JABEZ IN CONTEXT:

A MULTIDIMENSIONAL APPROACH TO IDENTITY AND LANDHOLDINGS IN CHRONICLES

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a rereading of the story of Jabez in 1 Chron 4:9-10 from the perspective of Chronicles as a whole, in relation to the issues of identity and landholdings in the postexilic period. This holistic approach requires an investigation of major themes throughout Chronicles. One exegetical thesis to be tested is that Deuteronomistic themes are reinterpreted in light of Genesis, while the hermeneutical suggestion is that the Samoan notion of *tautua* can illuminate the new concept of service in post-exilic times, which as famously indicated in Isaiah 56:6, might even include foreigners. This inclusive message that even foreigners might "serve Yhwh" is revealed not only with the different view of marriage presented in the genealogies of Chronicles, but also in the theological connections with Genesis.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I certify that the thesis entitled

> Jabez in Context: A Multidimensional Approach to Identity and Landholdings in Chronicles

submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is the result of my own work and that where reference is made to the work of others, due acknowledgement is given. This thesis has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any tertiary educational institution.

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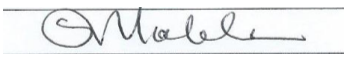
Signature: 

Date: 20 February 2018

DEDICATION

In memory of my late father – Lapali'i Maumalo Moreli Alama.
Alofa'aga e le uma mo oe.

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FAAFETAI FAAFETAI TELE.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANE	Ancient Near East
ASV	American Standard Version
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon
CCCS	Congregational Christian Church Samoa
D	Deuteronomic
DH	Deuteronomistic History
DSS	Dead Sea Scroll
Dtr	Deuteronomist
ESV	English Standard Version
HB	Hebrew Bible
HC	Holiness Code
ISV	International Standard Version
KJV	King James Version
LMS	London Missionary Society
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NET	New English Translation
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OJB	Orthodox Jewish Bible
P	Priestly
SABS	Society of Asian Biblical Studies
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
Tg	Targum (Aramaic translation)
Vg	Vulgate (Latin translation)
WBT	Webster Bible Translation
WEB	World English Bible
WYC	Wycliffe
YLT	Young's Literal Translation

GLOSSARY

aganuu	culture
aiga	family
aiga potopoto	extended family
auauna	servant
auauna a le Atua	servant of God
aulotu	village parish
aumaga	circle of untitled men
atua	god
fa'aaloalo	respect
fa'afeagaiga	to become covenant/church minister
fa'amatai	chief system
fa'aSamoa	Samoan way of life
fa'asoa	sharing
fa'asinomaga	identity
fa'avae	foundation
fagota	fishing
faifeau	church minister
fale	house
falesā	temple/house of God
feagaiga	covenant
fefa'asoaa'i	exchanging views
ietoga	fine mats
lagi	heaven
lotu	religion/church
mālō	kingdom
mamalu	honour
mana	power
matai	chief/title
monotaga	*matai* service in village
nuu	village
osigā feagaiga	ritual of initiation
palagi	European or white people
pule	authority
saofa'i	*matai* title bestowal ceremony
soālaupule	sharing/to consult together
suli	heir
tagata ese	foreigner
Talalelei	Gospel
tapu	sacred/boundary
tapuaiga	(silent) worship
taugatā	expensive
taugofie	cheap
taule'ale'a	untitled male
tauola	fish basket carrier
tautua	service/to serve
tofi	inheritance (land/identity), status
tuafafine	sister
tuagane	brother

tupu	king
va-fealoa'i	harmonious space
va-tapuia	sacred social space

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the enigmatic story of Jabez in 1 Chron 4:9-10 in the larger literary and historical contexts of the books of Chronicles. It also investigates possible analogies between the story of Jabez and my own Sāmoan experience relating to the issues of identity and landholdings.[1] In one way or another the Samoan debates could be interpreted as after-effects of colonialism. Undoubtedly, identity and land are crucial components of life and they are almost always intertwined in one's search for justice in society. The struggle for connection and reconnection with land is therefore of central concern in this research. It cannot be denied that my Sāmoan background has shaped my understanding of Jabez, but exactly how the scars of colonialism in Sāmoa might relate to the struggles of postexilic Israelite society is an open question, not one that pre-empts the historical research. The final chapter considers one hermeneutical question arising from the historical findings.

