thorough incorporation of Jeroboam's account into his own material, the parallels between Kings and Chronicles are not exact

He made calves of gold,	1Kgs 12:28a ~ 2Chr 11:15
And he set one in Bethel and the other in Dan	1Kgs 12:29
And he built houses of high places	1Kgs 12:31a
and made priests from among the people	1Kgs 12:31b ~ 2Chr 13:9
who were not from the Levites.	1Kgs 12:31c ~ 2Chr 11:14
And he made a festival and he set up the altar	1Kgs 12:32
To sacrifice to the calves that he had made.	1Kgs 12:32 ~ 2Chr 11:15
And he made priests for the high places from among the people,	1Kgs 13:33 ~ 2Chr 11:15; 2Chr 13:9
Whoever desired he ordained him as priest.	1Kgs 13:33 ~ 2Chr 13:9

This early version of Jeroboam's cultic accomplishments has been developed in Kings into an extended account (12:25-13:34), which included Jeroboam's motivation for cultic innovations (12:26-27, 28b), the statements relating to sin (12:30; 13:34) and the story of the man of God (12:33-13:32), whereas in Chronicles this originally brief account of Jeroboam's accomplishments has been utilized within Chr's special material regarding Rehoboam (11:5-23) and Abijah (13:3-21).

On a closer look at the two specific passages in Chronicles, which incorporate Jeroboam's policies (2Chr 11:13-17; 13:8-12), they both display Chr's vast interest in Levites. Perhaps it was this aspect of Chr's writing that led to *בתי הבמות* – which might have been part of Chr's *Vorlage* concerning Jeroboam given that other elements of 1Kgs 12:31 closely tied with the mention of 'houses of high places', such as appointing other priests and disregarding Levites, do occur in Chronicles (2Chr 11:14-15; 13:9) – not being included in Chr's final account. It would appear from viewing the context with strong Chr's interest in Levites, in which the references to Jeroboam occur, that in applying the report of Jeroboam's innovations to his own materials, Chr was so preoccupied with his theological interests and with his concern for the Levites, that he did not succeed in properly integrating this report when utilizing it within his own accounts.

The original text of Jeroboam's cultic accomplishments can be ascribed to the same primary material underlying Kings and Chronicles that also comprised the original account of Josiah's reform. It has been indicated above that the report of Josiah's reform in the primary material would have included the removal of *בתי הבמות* in the cities of Samaria (in the final form of Kings reflected in 2Kgs 23:19, while in 2Chr 34:6 *בתי הבמות* has been altered to *בתיהם*, referring to houses of the priests mentioned in the preceding verse). If the conclusions of this investigation are correct in acknowledging that *בתי הבמות* occurred in the primary material in both, the text of

but only approximate. Cf. also Zevit's proposal (1985:60-61 repeated in 2001:448-49) of the original account of Jeroboam's cultic policies used by the authors of Kings, the content of which is to a certain degree similar to the reconstructed account proposed here.

Jeroboam's innovations and the report of Josiah's reform, the implications seem to support the inner consistency of that original material, in which Josiah's elimination of *בתי הבמות* in the north functioned as a subtle literary reference to *בתי הבמות* which were established by Jeroboam. Whatever the historical reality of Josiah's cult reform in Samaria, the significance of the subtle literary links and connections cannot be easily overlooked and underestimated. It leads to a recognition that in the creation of these texts, in their primary form, the composers revealed their literary interests and artistry.

In Kings, the primary report describing Josiah's removal of *בתי הבמות* in the cities of Samaria in 23:19 is expanded with a clause that refers to kings of Israel participating in constructing these installations. This addition on one hand disassociates the building of the houses of high places from being directly attributed to Jeroboam as stated in the account of Jeroboam's cultic innovations in the primary material. On the other hand, it widens the perspective within the secondary stratum of Kings to include kings of Israel more generally in the activity of cultic innovations in the northern kingdom.⁹⁶ This insertion is then consonant with the nuances of the story of the northern kingdom in which the northern rulers are condemned for doing evil and for 'provoking' Yahweh to anger. Particularly significant in this regard is the mention of *בעס* 'to provoke' (implying the provocation of Yahweh) in the insertion of 23:19 which constitutes a tie with the story of Northern kingdom where the kings are said to 'provoke' (*בעס*) Yahweh to anger time and again. The final part of 23:19 which states that Josiah did to *בתי הבמות* 'according to all that he had done in Bethel' seems to be a later editorial link. It functions as a bridge between the early material of Josiah's reform, which dealt only with the removal of *בתי הבמות* in the cities of Samaria, and later expansions of that material regarding the particular activity at Bethel (23:16-18), a possible reference to 1Kgs 13. This editorial link is followed by 23:20 which also comes from a later hand (except the last phrase *וישב ירושלה*), again possibly connecting with 1Kgs 13 since there are striking parallels between 2Kgs 23:20 and 1Kgs 13:2.⁹⁷

Thus the argument has come to the point of concluding that the original version of Josiah's reform was to a large degree limited in its treatment of Josiah's reform

⁹⁶ Note still a broader perspective recorded in 2Kgs 17, where people of Israel are said to have built *במות* (2Kgs 17:9) and little later Samaritans to have built *בית הבמות* (2Kgs 17:29 MT).

⁹⁷ See also discussion further below pp. 171-73.

activities in the north. It mentioned only that Josiah removed בתי הבמות from the cities of Samaria – and as such this note may play rather a role as a literary remark alluding back to Jeroboam within the original material. In Chronicles the original note relating to Josiah’s activity in the north has been developed in the way more characteristic of Chr, where ‘the cities of Samaria’ became ‘the cities of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Simeon, and as far as Naphtali’, and ‘the houses of high places’ has been adjusted to ‘their houses’, referring to the houses of the priests mentioned in Chr’s addition of previous verse. The text in 2Chr 34:7, with the exception of the final phrase ‘and he returned to Jerusalem’, is Chr’s own development with repetition of most of what is said in 2Chr 34:4. Both Kings and Chronicles finally resume with the statement that Josiah ‘returned to Jerusalem’ (2Kgs 23:20b; 2Chr 34:7b), which once again points to the accounts of Josiah’s reform in Kings and Chronicles having common roots.

4. Additional Note Regarding the Reform

2Kgs 23:24a וּגַם אֶת־הָאֲבוֹת וְאֶת־הַיְדֻעָנִים וְאֶת־הַתְּרַפִּים וְאֶת־הַנְּלָלִים וְאֵת כָּל־הַשְּׂקִיצִים אֲשֶׁר נִרְאוּ בָאָרֶץ
יְהוּדָה וּבִירוּשָׁלַם בַּעַר יֵאֱשִׁיחוּ

2Chr 34:33a וַיֹּסֶר יֵאֱשִׁיחוּ אֶת־כָּל־הַתְּנוּעוֹת מִכָּל־הָאֲרָצוֹת אֲשֶׁר לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

The two verses, 2Kgs 23:24a and 2Chr 34:33a, are not within their respective books, Kings and Chronicles, part of the main narrative units that deal with the reform report. In Kings, v. 24a is separated from the major text of the reform by the story of Passover (vv. 21-23); in Chronicles, v. 33a by the narratives describing temple repairs (vv. 8-12), finding the book of the law and Huldah’s oracle (vv. 13-28), and covenant (vv. 29-32). This does not mean, however, that v. 24a in Kings and v. 33a in Chronicles are unrelated or have nothing in common with each other and with the major narratives portraying Josiah’s reform in their respective histories.⁹⁸ As has been shown earlier (p. 111), 2Kgs 23:24 and 2Chr 34:33 use the verbs בער and סור respectively, which appear once each within the major texts pertaining to the reform in the two histories, בער in the (recovered) text of 2Chr 34:6 and סור in 2Kgs 23:19. An implication has been drawn from this that both בער and סור, shared by Kings and

⁹⁸ See e.g. the arguments of Nelson (1981:83), O’Brien (1989:232 n. 17, 266), Knoppers (1994:217), Eynikel (1996:341, 350) and Barrick (2002:112-13) to the contrary, who consider 2Kgs 23:24 as late supplementary text in relation to the material contained in 23:4-20; cf. also Jones (1984:628); McKenzie (1985:191). Nor McKenzie (1985:160) neither Eynikel (1996:341) see a parallel of 2Kgs 23:24 in any part of Chronicles. 2Chr 34:33 is considered to be ‘an allusion to the reforms of 2 Kg. 23:4-20’ (Williamson 1982a:403) or ‘the Chronicler’s epitomized representation of II Kings 23.4-20’ (Japhet 1993:1035) but not as a counterpart to 2Kgs 23:24. Our analysis regarding the relationship of 2Kgs 23:24 and 2Chr 34:33 arrives at the opposite conclusion to these studies.

Chronicles, were once part of the original text regarding Josiah's reign and that later in one of the succeeding versions of the original text these verbs were interchanged.

2Kgs 23:24a and 2Chr 34:33a attend to some further aspects of Josiah's reform. Verse 33a in Chronicles deals primarily with *תועבות* 'abominations', whereas v. 24a in Kings is more specific about evils that Josiah eradicated. It mentions *אבות* 'mediums', *ידענים* 'wizards' and *תרפים* 'teraphim' usually linked with practice of divination,⁹⁹ and further includes *גללים* 'idols' and *שקצים* 'detestable objects'. No terms typical of divination or necromancy occur in the parallel text of Chronicles. While there does not seem to be an obvious reason why Chr would have left out from his source the expressions *אבות*, *ידענים* and *תרפים* associated with divination, it is more conceivable that these were added to the original report of Josiah's reform in Kings on the basis of the story of Manasseh (2Kgs 21:6//2Chr 33:6).¹⁰⁰

Conceding that the terms *אבות*, *ידענים* and *תרפים* conveying the notion of divination are secondary, being dependent on the account of Manasseh's divinatory practices in 2Kgs 21:6//2Chr 33:6,¹⁰¹ it remains to consider *גללים* and *שקצים* in 2Kgs 23:24a where 2Chr 34:33a reads *תועבות*. In its emphasis on the aspect of 'abomination' in cultic context, the term *תועבות* used in Chronicles is close to *שקצים* employed in Kings, which is a word signifying the idea of 'detestation' in association with idolatry.¹⁰² The roots of these two terms, *תעב* and *שקץ*, occur in close relation with one another in several passages of the Hebrew Bible (Deut 7:26; 2Kgs 23:13;

⁹⁹ The terms *אבות* and *ידענים* represent a divinatory context elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. They frequently occur together; see Lev 19:13; 20:6, 27 (sg.); Deut 18:10 (sg.); 1Sam 28:3, 9; 2Kgs 21:6 (sg.); 23:24; 2Chr 33:6 (sg.); Isa 8:19; 19:3. In fact, *ידענים* appears in the Hebrew Bible exclusively in parallel with *אבות*. The third term *תרפים*, which is recorded 15 times in the Bible, appears in several instances with *אפוד*, particularly in Judges 17-18 and Hosea 3:4. Though the precise meaning of 'teraphim' is debated, that it refers to some kind of divinatory objects and is linked with ancestor worship is commonly accepted; see Lewis (*DDD* 844-50).

¹⁰⁰ Two items, specifically *אוב* and *ידעני*, which occur in 2Kgs 21:6//2Chr 33:6 are repeated in 2Kgs 23:24a. The term *תרפים* in v. 24a, while not necessarily occurring in the story of Manasseh, is commonly taken as belonging to a divinatory context. A number of scholars acknowledge 2Kgs 23:24 in its reference to divinatory practice being reminiscent of 2Kgs 21:6, although they differ with regard to the layers of Kings composition, to which 2Kgs 21:6 and 23:24 should be attributed; see e.g. Nelson (1981:83); Jones (1984:628); McKenzie (1991:114, 136-37).

¹⁰¹ The case of 2Kgs 23:24a and 21:6 is a further supporting evidence of what has already been observed in another context (see p. 92 above), namely that the original reform report of Josiah has been reshaped in Kings partly in light of the story of Manasseh.

¹⁰² *תועבה* is a broader term than *שקץ* referring to variety of things and practices (cf. its frequent occurrence in Ezekiel, Deuteronomy and Proverbs). On *תועבה* see further Clements (1996:212-15), Preuß (*TWAT* 8:580-92), Gerstenberger (*TLOT* 3:1428-1432); on *שקץ* see Freedman/Welch (*TWAT* 8:461-65), Gruber (*DDD* 2-3).

Jer 16:18; 32:34-35¹⁰³; Ezek 5:11; 7:20; 11:18, 21). Moreover, a close relationship can be also observed in few other passages between the two terms relating to idolatry, גלולים and שקצים, occurring in 2Kgs 23:24a.¹⁰⁴

The texts in Deut 29:16 and Ezek 20:7, 8 employing שקצים and גלולים share some specific characteristics, which do not occur anywhere else. First, they are part of wider contexts (Deut 29:15-16 and Ezek 20:5-9), which treat the story of exodus from Egypt: Deut 29:15 reads 'You know how we lived in the land of Egypt, and how we came through the midst of the nations through which you passed'; Ezek 20:6 contains 'On that day I swore to them that I would bring them out of the land of Egypt into a land that I had searched out for them, a land flowing with milk and honey, the most glorious of all lands'. Second, they agree in mentioning the very same terms, שקצים and גלולים, from the whole range of possible expressions denoting idolatrous worship. In Deuteronomy such use of שקצים together with גלולים is unique.¹⁰⁵ Third, an aspect of 'seeing' is involved in these texts in their treatment of idolatry: Deut 29:16 reads 'you have seen their detestable things' (וּתְרָאוּ אֶת-שְׁקִצֵיהֶם); Ezek 20:7 (and similarly v. 8) has 'throw away the detestable things your eyes are fixed on' (שְׁקִצֵי עֵינֵי הַשְּׁלִיכוּ). With the exception of the framework of the exodus from Egypt, the other two specific features of Deut 29:16, Ezek 20:7, 8 are also present in 2Kgs 23:24a. This verse shares with Deut 29:16, Ezek 20:7, 8 the reference to שקצים and גלולים, and also specifically the 'visual' aspect, reading 'detestable things, which were *seen* in the land' (וְאֵת כָּל-הַשְּׁקִצִים אֲשֶׁר נִרְאוּ בָאָרֶץ...).¹⁰⁶ In the light of these particular links with Deut 29:16 and Ezek 20:7, 8, the collocation of שקצים and גלולים in 2Kgs 23:24a could be a later reworking of older material.

In view of the findings that the terms שקצים and תועבות in their usages in 2Kgs 23:24a and 2Chr 34:33a respectively are closely related, conveying the sense of abhorrence or detestation, it is reasonable to conclude that the pairing of שקצים and גלולים in 2Kgs 23:24a is Kings late substitution for תועבות in the original passage, which is now better represented by the parallel text in 2Chr 34:33a. In other words, it

¹⁰³ Jer 32:34-35 closely follows an earlier material in Jer 7:30-31. Contrary to 7:30-31, however, this late text adds in v. 35 אֲחִיזְחֻדָּה (Qere) לְעֵשִׂית הַתּוֹעֵבָה הַזֹּאת לְמַעַן הַחֲשִׂיא תוֹעֵבָה with occurrence of תועבה.

¹⁰⁴ Deut 29:16; Ezek 8:10 (שקצים applies in this verse to animals rather than idols; see Greenberg 1983:169); 20:7, 8, 30-31, 37:23 (MT).

¹⁰⁵ Each term שקצים and גלולים occurs in Deuteronomy only in 29:16; the verbal form שקן further appears only in 7:26 (2x).

¹⁰⁶ Nowhere else is the element of 'seeing', featuring in connection with cultic objects or practice, attested in Kings. This is specific in Kings to 2Kgs 23:24a, and elsewhere in the Old Testament to Deut 29:16; Ezek 20:7, 8.

appears that the original text underlying 2Kgs 23:24a and 2Chr 34:33a included only a single term, *הועבות*, in relation to idolatry eliminated by Josiah. This expression from older material has been subsequently recast through substitution by other terms with similar connotation in this context (*גלולים* and *שקצים*) and further expanded by the language relating to divination (*תרפים* and *ידענים*, *אבות*). While in the first instance the replacement of the earlier wording in favor of *שקצים* and *גלולים* may have been influenced by the language at present embedded in Deut 29:16; Ezek 20:7, 8, in the second instance the addition of the language typical of divination seems to be developed in relation to the story of Manasseh.

The passages in 2Kgs 23:24a and 2Chr 34:33a also differ over the particulars defining the land (*ארץ*), in which the illicit cult existed or from which it was eliminated. The verse in Kings makes reference to idolatry ‘which was seen in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem’ (*אשר נראו בארץ יהודה ובירושלים*), while the passage in Chronicles comments on illicit cult being removed ‘from all the lands of the sons of Israel’ (*מכל-הארצות אשר לבני ישראל*). Both phrases show marks of later editing: the former in its inclusion of *ראה* as an aspect of ‘seeing’ which, as has been shown above, comports well with the same emphasis in the texts of Deut 29:16, Ezek 20:7, 8 but is otherwise absent from other passages in Kings of similar concern; the latter in its special construction of plural *ארצות* followed by possessive *ל* to stress the aspect of territorial dominion.¹⁰⁷ Whether ‘Judah’ and ‘Jerusalem’ appearing in 2Kgs 23:24a as against ‘Israel’ used in 2Chr 34:33a is to be preferred as primary reading is difficult to determine. Since neither Kings nor Chronicles offer a clear and solid clue in this matter, it appears most probable that these are subsequent divergent developments in each of the two histories, stemming from earlier material which ended simply by inclusion of ‘land’ (*ארץ*). That this is a valid conclusion is supported by other passages in Kings and Chronicles of the cultic context, in which principally only ‘land’ is mentioned as a place from which the illicit cult is eliminated. For example, with regard to Asa’s reforms, 1Kgs 15:12 reads *ויעבר הקדשים מן-הארץ*. It appears that Chr reformulated the part *מן-הארץ* in the corresponding account of Asa’s reforms in 2Ch 15:8 to read *מכל-ארץ יהודה ובנימן ומן-הערים אשר לכר מהר אפרים*.¹⁰⁸ In the account of Jehoshaphat’s reforms, 1Kgs 22:47 has *ויתר הקדש... בער מן-הארץ* which can

¹⁰⁷ Plural *ארצות* occurs rarely in Kings (only 2x) but is more often found in Chronicles (15x); cf. Kropat (1909:9) who thinks that the plural *ארצות* in 2Chr 34:33 is late.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also further development relating the reforms of the same king in 2Chr 14:4 which reads *מכל-ערי יהודה* ‘from all the cities of Judah’.

be compared with *מִן־הָאָרֶץ בִּיבְעַרְתָּ הָאֲשֵׁרוֹת* in 2Chr 19:3.¹⁰⁹ One final example comes from Kings special material in 1Kgs 14:24 relating to idolatry during the reign of Rehoboam, which reads *וּמִסִּקְרָשׁ הָיָה בָאָרֶץ*. These examples strengthen the case that 2Kgs 23:24a and 2Chr 34:33a both drew on an earlier text that included *אָרֶץ*, which did not have any further specifications.

In an attempt to reconstruct the early text lying behind 2Kgs 23:24a and 2Chr 34:33a, it appears that, without many of the specific terms denoting illicit cult that are included in 2Kgs 23:24a (e.g. *אֲבוֹת*, *יָדְעִים*) and which have been by the foregoing analysis identified as belonging to later specific developments within Kings, the original text might more closely resemble 2Chr 34:33a. Based on the above argumentation, this text may have read as follows: *וַיִּסְרוּ וַיִּבְעֲרוּ יָאֲשִׁימוּ אֶת־כָּל־הַתּוֹעֵבוֹת מִן־הָאָרֶץ*. The question remains, where does this additional notice concerning Josiah's reform fit within the overall structure of Josiah's story. Was it included in the original material after the Passover as is the case in Kings or immediately before the Passover account as it is illustrated by Chronicles? This question is discussed further below (pp. 122-26).

5. Towards the 'Original' Report of Josiah's Reform

On the basis of previous analysis some concluding remarks can be offered with regard to the early material dealing with Josiah's reform. This chapter has commenced with an analysis of the texts describing the reform that are shared by Kings and Chronicles. It has been observed particularly when analyzing the texts in the longer report of 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 that the material, which this account shares with Chronicles, is indicative of a more elementary narrative constituting a nucleus from which the longer account in Kings developed. In other words, the report of the reform in Chronicles, far from being a summary of the narrative of Josiah's reform in Kings, rather provides clues for establishing an early account of Josiah's reform that also served as the elementary text from which the more elaborate account of Josiah's reform in Kings developed. The reconstruction of that original text, on the basis of the preceding analysis in this chapter, is tentatively offered below.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. again probably later development in 2Chr 17:6 which reads *מִיְהוּדָה* 'from Judah'.

ויצא(ויסר) את־האשרה/(הסמל) מבית יהוה	2Kgs 23:6a // 2Chr 33:15
וישלך מחוץ לירושלם/(חוצה לעיר) אל־נהל קדרון	2Kgs 23:6a // 2Chr 33:15
ויטמא את־הבמות	2Kgs 23:8aβ // 2Chr 34:3b
ויתן/(וינתן) את מזבחות הבעל	2Kgs 23:12a // 2Chr 34:4
ויגדע/ויכרת את־האשרים	2Kgs 23:14b // 2Chr 34:4
ושבר את־המזבחות/(הפסלים)	2Kgs 23:14a // 2Chr 34:4
וידק ויזרק על־פני הקברים	2Kgs 23:6b // 2Chr 34:4
וישרף עצמות על־המזבח ויטמאהו	2Kgs 23:16a // 2Chr 34:5
וגם את־כל־בתי הבמות אשר בערי שמרון הסיר/בער יאשיהו	2Kgs 23:19 // 2Chr 34:6
וישב ירושלם	2Kgs 23:20b // 2Chr 34:7b
...	...
ויסר/ויבער יאשיהו את־כל־התועבות מן־הארץ	2Kgs 23:24a // 2Chr 34:33a

[Josiah] brought out/removed the asherah/statue from the house of Yahweh and threw [it] outside Jerusalem/city to the brook Kidron. He defiled the high places and broke down the altars of Baal. He cut down the asherim and broke the pillars/(pesilim) in pieces, crushed [them] and scattered on the graves. He burnt bones upon the altar and defiled it. Also all the bamot-houses which were in the cities of Samaria Josiah removed/put away and returned to Jerusalem.

...
And Josiah removed/put away all the abominations from the land.

The account starts with the purge of the temple narrating that Josiah removed the object of cultic significance from the house of Yahweh. This is followed by the comment about the defilement of the high places, which introduces a whole list of the reform measures by the king against the illegitimate cult. The reform report makes also a brief note relating to the elimination of the houses of the high places in Samaria. Although this early account concludes with a note on Josiah's return to Jerusalem, there is an additional notice related to the reform, which comes a little later within the material of Josiah's reign (on this see further below).

This tentatively proposed 'original' narrative of Josiah's reform, in contrast to number of other attempts to establish earlier material behind the present story of Josiah's reform in Kings,¹¹⁰ has the advantage of considering evidence through data provided by the analysis of the parallel accounts of Josiah's reform in two biblical books (namely Kings and Chronicles). A decade ago, Auld (1994:125) put forward an outline of an 'earlier' account of Josiah's reform based on the study of material shared by Kings and Chronicles, but without elaborating it in full detail.¹¹¹ More recently, Barrick uses 'the Chronicler's account as a methodological key for

¹¹⁰ For one of more recent attempts see, e.g., Pakkala (1999:178-79).

¹¹¹ In the footnote to his proposal of 'primary' material relating to Josiah's reform he states: 'Since Chronicles regularly makes at least small changes to the source reports of cultic modifications, this paragraph will only give an impression of the original wording. But it can hardly be doubted that the long report in 2Kgs 23:4-20 has been substantially expanded, and in more than one stage.' (Auld 1994:125 n. 1)

unlocking the account'¹¹² of Josiah's reform in Kings. Though some new insights regarding the primary material of Josiah's reform are gained through Barrick's close attention to both 2Kgs 23:4-20 (+ 24) and 2Chr 34:3-7, Barrick in the end allows for too much data from the report in 2Kgs 23:4-20 to be part of the original composition, contending that its absence in Chronicles is accounted for simply by Chr omitting a number of elements of that report (e.g. 2Kgs 23:4, 7, 9, 11-12). It has already been indicated in this chapter, and will be further shown in the next, that many of these elements 'missing' in Chronicles are subsequent developments of the more elaborated account of the reform in Kings.

A related issue closely connected with the above consideration of the primary report of Josiah's reform pertains to the chronological framework of the larger material of Josiah's reign and to the question of the location of the primary reform narrative within that larger material. The chronological framework of the story of Josiah, which is different in Kings from Chronicles, has occupied a considerable space in scholarly debates. Does 2Kgs 22-23 with its reporting of major events to have occurred in the 18th regnal year of Josiah reflect the original narrative sequence? Or is 2Chr 34-35 with the course of events described to have taken place in three stages (in Josiah's 8th, 12th and 18th years of reign) closer to the earlier order of events within the King Josiah story? Both chronological frameworks have been seen as problematic.¹¹³ In Chronicles, the schematic nature of the chronology is suspicious in light of Chr's theological interests and compositional techniques involving chronological patterning.¹¹⁴ The version in Kings, which places all the activity to Josiah's 18th regnal year, is likewise from the historical point of view doubtful since this portrayal of Josiah's undertakings compresses too many events to just a few weeks between New Year and the Passover feast (2Kgs 22:3; 23:22-23). Furthermore, the order of the narrative in Kings, in which the discovery of the law book precedes the reform, may display a tendentious picture of making the discovery of the book the stirring force behind Josiah's reform. This invites the conclusion that 'neither the King's nor the Chronicler's chronology should be accepted at face value as true to history' (Barrick 2002:19).

¹¹² Roddy (2002:544).

¹¹³ See helpful summary of scholarly views on this matter in Glatt-Gilad (1996:16-31).

¹¹⁴ See the chronological notices of Josiah's narrative in Chronicles discussed by Steins (1995:212-18).

Acknowledging that neither version reflects accurate history, the question nevertheless remains concerning which narrative sequence, the one in Kings or the other in Chronicles, is primary in the literary history of the account of Josiah's reign. Relevant to this enquiry is Barrick's discussion of whether in Kings the reform report was part of Josiah's account right from the beginning or whether it joined the narrative of Josiah's reign at a later point of its development. After probing all other possibilities of how the narrative sequence of Josiah's story in Kings could have developed, Barrick finds the possibility most likely that an earlier version of Kings might have had the reform report disassociated from the 18th-year narrative section. He contends that such an early version 'could have contained the "book"/Huldah-covenant-Passover cluster *preceded* by the reform report'. This is what he further acknowledges to be actually the narrative sequence preserved in Chronicles.¹¹⁵

The Chr's narrative of Josiah, in which the reform report occurs soon after the introductory formula of Josiah's reign, has precedents for this layout in the accounts of Judean kings Asa and Hezekiah.¹¹⁶ The schematic listing below will prove helpful.

ASA (Kgs & Chr)	HEZEKIAH (Kgs & Chr)	JOSIAH (Kgs)	JOSIAH (Chr)
Introduction to king (1Kgs 15:10; Chr differs ¹¹⁷)	Introduction to king (2Kgs 18:2; 2Chr 29:1)	Introduction to king (2Kgs 22:1)	Introduction to king (2Chr 34:1)
Evaluation (1Kgs 15:11a; 2Chr 14:1)	Evaluation (2Kgs 18:3a; 2Chr 29:2a)	Evaluation (2Kgs 22:2a)	Evaluation (2Chr 34:2a)
David as exemplar (1Kgs 15:11b; Chr differs ¹¹⁸)	David as exemplar (2Kgs 18:3b; 2Chr 29:2b)	David as exemplar (2Kgs 22:2b)	David as exemplar (2Chr 34:2b)
Reform (1Kgs 15:12; 2Chr 14:2)	Reform (2Kgs 18:4; 2Chr 29:3-31:21)		Reform 2Chr 34:3-7
		Renovations/Law- book/Huldah/ Covenant (2Kgs 22:3-23:3)	Renovations/Law- book/Huldah/ Covenant (2Chr 34:8-33)
		Reform (2Kgs 23:4-20)	

¹¹⁵ Barrick (2002:119-23); quotation taken from p. 122 with emphasis being his.

¹¹⁶ Barrick (2002:122-23) makes a similar comment on the earlier version of Kings, his KH-2, which he considers to be Chr's *Vorlage*.

¹¹⁷ Chronicles includes a number of chronological notes in the story of Asa (2Chr 13:23; 15:10, 19; 16:1, 12, 13). However, it does not mention the duration of Asa's reign neither the name of the queen mother at the beginning of Asa's account, as the book of Kings does (1Kgs 15:10). Instead, Chronicles mentions the queen mother's name later in the narrative (2Chr 15:16//1Kgs 15:13) and refers to the length of Asa's reign at the end of his story (2Chr 16:13).

¹¹⁸ 2Chr 14:1 has 'his God'.