The story of Jabez is often associated with an evangelical interpretation of a prayer to promote selfish attempts for one's extravagant economic benefits.[2] Far from advocating such "an individualistic, prosperity theology,"[3] this thesis brings historical scholarly interests to the text and examines its theological potential. Although a few

[1] For instance, the disputed customary land issue between the Samoan Government and the village of Satapuala in 2012. The disputed land (which was more than 2000 acres) was legally under the STEC (formerly WESTEC – Western Samoa Trust Estate Corperation). However the chiefs from Satapuala had made legal claims against the Government of Samoa who took over this land when German and New Zealand colonial rules ended in Samoa. From *Talamua* on 12 July, 2012, the Prime Minister of Samoa insisted that the land legally belongs to the Government.
[2] Bruce Wilkinson, *The Prayer of Jabez: Bible Study: Breaking through to the Blessed Life* (Oregon: Multnomah, 2001), 6. A wider critique of such "prosperity theology" is beyond the scope of this thesis.
[3] Louis C. Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, Understanding the Bible Commentary Series (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2013), 52.

scholars have explored the possibility that the Jabez story serves the Chronicler's purposes as a whole,[4] this is not a matter of methodological consensus.

The ambiguity of 1 Chron 4:9-10 has allowed it to be reinterpreted in many ways, including isolating it as tangential to the wider purposes of the "Chronicler."[5] My starting point will be Louis Jonker's hypothesis, that the story can indeed be read from the perspective of Chronicles as a whole.[6] This holistic approach necessitates an investigation of major themes that exist throughout Chronicles – particularly those that seem to linger in the Jabez narrative.[7] The use of divine names, for instance, and how various epithets of God are selectively applied to different situations could possibly indicate the author(s)' reservations regarding referencing God among the postexilic mixed communities. Additionally, prayer and its consistent and extensive performance in diverse settings may reflect a yearning for acceptance of a non-cultic aspect of worship. The theme of land tenure also appears to be a crucial concern for the various ethnic groups as they search for genealogical links to validate their land claims. This thesis argues that understanding such major Chronistic themes is crucial to getting a clearer perception of the author(s)' message in the Jabez pericope.

One purpose of this thesis is to examine the text of Chronicles[8] as evidence for conflicts in the postexilic period, as various people renegotiated their connections

[4] See especially Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles;* and R. Christopher Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10: An Intertextual and Contextual Reading of Jabez's Prayer," *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 4/2 (2002): 1-28.

[5] As the majority of Chronicles' scholars agree that the writer(s) of Chronicles remain(s) anonymous, this thesis refers to the "Chronicler" as the author (whether single or collective authorship) of Chronicles.

[6] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 51.

[7] Based on the Jabez narrative, the research focuses on key themes including "divine names," "cultic and non-cultic prayers," "landholdings," and "divine sovereignty."

[8] The bulk of this research is given to this first purpose which concentrates on a historical study of Chronicles. In this regard, this work is therefore more biblical than hermeneutical, with the intention to contribute to the wider sphere of Chronicles scholarship.

with land after the Babylonian exile.[9] At the core of these conflicts was ethnic tensions between different groups in defining and redefining their identity.[10] In many societies, land is considered a critical component in defining people's identity.[11] Likewise, the Chronicler's account of the postexilic Israelite society also reflects the notion of land as a major factor in defining Israelite identity not only as a community, but also as individuals such as Jabez.

Christopher Heard contends that the brief Jabez episode provides a glimpse into one of the many burning issues Judahites may have had to face as families after the exile – one of which is their attempt to connect or reconnect to the land.[12] For Louis Jonker, Jabez's prayer reflects the process of "identity negotiation" of an Israelite that has endured the "hardship of the exile and the postexilic restoration" and is now experiencing a "new beginning under Persian imperial rule."[13]

What is intriguing however is the absence of scholarly support of the possibility that Jabez could be a foreigner. If there were mixed ethnic communities, would it not be reasonable to detect a foreigner's struggle among the natives as well? In this thesis, I want to explore the hypothesis that the Jabez prayer, despite its brevity, ambiguity and abrupt appearance among the Judahite genealogies, may possibly represent a foreigner's cry for social justice. The integration of foreigners in Israelite society may be one of the Chronicler's overall purposes in the Persian period.