There are marked similarities between the accounts of Asa and Hezekiah in Kings and Chronicles on one hand and the account of Josiah in Chronicles on the other with regard to the narrative sequence in their opening paragraphs. After the introduction to king's reign, each account includes an evaluative formula '[he] did right in the eyes of Yahweh' that is (except for 2Chr 14:1b) accompanied by a comparative element referring to David. The royal accounts of Asa and Hezekiah in Kings with their counterparts in Chronicles move after the note mentioning David to a description of the reform activities of these kings without alluding to the circumstances, which led to the reforms. The story of Josiah in Chronicles conforms to this pattern set by earlier narratives, in which the reforms are introduced early in the stories and without necessarily disclosing the reasons underlying the reform activity, and may therefore represent the primary arrangement of events in the literary history of Josiah's account.¹¹⁹

Regarding the *Tendenz* of Chr to include chronological notes into his royal narratives, a comparison with Chr's story of Hezekiah may illuminate the point that Chr could incorporate chronological notices into his account of Josiah without specifically changing the narrative sequence of his source. After the accounts of Hezekiah, in Kings and Chronicles, mention the exemplary conduct of David (2Kgs 18:3b//2Chr 29:2b) they both continue describing Hezekiah's reform. While in Kings only one verse is dedicated to Hezekiah's reform activity (2Kgs 18:4), in Chronicles a much larger portion of the text deals with Hezekiah's reforming and innovative actions spanning across three chapters (2Chr 29-31). Within this larger material, a more precise parallel to the text of Hezekiah's reform in 2Kgs 18:4 appears in 2Chr 31:1, which is expanded backwards in Chronicles by the addition of material relating to the purification and dedication of the temple (2Chr 29:3-36) and the Passover (2Chr 30:1-27) and forwards by the addition of the material relating to the temple and its personnel's provision (2Chr 31:2-21). This whole section (2Chr 29:3-31:21), which expanded the theme of Hezekiah's reform from the original narrative, is introduced at the beginning by a chronological note: 'In the first year of his reign, during the first month, [Hezekiah] opened the doors of the house of the Lord...' (2Chr 29:3). An observation can be made that Chr does not change the order of events inherited from his source when he includes the chronological note in 2Chr 29:3, but only enlarges the component of the original material relating to the reform.

¹¹⁹ This is also the point made by Barrick (2002:122-23).

His account of Hezekiah's reform, even after editing, continues to be placed between the reference to the person of David (2Chr 29:2b) and the section relating to Sennacherib's campaign (2Chr 32:1-23), just as in the parallel story of Hezekiah in Kings. Similarly in Chr's account of Josiah's reign, there is no need for us to hypothesize that Chr changed the narrative sequence of the original account when he included the chronological notices referring to Josiah's 8th and 12th regnal years.

As shown above, Chr's source following the precedents of the accounts of Asa and Hezekiah may well have included Josiah's reform right after the evaluative formula accompanied with the comparative notice mentioning David. The following table shows the narrative sequence in the primary material of Josiah's reign and how differently it developed in Kings from Chronicles.

SEQUENCE IN 2CHR 34-35	PRIMARY NARRATIVE SEQUENCE OF JOSIAH'S STORY	SEQUENCE IN 2KGS 22-23
Ascension formula (34:1a)	Ascension formula	Ascension formula (22:1a) <i>Queen mother's name (22:1b)</i>
Evaluative formula (34:2a)	Evaluative formula	Evaluative formula (22:2a)
David as example (34:2b)	David as example	David as example (22:2b)
<i>Conversion in 8th yr. (34:3a)</i>		
<i>Launch of reform in 12th yr. (34:3ba)</i>		
Reform (34:3bβ-7)	Reform	
Temple renovations (34:8-13)	Temple renovations	Temple renovations (22:3-7)
Law book (34:14-19)	Law book	Law book (22:8-11)
Huldah's oracle (34:20-28)	Huldah's oracle	Huldah's oracle (22:12-20)
Covenant (34:29-32)	Covenant	Covenant (23:1-3)
Additional notice (34:33)	Additional notice	Reform (23:4-20)
Passover (35:1-19)	Passover	Passover (23:21-23)
		Additional notice (23:24) <i>Note on incomparability (23:25)</i> <i>Yahweh's judgement (23:26-27)</i>
	Reference formula	Reference formula (23:28)
Pharao Neco's encounter (35:20-23)	Pharao Neco's encounter	Pharao Neco's encounter (23:29)
Death and burial formula (35:24)	Death and burial formula	Death and burial formula (23:30)
<i>Jeremiah's lamentation (35:25)</i>		
Reference formula (35:26)	(?Reference formula?)	

The original narrative sequence suited Chr well in that he made only a few additions preceding the reform report, in which he introduced two chronological notices (mentioning king's 8th and 12th regnal years) with an emphasis being placed on Josiah's piety.

A different situation, though, obtains in Kings, in which the reform report is moved from its original setting nearer the beginning of Josiah's account to a place following the material dealing with the law book and Huldah's oracle. As discussed by others elsewhere, the placement of the reform narrative after the temple renovations and finding the law book has a strategic importance in Kings. It leads one to believe that the key factor for initiating the reform was the discovery of the law book. The place that suited best for the new location of the reform report does not come till after the covenant narrative, where originally there was only a brief notice about further reforms. As a consequence of the replacement of this note by a much longer account of Josiah's reform, the brief notice with further reforming actions was moved to its present place in Kings after the section dealing with celebration of Passover.

In conclusion, the account of Josiah's reign in Kings not only shows greater changes in order from the original narrative than shown by the account in Chronicles. It will also be observed in the following chapter that in Kings the Josiah's reform report itself has undergone a more substantial rewriting than in Chronicles.

CHAPTER FOUR

Literary development of Josiah's reform in Kings (test case – part two)

It has generally been accepted by scholars that the reform report of Josiah as presented in Kings is an elaborated account that is comprised of layers of literary development.¹ In the preceding chapter of this study, attempts were made on the basis of an examination of 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 and 2Chr 34:3-7 + 33 to identify the likely form of the earlier text that lies behind the present passage of Josiah's reform in Kings and that also served as basis for the account of Josiah's reform in Chronicles. It is a study of the processes involved in the development of this earlier material relating to the reform of Josiah that gradually led to the formation of the narrative in its present form of 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24, which will be the focus of the following analysis. Several points in this investigation will be of particular importance: how the themes of older material, as for example the theme of purging the temple, were re-used and expanded in the developed version of the reform in Kings; how the new issues were introduced through links with other texts of the expanding book of Kings; and how the present composition of Josiah's reform in Kings developed also in dependence on texts and traditions outside the book of Kings.

1. Purging the Temple: 2Kgs 23:4, 6-7

The theme of purging the temple appears first in the account of Josiah's reform measures in the primary material. As studied previously, it revolves around the issue of the removal of the statue of cultic significance from the temple and describes the destruction of the statue at the brook Kidron.² This first reform measure in the original version becomes a full-blown account describing the cleansing of the temple in the expanded text of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24, with the material

¹ For a useful presentation of the history of research on Josiah's reform, see Giesemann (1994:223-42). Studies devoted to isolating different strands of tradition in 2Kgs 23:4-20 include e.g. Würthwein (1976:395-423), Hollenstein (1977:321-36), Spieckermann (1982:79-120), Jones (1984:615-17), Levin (1984:351-71), Niehr (1995:33-55), Pakala (1999:170-80); cf. Ameth (2001:189-216). In contrast to the present analysis, however, these treatments of the story of Josiah's reform in Kings give little space to the insights from the parallel text of Josiah's reform in 2Chr 34:3-7. Welcoming in this regard is the recent monograph by Barrick (2002), which finds usefulness in reconstructing the compositional history of material relating to Josiah's reign by examining reports of Josiah's reform in both Kings and Chronicles.

² See the tentatively proposed 'original' text of Josiah's reform on p. 121.

dealing more directly with the Jerusalem temple found in vv. 4, 6-7 and the material which deals with precincts of the temple in vv. 11-12.³

It has already been noted in an examination of the occurrences of 'Baal' in the final version of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 that v. 4 is a more detailed account of the theme drawn from the original reform report, which concerned the removal of object(s) of illicit worship from the house of Yahweh. While the original material, recoverable from portions of v. 6, recorded only that אֲשֵׁרָה (according to Kings; סמל according to 2Chr 33:15) was taken out of the temple, the text in v. 4 develops this into הַשָּׁמַיִם וְלִכְלֵי צַבָּא אֲשֵׁרָה וְלִכְלֵי כָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם 'cultic implements made for Baal, for Asherah, and for all the host of heaven' being ordered to be removed from Yahweh's house – perhaps under the influence of the occurrence of all three elements in 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3. The scene of purging the temple is thus set into a larger narrative context in v. 4, in which the removal of idolatrous objects is reported to take place under king Josiah's command to his priestly personnel.

Other particulars of Kings expansion in v. 4 can be better assessed when this verse is set side by side with the now expanded v. 6 and the 'original' wording tentatively suggested by the analysis in a previous chapter:

(Proposed original text of 2Kgs 23:6a וַיֵּצֵא אֶת־הָאֲשֵׁרָה מִבַּיִת יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁלַךְ מִחוּץ לִירוּשָׁלַם אֶל־נַחַל קִדְרוֹן
2Kgs 23:6a וַיֵּצֵא אֶת־הָאֲשֵׁרָה מִבַּיִת יְהוָה מִחוּץ לִירוּשָׁלַם אֶל־נַחַל קִדְרוֹן וַיִּשְׂרֹף אֶתָּה בְּנַחַל קִדְרוֹן
2Kgs 23:4a וַיֵּצֵא הַמֶּלֶךְ... לְהוֹצִיא מֵהִיכַל יְהוָה אֶת כָּל־הַכֵּלִים הָעֲשׂוּיִם לְבַעַל וְלִאֲשֵׁרָה וְלִכְלֵי צַבָּא הַשָּׁמַיִם
וַיִּשְׂרֹפֵם מִחוּץ לִירוּשָׁלַם בְּשָׂדֵמוֹת קִדְרוֹן

In its reportage of the destruction of vessels made for Baal, Asherah and the host of heaven v. 4 partly re-uses expressions such as מִחוּץ לִירוּשָׁלַם and קִדְרוֹן from an older narrative preserved in v. 6 dealing with the destruction of the cultic object, and partly uses the same terminology, such as שָׂרֹף, which appears in the secondary expanded portion of verse 6.⁴ This may point to v. 4 and the secondary expansion of v. 6 originating in a particular neighborhood.

³ That the theme of purging the temple receives significant attention in the present text of Josiah's reform in Kings has been generally recognized in the scholarly literature; in this regard see e.g. McKay (1973:30); O'Brien (1989:253). Cf. Eynikel (1996:155-58) who in rather general terms divides 2Kgs 23:4-14 into two sections, one that treats the reform in the Jerusalem temple (vv. 4-9) and the other outside the temple (vv. 10-14). Barrick (2002:20, 27, 106) includes also v. 9 as referring specifically to the reform in the temple. However, this his contention is unwarranted.

⁴ The term שָׂרֹף used in the original reform report only in connection of burning human bones (2Kgs 23:16a//2Chr 34:5; cf. v. 20, which together with 1Kgs 13:2 belongs to the stratum later than v. 16a) is redefined in the expanded text of 2Kgs 23:4-20 (+ 24) and becomes frequently employed in connection with burning cultic entities (vv. 4, 6, 11, 15 [2x in MT; 1x in LXX]). See pp. 103-5 above.

Another peculiarity in v. 4 concerns the depiction of the place, where the illicit cultic objects were disposed. The phrase *בשרמות קדרון*...*וישרפם* relating to burning (שרף) of cultic implements employs with קדרון the unusual term שרמות⁵, which occurs only five times in the Hebrew Bible (Deut 32:32, 2Kgs 23:4, Isa 16:8, Jer 31:40^(Qere) and Hab 3:17).⁶ In three biblical passages (Deut 32:32, Isa 16:8 and Hab 3:17), שרמות appears in close association with vine. This is also the case of the Ugaritic equivalent *šdmt* to Hebrew שרמות occurring in CTA 23.10 and also in CTA 2.1.43 (if the reconstructed phrase *šdmt.bg [pnm]* ‘terraces with [vine]’ in the badly damaged mythological text from Ugarit is accepted).⁷ The association with vine in several passages where שרמות in Hebrew (or *šdmt* in Ugaritic) texts occurs has prompted scholars to postulate the connotation ‘terrace’ for the Hebrew term,⁸ although other renderings have also been made such as ‘field, territory’.⁹ In its immediate context, in which שרמות appears linked with קדרון in 2Kgs 23:4, this phrase has a close parallel with the expression *קדרון ער-נהל* ^(Qere) *וכל-השרמות* in Jer 31:40, a verse which belongs to the additional material in Jeremiah expanding the theme of the restoration of Judah and Jerusalem. In particular, it describes the renovation of Jerusalem as Yahweh’s city and thus reverses the images of destruction of the city in Jer 7:30-8:3.¹⁰

The final part of 2Kgs 23:4, *ונשא את-עפרם בית-אל*, referring to Josiah’s carrying ashes (עפר) to Bethel, has remained a puzzle for interpreters precisely because of the lack of clarity surrounding the circumstances, in which such an action by Josiah would take place. Scholars therefore tend to view this phrase together with v. 5 as a secondary addition to the original reform report, (not least because of the use of the

⁵ The troublesome meaning of *בשרמות* in 2Kgs 23:4 can be also observed in divergent renderings of this term by Greek witnesses; while LXX^A transliterates *ἐν σαδημῶθ* (LXX^B has *ἐν σαλημῶθ* but this could be an inner Greek corruption from ΣΑΔΗΜΩΘ to ΣΑΛΗΜΩΘ; thus Stade and Schwally 1904:293), LXX^C reads *ἐν τῷ ἐμπυρισμῷ [τοῦ χειμάρρου]* perhaps deriving it from *במשרפות* (?), but it is doubtful that this is preferable to the MT’s reading *בשרמות*; *contra* Klostermann (1887:479) translating ‘limekilns’, followed e.g. by Benzinger (1899:192) and Gray (1970:730); Montgomery (1951:538) ‘garbage fires in the valley’. Tg reads *במישר* ‘in the plain’ and Pesh ‘in the valley’.

⁶ The reference to שרמות in Isa 37:27 appears to be corrupt. Some mss and the parallel text in 2Kgs 19:26 read *שרפם* instead, and the Qumran Isaiah scroll 1QIsa^a has *הגשרף*.

⁷ So de Moor (1971:128-29), followed by Stager (1982:115).

⁸ See especially Stager (1982:111-21) and further Holladay (1989:200). For a broad discussion regarding terraces in Iron age Palestine, see Gibson (2001:113-46).

⁹ See HALOT 2:1422-23; Day (2000:193-94) and English Bible translations NRSV, NJPS, NIV. For further discussions of שרמות, see Wright (1987:282-83 n. 9), Barrick (2002:31-32).

¹⁰ Carroll (1986:605-6, 617-18).

w^cqatal form¹¹). Worthy of note is the reference to עפר ‘dust’ in v. 4, the use of which in construction together with נשא is observed by Eynikel (1996:215) to be unique in the Old Testament. The final phrase of v. 4 in its use of עפר displays greater affinity with the secondarily expanded text of v. 6 with a double occurrence of the very same expression. Though there is not enough information available to determine in a definitive way to which stage of the growth of Josiah’s reform report in Kings the phrase ונשא את־עפרם בית־אל belongs, at least it seems certain that as with the rest of v. 4 this phrase does not form part of the earliest stratum of Josiah’s narrative in Kings.

The theme from the older material relating to purging the temple, which was preserved in 2Kgs 23 mainly in portions of v. 6, is not only expanded by secondary additions in v. 6 and by v. 4, elaborating more in detail on the removal of cultic objects from the temple, but also by v. 7 which focuses on matters dealing with the elimination of physical complexes relating to the temple. Verses 4 and 7 share interesting literary connections as they develop the issues from earlier material relating to the temple purification. Before exploring these, however, textual matters of v. 7 are in need of close examination.

First of all, two expressions in verse 7 give rise to difficulty in interpretation: the term הקדשים in the first part of the verse ויחץ את־בתי הקדשים אשר בבית יהוה, and the word בתים in the second part אשר הנשים ארגות שם בתים לאשרה. Concerning the latter term, the literal reading of בתים ‘houses’ in the MT, thus translating לאשרה בתים ‘[where the women wove] houses for Asherah’, is perplexing. LXX^{A,B} offer χερτικιαιμν, which is understood by some either as a transliteration of כתונים ‘tunics’,¹² or as a corrupt transliteration of בתים in the MT.¹³ LXX^L reads στολὰς ‘clothes’, Tg מכולין ‘curtains’ and Pesh ܠܫܘܢ ‘garments’.¹⁴ This has suggested to Šanda (1912:344) to vocalize the Hebrew word as בָּתִּים, linking it with the Arabic *batt*, meaning ‘woven garment’, which has been accepted by a number of studies as a

¹¹ We have pointed out earlier in this thesis, however, that the use of w^cqatal form as an argument for a later addition is dubious; see p. 81 n. 17 above.

¹² E.g. Klostermann (1887:479); Benzinger (1899:192), Burney (1903:359), Stade and Schwally (1904:293), Gray (1970:730).

¹³ E.g. Montgomery (1951:539). He thinks that χερτικιαιμν is inferior to βερτικιαιμ (sic), which is attested at least in one other Greek manuscript. Cf. Tov (1973:90 n. 15) who proposes a *Vorlage* ‘בתים (?)’ for χερτικιαιμν, while ‘בתים’ for βερτικιαιμ.

¹⁴ For Tg מכולין, see Aramaic dictionary by Jastrow (1950:781); for Syriac ܠܫܘܢ, see dictionary by Smith (1903:247).

competent explanation for the Hebrew riddle.¹⁵ Whatever solution one might suggest for this conundrum, there is always a possibility that the MT's *בְּהִים* goes back to the literary stage of the development of the text under the editor(s) hands. That this is actually the case will become clearer after examining the second problematic issue in v. 7 that relates to the occurrence of *בְּהִי הַקְּדָשִׁים*.

The note about Josiah breaking down *בְּהִי הַקְּדָשִׁים* in the first part of v. 7 has occasioned much discussion especially with regard to the identity of *קְדָשִׁים*. It has traditionally been assumed in scholarly opinion that v. 7, with its reference to *קְדָשִׁים* understood as 'male cult prostitutes', attests to there being an institution of cultic prostitution in ancient Israel.¹⁶ This assumption, however, has now been challenged by a growing number of studies which do not see any connection between *קְדָשִׁים/קְדָשָׁה* and cultic prostitution in Israel and Judah, nor a similar kind of relation with regard to *qdšm/qadšul/qadištu* in the ancient Near East.¹⁷ Among recent suggestions it has been proposed to view *קְדָשִׁים* as 'members of the non-Yahwistic or Yahwistic/syncrretistic priesthood' (Barstad 1984:31), 'cultic functionaries' (Westenholz 1989:248), 'priestly class of ancient Canaanite origin' (Dijkstra 2001:119), or as Zevit imagines them 'cultic poets and musicians, bearers of Syrian mythic traditions' (2001:463). It is within this wider horizon of the debate over the particular designation of the word *קְדָשִׁים* in the Hebrew Bible that a new understanding of the expression *וַיִּחַץ אֶת-בְּהִי הַקְּדָשִׁים* in the original reading of 23:7 has emerged in scholarly discussion. In a substantial part of her article devoted to the investigation of Hebrew *קְדָשִׁים/קְדָשָׁה* from the literary-historical and sociological

¹⁵ These include Driver (1936:107); Montgomery (1951:539); Jones (1984:619); Day (1986:407); *BHS*, *HALOT* 1:166; cf. Cogan & Tadmor (1988:286); Knoppers (1994:185 n. 21). The view of Murnelstein (1969:223-24), followed by De Moor (*TDOT* 1:441) and Würthwein (1984:457), that the weaving of *בְּהִים* in 23:7 represents a euphemism for sexual intercourse, which has no textual support, is to be rejected.

¹⁶ Most recently defended by Day (2004:2-21).

¹⁷ For various critical assessments of the view linking *קְדָשִׁים/קְדָשָׁה* with practice of cultic prostitution see Barstad (1984:22-33); Gruber (1983:167-76; 1986:133 n. 1 reprinted); Oden (1987:131-53); Westenholz (1989:245-65); Frymer-Kensky (1992:199-202); Schäfer-Lichtenberger (1995:124-40); Bird (1997:37-80); Gangloff (2001:19-20); Zevit (2001:462-63); Dijkstra (2001:119). See further Olmo Lete & Sanmartín (1998:179-81) for discussion of only Ugaritic material in reference to *qdšm*. Regarding biblical material, the sexual connotation of the Hebrew terminology entered the discussion primarily through the appearance of *קְדָשָׁה* in connection with *נָה* in the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen 38) and in Deut 23:18-19 and Hos 4:14. But as Miller notes, '[t]he association of the feminine term [*qēdēšā*] with the word for "harlot" may...be a way of referring to its connection with worship practices that were regarded as idolatrous and apostate, the condemnation of which is often put in sexual terms, as, for example, in Jeremiah' (2000:206). For the argument of polemical usage of *קְדָשָׁה* in connection with *נָה*, see Binger (1997:118-20).

perspective, Bird focuses on a detailed analysis of the individual cases of קדשים in all the attestations of the masculine noun in the Hebrew Bible. Studying the overall context in which קדשים occurs in the account of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23, Bird observes that '[i]n the chapter as a whole the reference to *qđšm* is anomalous' and notes with regard to how the personnel is treated in this particular account that the mention of קדשים 'does not fit the pattern of accommodating legitimate, though tainted, cult personnel or extirpating illegitimate religious specialists' (1997:65). She rightly points out that in understanding the passage the emphasis has wrongly been put on the removal of the קדשים, while a careful reading shows that '[t]he essential content of v. 7 is the destruction of some type of structures associated with the temple, whose significance for the reform program is spelled out by reference to their use in the Asherah cult.' (Bird 1997:67). In view of the limitations which the Hebrew term קדשים possesses, which Bird also finds evident in 23:7, she suggests that the original text in this verse read קדשים and was only later reinterpreted to become קדשים. A similar proposal to read the text as קדשים (instead of קדשים) was made by Na'aman in an article published a year earlier than Bird's suggestion. Na'aman (1996:18) explains that בתי הקדשים 'dedicated treasures buildings' would have functioned as 'the stores in which the treasures of the temple were assembled', and further maintains that these storehouses consisted of 'a combination of depositories and workshops', where also בתיים לאשרה were woven, and to which v. 7 refers as a target of Josiah's reforming activity.

Apart from this conceivable occurrence of קדשים in the discussed passage, the term figures in several passages of Kings and Chronicles that concern royal dedications to the temple – 1Kgs 7:51//2Chr 5:1; 1Kgs 15:15//2Chr 15:8; 2Kgs 12:19; cf. verb קדש in 2 Sam 8:10-11//1Chr 18:10-11. Closely related to these texts portraying the donations to the temple are the accounts detailing the despoliations of temple treasuries during the era of the divided kingdom. It is worthy of note that the incidents dealing with the subject of wealth and national treasuries concern primarily the Judean kingdom and are frequently reported in both histories, Kings and Chronicles.¹⁸ In three instances, in the accounts of Rehoboam (1Kgs 14:26//2Chr 12:9), Asa (1Kgs 15:18//2Chr 16:2) and Amaziah (2Kgs 14:14//2Chr 25:24), Kings and Chronicles are very close or almost identical. With regard to the accounts of the reigns of Joash and Ahaz, the portrayal of national wealth, lost or voluntarily given

¹⁸ On accounts dealing with national treasuries see Knoppers, (1999:181-208); Mullen (1992:231-48); Delcor (1962:353-77).

to the stronger power differs rather considerably in the two histories: in 2Kgs 12:18-19 Joash voluntarily submits consecrated objects from temple and royal treasuries to the king of Aram in order to prevent him from attacking Jerusalem, while in 2Chr 24:23 the king of Aram is reported as invading Judah and Jerusalem and sending the spoil gained to the king of Damascus; Ahaz is described in 2Kgs 16:8 as paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser because of the Syro-Ephraimite coalition, while in 2Chr 28:21 he is depicted plundering the temple in order to give tribute to the Assyrian king as a consequence of attacks from the Edomites and Philistines. Similarly, the story of Hezekiah in Kings and Chronicles displays concern for the treasury but in each book quite differently. Kings narrates two treasury incidents during the reign of Hezekiah: in the first Hezekiah takes silver from the temple and palace treasuries to pay tribute to the King Sennacherib (2Kgs 18:15), in the second he is reported as showing the Babylonian emissaries 'all his treasure house' (2Kgs 20:13). By contrast, in Chronicles there is only one treasury incident reported relating to Hezekiah. This account portrays Hezekiah as building for himself 'treasuries for silver, for gold, for precious stones, for spices, for shields, and for all kinds of costly objects' (2Chr 32:27). Finally, both books make reference to despoliations in relation to the Babylonian exile, though again, with significant differences (2Kgs 24:13; cf. 2Chr 36:18). Irrespective of divergences between the two histories in several instances regarding the despoliation notices, the inclusion of these notices by the authors of both, Kings and Chronicles, in their texts suggests that the incidents relating to national treasuries and dealing with transfer of the national wealth to a foreign power were important and had already been a concern of the sources which the authors of Kings and Chronicles had at their disposal and used.

The notices regarding the receipt, maintenance and disbursement of the temple and palace jewels and funds employ specific language, which includes, among others, phrases such as קדשים 'dedicated objects', כלים 'vessels', כסף וזהב 'silver and gold', אוצר 'treasury'. Although there is obviously no relationship in theme or content between the stories of national treasuries and the portrayal of Josiah's reform in Kings, some of the language just mentioned relating to treasury narratives finds resonances and echoes in formulations and expressions of the two verses in the present account of Josiah's reform, vv. 4 and 7, expanding the theme of purging the temple from the earlier Josiah's narrative. It has long been a puzzle for commentators of Kings that the term כלי should have been employed in v. 4 in the context of

illegitimate worship,¹⁹ while such usage with exception of Dan 11:8 is not attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. In Kings, כלים predominantly occurs referring to cultic implements of Yahwistic worship where these implements are also regarded as being part of temple treasures (1Kgs 7:45, 47, 48, 51; 8:4; 15:15; 2Kgs 12:14; 14:14; 24:13; 25:14, 16).²⁰ In several such contexts, the vessels (כלים) are described as having been *transferred*—either being brought in or taken out of the temple. Turning to 23:4 it is perhaps not without significance that the vessels (כלים) ‘made for Baal and Asherah and all the host of heaven’ are also said to be *transferred*—this time having been ordered by the king to be taken out of the temple and destroyed. Another expression echoing the language pertaining to the management of temple treasures is the original phrase בתי הקדשים ‘houses of dedicated gifts’ in v. 7 (following Na’aman 1996 and Bird 1997). Staying with the subject of storehouses accommodating the temple’s treasures, it is true that there is no reference to אוצר ‘treasury’ in vv. 4 and 7. On the other hand, it might be relevant to point out the occurrence of ארג ‘to weave’ in v. 7, a very different word in its meaning from אוצר ‘treasury’ but perhaps not so graphically, sharing with אוצר two consonants in its root. ארג ‘weave’ does not occur very often in the Old Testament.²¹ It is not mentioned again in Kings, and appears only once in the shared material of Samuel and Chronicles.²² In v. 7, ארג ‘weave’ is employed together with a disputed word בתים in the phrase ...ארגות שם בתים לאשרה ‘weaving there houses for Asherah’. It may be useful here to recall despoliation notices and bring attention to a frequent occurrence of אוצר in connection with בית in the phrase(s) אצרות בית יהוה/המלך ‘treasuries of the house of Yahweh/king’. Perhaps in light of this phraseology, the enigmatic בתים found in near proximity with ארגות in v. 7 may not be surprising. The context and usage of אצרות ‘treasuries’ could have stayed in the Kings editor’s mind and have misled his pen while creating for his new context of the reform account graphically similar but semantically different term ארגות

¹⁹ Jones (1984:616) speaks of ‘the unique reference to ‘the vessels’ in connection with the cult of foreign deities’ in 2Kgs 23:4; cf. Eynikel (1996:195); O’Brien (1989:251); Knoppers (1994:177 n. 7).

²⁰ See the counterparts in Chronicles: 2Chr 4:16, 18, 19; 5:1, 5; 15:18; 24:4; 25:24; 36:7, 10; 36:18, 19. Other instances of כלים in Kings with their parallels in Chronicles include 1Kgs 10:21//2Chr 9:20 conveying the sense of ‘household utensils’, 1Kgs 10:25//2Chr 9:24 ‘vessels’ of gold/silver in the context of tribute payment; 2Kgs 11:8, 11//2Chr 23:7 (cf. in 23:10) and 2Kgs 20:13//2Chr 32:27 ‘weapons’. Apart from 2Kgs 23:4, כלים is used in Kings special material in 1Kgs 6:7 referring to ‘tool’ of iron and in 1Kgs 17:10; 19:21; 2Kgs 4:3, 4, 6; 7:15 referring to various utensils of household.

²¹ The root ארג is attested 15 times – Ex 28:32; 35:35; 39:22, 27; Judg 16:13, 14; 1Sam 17:7; 2Sam 21:19//1Chr 20:5; 2Kgs 23:7; 1Chr 11:23; Job 7:6; Isa 19:9; 38:12; 59:5.

²² in a phrase כמנור ארגים ‘like a weaver’s beam’ (2Sam 21:19//1Chr 20:5; cf. the same phrase occurring in 1Sam 17:7 and 1Chr 11:23).

alongside with other terminology with the meaning accommodating to the subject matter of v. 7 that deals with the theme of purification of the temple. The result of this has now been the difficult reading אשר הנשים ארנות שם בתים לאשרה. Even if the details of such a process of evolution of the final part of v. 7 could appear to some to be slightly less compelling, still the innovative use of כלים in v. 4 and the presence of בחי הקדשים in v. 7 all indicate that vv. 4 and 7 both expand the theme of purging the temple from the original Josiah's narrative with the language of despoliation notices lurking in the background and contributing to this development.