The second purpose of this research is to explore the ways in which biblical material can be illuminated by a Sāmoan hermeneutic, especially given the

[9] See Sara Japhet, *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah: Collected Studies on the Restoration Period* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 97.
[10] Japhet, *From the Rivers of Babylon*, 97.
[11] For example, land plays a constitutive role in Australian Aboriginal identity and likewise, customary land is a crucial part of Sāmoan *faasinomaga* (identity). See Geoffrey R. Lilburne, *A Sense of Place: A Christian Theology of the Land* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989), 35-54, where Lilburne provides a broad discussion of land as a crucial part of Aboriginal identity.
[12] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28.
[13] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 51.

significance of the Bible in Sāmoan society. The Sāmoan notion: *E va'ava'alua le aganuu ma le talalelei,* translated as "Christianity and the Sāmoan culture co-exist," stresses the adoption of biblical understanding in defining and redefining Sāmoan identities in postcolonial terms. While this fusion was initially accepted as a fulfilment of the prophecy by the only Sāmoan prophetess *Nafanua,* with it came the insertion of God into the reinterpretation of the Sāmoan identity.[14] One example of this is the reinterpretation of the Sāmoan *matai* (chief) as honour and authority granted by God based on one's *tautua* (service) to his/her *aiga potopoto* (extended family). Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi elaborates on this suggesting that the bestowal of a *matai* title is an honour granted based on one's service or merit rather than his/her genealogical or biological ties.[15]

Thus from a Sāmoan perspective, the faithful *tautua* of even *tagata ese* (foreigners) is also recognised by family members when deliberating on who the next *matai* title holder should be. With or without direct genealogical links, loyal *tautua* remains a possible way for one to be honoured and gain custodianship of customary land, in the Sāmoan context. Here, the theme of "honour earned by service" provides an analogy between Jabez and the *matai* system.[16]

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[14] Among many Sāmoan writers who have mentioned this point about Nafanua, see especially Featunai B. Liuaana, *Samoa Tula'i: Ecclesiastical and Political Face of Samoa's Independence, 1900-1962* (Apia: Malua Printing Press, 2004), 1-26, esp. 1.

[15] Tui Atua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi, "Whispers and Vanities: Samoan Indigenous Knowledge and Religion," in *Whispers and Vanities in Samoan Indigenous Religious Culture*, ed. M. Suaalii-Sauni, A. Wendt, V. Mo'a, N. Fuamatu, U. L. Vaai, and S. L. Filipo (Wellington: HUIA, 2009), 153-72, esp.160. See also Aumua Clark Peteru, "Where You Live, Who You Are," in *Su'esu'e Manogi: In Search of Fragrance: Tui Atua Tamasese Ta'isi and the Samoan Indigenous Reference*, ed. Iugafa Tuagalu, Tamasa'ilau Suaalii-Sauni, Tofilau Nina Kirifi-Alai, and Naomi Fuamatu (Apia: National University of Samoa, 2009), 273-87, 275; Serge Tcherkézoff, "Are the Matai out of Time? Tradition and Democracy: Contemporary Ambiguities and Historical Transformations of the Concept of Chief," in *Governance in Samoa,* ed. Asofou Soo and Elise Huffer (Suva, Fiji: Asia Pacific Press, 2000), 113-29,113-114.

[16] The *matai* system from its origin is a matrix which carries a notion of *pule* (authority/power) over customary land as "an inheritance from the *aiga potopoto* (extended family) and their ancestors." A theological understanding however has introduced the notion of *na tofia e le Atua Sāmoa ina ia pulea e matai* translated as "God chose Sāmoa to be governed by *matai*." See especially Le Tagaloa Fanaafi Aiono, *O Le Faasinomaga* (Alafua: Lamepa Press, 1997), 266; and Emma Kruse Vaai, *Producing the*

A Sāmoan reader might then ask the question: "Can *tautua* be taken as the foundation of Jabez's honour in Chronicles?" The idea that Jabez gained honour among his brothers might remind Sāmoan readers of how honour is gained in our culture through service, and moreso than through hereditary rights in some cases. Such a line of interpretation also allows us to appreciate Jabez's land plea as one from a *tagata ese's* viewpoint.

The current study will also yield hermeneutical reflections on the hybrid identity of the *faifeau* (church minister), which is an honourable identity modelled from the *matai,* and yet is also often called *tagata ese* with no definite connections to customary land. Honour is bestowed on the *faifeau* because of their *tautua* to God through the church instead of their *aiga* (family). Perhaps a "Samoanised" Jabez could be someone with both identities (*faifeau* and *matai*) calling on the God of Israel as the overall authority to grant him access to "enlarged borders" as in the Chronicler's context.

To assess the above aims and proposals, this study employs Jonker's multidimensional approach where one method may focus on the synchronic aspect (structural or inter-textual) of the text while another may concentrate on its diachronic aspect or even the interaction between the text and the reader.[17] In this thesis, the functioning of various methods side by side is enabled also by a postcolonial reading of both worlds – Sāmoan and Chronicles. Three main methods have been employed in this study.