In summary, the account belonging to the primary material of Josiah's reform portraying purging the temple, which has been preserved in 2Kgs 23 in portions of v. 6 and describes the removal of cultic object from the temple and its destruction outside Jerusalem at the Wadi Kidron, has subsequently been developed into a substantial piece of material with the perspective of purging the temple being extended by secondary developments in v. 6 and by the additional vv. 4 and 7. This enlargement of the theme of purging the temple has been directed towards the goal of stressing the utter elimination of the non-Yahwistic cult from Jerusalem temple; not only is the Asherah pole, as v. 6 states, cast out but also all the vessels in service for the Baal, Asherah and the hosts of heaven are commanded to be destroyed (v. 4) and the structures in the temple complex used in promoting an illicit cult are eliminated (v. 7). The growth of the older account into the present form of Kings reform report in vv. 4, 6-7 was influenced by several factors, drawing on expressions and language from elsewhere in inherited material on the divided kingdom. Thus it has been noted, for example, that the reference to Baal, Asherah and the host of heaven in v. 4 is reminiscent of the language in the story of Manasseh shared by Kings and Chronicles (2Kgs 21//2Chr 33). Verse 4 has also been developed interdependently with the additions in v. 6 as the terms such as שרף or עפר show. Finally, the background of despoliation notices occurring in a number of places in both Kings and Chronicles in some of its language shows it as having been influential in the evolution of the theme of purging the temple in both, vv. 4 and 7.

2. Defiling High Places and the Removal of Priesthood: 2Kgs 23:8-9

The account of Josiah's reform measures continues in v. 8 by describing Josiah's action against the high places, which is contained within the narrative that treats in particular the priesthood of the high places (vv. 8a, 9) and has been associated with

the centralization theme. Although the aspect of centralization is generally recognized in the final form of Josiah's account in Kings, it is not at all clear that it did play a significant role in the early version of the reform rather than resulted from later editorial work.²³

In 2Kgs 23:8a + 9 the reform is directed at *במות* 'high places' and at *כהני הבמות* 'the priests of high places'. On a closer look at vv. 8a + 9, it will be noted, however, that the focus of these verses is not primarily on *במות* and their defilement. Even if v. 8a is read on its own, its structure suggests that the primary concern of this text lies with *כהנים* rather than with *במות*.²⁴ Within the context of the wider narrative, this emphasis on priesthood (*כהנים*) in vv. 8a + 9 does not seem wholly to concur with what has gone before in the reform report. In the earlier part of the reform account, with its focus on purging the temple, the object of the reforming action is plainly the illicit cult and not the perpetrators or the people themselves who participated in cultic practices. Consistent with this pattern of targeting cultic practices is solely the reference to the defilement of high places (*וישמו את הבמות*) in vv. 8a + 9. Hence the emphasis on priesthood in vv. 8a + 9, which overrides the basic concern for high places as such, is intrusive and must be a result of secondary editing.

The present text of vv. 8a + 9, which being an expansion of the original reference to Josiah's defilement of *במות* gives prominence to the theme of priesthood, envisages the priests being brought out of the cities of Judah, who sacrificed on the high places from Geba to Beersheba, and also reports about the priests of the high places as not coming to Jerusalem unless²⁵ they had eaten unleavened bread. This passage has been compared by scholars with a text in Deut 18:6-8, which concerns the rights of Levites, but the exact nature of the relationship between the two has been difficult to settle.²⁶ Some scholars emphasize that there exists a link between 2Kgs 23:8-9 and Deut 18:6-8, acknowledging that the factual prescription from the

²³ Cf. Jones (1984:617), who views centralization of the cult not as an aspect of the original reform report but being an emphasis of later revisers.

²⁴ Provan (1988:83-84).

²⁵ For this understanding of *אם כי* in v. 9 see Barrick (2002:190-92), Ahlström (1982:68-69), and further below p. 137.

²⁶ The question of relationship between 2Kgs 23:8-9 and Deut 18:6-8 goes back as far as Wellhausen's study of the Levites and the priesthood in Ancient Israel is concerned to his *Prolegomena*. Wellhausen (1885:121-51; esp. p. 124) in his scheme of the historical development of the Israelite priesthood treated priests of high places to be equal to Levites and thought of 2Kgs 23:9 as referring to the failure of the regulation from Deut 18:6-8 being carried out. On Wellhausen's thesis and his influence on the treatments of the history of priesthood in Ancient Israel see studies by Gunneweg (1965), Cody (1969) and Nielsen (1955:264-83); see further McConville (1984:124-29).

code of Deuteronomy has been to some extent modified in the reform report of Kings.²⁷ Others, however, assert that these two texts have nothing in common since the Levites in Deut 18:6-8 and the priests of high places in 2Kgs 23:8-9 are two distinct classes of priesthood and that therefore no simple equation can be made between them.²⁸ These views, however different they may be, all uphold a certain common approach to the two texts they treat. First, they rest largely on a conventional reading of 2Kgs 23:9, which understands the priests of high places in this verse being prevented from altar privileges (כִּי אֲנִי taken as 'but'), and second, they rest on an understanding that Deut 18:6-8 was already perhaps a part of the Josianic law code available to the Deuteronomistic writer of 2Kgs 23:8-9. Though these assumptions are shared by opposing treatments of the two texts in question, they seem to be more in favour of the treatment which views Deut 18:6-8 and 2Kgs 23:8-9 as basically being in contravention, leading to the conclusion that the priests mentioned in Kings cannot be thought of along the same lines as the Levites referred to in Deuteronomy.

Illustrative of this line of reasoning is Nurmela (1998:69), who assumes that the author of Josiah's story was familiar with the stipulations of Deuteronomy. On the basis of this belief and the traditional reading of 2Kgs 23:9 he then says that 'the Deuteronomistic author would not have recorded a violation against the code advanced by his own circle without commenting on it; especially as the context of 2 Kings 22-23 is a pivotal one for this circle's historiography.' For Nurmela it follows that the priests of the high places referred to in 2Kgs 23:8-9 cannot be considered on equal terms with the Levites mentioned in Deut 18:6-8.

The fundamental premises, however, on which this and similar conclusions are based, are not entirely compelling and do not escape criticism. Barrick has recently pointed out that the traditional understanding of 2Kgs 23:9 with כִּי אֲנִי in the adversative sense 'but' is on syntactical grounds untenable.²⁹ The grammar of this verse with the verbs עָלָה in imperfect tense and אָכַל in perfect tense used in combination with כִּי אֲנִי, yields a significantly different sense of the passage: 'But the

²⁷ E.g., Driver (1902³:220); Burney (1903:359); Skinner (1893:419); Gray (1970:734-35); Jones (1984:619, 621); Albertz (1994, I:207); Donner (2001³:384). Cf. Spieckermann (1982:93-98) who, however, ascribes 23:8a and 23:9 to two different redactions.

²⁸ E.g., Gunneweg (1965:122); von Rad (1966:122); Würthwein (1976:417); Haran (1978:100); Mayes (1979:278-79); McConville (1983:5-9; 1984:132-35); Eynikel (1996:241); Nelson (2000:188; 2002:232).

²⁹ Barrick (2002:190-92).

bamot-priests would/could not go to the altar of Yahweh *unless/until* they had eaten unleavened bread with their brothers.’ (Barrick 2002:192). The implication is that the priests of the high places have their access to the altar in Jerusalem conditioned by the requirement of having eaten unleavened bread. Upon this understanding of 2Kgs 23:9 the apparent incongruity with Deut 18:6-8 seems to be muted: the priests of high places in v. 9 are not reported to be without altar privileges, only having their privileges restricted by the condition of having eaten unleavened bread in a specific context.

Concerning the related issue that the legislation of Deuteronomy reflects the state of affairs prior to the composition of 2Kgs 23:8-9, this has also been challenged. Lohfink (1981:68) has raised questions regarding an implication frequently made from the note in 2Kgs 23:9 that the Jerusalem priesthood acted in contradiction to legislation in Deuteronomy, saying that ‘[Deut 18:6-8] was not yet in the law at this time’. Still on a larger scale, Lohfink and Braulik have proposed that the laws on Israel’s leaders in Deut 16:18-18:22, to which the legislation concerning the Levites in 18:6-8 belongs, come from the redactions of exilic and post-exilic times.³⁰ Taking into account these considerations, it brings an added dimension to the discussion concerning the relationship between 2Kgs 23:8a + 9 and Deut 18:6-8. Though whether these two texts are related or not may not at this point in the study be satisfactorily resolved, a significant analogy can be proposed. Just as Lohfink suggests Deut 18:6-8 came from a redaction of exilic or post-exilic times, so also 2Kgs 23:8a + 9 – as a redrafted text of an original core with focus on Josiah’s defilement of high places, which now gives a prominent place to priests (כהנים) over high places (במות) – may come from the pen of Kings authors/editors working in exilic or post-exilic times.

After examining vv. 8a + 9, brief attention should be given to v. 8b, a passage which deals specifically with the high places of the gates (במות השערים). It has been noted earlier in this study (pp. 80-81) that v. 8b combines נהך + במות in portraying the elimination of high places in contrast to מנא + במות which appears in the first part of the verse and which has been identified as belonging to the original text of Josiah’s reform. The second half of v. 8 has probably been added later into already growing material in vv. 8a and 9 revolving around the theme of the priests of the high places.

³⁰ Lohfink (1971:143-55), Braulik (1991). For the recent survey of the scholarly research relating to complex issues of the composition of Deuteronomy, see Veijola (2002:276-327).

If it is maintained that v. 8b is a later interpolation, this may be suggestive of multiple hands being involved in the development of vv. 8-9 from the original kernel *אחיהבמות ויטמא אחיהבמות* in the reform report of Kings.

3. Defiling the Topheth: 2Kgs 23:10

A new topic is introduced in 2Kgs 23:10, which seems to share little or almost nothing with the surrounding text. This verse of the developed reform account in Kings addresses the issue of the cultic activity that involved passing one's child through fire (*באש + העביר*), and in scholarly literature is frequently discussed in contexts relating to the burning of children. 'Passing one's child through fire' (*באש + העביר*) together with 'burning one's child' (*באש + שרף*) are two major expressions that occur in the Hebrew Bible in association with a fire ritual involving children. According to Barrick (2002:83) the verb *שרף* in the latter expression 'is a straightforward indication that the act(s) in question included the physical burning, but not necessary incinerating, of children'. The biblical usage of the second construction *באש + העביר* seems to suggest, as Barrick (2002:83) observes, that the object of the cultic activity in question has passed literally through fire, the results of which must have been similar to the action described by *באש + שרף*, i.e. burning of a child but not necessarily incinerating.³¹

The cultic activity involving children as victims of fire ritual, conveyed by the expressions 'passing one's child through fire' or 'burning one's child', is recorded five times in Kings: 2Kgs 16:3; 17:17, 31; 21:6 and 23:10.³² Only 2Kgs 23:10, however, connects this ritual explicitly with Topheth, a cult place located in the valley of Ben Hinnom, and with the Molech cult. Both 'Topheth' and 'Molech' occur several times in the Hebrew Bible, all in contexts that relate to fire ritual involving children. The occurrence of Topheth outside Kings is confined to a few instances in Jeremiah (7:31-32; 19:6, 11-14) and possibly one in Isaiah (30:33).³³ The attestations of Molech are found in Jer 32:35, the text which also refers to the Hinnom valley but

³¹ For a different understanding see Weinfeld (1972:140-41); Zevit (2001:550-52).

³² 2Kgs 3:27 suggests a child sacrifice in view and frequently appears in discussions concerning the above mentioned texts. However, this verse does not contain expressions 'passing one's child through fire' nor 'burning one's child', typical for the other verses.

³³ The MT *קפתה* in Isa 30:33 is difficult, and is often emended to be tied to Hebrew *קפת*; see e.g. Blenkinsopp (2000:422-23); Dearman (1996:59 n. 2) followed by Zevit (2001:521 n. 32). On Topheth see further Day (1989:24-28).

without reference to Topheth, and in Lev 18:21 and 20:2-5, a section of Levitical legislation belonging to the Holiness Code.³⁴

The book of Deuteronomy has two references to a ritual involving children: Deut 18:10 enlists ‘passing one’s child through fire’ (באש + העביר) among divinatory practices; Deut 12:31 refers to ‘burning of a child’ (שרף + באש) in a context that has sacrificial overtones. One may note, finally, that references to the ritual are also attested in Ezek 16:20-21, 20:31; 23:37, 39, Isa 57:5 and Ps 106:37, the material assigned with greater consensus in scholarly literature to a fairly late period in Israel’s history.

Part of the problem in discerning how the biblical texts referring to the ritual involving children relate to each other is that they display greater fluidity in detail concerning the description of the actual activity carried out. As Dearman (1996:62) notes:

[s]ome texts do not mention מִלֵּךְ (cf. Deut 18:10; 2 Kings 16:3; 21:6; Jer 7:31; 19:5). Some texts use the phrase “give (תן ל) to molek” rather than the phrase “passing through the fire” (Lev 18:21; Lev 20:2-3). Others substitute the phrase “to burn (שרף) children in the fire” (Jer 7:31; 19:5). Several texts lack the reference to location in the Hinnom Valley and/or topheth (Lev 18:21; Lev 20:2-3; Deut 18:10; 2 Kings 16:3; 21:6; Jer 32:35).

This has led scholars to conclusions of different practices being involved in different contexts.³⁵

2Kgs 23:10, as has been noted above, is the sole verse in Kings that relates to a fire ritual involving children, which makes also explicit reference to Topheth and to the cult of Molech. In this way, the passage closely resembles Jeremiah’s texts with a

³⁴ In addition to these, the reference to the Molech cult is also considered to be present in Isa 30:33, in which some favour emendation of מִלֵּךְ to מִלֵּךְ; see *HALOT* 1:592; Blenkinsopp (2000:422-23); Schmidt (2000:913 [tentatively]); Clements (1980:253-54); cf. Day (1989:17). Others emend מִלֵּךְ to מִלֵּךְ also in Isa 57:9; see Zevit (2001:530 n. 57); cf. Day (1989:50-52). The mention of מִלֵּךְ in the MT of 1Kgs 11:7, seen as a confusion of Molech with Milcom, is generally excluded from the Molech cult debate. For a detailed investigation of the subject of the Molech cult with the study of a number of other implicit references in the Hebrew Bible, see the monographs by Day (1989) and Heider (1985); for brief overviews of the issues involved, see Day (2000:209-212); Heider (*DDD* 1090-97 and *ABD* 4:895-98).

³⁵ While Day (1989:15-20; 2000:210-12) and Smith (2002²:171-81) see in these texts the reference primarily to human sacrifice, others differentiate more between individual contexts, in which the texts relating to a ritual involving children are found. Zevit (2001:550-52 and n. 129) thus discusses three different contexts with different practices: 1) child sacrifice (Isa 57:5-13; 2Kgs 3:27; Ps 106:37); 2) dedication to a deity (e.g. Jer 32:35; Deut 18:10; 2Kgs 16:3; 17:17) and 3) possibly a funerary ritual (Jer 7:32; 19:5; 32:35; 2Kgs 17:31). Barrick (2002:91-2) proposes these contexts: 1) ‘a special emergency rite involving the sacrifice of a child’ (2Kgs 3:27); 2) ‘a ritual “passing” of children for divinatory purposes’ (Deut 18:10; 2Kgs 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; 23:10) and 3) ‘a sacrificial “burning” of children’ (e.g. Deut 12:31; 2Kgs 17:31). Cf. Weinfeld (1972:140-49, 154); Cogan (1974:77-83).

prominent occurrence of Topheth and with one verse referring also to Molech in a fire rite context. Though 2Kgs 23:10 is regarded by a number of scholars as a secondary text in the reform report of Josiah, similarities of this verse with the passages in Jeremiah have been little explored in the literary analyses of the development of the original reform report.³⁶ However, a significant new reassessment of the relationship between 2Kgs 23:10 and the texts in Jeremiah is Barrick's recent examination of 23:10 in connection with Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35, in which he entertains the possibility that 23:10 might have actually been dependent on the prose texts in Jeremiah, though later in his argument he also proposes that 23:10 'is a late inter-textual harmonization of Lev. 18:21 and 20:2-5 with Deut. 18:10'.³⁷

The relationship between 2Kgs 23:10, within its larger context of the reform report of Josiah, and the units in Jer 7:30-8:3; 19:1-13; 32:29b-35 is worth pondering further. First, in all three passages of Jeremiah relating to a fire ritual involving children, specific mention is made of *במות* 'high places'. Jer 7:31 begins *ובנו במות* 'they have built the high places of Topheth' and, only slightly differently, Jer 19:5 and 32:35 read *ובנו במות* 'they built the high places of Baal'.³⁸ The references to *במות* in these three texts of Jeremiah constitute half of all the references to high place(s) in the whole Jeremiah corpus.³⁹ This may appear significant in regard to 2Kgs 23, the chapter in its present form having a dense concentration on the *במות* theme, even though v. 10 referring to the fire rite does not specifically contain *במות* but speaks only of the defilement of Topheth. Both the three texts in

³⁶ For 2Kgs 23:10 being identified as a secondary passage, see e.g., Montgomery (1951:534); Hollenstein (1977:334); Jones (1984:621-22); O'Brien (1989:256-57); Eynikel (1996:247-49). Of these, only Eynikel (1996:249, 346-47) submits that a 'later dating is probable' for 2Kgs 23:10 because of its similarities with the prose texts of Jeremiah. Cf. Gleis (1997:208-212) who on the basis of his analysis of Jer 7:31, 19:5, 32:35 as well as 2Kgs 23:10 suggests that the linking of child sacrifice with *במות* is to be attributed to the deuteronomist. Spieckermann (1982:101-104), who notes the connections between Jeremiah and 2Kgs 23:10, in contrary to the majority view however regards 2Kgs 23:10 to belong to the earliest stratum of the reform report.

³⁷ Barrick (2002:81-103; quotation from p. 102).

³⁸ As for *במות* in Jer 7:31, LXX and Tg have singular forms but MT and 4QJer^a attest the plural. In Jer 32:35 only Tg has singular *במה*. Regarding the targumic reading in Jer 7:31, Gordon (1975:54) comments that '[t]he vowels were added at a quite late stage in the history of the transmission of the Targums'. Since the consonants of the Aramaic *במת* can represent either the singular or plural form of the word, Tg is not a particularly strong witness in this case (apart from LXX) and in Jer 32:35 in favor of the singular form of its Hebrew *Vorlage*. For criticism of suggestions to emend the plural *במות* in Jer 7:31 to a singular form see Gleis (1997:209-10).

³⁹ The other three are Jer 17:3 (This verse is missing in LXX through a possible haplography; see Parke-Taylor 2000:28); 26:18 (33:18LXX reads *ἄλσος*) and 48:35 (31:35LXX reads *βωμόν*). For the rendering of Hebrew *במת* by Greek *βωμός* in Jer 7:31; 32:35 (39:35LXX) and 48:35 (31:35LXX) see the discussion in Barr (1985:20-27).

Jeremiah (7:31; 19:5; 32:35) and the complex account of the reform in 2Kgs 23 portray a negative view of *במות*. They possibly represent a subsequent stage in the development of this negative portrayal of high places that had already been present in the original report of Josiah's reform with the description of Josiah's defilement of high places in 2Kgs 23:8a.

Second, all three texts in Jeremiah share with 2Kgs 23:10 the employment of *טמא* 'to defile' in the contexts of fire ritual involving children. As has been observed previously (p. 81), *טמא* was the particular verb used in connection with *במות* in the original version of Josiah's reform (*ויטמא את-הבמות*; 2Kgs 23:8a). In the expanded account of the reform this verb further appears in v. 10, in which its application to Topheth might have been indebted to its earlier use with *במות*. At the same time *טמא* is employed in v. 10 also in the context of a fire ritual involving children and this accords with other instances in the Old Testament where *טמא* appears within the wider contexts of a fire ritual. Beside the texts in Jer 7:30; 19:13; 32:34, other cases include Ezek 20:26, 31; 23:38; Lev 20:3 and Ps 106:39. It is hoped that reviewing these with special attention being paid to passages in Jeremiah will contribute to the elucidation of the nature of their relationship to 2Kgs 23:10.

Among the three passages in Jeremiah that include a mention of *טמא* in the broader context of a fire ritual involving children, Jer 19:13 is the most problematic and therefore ought to be treated first. Jer 19:13 belongs to the larger section of 19:1-13, which narrates the story of a broken flask interwoven with the Topheth theme.⁴⁰ Topheth, to which the state of the city of Jerusalem is likened in divine judgment, serves as a focal point in this text. It is in the last verse (v.13) within this divine pronouncement that the reference to defilement/uncleanness is made. The term *הטמאים* in the MT, lit. 'the unclean ones', is syntactically difficult and not easy to interpret in its immediate context. It is taken by some as being in an attributive position and qualifying *בתי ירושלם ובתי מלכי יהודה* in the first part of the verse.⁴¹ McKane (1986:447) thus proposes that *הטמאים* serves in the verse as a 'limitation', implying that 'not all the houses in Jerusalem had been destroyed'. The verse might read as follows, 'The houses of Jerusalem and the houses of the kings will be like

⁴⁰ Jer 19 is usually understood to consist of a nucleus describing broken flask episode (1-2a, 10-11a) and its further development dealing with Topheth theme (2b-9; 11b-13); see recently, e.g., Craigie *et al* (1991:256). It is the latter specifically, the Topheth theme, which is of greater interest in relation to its links with the reform report in 2Kgs 23. For the view that Jer 19:1-13 is a unified narrative, see Holladay (1986:536-38) and Lundbom (1999:836).

⁴¹ McKane (1986:443, 447); Zevit (2001:552).

Topheth, *the unclean ones*, namely all the houses upon whose roofs offerings were made to the whole host of heaven...’ – not all the houses will come under destruction, *only those* profaned through idolatry. Accordingly, this approach understands, in the light of the reference to the houses ‘upon whose roofs offerings have been made to the whole host of heaven...’ in the second part of v. 13, the defilement of the houses as being caused by idolatrous practices. Such understanding is close to other instances in Jeremiah where the defilement is described as being caused by an illicit cult (שְׁקִיזִים in Jer 7:30; 32:34).

The text in Jer 19:13, however, yields to a different understanding, if the term הַמְטַמְּאִים in the MT is subject to emendation. Because of the obscure position of the MT’s הַמְטַמְּאִים within the sentence, in which it appears, some scholars propose it to be emended to מְטַמְּאִים ‘defiled’ (or simply to טַמְּאִים ‘unclean’) and take it as standing in a predicate position,⁴² thus reading the verse as ‘and the houses of Jerusalem and the houses of the kings of Judah shall be like the place of Topheth defiled – all the houses upon whose roofs offerings were made...’. In this understanding of the passage the means of the defilement are not explicitly stated. Taking into consideration the preceding verses in ch. 19, which portray images of a destroyed city and people (vv. 6-9), some envision the defilement to be from dead bodies. Illustrative of this is Carroll’s comment that the houses ‘will be treated like Topheth, i.e. profaned with corpses’.⁴³ Barrick (2002:215-16) suggests a similar issue featuring in the events described in 2Kgs 23:10, in which the manner of defilement is also not expressed. Barrick contends, arguing from Jer 7:32-33 and 19:6-9, that contact with human corpses as the means of Josiah’s defilement of Topheth may have actually been envisioned by the editor of this addition in Kings.

It can be observed from the analysis of the reference to defilement/uncleanness in Jer 19:13 that there are two interpretations with different implications for the relationship of this verse to other texts that employ טַמְּאִים in the wider contexts of a fire ritual involving children. While one interpretation of Jer 19:13, stating that ‘houses will be defiled’, seems to be closer in line with 2Kgs 23:10, the other approach by viewing defilement in v. 13 being caused by idolatrous practices shows more

⁴² BHS; Holladay (1986:535, 541); Craigie *et al* (1991:255); cf. Lundbom (1999:836). The emendation finds some support in ancient versions: Pesh appears to render Hebrew טַמְּאִים; LXX reads (ἀπὸ) τῶν ἀκαθαρσιῶν (αὐτῶν); see Ziegler (1957:247) for slight variations among Greek witnesses.

⁴³ Carroll (1986:389). See also Rudolph’s note ‘Die Verunreinigung geschieht durch die Leichen der Erschlagenen.’ (1968³:126).

resonance with the other two passages in Jeremiah that include **טמא** in their wider contexts relating to a fire ritual (Jer 7:30-8:3; 32:29b-35). It is to these two remaining passages in Jeremiah and few other references to **טמא** in fire ritual contexts that the next section will turn.

The texts in Jer 7:30-8:3 and 32:29b-35 both mention **טמא** in verses immediately preceding the reference to the fire ritual in the Valley of Ben-Hinnom. Jer 7:30 and 32:34 both concern **שקוצים** set in the 'house called by [Yahweh's] name' as objects causing defilement (**טמא**) of Yahweh's name/temple and then are followed by the text denouncing a fire ritual involving children (**באש** + **לשרף** in 7:31; **למולך** + **להעביר** in 32:35).⁴⁴

Even more direct links between fire ritual and the theme of defilement can be observed in a few texts in Leviticus, Ezekiel and Psalms. Lev 20:3 refers to the defilement of the sanctuary (**טמא אהימקדשי**) resulting from offspring being given (**נתן**) to Molech. Ezekiel 20:26 is the only verse in the Old Testament employing **טמא** in which Yahweh is the subject of the defiling action: 'I defiled them through their very gifts, in their offering up all their firstborn, in order that I may horrify them, so that they might know that I am the Lord.' In verse 31 within the same chapter people are warned that they defile themselves (**טמא** in *nif*) when they offer their gifts and make their children pass through the fire. There are only two occurrences of **טמא** in the whole book of Psalms with one of these two, Ps 106:39, appearing in the context of a fire rite (vv. 37-39). The meaning of **טמא** appears here in this Psalm to be similar to the last one mentioned in Ezekiel: people defile themselves by their acts, i.e. by sacrificing their children to **שרים** 'demons' (v. 37) and by pouring out innocent blood (v. 38).

How does 2Kgs 23:10 relate to these texts with the theme of defilement occurring in contexts of fire ritual involving children? It has been observed that in Jer 7:31 and 32:34, belonging to the wider units of 7:30-8:3 and 32:29b-35 that relate to a fire ritual, it is the objects of illicit worship that cause the defilement.⁴⁵ In Lev 20:3, Ezek 20:(26), 31 and Ps 106:38 the mention of defilement is directly linked with the fire ritual involving children. In 2Kgs 23:10, however, there is one marked

⁴⁴ Regarding the relationship of Jer 7:30-31 and 32:34-35, many consider literary dependence of the latter on the former; see, e.g., Rudolph (1968³:213-15) Holladay (1989:207, 219); Parke-Taylor (2000:195); Levin (2003:234).

⁴⁵ The question relating to Jer 19:13 within the wider context of 19:1-13 remains open, depending on the view of **הטמאים** in the MT; see our discussion on pp. 142-43.

difference, demonstrated in a subtle way, from these other materials. For it is not the illegitimate cult nor anything else associated with the fire ritual, which defiles. This time the verb **טמא** is used to denote Josiah's own act against the place known for its illegitimate cultic practices. In one respect, the employment of **טמא** in 2Kgs 23:10 belongs to an elaboration of an earlier narrative of Josiah's reform where this term was linked primarily with **במה**. However, in the new setting of v. 10, **טמא** is also used within the context of a fire ritual in a manner contrasting with its use elsewhere in contexts of fire ritual involving children.⁴⁶ Although the texts in Leviticus, Ezekiel and Psalms are relevant here, it appears that 2Kgs 23:10 was formed particularly in relation to the texts revolving around the fire ritual in Jeremiah since there are some other links between the developed text of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23, of which v. 10 is part, and the texts in Jeremiah 7; 19 and 32. We have already noted, for example, the specific use of **במות** in the three passages of Jeremiah and the high presence of this term in lately developed 2Kgs 23. Further, the terms **טמא** and **שקויים** of Jer 7:31 and 32:34 find some reminiscence in the language of 2Kgs 23:13 that narrates Josiah's acts against the high places of non-Yahwistic deities (referred to as built by Solomon; cf. 1Kgs 11:5, 7, 33). Two of the deities mentioned in v. 13 in relation to the defilement of the high places are specifically termed as **שקן**, Astarte 'the detestable idol' of the Sidonians and Chemosh 'the detestable idol' of Moab.⁴⁷ Thus v. 13 also seems to corroborate to some extent v. 10 as counterbalancing the use of language in Jeremianic fire rite contexts.

With a wider horizon it is emerging from examination of material in Kings and Jeremiah that there was not only one way influence from Jer 7:30-8:3; 19:1-13 and 32:29b-35 on the shaping of 2Kgs 23:10 in the developing account of Josiah's reform in Kings, but it is likely that the texts pertaining to fire ritual involving children in Jeremiah have also been influenced by features from the material relating to fire ritual in Kings shared with Chronicles. Two texts in Kings and their counterparts in Chronicles in particular relate to this issue, the stories of king Ahaz (2Kgs 16:1-20//2Chr 28:1-27) and Manasseh (2Kgs 21:1-18//2Chr 33:1-20).

These two stories share several characteristic features. Except for the final part of Manasseh's story in Chronicles (33:11-17), both Ahaz and Manasseh are

⁴⁶ Again, one exception could be Jer 19:13 if **הטמאים** is emended to **טמאים** (or simply to **טמאים**).

⁴⁷ Sg. **שקן** is used in the Hebrew Bible only in 1Kgs 11:5, 7 (2x), 2Kgs 23:13 (2x), Dan 11:31 and 12:11.

portrayed negatively in the two histories. The accounts begin with the note in regnal frameworks to these two kings that Ahaz and Manasseh did not do what was right(=did evil) in the eyes of Yahweh (ולא-עשה הישר) in 2Kgs 16:2//2Chr 28:1; ויעש הרע in 2Kgs 21:2//2Chr 33:2). There follow lists of illegitimate cultic practices, within which the accounts of both kings include the reference to fire ritual involving children (2Kgs 16:3b-4//2Chr 28:2b-4; 2Kgs 21:3-9//2Chr 33:3-9). One may note that concerning Ahaz's account in Kings and Chronicles the reference to fire ritual actually appears first in the list following the introductory royal formula. The stories of kings Ahaz and Manasseh both also mention תועבת in the phrase אֲחֵת אֲשֶׁר הָרִישׁ יְהוָה [אתם; 2Kgs 16:3] 'according to the abominations of the nations whom Yahweh dispossessed before Israelites' (2Kgs 16:3//2Chr 28:3; 2Kgs 21:2//2Chr 33:2)—with a small difference that in Ahaz's story this phrase is placed after the reference to fire ritual involving children, while in the story of Manasseh it appears at the start of the narrative before the listing of Manasseh's cultic practices.

In the light of these shared features between the accounts of Ahaz and Manasseh in the two histories, a passage can be brought into consideration from Jeremiah which is commonly acknowledged to be the earliest of the three texts in Jeremiah relating to a fire ritual involving children: Jer 7:30-31 appears structurally similar to the narratives relating to kings Manasseh and (slightly less) Ahaz in the two historical books. The parallel components of Jer 7:30-31 and the accounts of Manasseh and Ahaz in Kings and Chronicles (with inclusion also of Deut 18:9-11 for further comparison) can be seen displayed in the table below:

JER 7:30-31	2KGS 21:2-7//2CHR 33:2-7 (MANASSEH)	2KGS 16:2-4//2CHR 28:2-4 (AHAZ)	DEUT 18:9-11
Evil in the eyes of Yahweh 7:30a	Evil in the eyes of Yahweh 21:2a//33:2a	Not right in the eyes of Yahweh 16:2b//28:1b	
Reference to שְׂקִיצִים in the temple 7:30b	Reference to תועבת of the nations 21:2b//33:2b	(different 16:3a//28:2a)	Reference to תועבת of the nations 18:9b
Reference to fire rite 7:31	Reference to cultic practices including fire rite 21:3-7//33:3-7	Reference to fire rite 16:3b//28:2b-3a	Reference to cultic and divination practices incl fire rite 18:10-11
		Reference to תועבת of the nations 16:3c//28:3b	
		Reference to cultic practices 16:4//28:4	

First, Jer 7:30 begins with the evaluative expression הרע בעיני יהוה + עשה 'do evil in Yahweh's eyes', which is similar to the evaluations regularly occurring in the regnal

formulae of kings in Kings and Chronicles, and further appears in Jeremiah only in 18:10; 32:30 and 52:2 (MT). The expression הרע בעיני יהוה + עשה in Jer 18:10 points to its use within the more organically connected account of the oracle of Yahweh with an antithetic structure (see 18:7-8 being balanced by 18:9-10). There are no signs of the presence of deuteronomistic language in Jer 18:7-10⁴⁸ and the phrase ‘in my (Yahweh’s) eyes’ (v. 10) according to Lundbom (1999:812) echoes the earlier statement ‘in the eyes of the potter’ (v. 4) in the part of chapter 18 picturing the work of the potter. In both Jer 7:30 and 32:30 the expression הרע בעיני יהוה + עשה belongs to a context relating to a fire ritual involving children, while its occurrence in Jer 52:2 (MT) has a parallel in 2Kgs 24:19//2Chr 36:12 which is part of the regnal formula of king Zedekiah. Although the phrase ‘do evil in the eyes of Yahweh’ is often regarded as a stock expression of the deuteronomistic literature,⁴⁹ it has been demonstrated earlier in this thesis that it is peculiar to the regnal framework of the common text of Kings and Chronicles rather than being characteristic of the material in Deuteronomy through Kings (plus Jeremiah) in general.⁵⁰

In Jer 7:30 after the mention of the people of Judah doing evil in Yahweh’s eyes, a reference is made to שקיזים set in the temple, which is followed in the next verse by a depiction of illegitimate cultic activities. This is comparable with the structure of the passage in 2Kgs 21:2-7//2Chr 33:2-7 regarding Manasseh and to a lesser degree with 2Kgs 16:2-4//2Chr 28:2-4 regarding Ahaz. In 2Kgs 21:2//2Chr 33:2 after the evaluative comment that Manasseh ‘did evil in the eyes of Yahweh’, a reference is made to תועבת of the nations, which is followed in the next couple of verses by a depiction of the cultic offences of Manasseh. As noted above, a slightly different situation appears in Ahaz’s story in which the reference to תועבת is made after the mention of fire rite involving children. Still, these similarities in structure suggest that the author of Jer 7:30-31 used as the basis for his text the format of the passage borrowed from the shared texts of Manasseh and to a lesser degree of Ahaz in the two histories.

There are also other indicators pointing to Jer 7:30-31 being more heavily dependent on the shared text of Manasseh. The story of Manasseh in its portrayal of cultic practices frequently refers to building activity: Manasseh builds high places (21:3//33:3), he erects altars for Baals (21:3//33:3) and builds altars in the temple

⁴⁸ So Weippert (1973:60), Holladay (1986:514), McKane (1986:424), Lundbom (1999:811).

⁴⁹ See e.g. Weinfeld (1972:339); Craigie *et al* (1991:117).

⁵⁰ See chapter two of this thesis.

(21:4//33:4) and for the hosts of heaven (21:5//33:5). Similarly, Jer 7:31 mentions building activity in context relating to cultic practice. It refers to building the high places of Topheth using the verb בנה,⁵¹ which is the same verb used prominently in the shared texts regarding Manasseh, occurring in 2Kgs 21:3, 4, 5//2Chr 33:3, 4, 5. It may, therefore, be that the passage in Jer 7:31 with its use of בנה + במות was first influenced by the shared material on Manasseh, before בנה + במות later appeared in parallel passages of Jer 19:5 and 32:35. If the shared material of 2Kgs 21:2-7 and 2Chr 33:2-7 lies behind the composition of Jer 7:30-31, this may also explain the appearance of the extended phrase ובנו במות התפת and not just את-התפת in Jer 7:31, as במות would have been more natural to include under the influence of 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3. Another piece of information concerning Jer 7:31 that is of interest for the present study is the tense used in ובנו במות התפת. The w-qatal form of the verb that appears in this phrase (as well as in parallel text of Jer 19:5), is also used in two verses in the shared text of Manasseh in Kings and Chronicles, 2Kgs 21:4//2Chr 33:4 and 2Kgs 21:6//2Chr 33:6 (3x). This can be another pointer to the influence of the story of Manasseh shared by the two histories on the development of Jer 7:30-31.⁵²

While it has been observed that the structure of Jer 7:30-31 (a) resembles that of the texts relating to Manasseh and to a lesser degree Ahaz and (b) has probably been formed in dependence on them, it is important to note that Jer 7:30-31 also significantly departs in one point from these texts. The passages relating to Ahaz and Manasseh in 2Kgs 16:3//2Chr 28:3 and 2Kgs 21:2//2Chr 33:2 include the allegation that both kings followed abominable practices (חועבת) of the nations which Yahweh drove out before Israel.⁵³ Jeremiah does not refer to חועבת but rather has something different in 7:30. This verse in its second part reads: 'they have set their abominations (שקוצים) in the house that is called by my name, defiling it (לשמוא)'. On the one hand it appears that the phrase of the second part of 7:30, talking about שקוצים in the house of Yahweh, depends in its content on recounting different cultic objects being set up in the house of Yahweh in Manasseh's story (2Kgs 21:4, 5, 7//2Chr

⁵¹ Cf. Jer 19:5 and 32:35, both of which following Jer 7:31 use בנה + במות but unlike Jer 7:31 they do not link this construction with Topheth.

⁵² *Contra* Gleis (1997:209), who argues for dependency of Jer 7:31 on 2Kgs 23:4ff.

⁵³ It is interesting to observe that the warning not to follow the abominable practices of the nations is found in a fire-rite context also in Deut 18:9-10. In other contexts, this phrase occurs only in 1Kgs 14:24 and 2Chr 36:14; cf. Ezek 12:16.

33:4, 5, 7).⁵⁴ On the other hand, the phrase is innovative in its use of the new language, שקיזים and טמא, which has nowhere been employed describing objects and practices in the texts regarding kings Ahaz or Manasseh. The term טמא, being freshly introduced in the composition of Jer 7:30-31, subsequently occurs a number of times within wider contexts of fire ritual involving children in Jer 19:13; 32:34; Ezek 20:26, 31; 23:38; Lev 20:3 and Ps 106:39.

As has been shown earlier in this chapter, the developed unit of Jer 7:30-8:3 together with two other texts of Jeremiah (19:1-13; 32:29b-35) in the use of טמא within the context of a fire rite involving children then became influential on the formation of the late text in Josiah's reform in Kings, 2Kgs 23:10.

4. Astral Worship: 2Kgs 23:5, 11-12

The present text of Josiah's reform in Kings moves from narrating Josiah's defilement of Topheth in v. 10 to describing the removal of horses dedicated to the sun and the elimination of sun chariots in v. 11. This verse shares a common feature with vv. 5 and (partly) 12 in that they are concerned with the worship of astral entities.⁵⁵ But while in scholarly treatments of these texts v. 5 is generally considered to belong to the latest stratum of the account of Josiah's reform in Kings, vv. 11 and 12 are often ascribed to a literary layer different from that of v. 5. Verse 11 with parts of v. 12 is usually seen as belonging to the oldest material within the reform narrative.⁵⁶ The chief reason for attributing an early date to these two verses is the unique reference within the Hebrew Bible to the 'horses...dedicated to the sun' and to the 'sun chariots' in v. 11, to which the mention of 'altars on the roof' in v. 12 is

⁵⁴ Thus, Kimchi could be right associating the term שקיזים in Jer 7:30 with syncretistic practices presented in the texts of Ahaz and Manasseh; see McKane (1986:178). It is, however, irrelevant to ponder over what historical value the statement has, whether it is referring back to actual Manasseh's or later (Jehoiakim's?) period in Judah's history; see in this regard Thiel (1973:129); Lundbom (1999:495). The links studied above between Jer 7:30-31 and the texts of Ahaz and Manasseh may be purely literary and serve rather ideological purposes to the editors of Jeremiah in later times. An attractive possibility and way forward in this regard is presented by Sharp in her recent study *Prophecy and Ideology in Jeremiah* (2003) who argues for later traditionist perspectives being present in the book of Jeremiah rather than significant components of material going back to the historic figure of Jeremiah.

⁵⁵ The phenomenon of astral worship with 2Kgs 23:5, 11 among other verses being mentioned is discussed, e.g., in Smith (2002²:150-51), Day (2000:151-66), Taylor (1993).

⁵⁶ Montgomery (1951:534); Würthwein (1976:417; 1984:453, 459); Hollenstein (1977:334-35); Spieckermann (1982:107 and n. 165); Jones (1984:616); Pakkala (1999:175-79); Barrick (2002:107, 159).

also closely associated as part of the theme of astral worship in these texts.⁵⁷ Looking closely, however, at some other significant language of vv. 11 and 12 it will be observed that the argument which designates these verses as being original stands on less secure ground, and that vv. 11 and 12 form an integral part of the material introduced to the reform report of Josiah during a subsequent editing of the ‘original’ reform account.⁵⁸

Verse 11 locates the cult ‘at the entrance’⁵⁹ to the house of Yahweh by the chamber of Natan-melech, the official, which was in the parwarim/columnnades(?)’ (מבוא בית יהוה אל לשכת נתן מלך הסרים אשר בפרורים). The word לשכה of this verse designating ‘chamber’ is found once in each, Samuel (MT) and Kings, but occurs more often in Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah and Jeremiah, and is most characteristic of Ezekiel.⁶⁰ In Samuel לשכה refers to a hall in a local sanctuary serving as a place for eating sacrificial meals (1Sam 9:22; cf. 1:18 LXX). That לשכה generally signifies a hall or chamber usually associated with a religious structure is apparent from texts elsewhere in the Old Testament.⁶¹ What is significant about לשכה in 2Kgs 23:11, however, is its association with a named person, which is a specific feature not only of this verse but particularly of a number of verses in Jeremiah (35:4; 36:10, 20, 21; cf. 36:12) and one in Ezra (10:6). This link of v. 11 with verses in Jeremiah, in which לשכות are ‘identified more specifically by the personal names of their builder and/or present owner (or tenant),’⁶² contributes to our contention made previously of the possible influence of features from Jeremiah on the later development of Josiah’s reform in Kings.

The ‘chamber’, לשכה, is attributed in 2Kgs 23:11 to Nathan-melech, a court official, who is in this verse further identified as סרים but elsewhere is unknown in

⁵⁷ Hollenstein (1977:334), for example, speaks about ‘Konkretion und Details’ in v. 11, which he considers as part of ‘pre-deuteronomistic’ source. Spieckermann (1982:107) mentions in this regard ‘die Abwesenheit jeglicher dtr Diktion und die beschriebenen religionsgeschlichen Details’.

⁵⁸ Cf. Campbell & O’Brien (2000:461-62) who contend that vv. 5, 10-12 and 15-20 all belong to later revision of the account of Josiah’s narrative in Kings which they call ‘royal focus of the dtr revision’ (citation from p. 462).

⁵⁹ The reading מבוא finds support in ancient versions (LXX, Pesh, Vg). For MT’s מבוא being a later development see Toloni (1997:143-69).

⁶⁰ The occurrences of this term in the Hebrew Bible are 1x in Sam (MT), 1x in Kgs, 5x in Chronicles, 9x in Ezra-Nehemiah, 8x in Jeremiah (only chaps. 35, 36) and 23x in Ezekiel. In LXX of Samuel, לשכה rendered by the Greek κατάλυμα occurs also in 1Sam 1:18, on which see McCarter (1980:55, 61).

⁶¹ This is noted in HALOT 2:536-37. Some texts, e.g. Jer 36:12, 20, 21, also suggest affiliation of לשכה with a royal palace.

⁶² Kellermann (TDOT 8:36-37).

biblical narrative. His name, 'Natan-melech', contains a theophoric part *-mlk*,⁶³ regarding which some scholars have invoked a relationship with the immediately preceding verse that mentions the ritual of passing one's child through fire to Molech. Heider, for example, comments that 2Kgs 23:10-11 'raises the possibility that [Natan-melech's] very name might incorporate a reference to that part of the cult which was performed in the valley below.'⁶⁴

Another issue relating to the name of Nathan-melech in 2Kgs 23:11 has recently been raised in connection with some of the epigraphic material, as one of the Hebrew bullae bears the inscription לנתנמלך עבר המלך. McCarter in two of his recent publications of this artifact from the collection of Shlomo Moussaieff attempted to link the owner of the bulla in ancient times with the name of Nathan-melech mentioned in 2Kgs 23:11.⁶⁵ That such attempts need greater caution is pointed out by Fox, who brings up Avigad's strict methodological criteria for establishing a reliable link between biblical and epigraphic data with regard to personal names.⁶⁶ Though admitting some pitfalls in Avigad's methodology due to scant data,⁶⁷ this has little bearing on the fact that McCarter's identification falls short in one very basic criterion, which is to have next to the corresponding personal name also a matching title or epithet. Nathan-melech appearing in 2Kgs 23:11 is termed סרײס and this is different from the designation עבר המלך of the person bearing the same name occurring on the bulla studied by McCarter. Adding some further uncertainties regarding McCarter's proposal, such as the bulla belonging to the material of an uncontrolled provenance and the limitations inherent in relying solely on the method of paleographic dating, it is safer to adopt Fox's 'cautious approach' (2000:32) and consider McCarter's attempt, until there is more information from epigraphic sources available, rather tenuous and unconvincing.

As noted above, Natan-melech is called סרײס in 2Kgs 23:11, which is generally considered to be an Akkadian loanword referring to a certain class of higher official,

⁶³ On the group of names occurring in the Old Testament compounded with *-mlk* element see McCarter (1999:145-46 n. 11).

⁶⁴ Heider (1985:231); see also Weinfeld (1972:151).

⁶⁵ McCarter (1999:143-53; 2002:46-48, 61); see also Avishur & Heltzer (2000:126). The bulla has previously been published by Deutsch (1997, no. 2).

⁶⁶ According to Avigad (1987:237) '[i]n addition to a corresponding PN, there should be (1) a matching title or epithet and (2) genealogy of three generations and (3) chronological synchronism' in order to 'establish a sound identification' (Avigad's criteria cited from Fox 2000:36-37).

⁶⁷ For a recent study with modifications made to Avigad's methodological criteria see Mykytiuk (2004).

or a castrated servant or official.⁶⁸ In the Bible the references to סריס are noted at passages depicting foreign courts, namely Egyptian (Gen 37:36; 39:1; 40:2, 7), Babylonian (2Kgs 20:18//Isa 39:7; Dan 1:3, 7-11, 18) and Persian (Est 1:10, 12, 15; 2:3, 14, 15, 21; 4:4, 5; 6:2, 14; 7:9). Only on two occasions does סריס occur to designate a court personage in the time of Samuel/Saul and David (1Sam 8:15; 1Chr 28:1). Later during the period of a divided monarchy the Bible describes the attendant of Israelite king Ahab as סריס in the episode of Ahab and Jehoshaphat's encounter with the prophet Micaiah (1Kgs 22:9//2Chr 18:8), this being the only episode in which the reference to סריס is shared by Kings and Chronicles.⁶⁹ In addition to the mention of סריס in Ahab's court, Kings refers to סריסים in two episodes that are part of the material relating to the northern kingdom, the story of the Shunamite woman (2Kgs 8:6) and the episode treating the downfall of Jezebel (2Kgs 9:32). It is noteworthy that in both these cases סריסים are termed courtiers who attend to women, the Shunamite woman and the queen Jezebel.⁷⁰ The term of the present discussion also appears in 2Kgs 20:18 in the prophecy of Isaiah to the king Hezekiah, in which the sons of Hezekiah are predicted to become סריסים in the Babylonian court, and then in the last three chapters of Kings that denote, apart from 2Kgs 23:11, courtiers and one higher official of Judean kingdom being taken to Babylon (2Kgs 24:12, 15; 25:19). While the term סריסים in the narrative of Hezekiah (2Kgs 20:18) has a parallel in the book of Isaiah (39:7), occurrences of this term in the account of the last Judean kings before Babylonian exile (2Kgs 24; 25) share rather prominent links with Jeremiah (29:2; 52:25). It further appears that the employment of סריסים in Jeremiah points to a process of continuation of use of this term in the last chapters of Kings—that is, all the narratives in which סריסים is used in Jeremiah (29:2; 34:19; 41:16; 52:25) relate to the same period of Judean history as the narratives employing סריסים in the final two chapters of Kings. In addition to these considerations, perhaps it is not then surprising to find סריס added in the MT of Jer 38:7 to the name Ebed-melech, which in the present form of the MT accords well with the usage of סריס in 2Kgs 23:11. This later development within MT follows in the footsteps of earlier

⁶⁸ The precise nuances of Akkadian *ša rēši* as that of סריס in the Hebrew usage have long been debated and need not concern us here. For more detailed discussion see Kedar-Kopfstein (*TDOT* 10:344-50); Mankowski (2000:123-25); Fox (2000:196-203) and the literature cited there.

⁶⁹ In contrast to 9 appearances of סריס in Samuel-Kings, this term is quite rare in Chronicles, appearing only 2x (1Chr 28:1; 2Chr 18:8//1Kgs 22:9).

⁷⁰ The context of these two episodes, in which service is done to women, has suggested to some greater plausibility for interpreting סריסים as 'eunuchs'; see e.g. Gray (1970:527; 551); cf. Tadmor (1995:317-25).

formative processes, in which texts of Kings and Jeremiah employed סריסים in their development from the older traditions related to the final years of the Judean kingdom. Finally, it is significant to note at this point that the shared text of Kings and Chronicles relating to this period, which might be reminiscent of those older materials, has no mention of סריסים.⁷¹

Returning to the discussion of 2Kgs 23:11, the final term פרוזים, which describes the location of the cult, is the most problematic. There exists a great uncertainty surrounding פרוזים in 2Kgs 23:11, which is often regarded as a variant form of a similar word פרבר occurring in 1Chr 26:18.⁷² Although there have been suggestions in the past of פרוז being derived from various languages (Egyptian, Sumerian),⁷³ a commonly accepted proposal by most scholars has been to view it as a derivation from the Persian *fra-bar* designating a ‘columned structure open at the sides’,⁷⁴ hence obtaining the sense of ‘colonnade’ in late Hebrew.⁷⁵ An innovative contribution to the debate is made by Runnals who proposes on the basis of the function of פרוז to view the origin of the word as being within Hebrew usage.⁷⁶ She states it ‘should be placed alongside other Hebrew nouns which have been constructed by the reduplication of the root’ and, in particular, suggests the emergence of פרוז ‘from a reduplication of an original biconsonantal root *pr*’ (Runnals 1991:329, 330). In either way, being a Persian loanword or originating lately within the Hebrew language, פרוזים is commonly acknowledged as being introduced in 2Kgs 23 by the editors of postexilic period. Of no less interest in this

⁷¹ Nonetheless, we are aware of many problems entailing the parallel texts of Kings and Chronicles pertaining to the reigns of final four kings of Judah. The detailed discussion of the precise character of the relationship of the text in Kings and Chronicles relating to this period would require a separate study.

⁷² See Benzinger (1899:193); Driver (1900:673); Burney (1903:360); Stade and Schwally (1904:294); Skinner (1893:421); Curtis & Madsen (1910:285); Šanda (1912:347); Montgomery (1951:539); Jones (1984:623); Cogan & Tadmor (1988:288-89); Maier (1989:26); Runnals (1991:325). However, Yahuda (1947:88); Rudolph (1955:172) and lately Taylor (1993:179-82) regard the two words as separate.

⁷³ For suggestion of Egyptian connection see Yahuda (1947:88); for Sumerian Östreicher (1923:54) followed by Gressmann (1924:323).

⁷⁴ Yadin (1983, I:238).

⁷⁵ As early as Gesenius in *Thesaurus philologicus* (1840:1123) suggested a derivation from the Persian word meaning ‘summer-house’ or an ‘open kiosk’. The Persian connection is held e.g. by Davies (1902:708 n. η); Driver (1900:673); Stade and Schwally (1904:294); Gray (1970:737); Hobbs (1985:335); cf. Cogan & Tadmor (1988:289). For the appearances of the word *prbr* in Aramaic-Lydia inscription, origin of which is assumed to be Persian, see *KAI* no. 260; Hoftijzer & Jongeling (1995:935). For references to פרוז in the Temple Scroll see Yadin (1983, I:235-39). In later Jewish use, e.g. in Mishnaic Hebrew, the term refers to ‘outskirts’ or ‘suburb’; see Jastrow (1950:1218).

⁷⁶ Runnals (1991:329-31). Cf. Washburn (1991:72-73).

regard are the occurrences of פרוור in the Temple Scroll of the second temple period, in which this term is used in a manner that is comparable with the biblical usage of פרוור.⁷⁷

Notwithstanding the fact that the horse and chariot imagery connected with the solar cult has led some interpreters to ascribe v. 11 to the original material of Josiah's reform in Kings,⁷⁸ this verse in its overall perspective does not conform to this conclusion. As the foregoing analysis has shown, v. 11 employs terminology linked with the portrayal of the location of a cult that points to a later development within the Kings narrative.⁷⁹ There is no mention, for example, of לשכה 'chamber' in 1Kgs 5-8//2Chr 2-5 relating to Solomon's temple and palace, nor is the structure called פרוורים found in these texts. On the other hand, לשכה in v. 11 displays a feature, whereby it is associated with the personal name Natan-melech, which is reminiscent particularly of texts in Jeremiah. It has also been observed that Natan-melech's title in v. 11, סרים, is increasingly employed in the last chapters of Kings and in Jeremiah. Finally, the term פרוורים of v. 11 while absent in early materials finds some resonances in texts of the second temple period.

One further observation is relevant regarding the phraseology of v. 11. This verse in its context of worship of the sun specifically mentions מלכי יהודה 'kings of

⁷⁷ On פרוור in the Temple Scroll and in biblical usage, see studies by Yadin (1983:235-39); Maier (1985:90-91; 1989:26); Runnalls (1991:329-31); Taylor (1993:179-81).

⁷⁸ It has sometimes been suggested that the image of horses and sun chariots in v. 11 finds support in archaeological findings of horse and rider figurines from Iron age levels of ancient Palestine (see e.g. Kenyon 1974:142; Smith 1990:31-32; cf. Holland 1977:149-52; Ahlström 1984:22-23). But this has been firmly rejected by Taylor (1993:58-66) and Keel & Uehlinger (1998:343-44) because of several inconsistencies between these artifacts and 2Kgs 23:11. The so-called 'sun disks' on the horse figurines can be better accounted for as 'mane[s] with a forehead ornament' according to Keel & Uehlinger (1998:343). Taylor (1988:563-64; 1993:32-33, 178) suggested a correspondence between 2Kgs 23:11 and 10th century BCE Taanach cult stand (and also Hazor terracotta quadruped of the same period). But this, too, has been seriously doubted since the interpretation of the figure in the top register of the Tanaach stand as a horse, which Taylor then connects with sun worship, is unclear and open to question. Some take the image to be bovid rather than equid (e.g. Zevit 2001:321), others reject the solar Yahweh cult interpretation of the Taanach stand altogether (e.g. Keel & Uehlinger 1998:158-60; Day 2000:161). Finally regarding the horses and sun chariots mentioned in v. 11, Keel & Uehlinger (1998:158-60, 343-44) suggested an Assyrian connection, viewing a correspondence in the note of v. 11 with the Assyrian practice of divination by the aid of horses and the sun god in the periods of Sargon and Senacherib (cf. also Spieckermann 1982:245-56). Yet Uehlinger's suggestion (1995:76) that this Assyrian divinatory practice was adopted in Judah under king Hezekiah is highly unlikely considering that Hezekiah is understood as a reforming king in Judah. Given the uncertainty surrounding these various proposals about horses and sun chariots in v. 11, noting also the late elements in v. 11 in the depiction of the place where horses were stationed and, further, observing greater similarities of v. 11 with v. 5 (see below) which is usually considered late, this substantiates our conclusion that the present shape of the whole v. 11 comes from the later editors of Kings.

⁷⁹ Cf. assessment of v. 11 as a whole by Taylor (1993:179).

he will cut off from this place שֵׁם הַכַּמֻּרִים 'the remnant of Baal', שֵׁם הַכַּמֻּרִים⁸⁴ 'the name of priests(?)', הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִים עַל־הַגָּנוֹחַ לְצַבֵּא הַשָּׁמַיִם 'those who bow down on the roofs to the host of heaven' and הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִים הַנִּשְׁבָּעִים לַיהוָה וְהַנִּשְׁבָּעִים בְּמִלְכָם 'those who bow down and swear to Yahweh and swear by Milcom'⁸⁵. In both Zeph 1:4-5 and 2Kgs 23:5 כַּמֻּרִים appear in contexts which concern astral worship (הַמִּשְׁתַּחֲוִים עַל־הַגָּנוֹחַ לְצַבֵּא הַשָּׁמַיִם in Zeph 1:5; לְשִׁמְשׁ וְלַיָּרֵךְ וְלַמּוֹלֹת וְלִכְלֵ צַבֵּא הַשָּׁמַיִם... הַמִּקְמָרִים in 2Kgs 23:5). Spieckermann in fact proposed כַּמֻּרִים in the Old Testament to be identified as astral priests. He based this contention on observation of parallels between the biblical usage of כַּמֻּרִים and the occurrence of the Aramaic כַּמַּר in association with astral deities in KAI 225 and 226.⁸⁷ The traditional understanding of כַּמֻּרִים in the Bible has been that of priests of foreign gods, which have been contrasted with כַּהֲנִים, which are perceived as Yahwistic priests.⁸⁸ Ben Zvi (1991b:67-68) contends, however, that such a strict distinction between כַּמֻּרִים and כַּהֲנִים is unnecessary and unrealistic. The term כַּהֲנִים is used in the Hebrew Bible for Yahwistic as well as non-Yahwistic priests (see e.g. 2Kgs 11:18, Gen 47:22; Ex 2:16), while כַּמֻּרִים may simply convey that these were participants in 'wrong worship' (Ben Zvi 1991b:68). What the verses in 2Kgs 23:5 and Zeph 1:4-5 appear also to suggest, however, is a possible association between כַּמֻּרִים and a particular involvement in the worship of astral deities.⁸⁹

A further element linked with astral phenomena in the account of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 not studied yet appears in v. 12. This relates to worship on the roof-tops (הַגָּנִי), a feature of the astral cult which appears also in Jer 19:13; 32:29 and the above-mentioned Zeph 1:5. In Josiah's reform report, 2Kgs 23:12 with its reference to worship on roof-tops continues the theme of the astral or solar cult from the preceding verse, which mentioned horses dedicated to the sun and sun chariots. At the same time, however, it also develops earlier material lying behind the received text of v. 12, which primarily dealt with Josiah's destruction of altars

⁸⁴ The MT in Zeph 1:4 adds עַם־הַכַּהֲנִים after הַכַּמֻּרִים, which is generally considered a late gloss; see Ben Zvi (1991b:69-72) and the literature cited there. For the opposite view see Berlin (1994:75), Sweeney (2003:68-69).