Text of Culture: The Appropriation of English in Contemporary Samoa (Lepapaigalagala: National University of Samoa, 2011), 25.

[17] Louis C. Jonker, *Exclusivity and Variety: Perspectives on Multidimensional Exegesis* (Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1993). See also Mark Brett's idea of "Critical Pluralism" in Mark G. Brett, "Four or Five Things to Do with Texts: A Taxonomy of Interpretive Interests," in *The Bible in Three Dimensions*, ed. Stephen E. Fowl, Stanley E. Porter, and David J.A. Clines (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 357-77.

Firstly, a literary approach that analyses the literary features (form/genre) found in 1 Chron 4:9-10 will be undertaken. This involves the study of the literary structure, style and purpose of the text; the investigation of possible issues highlighted in the text in relation to Chronicles as a whole; and a comparison with other canonical texts that may assist in the interpretation of the text.

Secondly, a critical analysis of what lies behind the text will be informed by the historical-critical approach to the books of Chronicles. This includes the study of the original historical setting, which provides the setting for understanding the intention of the author(s), and the context of the Chronicler's audience.

Thirdly, a sociological approach will explore how an individual's nature (e.g., motives, emotions, perceptions and interpretations) will in turn affect his/her functioning in groups as well as the relations between groups.[18] In particular, the process of how individual identity reformation is shaped by one's community and social settings is examined.

As a Sāmoan researcher, the concept of *soalaupule*[19] underpins my adopting a multidimensional blending of methods in this study. *Soālaupule* acts like a judiciary in the *matai* system when seeking justice and resolving village matters. It involves sharing and negotiation of various opinions among the various village council members while simultaneously maintaining respect for each other and upholding good

[18] Louis C. Jonker, "Textual Identities in the Books of Chronicles: The Case of Jehoram's History," in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Kenneth A. Ristau (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 197-217 (202). In reference to the previous works of Henri Tajfel and J.C. Turner, Jonker reflects on two subareas of sociological approach/psychology namely, "Social Identity Theory" (SIT) and "Self-Categorization Theory" (SCT). The aim of the SIT is to explain how an individual's identity/knowledge/behavior is shaped by the social group to which she/he belongs. In other words, the SIT describes the coherence and the consistency of group and intergroup behaviour as mediated by social identity. SCT on the other hand plays a crucial role in SIT in which group members ("in-groups" or "out-groups") are often based on certain beliefs and principles as these groups have their own values, languages and cultures. With this interpretation in mind, I suggest that the idea of SCT is an etic theory as opposed to the historical or "text pragmatic" approach mentioned by Jonker.

[19] *Soālaupule* means "to consult together and not to confine the instructions to the authority of one person." See George Pratt, *Grammar Dictionary and Samoan Language* (Apia, Samoa: Malua Printing Press, 1977), 277.

relationships and unity. In short, *soālaupule*'s main emphasis is on the collective fusion of perspectives for an outcome for the betterment of a community at large.

Hence the *soālaupule* aspect of a multidimensional approach promotes a plurality of readings of Chronicles in order to develop intercultural hermeneutics. The theological interpretations in this study are the results of the exegetical examination of the Chronicles through the Sāmoan lens and is similar to what McLean has proposed:

> We, as interpreters can grasp the significance of biblical texts (as founding sense-events) only by appropriating them from within our own historical lives as present sense-events. We cannot bypass the text-reception complex in the pursuit of final, scientific objectivity. This fact represents an opportunity rather than an obstacle, because our "historically effected consciousness" is actually the very source of all hermeneutical significance.[20]

A "full" meaning of the biblical text is not merely dependent on the world represented by the text and its author but is also determined by the historical situation of the present-day readers as well. While exploring the "fusion of horizons," to use Gadamer's phrase,[21] between Chronicles and Sāmoan contexts, this research is undertaken with the aim that "analogies between the two may enrich both the way we read biblical texts and how those readings might relate to contemporary theological or political engagements."[22]

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, each yielding a set of key questions and enquiries. Chapter 1 is guided by questions regarding Jabez's genealogical ties given the narrative's location in the book. For example, if the Chronicler is obsessed with genealogy, why is Jabez left hanging without explicit kinship links? What could

[20] B.H. McLean, *Biblical Interpretation & Philosophical Hermeneutics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 5.
[21] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1975), 273, 302. As a device for hermeneutical purposes, "fusion of horizons" according to Gadamer is a way to articulate the biblical text's history with a reader's background.
[22] Mark G. Brett, "Unequal Terms: A Postcolonial Approach to Isaiah 61," in *Biblical Interpretation and Method: Essays in Honour of John Barton*, ed. Katherine J. Dell & Paul Joyce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 243-56, esp.243.

be the author's motive behind this narrative's abrupt emergence among the Judahite genealogies?