⁸⁵ Following LXX^L that reads κατὰ τοῦ Μελχομ.

⁸⁶ The triad שִׁמְשׁ וְיָרֵךְ and צַבֵּא הַשָּׁמַיִם is representative of the notion of astral worship also in Deut 4:19; 17:3 and Jer 8:2. The unusual term מוֹלֹת in 23:5, perhaps 'constellations', is a loanword from Akkadian *mazzaltu* (<*manzaztu*) 'location, position of the stars'; see Mankowski (2000:86-87).

⁸⁷ Spieckermann (1982:83-86); see also Uehlinger (1995:77-79).

⁸⁸ See e.g. Zevit (2001:475, 572 n. 211), Cody (1969:14 n. 28). Cf. Wolff (1974:175).

⁸⁹ Cf. Halpern (1993:131-32). Barrick (2002:68) and Ben Zvi (1991b:67-68, 72) seem to play down the significance of such a dimension for כַּמֻּרִים.

(מזבחות + נתן). When studying the account of Josiah's reform in Kings in relation to its counterpart in Chronicles, we have argued that the original text in v. 12 consisted of a simple statement relating to Josiah's destruction of altars of Baal (את מזבחות הבעל) (ויתקו ונתן).⁹⁰ It has also been suggested that the part referring to 'Baal' in the original account was later transposed to be part of expanded material in vv. 4 and 5. In verse 12 the displaced material has subsequently been supplanted by two elaborate portrayals of altars: one depicting altars on the roof of the upper chamber of Ahaz made by the kings of Judah (ואת המזבחות אשר על־הגג עלית אחז אשר־עשו מלכי יהודה), and the other portraying altars made by Manasseh in the two courts of the temple (ואת המזבחות אשר־עשה מנשה בשתי הצרות בית־יהוה). The first description of altars being destroyed by Josiah is a continuation of the theme of astral worship from v.11, while the second portrayal establishes a link with the story of Manasseh (2Kgs 21:5//2Chr 33:5).⁹¹ The final part of v. 12 reading וירץ משם והשליך את־עפרם אל־נחל קרון displays close ties in some of its language with v. 6 as now secondarily developed, and we have argued elsewhere (pp. 102-3) that this part of the verse is a late attempt to compensate for alterations being made to the original material during the course of the literary growth of that material.

In the above study of the development of the verses with astral phenomenon in the account of Josiah's reform in Kings, parallels have been noted with several other passages of the Old Testament. The most revealing among them for its number of specific links with 2Kgs 23 is the book of Jeremiah, which in addition to Jer 19:13 and 32:29 mentioning worship on the roof-tops includes a further reference to astral worship in Jer 8:2. It is worthy of note that all these three texts in Jeremiah relating to the astral cult belong distinctively to the material that also deals with the cultic activity involving children as victims of fire ritual (7:30-8:3; 19:1-13; 32:29-35), which we have studied above (pp. 141-45) with regard to its connections with 2Kgs 23:10.⁹² The text in Jer 19:13 with its mention of worship on the roof-tops contains within the same verse the reference to defilement in the context of the Topheth theme usually linked with a fire ritual involving children. Similarly Jer 32:29 mentions worship on the roof-tops in the context of Yahweh's oracle, vv. 26-35, that includes the theme of fire ritual. It is, however, Jer 7:30-8:3 which seems to be the most intriguing with regard to its parallels with the expanded narrative of Josiah's reform

⁹⁰ See the tentatively proposed 'original' form of the account of Josiah's reform on p. 121.

⁹¹ See our discussion in the section 'Destruction of altars' on pp. 85-92.

⁹² On the possible astral aspects of the Molech cult see Koch (1999:36-45).

in Kings since there is a linkage between the two not only in language related to the themes of fire ritual involving children and worship of astral deities but also partly in the arrangement of the material. The unit in Jer 7:30-8:3 concerns specific sins and offences of people that led to the pronouncement of disapproval and divine judgment. The first part of the unit with its doom perspective exposes the cultic practice of fire ritual in the valley of ben Hinnom (7:30-34), while the second part includes in its depiction of dishonouring the dead a trenchant comment on the idolatrous practice of astral worship (8:1-3). This sequence of themes in Jer 7:30-8:3, in which the issue of fire ritual involving children is followed by the mention of astral worship, is actually reflected in the narrative of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:10-12. Here too first v. 10 points to the condemnation of cultic ritual involving children in the valley of ben Hinnom through Josiah's action of defilement of Topheth and then vv. 11-12 follow narrating the elimination of the astral cult. Our earlier study of the theme of fire ritual has indicated that 2Kgs 23:10 may have been drafted in particular in relation to the materials mentioning fire rite involving children in Jeremiah (7:30-8:3; 19:1-13 and 32:29b-35). The accompanying theme of astral worship in the light of correspondences between these same materials in Jeremiah and the account of Josiah's reform in Kings (see e.g. the worship on the roof-tops attested in Jer 19:13; 32:29b and 2Kgs 23:12) may well have been developed in the reform account in the same vein as the theme of fire ritual, that is, through the contributing factor of materials from Jeremiah. The topical sequence in 2Kgs 23:10-12 first relating to the practice of fire ritual involving children and subsequently bringing in the notion of astral worship, which reflects the pattern in Jer 7:30-8:3, only strengthens the case for the Jeremianic texts having been instrumental in assisting the literary growth of the narrative of Josiah's reform in Kings.⁹³

To summarize, despite the frequently expressed view that v. 5 is a late addition to the reform account while vv. 11 and (partly) 12 are considered to belong to the original material of Josiah's reform, the evidence mustered here suggests that v. 5 and vv. 11-12 are all later expansions of the source material relating to Josiah's reform, which develop the theme of worship of astral deities. It has been shown that in addition to the topic of astral worship, v. 5 has noteworthy parallels with vv. 11-12 in specific terminology as well as in the arrangement of the opening phrases, from

⁹³ This point will be substantiated by observation of one more significant link between materials in Jeremiah and Kings report of Josiah's reform; see pp. 170-71 below.

which it may be concluded that v. 5 was introduced to Josiah's narrative together with vv. 11-12. It is also reasonable to deduce from observations of the number of links between 2Kgs 23:5, 10-12 and the texts in Jeremiah not only in terminology but also in the themes and the arrangement of material that the traditions in Jeremiah were conducive to the development and significantly contributed to the present shape of the account of Josiah's reform in Kings.

5. Solomon's High Places: 2Kgs 23:13

The high places built by Solomon for Astarte, Chemosh and Milcom are the focus of Josiah's reform activity in 2Kgs 23:13, a verse that displays distinct ties with cultic innovations depicted in 1Kgs 11. It is in 1Kgs 11:7 that we read about Solomon building 'a high place for Chemosh the abomination of Moab, and for Milcom⁹⁴ the abomination of the Ammonites' (cf. 1Kgs 11:5MT), and in 1Kgs 11:33 that we encounter a note about worshipping deities, 'Astarte the goddess of Sidonians, Chemosh the god of Moab, and Milcom the god of the Ammonites'.

The preceding chapter of this thesis has suggested that, given the close verbal linkage between the wording of 23:13 and 11:33, these two verses belong to the same literary layer and are primary to the elaboration in 11: 5(MT) and 7(-8).⁹⁵ In any case, however, neither 23:13 nor 11:33 can be considered in their respective contexts to be part of Kings original material. Barrick (2001:442 n. 80) contends that 11:33 belongs to a subsequent expansion of 'Urtext', which dealt with Ahijah's prophecy to Jeroboam (vv. 31b + 36-37a + 38) and which did not offer an explanation for the division of the kingdom, but only stated that 'Yahweh is the ultimate cause'. Others have argued that 11:33 is part of an elaboration of a more primitive oracle of Ahijah, the core of which basically consisted of 11:29-31(a).⁹⁶ It should also be noted that the LXX alternative account of the division of the kingdom in 3Kgdms 12:24o is a much shorter text than 1Kgs 11:29-39 and has no details about a theological justification for the schism, but only announces the split of the monarchy.⁹⁷ All this gives support

⁹⁴ Scholarly consensus is to read 'Milcom' (following LXX^L and Pesh) for MT's corrupt 'Molech'; see Mulder (1998:554-56); Cogan (2001:328); cf. Puech (*DDD* 575-76).

⁹⁵ See pp. 83-84, where we have presented and followed Barrick's view (2002:205, 210-11) on this.

⁹⁶ See, e.g., Knoppers (1993:196), Cogan (2001:344); cf. Nelson (1981:116), De Vries (1985:148).

⁹⁷ Some scholars, e.g. Schenker (2000:214-57), Shaw (1997:64), regard the LXX alternative story as being primary. *Contra* Talshir (1993; 2001:41-57).

to the view that 1Kgs 11:33 belongs to an addition to the original material, which was without theological justification for the kingdom's division.⁹⁸

While Barrick concedes that 1Kgs 11:33 supplements the earlier material, he arrives at a different conclusion regarding the status of 2Kgs 23:13 in the context of Josiah's reform. He maintains that, although the attribution of *במות* to Solomon in v. 13 is probably legendary, this verse is indicative of some cultic phenomena, which existed in the period of Josiah's reign and did not remain undisturbed by Josiah's reforming measures. Barrick continues to suggest that the locational notice in v. 13 refers to a Silwan cemetery. Proposing a link between the tombs of the Silwan necropolis and the cultic installations mentioned in v. 13 he states:

perhaps they were imagined to have been part of the "house" Solomon allegedly built for Pharaoh's daughter, and/or the bamoth he allegedly built for three foreign deities; perhaps several of these and/or the foreign-looking monolithic tombs had by Josiah's day become associated with cultic practices to which the reformers objected.⁹⁹

Barrick's proposal based in part on archaeological findings, may seem novel and attractive at first sight. However, the evidence for the tombs of the Silwan necropolis corresponding to the structures that would have been imagined in Josiah's times to be *במות* built by Solomon is by no means conclusive. The Silwan tombs, surveyed most recently by Ussishkin (1993), are structures hewn into the west slope of the Mount of Olives.¹⁰⁰ The text in 2Kgs 23:13, on the other hand, does not say, as even Barrick admits,¹⁰¹ that *במות* were cut out of the mountain. This verse simply states that *במות* were located 'east of Jerusalem (אשר על-פני ירושלים) to the south of the Mount of destruction (מימין להר-המסחית)'. Furthermore, Ussishkin (1993:316) notes a feature of the Silwan necropolis, which distinguishes it from other cemeteries in Judah—namely 'its location high up on a cliff and the difficult access to the tomb entrances'.

⁹⁸ That some such original material was part of Chr's source, which could have been lost in the course of Chr's adaptation of his *Vorlage*, is indicated by the reference to Ahijah's oracle in 2Chr 10:15. However, in no way does this imply that Chr knew in its entirety the text of 1Kgs 11. It only suggests that he might have been familiar with some primitive form of Ahijah's oracle, perhaps similar to the notice in 3Kgdms 12:24o. See further Barrick (2001:419-50; 2002:196-215) for an argument that much of 1Kgs 11 belongs to later editions of Kings, which were *not* part of Chr's source.

⁹⁹ Barrick (2002:213-14); citation taken from p. 214.

¹⁰⁰ These are generally dated to the 8th century BCE; see Ussishkin (1993:325-28).

¹⁰¹ Barrick (2002:214 n. 122). In order to substantiate his contention of a possibility of cultic installations being 'carved out of the mountain...rather than erected on top of it' (2002:214), Barrick refers to *בהר* 'in the mountain' in 1Kgs 11:7. However, the whole phrase *אשר על-פני ירושלים* of which *בהר* is part in 11:7, is missing in LXX and is usually considered to be a gloss; see e.g. Gray (1970:273), Jones (1984:236), Würthwein (1985²:131), De Vries (1985:142). Thus the text from 1Kgs 11:7 contributes nothing to one's understanding of a likely historical reality concerning the location of *במות* referred to in 2Kgs 23:13.

Another distinguishing mark of the Silwan cemetery is its lack of ‘bone repositories’, typical of ‘family tombs of that period’ (1993:328 n. 27), which suggests that the tombs in Silwan were not meant for continuous use. Rather, as Ussishkin (1993:328) remarks, the tombs in the necropolis were mainly intended ‘for the burial of a single person or for a couple’, implying that these were tombs of ‘high-ranking officials’. In the light of these considerations of the specific features of the Silwan cemetery it seems unlikely that some of its structures would have been ‘recycled’ in Josiah’s time for cultic use such as recorded in 2Kgs 23:13.

In addition to Barrick’s problematic interpretation of the locational notice of Solomon’s *במות* in 2Kgs 23:13, one of his other arguments made in the context of the discussion of 2Kgs 23:13 also bristles with difficulties. Barrick (2002:211) lists Solomon’s *במות* of 23:13 together with ‘komer-priests’ of 23:5 as referring to phenomena that ‘existed in the Josianic era and were affected by his religious pogrom’ despite the fact that v. 5 with ‘komer-priests’ is regarded at another point of his thesis to be an addition, inserted at a later stage to the original reform report of the Josianic version of Kings (2002:66-73, 107). This inconsistency combined together with his slightly unconvincing attempt to interpret the datum in 2Kgs 23:13 in reference to the Silwan cemetery weakens Barrick’s overall argument for v. 13 being primary in Josiah’s reform report in Kings.

The passage in 2Kgs 23:13 relates primarily to the notion of *במות* being defiled. We have argued earlier (pp. 78-85) that the defilement of high places (*במות* + *טמא*), which also appears in v. 8 of the reform report, belongs to the composition of the primary source of Josiah’s reform. Did the original text convey also information about where and by whom *במות* were built as v. 13 does? Concerning other locational notices within the reform report in Kings – for example dust/ashes taken to Wadi Kidron (v. 4b), high places of the gates at the entrance to the gate of Joshua (v. 8b) or the altar and the high place at Bethel (v. 15) – it is accepted by the majority of scholars that they are part of secondary expansions of original material. By the same token it is thus possible to contend that the reference to the location of *במות* in v. 13 is a feature of the Kings editors’ elaboration of the note from primary material, which narrated simply the desecration of *במות* at Josiah’s undertaking the reform. The additional information about king Solomon and the gods Astarte, Chemosh and Milcom in v. 13 corresponds to the note of Solomon worshipping these deities in

1Kgs 11:33, and we have contended above that they must have come from the same later editorial hand.

Finally, it is to be observed that the reference to king Solomon in v. 13 follows the mention of two other Judean kings, Manasseh and Ahaz in the preceding verse, both in connection with idolatrous practices. We have noted that the notices of these kings together with references to 'kings of Judah' (מלכי יהודה) in vv. 5, 11 and 12 do not belong to the earliest stratum of the reform report. Thus the reference to king Solomon in v. 13 fits well with the overall structure of the expanded account of Josiah's reform in Kings, in which the kings of Judah are charged by later editors with practices and activities associated with idolatrous worship.

6. Filling places of Illegitimate Cult with Human Bones: 2Kgs 23:14b

The elimination of מצבות and אשרים in 2Kgs 23:14, which we have earlier argued to be part of the primary source, is supplemented in the latter part of v. 14 with the statement about the sites of these cultic places being filled with human bones. The phrase *וימלא את-מקומם עצמות אדם* 'and he filled their places with human bones' has been a puzzlement for some scholars: Eynikel (1996:272) regards this expression as being 'special because it has little in common with other verses in the dtr history', and Barrick (2002:41) concurs, considering the phrase in its context as 'highly unusual'.¹⁰² Yet this text may have a specific function within the structure of the narrative of Josiah's reform in its present form in Kings. Long (1991:275) suggests that the writer of the passage dealing with the bones in v. 14 'makes a bridge to the following incident', which takes up "'the high place" of Jeroboam and the legendary bones that characterize his memory'. It can be noted that *עצמות אדם* 'human bones' of v. 14b appears also in v. 20 followed by a concluding remark about Josiah's return to Jerusalem. In the final form of the text of Josiah's reform in Kings, the two phrases referring to *עצמות אדם* in vv. 14 and 20 form an *inclusio*, bracketing the whole section which concerns Josiah's reform activity outside Jerusalem in the north. Thus it is possible to conceive that the additional *עצמות אדם* *וימלא את-מקומם*, while constituting a bridge with the following incident, also serves as a structuring device in the elaborated text of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24. The later editor of the narrative of Josiah's reform in Kings used *עצמות אדם* in vv. 14 and 20 as framing

¹⁰² See also Barrick (2002:143 n. 109).

brackets, demarcating the portion of the reform account, which in its present context deals with the expansion of the reforms to the north.¹⁰³

7. Altar and High Place in Bethel: 2Kgs 23:15

The focus of the narrative of Josiah's reform moves to Bethel in 2Kgs 23:15. The note about Bethel in this verse is consistent with the overall arrangement of the account of Josiah's reform by later editors of Kings who introduced framing brackets in vv. 14b and 20 using the expression עֲצֻמֹת אֲדָם, in order to demarcate Josiah's activity in the north more clearly. It has been maintained at several points of this study that v. 15 emanated secondarily from the kernel relating to Josiah's destruction of altar(s). In the 'original' account of the reform proposed on the basis of a comparative analysis of the two biblical narratives of Josiah's reform, one reference to altars was made in association with Josiah's action against the altars of Baal and the other in connection with Josiah's bone-burning on the altar (which thus defiled a cultic installation).¹⁰⁴ We have already discussed (pp. 89-90) how the phrase in the

¹⁰³ Barrick (2002:41) refers to 14b as being part of 'a *Wiederaufnahme* bracket with v. 20aβ'. In other words, he views עֲצֻמֹת אֲדָם in v. 14b as belonging to the original version of the reform report and עֲצֻמֹת אֲדָם in v. 20 as being part of a later edition. Alluding to *Wiederaufnahme* in this instance, however, is problematic on two accounts. First, Barrick (2002:41 n. 49) when making a case for *Wiederaufnahme* brackets in vv. 14b and 20aβ notes the study of Kuhl (1952:1-11) who wrote about *Wiederaufnahme* as follows: 'Es läßt sich...die Beobachtung machen, daß die Wiederholung dadurch bedingt ist, daß in den ursprünglichen Text ein Einschub erfolgt ist, und daß nach solchem Einschub der ursprüngliche Faden der Erzählung durch Wiederholung der letzten Worte, ja ganzer Sätze und zum Teil sogar größerer Abschnitte, wieder aufgenommen wird. Wir wollen diese eigentümliche Erscheinung zum Unterschied von anderen Wiederholungen mit dem Ausdruck »Wiederaufnahme« bezeichnen, da hierbei ja der ursprüngliche Text wieder aufgenommen wird.' (1952:2).

Cf. the same subject studied earlier by Wiener (1929) who termed the phenomenon 'resumptive repetition' (1929:2). In Barrick's analysis (2002:108), the original text of the reform report (his KH-2) included among others vv. 13, 14b, 16(sic) + 18. Then the next version of Kings history (his KH-3) included vv. 13, 14a(?), 14b, 15(?), 16a + 18. Finally the addition of vv. 19-20 (together with vv. 16b-17) was made according to Barrick in the post-exilic version (his KH-4). The editor of KH-4, if resorting to *Wiederaufnahme* according to Kuhl's definition, would have to resume with the words from v. 18 at the end of his insertion of vv. 19-20, and not with words from v. 14b that are placed somewhat earlier in the narrative of KH-3 which he edited. Barrick's argument for *Wiederaufnahme* as classically stated by Kuhl here fails. It may be more likely, as we have argued above, that עֲצֻמֹת אֲדָם forming an inclusio in vv. 14b and 20 belongs in both verses to the same literary layer and originated from the hand of the Kings editor who skillfully used this expression as a structuring device in his elaboration of the earlier text of the reform. Secondly, the practice of *Wiederaufnahme* or resumptive repetition while already recognized by medieval commentators (e.g. Rashi, Nachmanides), whether being editorial technique or authorial device or both or neither is the subject of continuing debate among scholars; see e.g. Seeligmann (1962:302-25); Talmon (1978:9-26); Trebole-Barrerra (1982:12-35); Fishbane (1985:85-86); Long (1987:385-99); Anbar (1988:385-98); Brettler (1989:433-35; 1997:601-12); Gordon (1992:131-58); Quick (1993:289-316); Peckham (1995:366-71); Person (1999:239-48).

¹⁰⁴ See the tentatively proposed 'original' text of Josiah's reform on p. 121.

primary material mentioning the elimination of the altars of Baal was transformed in the subsequent editing of the ‘original’ account in Kings into what we read of altars’ destruction in v. 12. The language involving נתן and מזבח/ות from the original material concerning the demolition of altars is also borrowed in v. 15, in which it is applied to Josiah’s breaking down of the altar in Bethel. This new element of v. 15 with its reference to the cultic installation in Bethel appears to have been made as though to anticipate the coming scene in vv. 16-18. Nonetheless, as we shall see below, this addition of v. 15 at the same time creates difficulties with the immediately following verse, v. 16.

2Kgs 23:15 is overloaded in the received text with terms relating to the destruction of the altar *and* high place in Bethel; and this testifies to a long textual history. As has been shown above (pp. 79-80), 23:15 LXX indicates that the inclusion of במה belongs to the most recent alterations made to this verse. In its earlier stage of literary/textual development, v. 15 concerned the destruction of the altar at Bethel with the vocabulary of נתן and מזבח/ות being drawn from the primary account of Josiah’s reform and supplemented with the terminology, such as דקק לעפר and שרף אשרה, taken from the secondarily developed verse 6.¹⁰⁵ Only in its latest stage was v. 15 expanded by inclusion of במה and by the reference to burning of במה as the MT has it now.

The late occurrence of במה in v. 15 gives the impression of an attempt on the part of an editor or scribe to reinterpret altar in that verse perhaps in light of 1Kgs 12:25-33, although this passage does not mention Jeroboam erecting במה but rather בית במה (v. 31).¹⁰⁶ Finally the reference to Jeroboam, son of Nebat who ‘caused Israel to sin’, which goes with the addition of במה in v. 15, resembles the accusations against Jeroboam in the material relating to the northern kingdom,¹⁰⁷ and may in fact have been added in v. 15 in relation to these. The mention of Jeroboam in the expanded version of Josiah’s reform in Kings also fittingly concurs with another reference to northern kings in this account: in v. 19 reference is made to kings of Israel erecting בית במה, thus provoking Yahweh. This part of v. 19, being itself an addition, is a further link between the elaborate story of Josiah’s reform in Kings and the account of the apostasy of the northern kings.

¹⁰⁵ It is relevant to point out in this regard van Seters’ comment that ‘[t]he description of how the altar was demolished is simply borrowed from the previous texts’ (2000:219).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Barrick (2002:47).

¹⁰⁷ See 1Kgs 16:26; 22:53; 2Kgs 3:3; 10:29; 13:2, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28; 17:21; cf. 1Kgs 21:22.

8. Coda to the Story of the Man of God: 2Kgs 23:16-18

In the Kings account of Josiah's reform, the passage in 2Kgs 23:16-18 looks like a conclusion to the story of the man of God in 1Kgs 13. The links between the two narratives have been subjected to numerous studies, some of which while touching on the nature of this relationship also gave attention to the wider context of 2Kgs 23:15-20 in Josiah's reform account.¹⁰⁸ Several issues arise from considering these passages, and these will be addressed here.

To start with, the narrative of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:15-16 does not seem to progress smoothly. In verse 15 we read about the altar in Bethel being destroyed (נָסַח), but the following verse, presumably referring to the same altar in the received text, reports that it was used for burning bones and defiled. The implication of this is that one of the two verses mentioning 'altar' (מִזְבֵּחַ) must be secondary and this is, indeed, what we have concluded above about verse 15. The depiction of the altar in v. 16 with its reference to burning bones on the altar is primary and belongs to the original material of Josiah's story.¹⁰⁹

The account of Josiah's reform continues in 2Kgs 23:16-18 with the 'cemetery scene'¹¹⁰ that reveals connections with the story of the man of God in 1Kgs 13, while at the same time a few points of difference can be observed between the two passages. One of them is that in 2Kgs 23 the prophet who shared the tomb with the man of God is stated to *have come out* from Samaria (בָּא in v. 18). In 1Kgs 13, however, he is portrayed as the one *residing* in Bethel (שָׁבַת in v. 11).¹¹¹ A likely

¹⁰⁸ In addition to commentaries, see e.g. treatments by Barrick (2002:28-60); Van Seters (2000:213-22; 1999:225-34); Herr (1997:69-78); Simon (1997:130-54; 300-307); Eynikel (1990:227-37). Majority of scholars view 2Kgs 23:16-18 (or 15-20) as continuation or conclusion to 1Kgs 13 (e.g., Van Seters 2000:216; Simon 1997:131-32; Rofé 1988:171-72; Jones 1984:616-17; Jepsen 1971:171-82), although they vary considerably in their insights about the literary development of these texts. Dozeman's argument (1982:381-82) against the ending of the narrative in 2Kgs 23:16-18 and contention that 'the theme of 1 Kings 13 is resolved by 13:32a' (p. 382) is not particularly convincing; see criticisms by Walsh (1989:359 n. 10).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. our discussion on pp. 105-8. Similar conclusions about the relationship of vv. 15 and 16 have been made e.g. by Barrick (2002:48), Van Seters (1999:229) and Wilson (1980:188). Cf. Knoppers (1994:197-98; 202-204).

¹¹⁰ An expression borrowed from Barrick (2002:58).

¹¹¹ Barrick (2002:58 n. 109) is not sure of whether הַנְּבִיא אֲשֶׁר-בָּא מִשָּׁמֶרֶץ in 2Kgs 23:18 refers to the old prophet from Bethel who features in the narrative of 1Kgs 13. It should be noted, however, that the distinction between the two men in 1Kgs 13 – one called the 'man of God' (the one from Judah) and the other the 'prophet' (the one from Bethel) – is consistently maintained throughout the narrative in 1Kgs 13 and appears also to be upheld in 2Kgs 23:16-18. Barrick, expressing his doubts about identification of the prophet in 23:18, refers to Montgomery's translation 'and they left his bones alone, the bones of the prophet who came from Samaria' (1951:535), who opts for interpretation of אִתּוֹ as direct object marker in 23:18 and not as a preposition 'with' as other commentators do. This is in

explanation for this divergence arises from viewing a larger context, in which the phrase mentioning the prophet ‘who came (בא) from Samaria’ in 2Kgs 23:18 occurs. The verb ‘to come’ (בוא), which makes the description of the prophet in v. 18 out of tune with the one in 1Kgs 13, also appears in the immediately preceding verse (v. 17) in the phrase depicting the man of God (אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר־בָּא מִיְהוּדָה).¹¹² Thus it seems probable that the editor or later scribe happened thoughtlessly to repeat בא from an earlier line when subsequently referring to the prophet whose bones were next to the bones of the man of God (v. 18).¹¹³

A further point of difficulty relates to the geographic term שְׁמֶרֶן in the prophet’s portrayal in 2Kgs 23:18. It is a historical datum that ‘Samaria’ did not yet exist in the days of Jeroboam when the prophet is reported in the biblical narrative to have lived. In 1Kgs 13 the old prophet’s location is consistently given as being that of Bethel. Accordingly, ‘Samaria’ is considered by commentators and biblical scholars to be an anachronism in 2Kgs 23:18.¹¹⁴ It is also possible, however, that its occurrence in this verse has resulted from confusion surrounding the integration of the ending of the story of the man of God with an already existing narrative of Josiah’s reform which, as we have argued above (pp. 108-10), used the term שְׁמֶרֶן in relation to Josiah’s activity in the north.

The scene portrayed in 2Kgs 23:16-18 occurs with some variation in the ancient witnesses, especially with regard to its making reference back to 1Kgs 13. In the Hebrew text, there is an awkward repetition of אֲשֶׁר קָרָא at the end of v. 16: כְּדִבַּר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר קָרָא אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר קָרָא אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה ‘according to the word of Yahweh *that* the man of God *proclaimed who proclaimed* these things.’ The double occurrence of אֲשֶׁר קָרָא in the text of the MT as it stands seems redundant, which has

our view untenable position, because Montgomery is then forced to regard the two texts (1Kgs 13 and 2Kgs 23:16-18) as being inconsistent in their reference to the Judahite, who in 23:17 and elsewhere in 1Kgs 13 is called ‘the man of God’ but in 23:18, according to this interpretation of אִישׁ, ‘the prophet’. Although theoretically both renderings of אִישׁ in 2Kgs 23:18 – object marker and/or preposition – are possible (cf. Clines in *DCH* 1:450 who notes that in transitive constructions a confusion may occur between understanding of אִישׁ as object marker and preposition), the context clearly favors understanding of this term in v. 18 as being that of preposition. This is also supported by the ancient versions (LXX, Vg), which translate אִישׁ as a preposition ‘with.’

¹¹² This is a typical phrase, by which the man of God is also identified in 1Kgs 13:12, 21; cf. related expressions in 1Kgs 13:1, 14.

¹¹³ This has earlier been proposed, e.g., by Benzinger (1899:194) who regards בָּא in v. 18 as ‘gedankenlose Gleichmachung mit v. 17’; see also Gray (1970:738), Jones (1984:625); cf. Stade and Schwally (1904:296).

¹¹⁴ E.g. Gray (1970:739); Jones (1984:625); Hobbs (1985:336); Cogan & Tadmor (1988:290).

led to attempts to excise the second **אשר קרא** or even the whole final part of the verse.¹¹⁵ The apparent redundancy in the MT may be easily explained on the basis of the LXX reading, which points to the text of the MT suffering from haplography. The LXX version, being retroverted to Hebrew, reads after **איש האלהים** in v. 16 **בַּעֲמֹד יַרְבַּעַם בָּחַן עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַיִּפֶן וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת-עֵינָיו עַל-קִבְרֵי אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים**,¹¹⁶ which suggests that the whole line has been dropped out in the MT through homoioteleuton (**איש האלהים** to **איש האלהים**).¹¹⁷ The LXX preserves details which are felt to be lacking in the narrative flow at the end of v. 16 in the MT. For example it refers to Josiah noticing the tomb of the man of God, which (as one might have expected) leads in the following verse to his question about the tomb.¹¹⁸ This may indicate a genuine reading being preserved in the LXX of 2Kgs 23:16, which precedes the corruption of the text in the MT.¹¹⁹ A significantly different issue concerning variant readings of ancient witnesses emerges in 2Kgs 23:18, in which the LXX^L contains a more expansive reading than other ancient texts. This deviation of the Lucianic reading in v. 18, however, is explicable in terms of peculiar characteristics linked with this particular Greek recension.¹²⁰

In engaging with the issues outlined above, Barrick (2002:58-60) capitalises on the few differences and oddities regarding 2Kgs 23:16-18 and its relationship to 1Kgs 13 and postulates an independent tradition concerning the burial tomb of the prophet from Samaria being shared with the man of God from Judah, which was

¹¹⁵ See Cogan & Tadmor (1988:289) and especially Spieckermann (1982:116-17 n. 187); cf. Long (1991:276).

¹¹⁶ in Greek: ἐν τῷ ἐστάναι Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἤρειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ λαλήσαντος τοὺς λόγους τούτους.

¹¹⁷ The case for haplography in the MT of 2Kgs 23:16 has been argued in a number of commentaries and studies including Benzinger (1899:194), Burney (1903:361), Skinner (1893:422), Stade and Schwally (1904:296), Montgomery (1951:535), Gray (1970:738), Robinson (1976:225), Jones (1984:624-25), Rofé (1988:171), Knoppers (1994:208 n. 70), Eynikel (1996:279), Fritz (2003:405). *Contra* Barrick (2002:60) who preferring the MT reading, however, does not explain the obscure MT text at the end of v. 16.

¹¹⁸ Jones (1984:624).

¹¹⁹ For recent discussions on haplography and the issue of omissions vs. additions in ancient texts see Freedman & Miano (2003:685-98); Freedman & Dolansky Overton (2002: 99-115, 297-323); Freedman & Lundbom (1999:28*-38*).

¹²⁰ In place of MT's **וַיִּפֶן וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת-עֵינָיו עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַיִּבְרַח אֶת-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַיִּפֶן וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת-עֵינָיו עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ** the LXX^L reads καὶ διεσώθη τὰ ὅσα τοῦ προφήτου τοῦ πρεσβύτερου τοῦ κατοικοῦντος ἐν Βαιθὴλ μετὰ τῶν ὁσίων τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἤκοντος ἐξ Ἰούδα καὶ λελαληκότος πάντα τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα ἃ ἐποίησεν Ἰωσείας. The LXX^L here expands the older material in its usual manner by replacing pronouns with proper person's identification and by 'completing the "unsaid" in the scheme prediction/fulfillment' (Fernández Marcos 1987:292). For fuller discussion of distinctive features of LXX^L see Fernández Marcos (1987:287-304; 1990:219-29).

located near Jerusalem and which was unaffected by Josiah's devastating enterprise at his reform. According to Barrick (2002:60) this tradition that is reflected in 2Kgs 23:16b-18 'antedates [1Kgs 13:1-32] and was one constituent element in its evolution, and evolved along with it.' One may agree with Barrick that 2Kgs 23:16b-18 is in its development interconnected with 1Kgs 13:1-32. Doubts are cast, however, on whether there exists a sufficient ground in the differences between these two texts for advancing a thesis of an originally independent tradition lying behind 2Kgs 23:16b-18. It has been suggested above that the unusual portrayal of the prophet in these verses is indicative of an imperfect editor's introducing or copyist's reproducing material relating to the ending of the story of the man of God in 1Kgs 13. In the other instances of discrepancy, the differences are easily explained in terms of minor language adjustments prompted by the context of an already existing account of Josiah's reform into which the ending of the story of the man of God was integrated. Barrick's idea of an independent tradition lying behind 2Kgs 23:16b-18, therefore, seems to have a little or almost no support in the differences between this text and 1Kgs 13.¹²¹

In his discussion of 2Kgs 23:16-18, Barrick separates v. 16a with its focus on the bones being taken out of the tombs and burnt on the altar from the rest of the narrative in vv. 16b-18. This part of v. 16 is regarded by Barrick (2002:59) as 'unique in biblical record and probably ha[ving] a basis in fact independent of 1 Kgs. 13:1-32.' Barrick considers v. 16a in a more straightforward manner as belonging to the original report of Josiah's reform and this in part correlates with our own proposal earlier in this thesis, where we have suggested that v. 16a in its reporting of Josiah's bone-burning belongs to the original reform account used by both Kings and Chronicles. The point of departure between Barrick's understanding and our view relates to the extent of v. 16a, which may be safely ascribed as being part of the early source material. Barrick understands the entire v. 16a (ויפן יאשיהו וירא אתהקברים אשר-שם) (בהר ושלה ויקח אתהעצמות מןהקברים וישרף עלהמוזבח) to be part of the primary material of Josiah's reform report. However, on the basis of comparative analysis with the

¹²¹ Moreover, the proposal of an originally independent tradition lying behind 2Kgs 23:16b-18 does not seem to be treated with sufficient clarity in Barrick's study. For example, at one point of his thesis Barrick includes Josiah's 'esp[ying] a particular funerary "monument"' of v. 17 as part of the early text (2002:50), yet a few pages later he suggests that some of vv. 17-18 might be secondary (2002:60, cf. 75) and further in his scheme of the compositional history of Josiah's reform he includes the whole of v. 17 into the post-Exilic version of Kings history (2002:108). These divergent conclusions in Barrick's thesis make his overall argument for an independent tradition laying behind vv. 16b-18 less compelling.

account of Josiah's reform in Chronicles it has been suggested in the preceding chapter that only the part of v. 16a that relates more specifically to the burning of bones and defiling the altar (וישרף [עצמות] על-המזבח וישמאהו) can be regarded as reflecting the text in the original report.¹²²

This brief note subsequently developed into a fuller account with details about the origins of the bones, thus providing a broader setting for the incident of Josiah's burning bones on the altar. In the expanded narrative Josiah is envisioned to turn around and notice the tombs 'on the mountain'¹²³ (ויפן יאשיהו וירא את-הקברים אשר-שם) (בהר), which is followed by his order to take the bones out of the tombs (וישלה ויקח) (את-העצמות מן-הקברים) that are then burnt on the altar. With this introduction to the bones, the earlier account that dealt primarily with Josiah's burning the bones on the altar and defiling the cultic installation is set into a new narrative frame with a view, at the same time, of introducing the 'cemetery scene' in vv. 16b-18. A significant catchword in this regard is the expression קברים 'tomb(s)' appearing twice in the additional introductory part of v. 16a, which then re-appears in vv. 16b (LXX) and 17 with a reference to a particular 'tomb' that caught the eye of Josiah. In addition to the use of קברים, the phrases of v. 16a α and vv. 16b-17 share the focus on Josiah's gestures and movements. In v. 16a α we read that Josiah ויפן... וירא את-הקברים 'turned and saw the tombs', which is somewhat repeated in v. 16b (LXX) with respect to one particular tomb – וישא את-עיניו על-קבר איש האלהים 'he turned and lift up his eyes towards the tomb of the man of God'.¹²⁴ This is then followed by another phrase of motion/vision in v. 17 in which Josiah asks: מה הציון הלז אשר אני ראה 'What is that monument that I see?' The reading of v. 16a α , therefore, cannot be separated from the narrative thread that follows in vv. 16b-18. These phrases in v. 16a α build on the original note in v. 16a β about Josiah's burning the bones and defiling the altar as they provide an explanation for the origins of the bones Josiah burnt and at the same time serve as an introduction to the wider scene that follows in vv. 16b-18.¹²⁵

¹²² See the discussion on p. 107. For Barrick's views of v. 16a see the entry in the biblical index of his monograph (2002:269).

¹²³ In 2Kgs 23:16, where MT, LXX^A, Tg, Pesh have בהר 'on the mountain', LXX^B renders בעיר 'in the city'. This appears to be a scribal error.

¹²⁴ See the argument above (pp. 166-67) that this phrase is part of the section lost in 2Kgs 23:16 MT due to homoioteleuton.

¹²⁵ Note that there was no need in the 'primary' version of Josiah's reform for an elaborate introduction to the bones, which Josiah burnt on the altar, since the origin of the bones was simply implied in the statement referring to הקברים immediately preceding the reference to Josiah's bone-burning. See our proposed 'original' account of Josiah's reform on p. 121.

A conclusion can be drawn from this analysis that the opening of v. 16a has been drafted alongside the development of material in vv. 16b-18, all of which has evolved, as many obvious parallels disclose, in a particular relationship with the narrative about the man of God in 1Kgs 13.

One further factor may have played a role in the way in which the early material relating to Josiah's bone-burning and defiling the altar has expanded into the present form of 2Kgs 23:16-18. In the primary material, the note *וַיִּשְׂמְאוּהוּ עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַיִּשְׂמְאוּהוּ* rather than pointing to disregard of the dead seems more to emphasise the idea of the altar being ultimately defiled and made cultically impure, with the bones being instrumental in this process.¹²⁶ The subsequent literary stratum in Kings, which supplies this early note with an introduction to the origins of bones (v. 16aa) and follows appending the 'cemetery scene' (vv. 16b-18), moves the emphasis of the original narrative from the defilement of the altar to highlighting the desecration of tombs and (dis)respect of human remains. This shift in emphasis may have been influenced by a text that has already been noted as playing some role in the literary growth of the account of Josiah's reform in Kings. Jer 7:30-8:3, previously noted in connection with a fire ritual involving children and with astral worship, includes also a reference to the desecration of tombs. Jer 8:1-2 mentions bones of kings, officials, priests, prophets and the inhabitants of Jerusalem being brought out of the tombs and spread before astral deities, which they worshipped. It is thus possible to suggest a further link between the text in Jer 7:30-8:3 and the developed account of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 next to the already noted shared interests in the Topheth theme (Jer 7:31; 2Kgs 23:10) and the topic of astral worship (Jer 8:2; 2Kgs 23:11-12). The third link is the issue of the desecration of human remains (Jer 8:1-3; 2Kgs 23:16-18), there being an interesting twist to this theme in 2Kgs 23:18 in that the bones of the man of God and of the prophet are not desecrated but left undisturbed.

¹²⁶ Barrick (2002:173-81; 2000:3-16), contrary to this view, asserts that 'the burning in 23:16 was more to disgrace the persons whose bones they were...than the altar on which they were burned and which, in any event, would have been defiled by contact alone' (quotation from 2002:178). However, the fact that v. 16 states that the bones were burnt on the *altar* and not somewhere else combined with the fact that immediately after the phrase mentioning the bone-burning on the altar there follows a note *וַיִּשְׂמְאוּהוּ* presumably referring to the altar, on which the bones were burnt, gives stronger support to the view that 'bones' play rather an instrumental role in the defilement of the cultic installation. Barrick (2002:60, 181), in order to maintain his contention that burning bones on the altar in v. 16 concerns more the desecration of bones rather than of the altar, has to take the phrase *וַיִּשְׂמְאוּהוּ* in v. 16 as a secondary addition.

In conclusion, it may be stated that 2Kgs 23:16-18 developed from a simple note reading that Josiah ‘burnt the bones on the altar and defiled it’ into a pericope, which has close ties with the story of the man of God in 1Kgs 13 and probably evolved alongside the development of that story in 1Kgs 13. Other influences on the growth of 2Kgs 23:16-18, however, also cannot be excluded and we have observed that there further exist close connections between 2Kgs 23:16-18 and Jer 7:30-8:3 particularly in the notion of the desecration of tombs.

9. Josiah’s Reform Activity in the North: 2Kgs 23:19-20

Based on the investigation of the texts in 2Kgs 23:19-20 and 2Chr 34:6-7 relating to Josiah’s activity in the north, it has been established earlier in this study (pp. 108-16) that a more original reading may lie behind these passages which reported Josiah’s elimination of *בתי הבמות* in Samaria and concluded with a comment on Josiah’s return to Jerusalem. If that analysis is accepted, the reading *וגם את כל בתי הבמות אשר בערי* *שמרון הסיר/בער יאשיהו וישב ירושלים* from the primary material may have expanded in 2Kgs 23:19-20 in two specific ways.

First, a new clause *אשר עשו מלכי ישראל להכעיס* in v. 19 ascribes the erection of *בתי הבמות* in the cities of Samaria later removed by Josiah to the kings of Israel. This addition resonates with similar expressions relating to ‘kings of Judah’ in vv. 5, 11 and 12 (*אשר נתנו עשו מלכי יהודה*), all of which have been suggested above (pp. 86, 154-55) to belong to further stages of the development of the reform account in Kings. Moreover, *מלכי ישראל* in v. 19 are made accountable by their act of building *בתי הבמות* for ‘provoking’ Yahweh.¹²⁷ The crucial term *כעס* echoes in this instance a number of texts in the story of the northern kingdom, in which Israelite kings are typically blamed for causing Israel to sin, provoking Yahweh to anger.¹²⁸

Secondly, the final part of 2Kgs 23:19 which reads *ויעש להם בכלי המעשים אשר עשה* *בבית אל* together with what follows in 23:20 (except *ירושלים*) appears to be a late attempt to reconcile the primary reading regarding Josiah’s elimination of *בתי הבמות* in Samaria (23:19a) with the secondarily developed account of a ‘cemetery scene’ in

¹²⁷ Note that the MT in 2Kgs 23:19 does not have *את יהוה* after *הכעיס*, while the divine name is attested in ancient versions (LXX, Pesh, Vg). This sort of variation among ancient witnesses is also found in 2Kgs 21:6 (cf. 2Chr 33:6) and Ps. 106:29. In 1Kgs 16:33, the LXX differs substantially from the MT with regard to the phrase containing *הכעיס*. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible there are only three clear instances, 1Kgs 21:22, Hos 12:15 and Neh 3:37, in which *הכעיס* does not have the deity as an explicit object (not counting 1Sam 1:7 and Ezek 32:9).

¹²⁸ See the term *כעס* occurring in 1Kgs 15:30; 16:2, 7, 13, 26, 33; 21:22, 22:54.

23:16-18, which in its present form implies the event taking place in Bethel. This tendency of ‘collapsing’ two distinct issues – the one regarding *בתי הבמות* in Samaria and other the place of/(altar in) Bethel – by a later editor into one can also be found in 1Kgs 13:32, in which the compass of the prediction from 1Kgs 13:2 against the altar in Bethel is enlarged to include a pronouncement against *בתי הבמות* in Samaria. Hence it may be concluded on the basis of correspondences between 2Kgs 23:19 and 1Kgs 13:32 in their inclusion of references to ‘Samaria’ as well as ‘Bethel’ that the expansion of the text of Josiah’s reform in 23:19 belongs to the same literary layer as 13:32. Both texts probably reflect one of the latest adjustments between the original material of Josiah’s reform, which included that Josiah eliminated *בתי הבמות* in Samaria (23:19a), and the subsequently developed narrative of the man of God in 1Kgs 13 + 2Kgs 23:16-18.¹²⁹

The statement in 2Kgs 23:19 maintaining that Josiah did to *בתי הבמות* ‘according to all the acts that he had done in Bethel’ is followed by further explanatory remarks in the next verse. These remarks on one hand concern Josiah slaughtering the priests of the high places and on the other the burning of human bones. But as may be observed, only the second of these two actions, the burning of bones, is stated in 2Kgs 23:16-18. Both actions as mentioned in 2Kgs 23:20 can be found in the present text of 1Kgs 13:2, on the basis of which closer ties have been suggested above (pp. 105-6) between these two verses. 1Kgs 13:2, however, in its final form is not without problems as noted by Barrick (2002:40) and others.¹³⁰ This verse finds its fulfillment in 2Kgs 23:16-18, but only if the slaughter of the priests of high places, not occurring in these verses, is set aside. It thus appears highly probable that the slaughter of the priests of high places is a later insertion into 1Kgs 13:2, belonging to the same literary layer as 2Kgs 23:19b-20, which includes the mention of both the slaughter of the priests of high places and the burning of human bones. Among these later accretions may be added 1Kgs 13:32 which shares with 2Kgs 23:20 the reference to Bethel and to Samaria.¹³¹

In view of the above analysis it may be concluded that the primary material of Josiah’s reform, which in its latter part comprised Josiah’s bone-burning and altar-

¹²⁹ Cf. similar, yet in some details different, argument by Barrick (2002:39).

¹³⁰ See further e.g. Herr (1997:71); Dietrich (1972:117); Noth (1968:292-93).

¹³¹ This position is in a certain way similar to that of Jepsen (1971:171-82) who viewed 1Kgs 13:1-32a as a unity and understood 2Kgs 23:16-18 being part of the same narrative, and further argued that this narrative was later supplemented by additions in 1Kgs 13:2bβ, 32b, 33; 2Kgs 23:19-20.

defiling (2Kgs 23:16aβ) followed by a brief depiction of reform activity in Samaria (2Kgs 23:19a), has undergone substantial expansion and glossing in the book of Kings. It has been supplemented in stages, first by the ‘cemetery scene’ in 23:16aa + 16b-18 that has evolved alongside the progression of the account in 1Kgs 13, and then by further adjustments and glossing in 23:19b-20, making even closer the relations between Josiah’s cemetery episode in 23:16-18 and the major part of the story of the man of God in 1Kgs 13 which, as has been shown above, was further similarly glossed in parts of vv. 2 and 32.

10. Additional Note to the Main Text of the Reform Account in 2Kgs 23:24a

Much of the discussion concerning the literary growth of the additional note to the major narrative unit dealing with Josiah’s reform, which appears in Kings after the Passover passage (2Kgs 23:21-23), has already been covered (pp. 116-20) in the section devoted to the relationship of 2Kgs 23:24a and 2Chr 34:33a. The primary material behind these two half-verses appears to be more closely followed by Chronicles, and we have argued that the wording of that text may have read *ויסרו ויבער יאשיהו את כל התועבות מן הארץ*. On the basis of the relative affinity between *תועבות* in 2Chr 34:33a and *שקצים* in 2Kgs 23:24a, where both terms convey the idea of detestation, and the fact that *גלולים* and *שקצים* of 2Kgs 23:24a occur together several times in the Old Testament, a conclusion has been drawn that *את כל התועבות* in the primary text of the additional note was later replaced in Kings by *ואת הגללים* and *ואת כל השקצים*. Perhaps the reworking in Kings of the earlier phrase has been inspired by materials in Deut 29:15-16 and Ezek 20:5-9 which, we noted, share interesting links with the passage in 2Kgs 23:24a. Apart from the terms of detestation and idolatry, the developed text in 2Kgs 23:24a includes expressions such as *ידענים*, *אבות* and *תרפים*, which are commonly associated with the notion of divination. Greater similarities have been noted in the divination terminology between 2Kgs 21:6 and 2Kgs 23:24a, which has led us to a proposal that the development of the additional note in 2Kgs 23:24a was shaped by the account of Manasseh’s divinatory practices. Finally, some further supplementation of the original reading may have been achieved in 2Kgs 23:24a by minor additions such as ‘Judah and Jerusalem’, specifying the land, from which the idolatrous practices were eliminated.

11. Concluding Remarks

It is widely acknowledged that '[t]he biblical text is the result of a continuous process of redactional activity. Literature produced by one person, group, or school was reread and rewritten by later readers and writers.'¹³² The foregoing discussion of the development of the account of Josiah's reform in Kings has noted an ongoing activity of later editors in a number of ways in the literary growth of that narrative from the earlier work. These may be summarized in the following points.

First, the major issues and themes belonging to the primary report of Josiah's reform are enlarged in Kings by secondary developments and supplemented with details in order to emphasise certain implications of these earlier themes. Thus it has been observed, for example, that the issue of the removal of the cultic statue from the temple in the original material has received substantial attention from later editors as it has been developed in Kings into a detailed account of the elimination of all the illegitimate cult and its paraphernalia from the Jerusalem temple and its precincts.

Second, the reform account in its present form in Kings builds on and develops an already established fine thread between the primary report of Josiah's reform and one other text, namely the story of Manasseh in 2Kgs 21//2Chr 33. It has been shown earlier that the original text of Josiah's reform dealt with Josiah's removal of the statue of cultic significance from the temple, which coincides with the account in 2Kgs 21//2Chr 33 about Manasseh erecting this cultic object (אשרה in 2Kgs 21:6; סמל in 2Chr 33:6). The reform report of Josiah in Kings now thickens the thread with Manasseh's story from its source, establishing a number of significant links with Manasseh's account. Thus, for example, it has been noted that the appearance of Baal, Asherah and the host of heaven in 2Kgs 23:4 may have been inspired by 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3 with its mention of all these three subjects. In 2Kgs 23:12 the reference to altars in the two courts of the temple being built by Manasseh pertains to their erection by Manasseh, noted in 2Kgs 21:5//2Chr 33:5. Lastly, the development of divination terms in 2Kgs 23:24 by a later hand is related to the use of divination terminology in 2Kgs 21:6//2Chr 33:6. These parallels between the expanded account of Josiah's reform in Kings and the story of Manasseh shared by Kings and Chronicles are the consequence of subsequent supplementations and reworkings of the older account of Josiah's reform in the Kings narrative. If they are placed alongside other developments in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24, such as the note about Josiah

¹³² De Troyer (2003:1).

eliminating astral worship and defiling the place of fire ritual involving children, which also echo the themes in Manasseh's story, an impression is created that Josiah in the reform report in Kings acts as the one reversing the transgressions of Manasseh. This emphasis on Josiah's reforming measures in terms which relate to Manasseh's misdeeds, combined with the effort by later editors of Josiah's narrative in Kings to lionize Josiah and amplify his actions, leads to a climax in 2Kgs 23:25, wherein Josiah is said to have 'turned to Yahweh with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses' and to have been above any comparison with other kings before and after him. Following this magnification of Josiah, however, there continues the Manasseh theme in the next verse, which despite previous assertions of Josiah's greatness and obedience to Yahweh states that 'Yahweh did not turn from the fierceness of his great wrath, by which his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations with which Manasseh had provoked him' (2Kgs 23:26). One may observe an interesting ironic twist in this pronouncement with regard to all that has gone before in the narrative relating to Josiah's reforming activities, prompting a question: why would one want to take pains adding a great deal of detail to Josiah's reform while still reporting a few lines later that Manasseh's sins have destined the reform to vanity? Why was it necessary to provide the report of Josiah's reform with details, giving an impression that Josiah corrected Manasseh's transgressions, if the blame for the exile would still afterwards be laid on Manasseh's shoulders? Similar questions like these have led to a proposal among some scholars for different redactional layers in this material. Particularly the proponents of the so-called double redaction of the Deuteronomistic history have suggested that 2Kgs 23:25 with magnification of Josiah belongs to the Josianic redaction ending on an optimistic note, while the verses starting with 2Kgs 23:26 are part of the second, exilic, redaction of the Deuteronomistic history, which updates the earlier edition to the circumstances of the exilic period, ascribing the exile to the corruption and sinfulness of Josiah's predecessor Manasseh.¹³³ The same theme of attributing exile to the wickedness of Manasseh appears also in 2Kgs 21:11-15 and 24:3-4. However, van Keulen rightly contends that in the case of 2Kgs 23:26-27 this theme does not strictly need to be seen as an addition to the preceding text which spoke of Josiah's magnification.¹³⁴ He points out that the occurrence of שׁוּב in v. 26 forms the link with the preceding verse, where the same verb occurs displaying

¹³³ See e.g. Cross (1973:286); Nelson (1981:83-85); Friedman (1981:7-8).

¹³⁴ Van Keulen (1996:185). See also Rösel (1999:102-105); Albertz (2003:277-78).

Josiah's total commitment to Yahweh, while in v. 26 it describes Yahweh's reaction with anger on account of Manasseh's misdeeds. These contrasting actions of Yahweh and Josiah in vv. 25 and 26, bound together with the use of the same verb שׁיב, indicate literary connection between these verses.

It follows from this that the elements of the expanded account of Josiah's reform in Kings, which prompt one to consider Josiah as a figure reversing Manasseh's misdeeds, together with the note magnifying Josiah in v. 25 and the subsequent record of the doom of Judah caused by Manasseh's transgressions in vv. 26-27 belong to the same editorial strand in Kings, with the main point in these later developments being the seriousness and prominence of Manasseh's sins. The editors of Josiah's account in Kings went into such a considerable detail in their expansion of the original narrative in order to demonstrate that even Josiah, the great reformer, was unable to do away with the disaster brought about on Judah by provocations of Manasseh. If Josiah, who by and large reversed Manasseh's misdeeds was still unable completely to rectify the faults of Manasseh's rule, who can? No one can. As van Keulen (1996:197) notes 'the message imparted in 2Kgs 23, then, is that nothing can make up for the kind of idolatry Manasseh committed'. This may well have spoken to the exilic or even post-exilic audiences warning them against idolatrous practices, which in the past led to disasters with permanent consequences like the one of exile being caused by Manasseh's transgressions against the divine.

Third, the account of Josiah's reform in Kings evolves alongside other literary expansions in other parts of Kings. It has been observed that 2Kgs 23:13 with the mention of Solomon's בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ belongs to a literary stratum of Kings, part of which must have been also some early form of 1Kgs 11, which expanded the primitive oracle of Ahijah and elaborated the theme of the division of the kingdom by making a theological justification for the schism with Solomon being held responsible. Another text which belongs to the literary growth of 2Kgs 23 and has links with other late developments in Kings is the conclusion in vv. 16-18 to the story of the man of God from 1Kgs 13. This is more a obvious case, where both 1Kgs 13 and 2Kgs 23:16-18 (except the part in v. 16 referring to Josiah burning the bones and defiling altar) may be considered as later insertions during the process of literary evolution of the book of Kings. It is further interesting to observe in this regard the relative proximity between the developed chapters 1Kgs 11 and 13 and then also the closeness in the reform report of Josiah between their corresponding links in 2Kgs

23:13 and 23:16-18. It has also been observed that the points of contact between 2Kgs 23 and other texts in Kings are then further confirmed by subsequent additions, such as for example in 2Kgs 23:19-20 and glosses in 1Kgs 13:2, 32.

Finally, traditions of Jeremiah have been found of particular significance in the study of the development of the account of Josiah's reform in Kings. This is not surprising given the fact that scholars have long recognized phrases and idioms in Jeremiah being shared with Deuteronomy and the books of former prophets. These have been conventionally termed as 'Deuteronomistic terminology'. The passages in Jeremiah (7:30-8:3; 19:1-13; 32:29b-35), which we have explored to a certain extent in relation to the account of Josiah's reform in Kings, have been in one way or another assigned to the deuteronomistic influence on Jeremiah.¹³⁵ While some scholars pursue elaborate theories of deuteronomistic redaction(s) of Jeremiah,¹³⁶ others, however, have raised more cautious voices with regard to a deuteronomistic shaping of the prose texts of this book. Sharp (2003:155) in her recent study of Jeremiah proposes that 'the various points of semantic contact long noticed between Jeremiah and the DtrH are likely due to more than one kind of literary relationship'. Her analyses of 2Kgs 17, Deut 18 and the relevant passages in Jeremiah lead her to suggest a 'mutual-influence model of the relationship between the DtrH and the book of Jeremiah' and to a proposal that the traditions of Jeremiah might have been more influential on other materials of the Hebrew Bible than has been previously thought. In another article, Brettler argues against a simplistic view of one-way influence from Deuteronomy to Jeremiah and suggests rather a more complex relationship by stating that 'Deuteronomy influenced Jeremiah, but once this happened, the 'new' book of Jeremiah had in some sense become Deuteronomic, and influenced Deuteronomy.'¹³⁷ The 'mutual-influence' model seems to us to account best for the

¹³⁵ For various views of Jer 7:30-8:3 regarded to belong to the deuteronom(ist)ic redaction of Jeremiah, see e.g. Mowinckel (1914:31); Rudolph (1968³:54); Hyatt (1984:254-55); Thiel (1973:128-34); Nicholson (1970:68-69). Concerning Jer 19, this text is traditionally thought to have been comprised of an original core that was later overlaid with deuteronom(ist)ic editing; see e.g. Rudolph (1968³:125-27), Hyatt (1984:257), Nicholson (1973:163). For Jer 32:16-44 being perceived as a passage from deuteronomistic editors, see e.g. Hyatt (1984:260); Thiel (1981:32); Nicholson (1975:79). Rudolph (1968³:213-14) considers Jer 32:29b-35 to be an insertion that borrows language from a deuteronomic redaction (C source), while Holladay (1989:207) regards 32:28-29 to be 'part of a late addition' and the following 32:30-35 to be 'a pastiche from genuine parenetic material elsewhere, notably 19:13 and 7:30-31, and from genuine poetry.'

¹³⁶ See e.g. recently Albertz (2003:302-45).

¹³⁷ Brettler (1999:171-88); citation taken from pp. 187-88. For suggestion of mutual influence between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy see also Levin (1985:64), and between Kings and Deuteronomy see Lowery (1991:31).

links we have observed in this study between some portions of Kings and Jeremiah. It has been argued that the theme of fire ritual involving children might have first found its place in the text of Jer 7:30-31 from the material relating to the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh shared by Kings and Chronicles. Once this text from shared material of Kings and Chronicles established itself in its new context in Jeremiah, where it has expanded and transformed into a fuller account of 7:30-8:3, this developed material then contributed with its themes of fire ritual involving children, astral worship and disrespect of the dead to the formation of the extended account of Josiah's reform in Kings.

The preceding analysis leads to a conclusion that there were multiple causes and factors that assisted in the development and contributed to the literary growth of the primary account of Josiah's reform in Kings. The final shape of that account in the inherited text of 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 with its manifold picture of the reform measures and a rich network of links with other materials of the Hebrew Bible only confirms the complex literary history behind it.

CHAPTER FIVE

Ramifications for the Composition of the Story of the Divided Monarchy in Kings

The initial enquiry into the relationship of Kings and Chronicles in their portrayal of the divided monarchy at the beginning of this study, based on comparative analysis of the regnal formulae and the royal cultic reforms, has indicated that the present book of Kings displays considerable differences from the source material relating to the period of the divided monarchy that was available to the author of Chronicles. Following the initial enquiry, the detailed analysis of the parallel texts of Josiah's reform in the two histories showed that first, the Kings version is a more expanded form of an earlier narrative of Josiah's reform and second, it was this earlier text that also served as a source for the story of Josiah's reform in Chronicles rather than the vastly elaborate account in the inherited book of Kings. These conclusions are not incompatible with the proposals of Auld (1994) that Kings and Chronicles preserve an earlier source material common to both in their shared parts. As has been exemplified above in the study of biblical accounts of Josiah's reform, we were able to disclose how the book of Kings in one of its parts has grown into its present form from a more elementary text that has also served as a source for the reform report in Chronicles. In what follows, some other terms used by the two histories and texts in Kings relating to the divided kingdom will be examined in order to see whether a similar pattern of expansion in Kings from an earlier material shared with Chronicles emerges.

1. 'High Places' in Kings and Chronicles and Literary Development in Kings

The subject of 'high places' has been much discussed in past research, mainly in relation to what the word *במה* precisely means¹ but also, to a lesser extent, in relation to redactional theories of Kings. Relevant for the present investigation is this second aspect of studies of *במות* that relates to the theories of the compositional development of Kings. Iain Provan in his monograph *Hezekiah and the books of Kings* (1988) devotes considerable space to the discussion of *במות* in Kings within the context of the literary history of that book. Provan organizes his study around two specific themes of entries on the southern kings, the *במות* theme and the theme of David. In

¹ On this aspect of *במה* see more recent treatment by Kogan & Tishchenko (2002:319-52).

his treatment of *במות* in Kings he defends the view that the Hezekian historian recognized the high places as Yahwistic, while the later exilic editor regarded them as idolatrous. This delineation of the *במות* and David themes, however, has been questioned by scholars and criticized for being overly simplistic.² For example, Provan (1988:68) views *במות* in 1Kgs 11:7(-8)³ as referring to cultic installations for foreign gods (thus being idolatrous), but he assigns this passage to the same author as passages with references made to *במות* in the evaluative formulae of the righteous kings of Judah (1Kgs 15:14; 22:44; 2Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35), which are clearly understood by Provan to be Yahwistic provincial shrines. In details such as these, Provan's thesis does not seem to resolve satisfactorily the problems associated with the ambiguous nature of *במות* in Kings.

A more fruitful direction for the study of 'high places' and its ramifications in the compositional theories of Kings may be explored if the book of Chronicles is included alongside Kings in this discussion. Giving attention to the occurrences of *במהות* in Chronicles, one sees the issues involved from a new perspective.⁴ The references to *במהות* as they occur in Kings and Chronicles are presented in the table below.⁵

KINGS		KINGS // CHRONICLES	CHRONICLES
1Kgs 3:2,3			1Chr 16:39; 21:29; 2Chr 1:13
1Kgs 11:7	[1Kgs 11:1-40]	1Kgs 3:4 // 2Chr 1:3	
1Kgs 13:2,32	[1Kgs 13:1-32]	1Kgs 12:31,32; 13:33 (2x) // 2Chr 11:15	2Chr 14:2,4
1Kgs 14:23	[1Kgs 14:22b-24]	1Kgs 15:14 // 2Chr 15:17	2Chr 17:6
2Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4,35 (all 2x)		1Kgs 22:44 (2x) // 2Chr 20:33	2Chr 21:11
2Kgs 17:9,11,29,32 (2x)	[2Kgs 17:1-17]	2Kgs 16:4 // 2Chr 28:4	2Chr 28:25
		2Kgs 18:4 // 2Chr 31:1	
		2Kgs 18:22 // 2Chr 32:12	
		2Kgs 21:3 // 2Chr 33:3	2Chr 33:17,19
2Kgs 23:5,8b,9,13,15 (3x),19,20	[2Kgs 23:4-20 cf. 2Chr 34:3-7]	2Kgs 23:8a // 2Chr 34:3	

² Cf. especially McKenzie (1991:119-22).

³ Though the actual term *במה* occurs only once, in v. 7, the text in vv. 7-8 implies several *במות* being built by Solomon.

⁴ See also Auld (1994:86-88) for the study of *במה* in Kings and Chronicles.

⁵ The occurrences of *במהות* in the table are based on the MT. In the LXX, *במהות* additionally occurs in 2Kgs 17:32 but is less frequently attested in 2Kgs 23 and does not appear in 2Chr 14:4.

The middle column in the table displays passages with the occurrence of *במהות* in Kings that have their counterparts in Chronicles while the side columns refer to texts with *במהות* occurring only in one history or the other. It is noticeable that in majority of cases where *במהות* occurs only in Kings (left column) it is part of a larger portion of text which itself does not appear in Chronicles (indicated in square brackets). Thus for instance *במה* which is mentioned in 1Kgs 11:7 is in the chapter that deals with Solomon's infidelity none of which forms part of the Chronicles account. Obviously, the mere occurrence of *במהות* in such texts has a little role to play in resolving the question regarding these larger units being on the one hand present in Kings and on the other absent in Chronicles.

On two occasions *במות* occurs in Kings in contexts that are similar to Chronicles but in these parallel contexts in Chronicles the phrases with *במות* do not appear. The first instance is the appearance of *במות* in two verses at the beginning of the account of Solomon's reign (1Kgs 3:2, 3). The text in 1Kgs 3:1-3 is the introduction to the story of Solomon's vision at Gibeon, which is narrated in both Kings (1Kgs 3:4-15) and Chronicles (2Chr 1:3-13). The second circumstance relates to the regnal framework of the southern kings which is a characteristic feature of both histories. *במות* in Kings occurs in the context of the regnal framework of Joash, Amaziah, Azariah/Uzziah and Jotham (2Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:5, 35) but the parallel context of regnal formulae of these monarchs in Chronicles is without a reference to *במות*. A further point of interest is that *במות* is found in Kings in the context of the regnal framework also of Asa and Jehoshaphat where the parallel context in Chronicles this time includes a mention of *במות*. It is this second circumstance relating to diverse occurrences of *במות* in the regnal frameworks of Kings and Chronicles that deserves close examination. The texts that involve *במות* in the regnal formulae of Kings and Chronicles are displayed, alongside a few other related passages, below.

KINGS		CHRONICLES	
Asa	1Kgs 15:14 והבמות לאיסרו רק לבביאסא היה שלם כלימיו	Asa	2Chr 15:17 והבמות לאיסרו מישראל רק לבביאסא היה שלם כלימיו
		Cf. 2Chr 14:2	ויסר אתמוצבות הנכר והבמות וישבר אתהמצבות ויגדע אתהאשרים
		Cf. 2Chr 14:4	ויסר מכליערו יהודה אתהבמות ואתהחמנים ותשקט הממלכה לפניו

Jehoshaphat 1Kgs 22:44 אך הבמות לאִסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות	Jehoshaphat 2Chr 20:33 אך הבמות לאִסרו ועוד העם לאִהכינו לאלהי לבבם אבתיהם Cf. 2Chr 17:6 וינבה לבו בדרכי יהוה ועוד הסיר את־הבמות ואת־האשרים מיהודה
Joash 2Kgs 12:4 רק הבמות לאִסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות	Joash
Amaziah 2Kgs 14:4 רק הבמות לאִסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות	Amaziah
Azariah/Uzziah 2Kgs 15:4 רק הבמות לאִסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות	Azariah/Uzziah
Jotham 2Kgs 15:35 רק הבמות לאִסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות	Jotham 2Chr 27:2 (no reference to במות) רק לאִבא אֶל־היכל יהוה ועוד העם משחיתים Cf. 2Chr 33:17 (Manasseh) אבל עוד העם זבחים בבמות רק ליהוה אלהיהם

The expressions involving *במות* occur in the regnal formulae as a criterion of the king's evaluation. This use of *במות* in the regnal framework is particularly prominent in Kings where there are six kings of Judah – Asa, Jehoshaphat, Joash, Amaziah, Azariah/Uzziah and Jotham – who are assessed in the regnal summary on the basis of their attitude towards *במות*. In Chronicles, on the other hand, *במות* occurs in the regnal framework of only the first two rulers mentioned in this regard in the book of Kings.

Two other points of significance relate to the use of *במות* in Chronicles. First, there is a marked contrast in the treatment of *במות* with regard to the accounts of Asa and Jehoshaphat and the accounts of other southern kings, particularly those mentioned in association with *במות* in Kings. As already noted, Chronicles states in the regnal formulae of Asa and Jehoshaphat that *במות were not* taken away (2Chr 15:17; 20:33). At the same time, however, it is with these two kings that Chronicles declares that *במות were* removed (2Chr 14:2, 4; 17:6). The accumulation of information related to *במות* in Chronicles in the accounts of Asa and Jehoshaphat in contrast with the silence on this subject throughout the regnal framework of Joash, Amaziah, Azariah/Uzziah and Jotham is in comparison to Kings rather remarkable. Thus it may suggest that it was mainly the kings Asa and Jehoshaphat about which Chr's sources possessed some information with regard to *במות*. The second point of interest is the occurrence of the phrase *רק ליהוה אלהיהם* 'The people, however, still sacrificed at the high places, but only to Yahweh their God' in Chr's special material pertaining to Manasseh (2Chr 33:17). The reference to people

sacrificing on ‘high places’ is not made anywhere else in Chronicles but is frequent in Kings where it appears closely tied with the statements about the removal of *במות*. Therefore it seems highly probable that Chr is indebted for this phrase in his special material relating to Manasseh to his sources containing the material shared with Kings. A likely occasion to consider would be the regnal summary of Jehoshaphat where Kings and Chronicles share the report about *במות* not being removed but only Kings subsequently mentions that people continued to sacrifice on ‘high places’ (2Kgs 22:44b). Chronicles, on the other hand, refers to people who ‘had not yet set their hearts upon the God of their fathers’ (2Chr 20:33b), which betrays characteristics of Chr’s own style.⁶ Chr might have felt free to relocate the original phrase from Jehoshaphat’s regnal formula to his special material on Manasseh (2Chr 33:17) and substitute it in 2Chr 20:33 with text of his own.

The foregoing discussion has already pointed out that Chronicles does not refer to *במות* in the regnal formulae of Joash, Amaziah, Azariah/Uzziah and Jotham in contrast to Kings where such reference in the cases of all these four kings is made. The prevailing view on this issue of difference over *במות* in the regnal frameworks of Kings and Chronicles assumes that the references to *במות* occurring in the Kings history were simply omitted by Chr in his writing. The most frequently stated reason for these omissions is that the reigns of the southern monarchs, to which Kings applies the phrase containing *במות*, are often divided in Chronicles into good and bad periods and that therefore Chr, instead of including evaluative statements relating to a king’s attitude towards *במות* as the author of Kings does, postpones negative comments to the second half of his presentation of the king’s reign.⁷ Considering this perspective one is encouraged to see the logical thought of Chr, where Chr’s omissions are seen to fit into his holistic presentation of the material about the reigns

⁶ The verb *בן* in hiphil stem is a frequent term in Chronicles (occurring 43 times; only 3 times in Kings). The expression ‘set heart upon god/[Yahweh]’ in 2Chr 20:33 appears also in 1Chr 29:18, and a similar phrase ‘set heart to seek god/Yahweh’ is found in 2Chr 12:14; 19:3 and 30:19. (The expression *הבין ללב* ‘set heart’ is found outside Chronicles only in 1Sam 7:3, Job 11:13, Ps 10:17; 57:8; 78:8, 37; 108:2; 112:7; Ezr 7:10.)

⁷ Rudolph (1955:274); Williamson (1982a:319, 334); Dillard (1987:188, 198, 208, 215); Johnstone (1997b:137, 152, 163-64); Klein (2000:118 n. 9). This point is particularly highlighted by scholars with reference to Chr’s account of Joash, Amaziah and Azariah/Uzziah. In the case of Jotham it is noted that the regnal formula in Chronicles (2Chr 27:2) includes a phrase which shares similarities in language with the expression in Jotham’s formula in Kings referring to *במות* (2Kgs 15:34). Nevertheless the term *במות* itself in Jotham’s account in Chronicles does not appear. See more on this point in note 9 below.

of Judean kings. However, this interpretation of the absence of the statements relating to the king's attitude towards **בְּמִוֶּת** in the regnal formulae in Chronicles in places where they occur in Kings does not comport well with Chr's coverage of Asa and Jehoshaphat's reigns, since the accounts of these two kings are also structured by Chr into good and bad periods of their reigns. And yet the statements relating to **בְּמִוֶּת** are not omitted by Chr from the older source but rather preserved. What is more, Chr includes in the cases of both Asa and Jehoshaphat further information about **בְּמִוֶּת** which has been considered to be in some dissonance with the statements relating to **בְּמִוֶּת** from his major source. On the whole, the case of Asa and Jehoshaphat, therefore, seems to set limitations to the view which contends that the phrases relating **בְּמִוֶּת** in the regnal formulae of Joash, Amaziah, Azariah/Uzziah and Jotham were omitted by Chr. The ambivalence which this view creates within the wider perspective of the use of **בְּמִוֶּת** in Chronicles could be overcome, if the absence of the references to **בְּמִוֶּת** in Chronicles and its presence in Kings in the regnal formulae of the four Judean kings is assessed from another angle. In fact, we believe that a stronger case can be made to see the references to **בְּמִוֶּת** as additions within the wider context of Kings than to see them as omissions within the wider context of Chronicles.⁸

A close study of the phrases linked with **בְּמִוֶּת** in the regnal formulae of the southern kings in the book of Kings shows that the first two expressions which pertain to the accounts of Asa and Jehoshaphat are in their formulation slightly different from the other four related texts. It can be observed from the foregoing table that in 1Kgs 15:14 the particle **וְ** does not introduce **לְאַרְסֵרֵי** as is customary in other cases, but appears in a phrase that comes immediately after. The inclusion of a comment that 'Asa's heart was perfect with Yahweh all his days' differentiates 1Kgs 15:14 from all the other related verses which instead of this comment include a statement about people's continuation of sacrificing at **בְּמִוֶּת** (cf. 1Kgs 22:44; 2Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35). In the account of Jehoshaphat, the phrase in 1Kgs 22:44 is very close to the other expressions in related texts except that it uses **אֲךְ** at the beginning of the verse where the majority have **וְ**. It is interesting to observe that only these two texts, 1Kgs 15:14 and 22:44, which slightly differ in their phrasing from 2Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35 have a parallel in Chronicles. The expressions mentioning **בְּמִוֶּת** in

⁸ A proposal in this direction has been previously made by McKenzie (1985:104-105) and Auld (1994:86-88).

2Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35 which do not have their counterparts in the other history are very uniform and very rigid. The idea that Chr would transcribe from the regnal framework of his source the phrases with *במות* that display some variation while leaving out all those of rigid formulation, though theoretically possible, does not seem as likely as the other option which asserts that it was a hand of the author/editor of Kings which added very rigidly the expression *רק הבמות לא־סרו עוד העם מוֹבְחִים* to the regnal framework of each, Joash, Amaziah, Azariah/Uzziah and Jotham, modelling the usage according to the evaluative formulae of Asa and Jehoshaphat.⁹

Furthermore, the rigidity of expression in 2Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35 imposed by Kings writers on an earlier text seems to serve a larger purpose within the context of the book of Kings. That book, unlike Chronicles, tells the story of the Northern kingdom where there is a similar, nevertheless distinctive, pattern of regnal summaries for the kings of Israel as there is in the two histories for the monarchs of Judah. In Kings the regnal framework of northern kings is brought under a common frame with the regnal formulae of the southern kings primarily through synchronistic notices. The northern series, however, seems also to be neatly interwoven with the series of the southern kings through various kinds of literary and stylistic device. It has been observed by scholars in the past that the evaluative formulae of northern kings, while a little more varied at the beginning, show evidence of rigidification near the end of Israel's story. Nelson (1981:33) particularly notices a more static pattern beginning with the evaluative formula of Jehoash through to the one of Pekah. This rigid pattern of formulation can be detected to have already started with the evaluative formula of Jehoahaz (a king preceding Jehoash), which in its present

⁹ It may be that in addition to phrases mentioning *במות* in the regnal formulae of Asa and Jehoshaphat an expression referring to *במות* was also present in Chr's sources in the regnal formula relating to Jotham. The text in 2Chr 27:2 shares links in a few terms, such as *רק*, *לא*, *עוד* and *העם*, with the Kings phrase mentioning *במות* in 2Kgs 15:35. (In other terms, however, 2Chr 27:2 and 2Kgs 15:35 differ considerably. In Chronicles there is a linkage in the phrase *לא־באוּבָא אֶל־הַיָּם יָהוָה* and the verb *שָׁחַ* between 2Chr 27:2 and Chr's special material in 2Chr 26:16.) Even if the phrase mentioning *במות* was included in Chr's *Vorlage* of Jotham's regnal formula, it does not greatly affect the argument about author/editor of Kings being accountable for the effect of rigidity in regnal formulae created by the repetition of exact phrases containing reference to *במות*, since there remain three other very fixed expressions mentioning *במות* in Kings (2Kgs 12:4, 14:4, 15:4) which share no links with Chronicles and could be therefore intended by the editor of Kings to aim at such uniformity for a particular purpose (see the discussion below).

shape in 2Kgs 13:2 is a late reworking.¹⁰ The formulae from Jehoahaz to Pekah run as follows:

Jehoahaz	2Kgs 13:2	ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה וילך אחר חטאת ירבעם בןנבט אשרהחטיא אתישראל לאסור ממנה (reconstructed with aid of v. 6)	ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה לאסור מחטאת ביתירבעם אשרהחטיא אתישראל (?ירבעם בןנבט?)
Jehoash	2Kgs 13:11	ויעשה הרע בעיני יהוה לא סר מכלחטאות ירבעם בןנבט אשרהחטיא אתישראל בה הלך	
Jeroboam	2Kgs 14:24	ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה לא סר מכלחטאות ירבעם בןנבט אשר החטיא אתישראל	
Zechariah	2Kgs 15:9	ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה כאשר עשו אבתיו לא סר מחטאות ירבעם בןנבט אשר החטיא אתישראל	
Menahem	2Kgs 15:18	ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה לא סר מעל חטאות ירבעם בןנבט אשרהחטיא אתישראל כליימו	
Pekahiah	2Kgs 15:24	ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה לא סר מחטאות ירבעם בןנבט אשר החטיא אתישראל	
Pekah	2Kgs 15:28	ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה לא סר מןחטאות ירבעם בןנבט אשר החטיא אתישראל	

The portion of northern material that deals with kings from Joahaz to Pekah is framed in the book of Kings by the accounts of Joash and Jotham and intertwined with the accounts of Amaziah and Azariah/Uzziah from the series of southern kings. It may be highly significant that it is the reports of the reigns of these four kings from the story of Judah that contain in their evaluative formulae the references to *במות* which are not found in Chronicles. The evaluative formulae of the Judean kings are reproduced below so that they may be compared with the evaluative formulae of the Israelite kings.

Joash	2Kgs 12:3-4	ויעש יהואש הישר בעיני יהוה כליימו אשר הורהו יהוידע הכהן רק הבמות לאסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות
Amaziah	2Kgs 14:3-4	ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה רק לא כדוד אביו ככל אשרעשה יואש אביו עשה רק הבמות לאסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות
Azariah/Uzziah	2Kgs 15:3-4	ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה ככל אשרעשה אמציהו אביו רק הבמות לאסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות
Jotham	2Kgs 15:34-35	ויעש הישר בעיני יהוה ככל אשרעשה עזיהו אביו עשה רק הבמות לאסרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות

¹⁰ The account of the northern king Jehoahaz (2Kgs 13:1-9) is considered to be a literary composite. Some, e.g. Gray (1970:591-93); McCarthy (1973:409-10); Jones (1984:497); Provan (1988:166 n. 25); Eynikel (1996:84-86) view vv. 4-6 as a later editorial unit, while others, e.g. O'Brien (1989:205-206); Campbell & O'Brien (2000:431-32) consider the secondary addition starting already with v. 3. Cf. also proposals by De Vries (1978:119); Parker (1997:64); Fritz (1998:69-70). Verse 6 with its comment on the attitude of the Israelites recalls king's evaluation in v. 2. A suggestion that this is an example of resumptive repetition has been proposed by Cogan & Tadmor (1988:143-44).

It is possible to view under the influence of the later editorial activity within the account of Jehoahaz the original phrasing of v. 2 being altered. Verse 2 in its present form displays close similarities with the secondary v. 6. A later editor, responsible for adding v. 6, could in both verses combine 'walk after/in sins' (typical in texts of earlier Israelite kings; 1Kgs 15:26, 34; 16:19, 26, 31) with 'turning from sins' (typical in texts of later kings; 2Kgs 3:3; 10:31; 13:11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28). Verse 2 seems to be originally without *אחר וילך* and the phrase beginning *לאסור* probably followed immediately after *ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה* as is usual in other texts of this section in Kings. (An expression *בה הלך* at the end of 2Kgs 13:11 is probably also an addition from the same later editor who added v. 6 and rephrased v. 2.)

The phrases which mention *במות* not being removed that recur with regularity in the regnal evaluations of Joash, Amaziah, Azariah/Uzziah and Jotham create the effect of making the evaluation formulae on the whole more static and solidified as though bringing them into greater conformity with the rigid pattern of the evaluative formulae of the northern kings from Jehoahaz to Pekah with which the accounts of these Judean kings are blended together in 2Kgs 12-15. Another observation of linkage between the accounts of north and south in this part of Kings relates to the use of *סור* with the negative *לא*. The use of this combination in southern formulae, particularly in the phrase referring to *במות* not being removed (*רק הבמות לא-סרו*), runs closely parallel with their use in the northern material in the context of the king's participation in Jeroboam's sin (*לא סר מהטאות ירבעם*). Connections such as these seem to suggest that phrases referring to *במות* occurring in the evaluative formulae of the four southern kings have been employed as a special literary device by the author/editor of Kings, the purpose of which was to integrate more smoothly the northern series of kings into the material pertaining to the kingdom of Judah. This has wider implications. The close links between phrases mentioning *במות* in Kings in the accounts of the four kings of Judah and the regnal formulae of northern kings give support to the thought that Chr used the text for his history, into which the material of northern kings had not yet been built, thus implying that the series of northern kings was incorporated into the material of the book of Kings at a later stage. As can be observed from the table on the following page, a substantial part of the series of northern kings is involved in the links with the southern formulae relating to *במות*. Thus it is legitimate to apply the reasoning about material that was not present in Chr's *Vorlage* not merely to accounts of kings from Jehoahaz to Pekah but virtually to the whole series of northern kings beginning with Nadab to the final king Hoshea.

In the broader context of widely held assumptions about Chr's treatment of his sources and particularly of the generally accepted contention that Chr omitted the northern material from his sources, a question needs to be asked. Would Chr have been aware, when he left out the material about northern kings, of all the literary connections with the text relating to the southern kingdom so that with the omission of northern material he would have also carefully eliminated every cross-reference to that material in the accounts of the southern kings which he otherwise retained? This

seems highly unlikely.¹¹ The alternative option, that it was the author/editor of Kings who provided the subtle links within the story of the southern kingdom with the new materials pertaining to the northern kings as he added them to the story of Judah must therefore be counted as a sounder option.

2. Elijah-Elisha Narratives (1Kgs 17-2Kgs 8[+2Kgs 9-10])

Traditionally the Elijah-Elisha stories have been understood as pre-Deuteronomistic narratives that were integrated into the composition of Deuteronomistic History by its editor(s).¹² More recently, a guild of scholars ascribe to a number of these stories a later date of composition and take them as post-Deuteronomistic additions.¹³ If as Otto (2003:504-508) for example maintains, some of these accounts (e.g. 1Kgs 19:1-18 and the Elisha stories) could have been composed in post-exilic times, a case can be made that they may have not been included in the main source available to the author of Chronicles. The study of the cultic reform of Jehu in chapter two suggested that the narratives of the Elijah-Elisha cycle are part of a literary stratum in Kings that is younger than the primary material which Kings shares with Chronicles.¹⁴

3. Pivotal Account of Manasseh's Cultic Policies (2Kgs 21:1-10a//2Chr 33:1-10)

The book of Kings portrays Manasseh in negative light as the king who acted in an evil way and conformed to many idolatrous practices. The negative perspective of Manasseh in Kings has in its first part a close parallel in Chronicles (2Kgs 21:1-10a//2Chr 33:1-10). The text describing Manasseh's cultic offences and his misdeeds, which is shared by the two histories, has been shown by studies to have affinities with other related passages in Kings. Reverberations have been observed between Manasseh story and the story of Ahab, between Manasseh's impious deeds and the wrongdoing of Israel in the portrayal of the fall of Northern Israel, and a

¹¹ See Auld (1994:21) and Ho (1995:101-103) in their examination of other synoptic texts of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles formulating questions in a similar vein within the discussion of literary connections between Samuel-Kings variants and pluses in parallel stories with Chronicles and the larger portions of Samuel-Kings not found in the other history.

¹² For this view, see e.g. Noth (1991²:107), Dietrich (1972:48-51; 120-27), Na'aman (1997:153-73).

¹³ See e.g. Van Seters (1983:305-306), McKenzie (1991:90-98), Beck (1999:157-58), Otto (2001; 2003:487-508), Albertz (2003:279), although these scholars differ in opinion as regards which of these stories are post-Deuteronomistic additions.

¹⁴ See also Auld's programmatic essay (1983), in which he some twenty years ago penned an idea that Elijah-Elisha narratives should be viewed as '*supplements* to the Deuteronomist's work' (1983:16; emphasis his) and therefore not being the part of the text of Kings available to Chronicles.

close association has been made between Manasseh's misdeeds and Josiah's reform.¹⁵ As it will be demonstrated below, the material portraying Manasseh and his sins that is shared by Kings and Chronicles is pivotal, with regard to its connections with these other texts within Kings, for understanding processes by which the book of Kings developed.¹⁶ It has already been observed earlier in the study of Josiah's reform how the Manasseh's story impacted and partially shaped the literary growth of the account of Josiah's reform in Kings from a shorter 'original' narrative common to Kings and Chronicles. Two other texts in Kings with significant affinities with Manasseh's story, shared by Kings and Chronicles, will receive attention in the following discussion, the material relating to king Ahab in 1Kgs 16:29-33 and to Northern Israel's downfall in 2Kgs 17:7-23.

As noted above, parallels have been noted in the past between the passage in Kings introducing Ahab's reign (1Kgs 16:29-33) and the account of Manasseh (2Kgs 21:1-18).¹⁷ These correspondences have suggested to scholars that the account of Manasseh's misdeeds was painted after the account of Ahab's sins.¹⁸ Over against this view of the dependence of the depiction of Manasseh's cultic offences on the story of Ahab's misdeeds, however, arguments can be put forward to suggest otherwise, that is, that it is the story of Manasseh shared by Kings and Chronicles, which has exerted influence on the literary development of the account of Ahab that is found only in Kings.

The unit relating to Ahab in 1Kgs 16:30-33 is skilfully welded to form a structured whole. Schniedewind observes a repetition of 'the comparative statement

¹⁵ See e.g. McKenzie (1991:126); Ben Zvi (1991a:355-67); Smelik (1992:143-44, 150-51, 154); Schniedewind (1993:649-61); Lasine (1993:163-73); van Keulen (1996:102-103, 146-47, 178); Eynikel (1997:233-61); Schmid (1997:91-92); Halpern (1998:487). Analogies have also been observed between Manasseh and Jeroboam, especially in terms of the way in which both kings lead their nations to sin (see e.g. Smelik 1992:140-42; Lasine 1993:164-69). This is, however, based on the text of the oracle in 2Kgs 21:11-15 that has no counterpart in Chronicles. Some studies suggest that the Manasseh-Jeroboam parallel, though an important one, is more limited in scope than the Manasseh-Ahab parallel (see van Keulen 1996:147-48; cf. criticisms of Lasine by Eynikel 1997:233-34). This would add significance to the part of Manasseh's story in Kings that *has* a counterpart in Chronicles, this being the text with most associations with other passages in Kings.

¹⁶ Others have recognized the significance of Manasseh's story for the redactional theories of Kings. See e.g. Ben Zvi (1991a:355-74; 1996:34).

¹⁷ See, among others, specifically the studies by Schniedewind (1993:649-61) and van Keulen (1996:102-103, 178).

¹⁸ See e.g. van Keulen (1996:95); Eynikel (1997:259).

that Ahab was worse than all the kings who were before him' in vv. 31 and 33.¹⁹ These phrases in the two verses serve as brackets to Ahab's account, the structure of which is displayed below.

v. 30	ויעש אחאב בן־עמרי הרע בעיני יהוה מכל אשר לפניו	A
v. 31a	ויהי הנקל לכתו בחטאות ירבעם בן־נבט ויקח אשה אחזיזבל בת־אחבעל מלך צידנים	B
v. 31b	וילך ויעבד את־הבעל וישתחו לו	C
v. 32	ויקם מזבח לבעל בית הבעל אשר בנה בשמרון	C'
v. 33a	ויעש אחאב את־האשרה	B'
v. 33b	ויוסף אחאב לעשות להכעיס את־יהוה אלהי ישראל מכל מלכי ישראל אשר היו לפניו	A'

Auld too ponders over the artistry of this text. He discloses the structuring elements of this passage by noting that within the framing expressions one 'read[s] in second place that [Ahab] took Jezebel as his wife – and in penultimate place that he made Asherah, symbol of a female deity' (1994:156). Auld continues saying that '[t]his double frame surrounds five pieces of information about Ahab's worship of the Baal – and the deity is named in no less than three of them' (*idem*). The centrality of Ahab's worship of Baal highlighted by the structure of the passage cannot be denied.

Seeing how carefully crafted this portrayal of Ahab is, it is hard to believe that the phrases used here in construction of Ahab's narrative were instrumental in the shaping of the story of Manasseh. It rather suggests the opposite process. First of all, the framing repetition in vv. 30 and 33 relating to Ahab as the king who was worse than all those before him seems to be modelled after a similar use of framing expressions at the beginning and at the end of the report shared by Kings and Chronicles concerning Manasseh's cultic activities. In Manasseh's evaluative formula in 2Kgs 21:2//2Chr 33:2 we read that he did evil in Yahweh's eyes 'according to the abominable practices of the nations that Yahweh drove out before the sons of Israel' (ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה כתועבת הגוים אשר הוריש יהוה מפני בני ישראל). Similarly phrased is the ending of the shared portion relating to Manasseh's cultic practices in 2Kgs 21:9//2Chr 33:9. It states that Manasseh led people astray 'to do more evil than the nations had done that Yahweh destroyed before the sons of Israel' (ויתעם מנשה לעשות את־הרע מן־הגוים אשר השמיד יהוה מפני בני ישראל). Other features of the shared material concerning Manasseh which played a role subsequently in describing Ahab's activities in 1Kgs 16:30-33 appear in 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3 and 2Kgs 21:6//2Chr 33:6. The links are displayed below:

¹⁹ Schniedewind (1993:652). He also notes repetition of ויעש אחאב in vv. 31 and 33.

in v. 32 in ויקם מזבחה לבעל cf. in 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3; cf. מזבחה(ות) לבעל(ים)
 in v. 33 in ויעש אהב אתהאשרה cf. in 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3; cf. ויעש אשרה(ות)
 in v. 31 in ויעבד אתהבעל וישתחו לו cf. in 2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3; cf. וישתחו לכל־צבא השמים ויעבד אתם
 in v. 33 in ויוסף אהב לעשות להכעיס cf. in 2Kgs 21:6//2Chr 33:6; cf. הרבה לעשות הרע בעיני יהוה להכעיס(ו)

Both Manasseh's activity of 'erecting altar(s) to Baal' and 'making Asherah' are also characteristic of Ahab's activity in vv. 32 and 33 respectively. Moreover, Manasseh's 'bowing down to all the host of heaven and serving them' becomes in v. 31 Ahab's 'serving to Baal and bowing down to him'. Baal is without a doubt elevated to a prominent place in the depiction of Ahab's cultic policies, which gives rise to the whole theme of Yahweh-Baal contest in the following prophetic narratives in 1Kgs 17-19.²⁰ Lastly, a parallel can be seen between the two accounts in their reference to kings' deeds that result in Yahweh being provoked (הכעיס) where action of each king leading to Yahweh's provocation is highlighted by the use of a verb adding emphasis (הרבה in 2Kgs 21:6//2Chr 33:6 and הסיף in 1Kgs 16:33).²¹ One may agree with van Keulen (1996:103) that this points to a 'probability that the one [text] influenced the other in shape', although the course of influence may be in an opposite direction than van Keulen proposes, that is, from the wording of Manasseh's account to the formulation in the narrative of Ahab.

While on the one hand the account of Ahab has close parallels with the account of Manasseh's religious practices, it also begins a string of narratives about the northern kings until the account of Jehu with a common theme of Baal worship. Ahab's son Ahaziah is described in his regnal summary as one who 'served Baal and bowed down before him' precisely as his father before him did. Ahab's other son Jehoram, however, is recorded as having removed the pillar of Baal, and Jehu that he eradicated Baal worship in Israel.

Ahab 1Kgs 16:31-32 ויעבד אתהבעל וישתחו לו ויקם מזבחה לבעל בית הבעל אשר בנה בשמרון
 Ahaziah 1Kgs 22:54 ויעבד אתהבעל וישתחוה לו
 Jehoram 2Kgs 3:2 ויסר את־מצבת הבעל אשר עשה אביו
 Jehu 2Kgs 10:26-28 ויצאו את־מצבות ביתהבעל וישרפוה ויתצו את מצבת הבעל ויתצו את־בית הבעל וישמהו למחראות [למוצאות^{Qere}] עֲדֵהיוֹם וישמר יהוה אתהבעל מישראל

²⁰ On the relationship of 1Kgs 16:29-33 and 1Kgs 17-19 see Rofé (1974:148 n. 4), similarly Hauser (1990:84 n. 4).

²¹ This has been noted by van Keulen (1996:103).

All four instances relating to the northern kings from Ahab to Jehu are connected through association with Baal. Furthermore, Otto observes how the textual treatment of Jehu's reform is the very opposite of the portrayal of Ahab's cultic innovations.²² The reference to worship of Baal in Ahab's story (1Kgs 16:31-32) constitutes one component part of the narratives of the four northern kings, which have the theme of Baal worship at their centre. Yet this reference to Baal worship is not inherently original within Ahab's introductory summary (1Kgs 16:30-33) but together with the other elements of this introductory account of Ahab's misdeeds appears to be based on the primary story of the cultic practices of Manasseh.

The passage relating to the fall of the northern kingdom in 2Kgs 17:7-23 is another text that exhibits close relations with the shared story of Manasseh. Other scholars have already pointed out that it deals with 'sins' of the sons of Israel that are largely dressed in southern colours.²³ As an example of Judah's situation being reflected in these verses may serve the reference to *מַעֲבֹדִים* and *אֲשֵׁרִים* being set up 'on every hill and under every green tree' (2Kgs 17:10) and the incense being burnt on the high places (2Kgs 17:11). The southern king Ahaz has previously been accused of these very same cultic practices – of burning incense 'in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree' (2Kgs 16:4//2Chr 28:4).²⁴

The mention of *אֲשֵׁרִים* next to *בַּעַל* and *הַשְּׁמִימִים* in 2Kgs 17:16 reminds one of the same triad occurring in the text of Judean king Manasseh (2Kgs 21:3//2Chr 33:3). That the author of 2Kgs 17 was inspired in his description of Israel's sin (among other texts also) by the account of Manasseh can be seen in the reference to a fire ritual involving children and to the practice of divination in 2Kgs 17:17, each of which also occur in the catalogue of Manasseh's misdeeds. For there it is reported that Manasseh 'made his son pass through the fire and practiced soothsaying and divination, and dealt with mediums and wizards' (2Kgs 21:6a//2Chr 33:6a). Brettler in his study of 2Kgs 17 contends that '[b]laming the demise of the north on the sins committed by Manasseh is...quite logical. After all, according to Kings those sins are responsible for the destruction of Judah; it can naturally be assumed that they had the

²² 'Ahab führte den Baal nach Israel ein (1.Kön 16, 31f.) – Jehu rottet ihn aus (2.Kön 10,28); Ahab errichtete einen Baalstempel (1.Kön 16,32) – Jehu reißt ihn nieder (2.Kön 10,27); Ahab errichtete den Baal einen Altar und eine Aschere (1.Kön 16,32f.) – Jehu zerstört/verbrennt verschiedene Kultobjekte des Baal (2.Kön 10,26f.)' Otto (2001:116).

²³ See e.g. Viviano (1987:556); Campbell & O'Brien (2000:442).

²⁴ Cf. 1Kgs 14:23 (Rehoboam's subjects).

same function for the north' (1995:123). This would be consistent with the late editor of Kings who, while projecting Manasseh's sin on to the north, was stressing that the destiny that would take place later in Judah would follow the example experienced by Israel.

As it has been observed in the case of the account relating to Ahab, one may again note a significant role played by the primary text relating to Manasseh, shared by both Kings and Chronicles, for the further literary development of the stories regarding the northern kingdom in Kings.

4. Concluding Remarks

In summary, this section has sought to set the results of previous chapters, with respect to the 'primary' account of Josiah's reform and its subsequent expansion in Kings, within the broader framework of a prospect of literary growth of the book of Kings in its portions relating to the divided kingdom from an earlier source underlying both Kings and Chronicles. This has been explored in several ways through a few distinct examples. First, the study of *במה* and its occurrences in the two histories led to a proposal that this expression functions as a structural element in Kings through which narratives relating to the succession of the northern kings were more smoothly integrated by Kings editors into the already existing material pertaining to the kingdom of Judah, used also in the production of Chronicles. Second, some narratives within Kings are considered by an increasing number of scholars to be of post- rather than pre-Deuteronomistic origin. Such is the case with (portions of) the Elijah-Elisha stories. Since the Elijah-Elisha cycle does not appear in Chronicles, an argument has been put forward that within Kings these narratives belong to the additions to the primary material relating to the divided kingdom available to the writer of Chronicles. And third, it has been shown through the example of the account of Manasseh's cultic practices how a text shared by both Kings and Chronicles, and therefore belonging to a source used by both histories, was influential in various ways in the subsequent development of other narratives in Kings. Overall, the findings of this chapter give further support to the view that comparative studies, in which Chronicles is involved, although these may seem challenging at first, may eventually become more fruitful for formulating theories of the literary development of Kings.

CONCLUSION

In embarking upon this study, a wide frame of reference for the analysis of the accounts of the divided kingdom in Kings and Chronicles was set with the view of understanding the formative processes underlying these texts in the two biblical histories. The first two chapters dealt with material pertaining to the regnal formulae and the royal cultic reforms before the study was narrowed to the analysis of only one episode within these portions of Kings and Chronicles with the reform of the king Josiah as the focus. A comparative study of Josiah's reform in 2Kgs 23:4-20 + 24 and 2Chr 34:3-7 + 33 has demonstrated that the inherited versions in Kings and Chronicles are developed accounts of a primary source-text which served as the basis for each of them. This briefer 'original' account has gone through more substantial editing and expansion in Kings than in Chronicles, and a following investigation has shown possible ways in which the subsequent literary growth of that 'original' report of the reform might have taken place in Kings. The final chapter then explored further the issues arising from the earlier analysis. This exploration hinted at the direction in which the book of Kings, in its part relating to the divided monarchy, may have developed and the possible influences behind such development. Though not repeating here the results of the preceding textual and literary explorations in detail, a few concluding remarks are appropriate.

The examination of the regnal formulae in Kings and Chronicles in chapter one determined the course followed in the thesis by disclosing the limitations of Chr's major source in its material relating to regnal formulae. The study did not confirm the common assumption that the narrative relating to the period of the divided monarchy in Chronicles has as its major source the inherited book of Kings. One of the chief arguments against such identification is that the absence of the large body of texts in Chronicles, when compared to Kings, is closely tied to the absence of a particular expression or short phrase within Chronicles' synoptic portions. In other words, the large sections of narratives that are part only of the Kings history are structurally linked with a phrase or expression again included only in Kings in those sections that have close parallels in Chronicles. In theory, it would have just been possible to envisage the process by which Chr while omitting the large-scale portions of narratives from Kings also removed from his source all expressions closely related to the narratives he dismissed. However, because of the nature of these relations, whereby in Kings the cross-references in the synoptic sections to the larger self-contained portions of the narratives function as a structural means for the smooth

incorporation of new data, they fit much more easily the concept of expansion within Kings of the shorter core material which would have also been used by Chr. The phenomenon was first noted and discussed by Auld (1992:350-51, 1994:21) in his study of the texts in Kings and Chronicles of Solomon's vision at Gibeon and subsequently by Ho (1996:101-103) in the examination of 1Sam 31:1-13 and 1Chr 10:1-12, where it featured in their arguments towards the existence of a common source for Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

This thesis has presented some new evidence that may advance the cause for the common source in as far as the story of the divided monarchy is concerned. The study of the distribution of such terminology as *נבונה* or *במה* and the occurrence of the evaluative formula of Abijah in Kings has shown that these elements served Kings editors as structural devices in integrating the text relating to the succession of the northern kings with the prior tradition treating the accounts of the kings of Judah. The theme of 'dung' occurring in the report of Jehu's reform that is specific to Kings may have functioned in a similar way when the material about Ahab, Jezebel and Baal worship – linked with the text of Jehu's reform through the theme of 'dung' – was added by Kings editors to their source material.

The regnal formulae and the royal cultic reforms are two significant features of Kings and Chronicles in each of their materials dealing with the period of the divided monarchy. These two peculiarities appear to be backbones of the narrative shared by the two biblical histories pertaining to the era of the divided kingdom. They display vocabulary such as *עשה הישר/הרע בעני יהוה* in the evaluative framework or the expressions relating to the destruction of cult (*נחץ מזבח*; *שבר מצבה*; *נרע/כרת אשרה*) that have often been designated as typical Deuteronomistic phraseology. However, as has been argued through studying the distribution of this terminology in Chronicles alongside its occurrence in Kings, it appears that these phrases originated within the story of the monarchy common to Kings and Chronicles, rather than in the so-called Deuteronomistic History stretching from Deuteronomy to Kings. Close examination of one sample of the reform accounts occurring in both biblical histories, the report of Josiah's reform, has demonstrated a later re-use and adaptation of the language shared by the two versions in the longer and more elaborate text of the reform in Kings. For example, the verb *שרף*, which may in the original narrative of Josiah's reform refer only to the burning of human bones, was re-applied in Kings narrative to

indicate also the burning of cultic paraphernalia. Other similar examples were explored through the detailed study of the synoptic accounts of the reform.

Another aspect emerged from exploring the literary development of the report of Josiah's reform in Kings, namely the multiple causes and influences behind the development. Not only were the themes emerging from the 'primary' reform account of the source shared with Chronicles reinforced and enlarged by secondary additions, but these later additions in the elaborated text in Kings also connect with other literary expansions occurring elsewhere in Kings. This has been observed for example in 2Kgs 23:16-18, which is the conclusion of the story of the man of God from 1Kgs 13, both of which may be considered as later insertions in the process of the literary growth of Kings. Furthermore, an interaction can be seen between the elaborated account in Kings and materials outside Kings, for example the Jeremiah text. Concerning this, a 'mutual-influence' model has been suggested as best in explaining the links between the portions of shared material relating to the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh on the one hand and Jeremiah on the other, and then between Jeremiah and the enlarged account of Josiah's reform in Kings.

Within the scope of this study, close investigation of the texts of Chronicles alongside those of Kings has shown to be a model with potentially significant heuristic value for an understanding of the literary relationship between the narratives relating to the period of the divided monarchy of the two biblical books. In the final chapter, the cursory examination of the account of Manasseh's cultic practices shared by Kings and Chronicles indicated that this shared story served as a catalyst for other narratives in Kings with which it has a number of significant links and associations. Besides its impact on Ahab's story, the sins of Israel leading to Israel's fall are depicted in terms of Manasseh's misdeeds, thus showing that Judah's fall followed the pattern set already by its northern neighbour. The outcome of this thesis would be further enhanced by an analysis of other synoptic texts dealing with the period of the divided monarchy in addition to those of Josiah's reform and Manasseh's cultic practices studied here.

In studying the parallel texts of Kings and Chronicles as well as other narratives in and beyond Kings, the important issue for this investigation was to detect the direction of the literary influence as the older traditions were developed. We believe that here the way forward lies in further careful word studies. Much has been said of the so called Deuteronomistic terminology which was noted by scholars

to occur in the core passages of the Deuteronomistic History, and among other texts also in the late additions by scribes appearing only in the MT. The presence of this terminology in Chronicles has not been investigated on its own, but is usually studied assuming the prevailing scholarly view that Chr used for his history the book of Kings. This thesis dealt with only some of the terminology that is often designated as typical Deuteronomistic language. The phrase *ימין ושמאל ולא-סר* occurring in 2Kgs 22:2//2Chr 34:2, for example, as suggested by this thesis is not a stock Deuteronomistic phrase but belongs, together with a similar phrase *לא-סר ממנו* occurring in 1Kgs 22:43 (*ולא-סר ממנה* in 2Chr 20:32), to the primary context of the regnal framework of the monarchic story shared by Kings and Chronicles.

For some time there has been in circulation and used as a reference tool Weinfeld's list of Deuteronomistic phraseology (1972). Similarly, Auld has recently compiled a list of terminology coming from a source common to Kings and Chronicles that he calls 'The Book of Two Houses'.¹ It will be interesting to see how much (or how little) these two lists overlap and whether the so-called Deuteronomistic characteristics are more significantly present in Kings synoptic or non-synoptic texts. Studying these lists more closely: Will it show that indeed it is the Deuteronomistic terminology that lies at the core and was primarily influential in the development of the historical book of Kings? Or will it reveal that the linguistic content of the source shared by Kings and Chronicles is generative for the narratives in Kings,² as some evidence from this study engaging the narratives relating to the period of the divided kingdom suggested? Answers to these and other similar questions will have to await future study.

¹ This is not yet a published work and we would like to express appreciation to Graeme Auld for allowing us occasionally to consult this list in the process of writing this thesis.

² For the original thought see again the programmatic monograph *Kings without Privilege* (1994) by Auld.

APPENDIX A

1. נתן

Occurrences: 21 times in cultic contexts (out of total 42).

a) מזבח	2KGS 23:12, 15 ≈ 2CHR 34:4, 7 2Chr 31:1 Deut 7:5; 12:3; Judg 2:2; 6:28, 30, 31, 32	Synoptic context Non-synoptic context Others
b) בית הבעל	2KGS 11:18//2CHR 23:17 2Kgs 10:27; (2Kgs 23:7 - בתי הקדשים)	Syn Non
c) במה	2CHR 33:3 2Kgs 23:8, 15; 2Chr 31:1	Syn Cf. אבה in 2Kgs 21:3. Non Oth Cf. רמה in Eze 16:39.
d) מזבחה	2Kgs 10:27	Non

2. כרת/נרע

(1) נרע

Occurrences: 7 times in cultic contexts (out of total 22).

a) אשרה	2CHR 31:1 2Chr 14:2 Deut 7:5; 12:3	Syn Cf. כרת in 2Kgs 18:4. Non Oth
b) חמנים	2CHR 34:3, 7 Eze 6:6	Syn Cf. כרת + אשרה in 2Kgs 23:14. Oth

(2) כרת

Occurrences: 16 times in cultic contexts (out of total 288).

a) אשרה	2KGS 18:4; 2KGS 23:14 Exod 34:14; Judg 6:25, 26, 28, 30; 1Sam 28:9	Syn Cf. נרע in 2Chr 31:1; 34:3, 7. Oth
b) מפלצח	1KGS 15:13//2CHR 15:16	Syn
c) Various cultic entities –	Lev 26:30 (חמנים); Mi 5:11 (כשפ); Mi 5:12 (פסילים ומצבות); Nah 1:14 (פסל ומסכה); Zeph 1:4 (שאר הבעל); Zech 13:2 (שמות העצבים)	Oth

3. שבר (pi)

Occurrences: 12 times in cultic contexts (out of total 36 [pi]).

a) מזבחה	2KGS 18:4//2CHR 31:1; 2KGS 23:14 2Chr 14:2 Exod 23:24; 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3	Syn Cf. 2Chr 34:4 (regarding 2Kgs 23:14). Non Oth
b) צלם; מזבח	2KGS 11:18//2CHR 23:17	Syn
c) אשרה; פסיל; מסכה	2CHR 34:4 Isa 21:9 (פסיל)	Syn Cf. 2Kgs 23:14 (regarding 2Chr 34:4). Oth

NB. שבר in nif – Eze 6:4, 6

APPENDIX B

עבר (hif)

1. CONTEXT OF CULT ELIMINATION

Parallel texts	2Kgs 15:12//2Chr 15:8
Other occurrences	Zech 13:2

2. CONTEXT OF 'PASSING THROUGH FIRE' RITUAL

Parallel texts	2Kgs 16:3//2Chr 28:3 ^{LXX, Tg} (Ahaz)
	2Kgs 21:6//2Chr 33:6 (Manasseh)
Non-parallel texts	2Kgs 17:17
	2Kgs 23:10
Other occurrences	Ex 13:12; Lev 18:21; Deut 18:10; Jer 32:35; Ez 16:21; 20:26, 31; 23:37

סור (hif)

1. CONTEXT OF CULT ELIMINATION

Parallel texts	1Kgs 15:12//2Chr 14:2
	1Kgs 15:13//2Chr 15:16
	2Kgs 18:22//2Chr 32:12 (also Isa 36:7)
Broader parallel setting (but not texts)	2Kgs 18:4 cf. 2Chr 30:14 (2x) (Hezekiah)
	2Kgs 23:19 cf. 2Chr 34:33 (Josiah)
Non-parallel texts	2Kgs 3:2 (Joram)
	2Chr 33:15 (Manasseh)
	2Chr 14:4; 17:6 (high places removed)
Other occurrences	Gen 35:2; Jos 24:14, 23; Judg 10:16; 1Sam 7:3, 4; 1Sam 28:3; Jer 4:1; Ez 11:18

בער (pi) 'eradicate'

1. CONTEXT OF CULT ELIMINATION

Parallel texts	1Kgs 22:47//2Chr 19:3 (Jehoshaphat)
Broader parallel setting (not texts)	2Kgs 23:24 cf. [2Chr 34:6 emendation] (Josiah)

2. CONTEXT OF JUDGEMENT ORACLES RELATING TO NORTHERN KINGDOM

Non-parallel texts	1Kgs 14:10 MT
	1Kgs 16:3 (some Mss; otherwise hif)
	1Kgs 21:21

3. OTHER CONTEXTS (OUTSIDE KINGS AND CHRONICLES)

Eradication of evil	Deut 13:6; 17:7, 12; 19:19; 21:21; 22:21, 22, 24; 24:7; Judg. 20:13
Other	Ex 22:4 (1x pi; 1x hif); Nu 24:22; 1Sam 4:11; Isa 3:14; 4:4; 5:5; 6:13

APPENDIX C

קדשים

OCCURRENCES IN KINGS:

1Kgs 14:24

1Kgs 15:12

1Kgs 22:47

2Kgs 23:7 'בתי הקדשים'

≈

2Chr 14:2/15:8

≈

2Chr 19:3

שקצים; מזבחות הנכר והבמות
אשרות

OTHER OCCURRENCES:

Gen 38:21 (2x), 22; Deut 23:18; Job 36:14 (?); Hos 4:14

גללים

OCCURRENCES IN KINGS:

1Kgs 15:12

1Kgs 21:26

2Kgs 17:12

2Kgs 21:11

2Kgs 21:21

2Kgs 23:24

≈

2Chr 14:2/15:8

≈

2Chr 33:22

פסיל

שקצים; מזבחות הנכר והבמות

OTHER OCCURRENCES:

Lev 26:30; Deut 29:16; Jer 50:2; Eze 6:4,5,6,9,13 (2x); 8:10; 14:3,4 (2x),5,6,7; 16:36; 18:6,12,15; 20:7,8,16,18,24,31,39 (2x); 22:3,4; 23:7,30,37,39,49; 30:13; 33:25; 36:18,25; 37:23; 44:10,12

שקצים

OCCURRENCES IN KINGS:

SINGULAR

1Kgs 11:5

1Kgs 11:7 (2x)

2Kgs 23:13 (2x)

PLURAL

2Kgs 23:24

OCCURRENCES IN CHRONICLES:

2Chr 15:8

≈

2Kgs 15:12

קדשים; גללים

OTHER OCCURRENCES:

Deut 29:16; Isa 66:3; Jer 4:1; 7:30; 13:27; 16:18; 32:34; Eze 5:11; 7:20; 11:18, 21; 20:7,8,30; 37:23; Dan 9:27, 11:31 (sg.), 12 :11 (sg.); Hos 9:10; Nah 3:6; Zech 9:7.

[אלהי] נכר

OCCURRENCES IN CHRONICLES:

2Chr 14:2

2Chr

33:15

'מזבחות הנכר' ≈

'אלהי הנכר'

2Kgs 15:12

קדשים; גללים

OTHER OCCURRENCES:

Gen 35:2, 4; Deut 31:16; 32:12; Jos 24:20, 23; Judg 10:16; 1Sam 7:3; Ps 81:10; Jer 5:19; 8:19 (hevel); Dan 11:39; Mal 2:11

אשרה

OCCURRENCES IN KINGS:

1Kgs 14:15
1Kgs 14:23
1Kgs 15:13 // 2Chr 15:16
1Kgs 16:33
1Kgs 18:19
2Kgs 13:6
2Kgs 17:10
2Kgs 17:16
2Kgs 18:4 // 2Chr 31:1
2Kgs 21:3 // 2Chr 33:3
2Kgs 21:7 ≈ 2Chr 33:7 סמול
2Kgs
23:4,6,7,15
2Kgs 23:14 ≈ 2Chr 34:3,4,7

OCCURRENCES IN CHRONICLES:

2Chr 14:2
2Chr 15:16 // 1Kgs 15:13
2Chr 17:6
2Chr 19:3 ≈ 1Kgs 22:47 קדשים
2Chr 24:18
2Chr 31:1 // 2Kgs 18:4
2Chr 33:3 // 2Kgs 21:3
2Chr 33:19
2Chr 34:3,4,7 ≈ 2Kgs 23:14

OTHER OCCURRENCES:

Ex 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 16:21; Jdg 3:7; 6:26, 26, 28, 30; Isa 17:8; 27:9; Jer 17:2; Mic 5:13

במה

OCCURRENCES IN KINGS:

1Kgs 3:2
1Kgs 3:3
1Kgs 3:4 // 2Chr 1:3
1Kgs 11:7
1Kgs 12:31 ≈ 2Chr 11:15
1Kgs 12:32 ≈ 2Chr 11:15
1Kgs 13:2
1Kgs 13:32
1Kgs 13:33
1Kgs 14:23

1Kgs 15:14	//	2Chr 15:17
1Kgs 22:44	//	2Chr 20:33
2Kgs 12:4		
2Kgs 14:4		
2Kgs 15:4		
2Kgs 15:35		
2Kgs 16:4	//	2Chr 28:4
2Kgs 17:9		
2Kgs 17:11		
2Kgs 17:29		
2Kgs 17:32		
2Kgs 18:4	//	2Chr 31:1
2Kgs 18:22	//	2Chr 32:12
2Kgs 21:3	//	2Chr 33:3
2Kgs 23:8	≈	2Chr 34:3
2Kgs 23:5,9,13,15,19,20		

OCCURRENCES IN CHRONICLES:

1Chr 16:39		
1Chr 21:29		
2Ch 1:3	//	1Kgs 3:4
2Chr 1:13		
2Chr 11:15	≈	1Kgs 12:31, 32
2Chr 14:2		
2Chr 14:4		
2Chr 15:17	//	1Kgs 15:14
2Chr 17:6		
2Chr 20:33	//	1Kgs 22:44
2Chr 21:11		
2Chr 28:4	//	2Kgs 16:4
2Chr 28:25		
2Chr 31:1	//	2Kgs 18:4
2Chr 32:12		
2Chr 33:3	//	2Kgs 21:3
2Chr 33:17		
2Chr 33:19		
2Chr 34:3	≈	2Kgs 23:8

OTHER OCCURRENCES:

Lev 26:30; Num 21:28; 33:52; Deu 32:13; 33:29; 1Sam 9:12, 13, 14, 19, 25; 10:5, 13; 2Sam 1:19, 25; 22:34; Job 9:8; Ps 18:34; 78:58; Is 14:14; 15:2; 16:12; 36:7; 58:14; Jer 7:31; 17:3; 19:5; 26:18; 32:35; 48:35; Eze 6:3, 6; 16:16; 20:29; 36:2; 43:7; Hos 10:8; Am 4:13; 7:9; Mic 1:3, 5; 3:12; Hab 3:19

// ... parallel text

≈ ... loosely parallel text or broader parallel setting

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