Mindful of ancient textual variations, a literary approach will explore the kind of literature (form/genre) found in 1 Chron 4:9-10. This chapter also considers Heard's views that Jabez's text is "part of a *triptych* of stories about land acquisition (1 Chron 4:39-43; 5:9-10; 5:18-22), which makes most sense when examined as a group."[23] To take this further, an extensive exegetical part of this chapter takes into account possible allusions of Jabez's text to some earlier canonical texts throughout the Hebrew Bible (hereafter HB).[24] For example, part of God's promise to the patriarchs and Israel is that YHWH would "enlarge their borders" (e.g., Exod 34:24; Deut 12:20; 19:8). This will be contrasted with the "enlarged border" in Amos 1:13. The chapter highlights allusions to Genesis in Chronicles (e.g., Gen 1:28 and 9:1), suggesting that D theology is being manipulated by the Chronicler towards enhancing a theology of P.

Chapter 2 considers the question of how Jabez's prayer may mirror the struggle(s) faced by Judahite individuals (possibly foreigners) during the postexilic period. Why does the Chronicler refer to the "God of Israel" and not the "God of Judah"? What does this mean in relation to the overall inclusive purpose of Chronicles? What does this imply for the reconstruction of the people of God's identity in the changing "socio-historical context of the late Persian era"?[25] This chapter has a specific focus on divine epithets throughout Chronicles, such as "God of Israel" and "God of the ancestors." It also discusses how these epithets relate to the Chronicler's theme of the inclusion of Northerners as well as foreigners. In Chapter 3, the research examines how prayer may have been "modified" to cater for the

[23] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28, esp.17.
[24] The terms "Hebrew Bible" and "Old Testament" are used interchangeably in this thesis.
[25] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 14.

integration of foreigners in Chronicles. The chapter studies both cultic and non-cultic prayers in comparison with the Deuteronomistic *Vorlage,* and shows how these comparisons may illuminate the "ecumenical" stance of Chronicles as a whole.[26]

Chapter 4 explores the ways in which Chronicles represents landowners and land acquisition, especially the idea of non-violent land acquisition. Its focus is particularly on the issue of land tenure and how foreigners may acquire land in the postexilic context. The chapter also identifies the specific land terminologies in Jabez's text and examines how these terminologies relate especially to the P tradition in the Pentateuch. Chapter 5 deals with the concept of God's sovereignty in the postexilic communities. How does a divine grant relate to an imperial grant? With this question, the chapter opens its investigation into God's sovereignty in Chronicles by exploring the appearances of foreign and native kings. The maintenance of the temple in the postexilic period is examined in light of kingship themes. Here, attention is given to the scholarly suggestion that the survival of the temple was due in part to the continuity of Davidic kingship.

Chapter 6 focuses on the question of how the theme of honour may link to the concept of service in Chronicles. Specific attention is given to how individuals such as Jabez may be "more honoured" in the Chronicler's context. Is it because of service or prestige? Or, is it social status based on some other criteria? A social scientific approach will assist in this regard, outlining the issue of "service" and "honour" in wider contexts. The chapter concludes with the hermeneutical suggestion that the

[26] For instance, the way mixed marriages are treated in the genealogical chapters (1 Chron 1-9) as well as the way in which the Northerners are more accepted in Chronicles. See, e.g., J.A. Motyer and John R.W. Stott, ed. *The Message of Chronicles* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity, 1987), 19-31. Japhet and Knoppers have also commented on the positive attitude of Chronicles towards "sojourners" [גרים] and the non-Israelite population of the land. See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 46; Gary N. Knoppers, "Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah," *JBL* 120/1 (2001): 15-30.

Sāmoan notion of *tautua* can illuminate the new concept of service in postexilic times which might even include foreigners, as indicated in Isaiah 56 and 61.

Lastly, how should the question of Jabez' foreignness be entertained and what are the implications of this inclusive line of interpretation? In the final chapter, analogical interpretation between the Chronistic themes and Sāmoan context are discussed with particular reference to the *faifeau* (church minister) identity and their reconnection to customary lands, utilising the Sāmoan hermeneutic.[27]

In summary, an interpretation of the story of Jabez from the perspective of Chronicles as a whole, taking into account its key themes, points to issues of major concern as the Israelites reformulate their identity during the postexilic period. An exegetical suggestion to be tested is that Deuteronomistic themes are reinterpreted in the light of Genesis, and the main hermeneutical thesis is that the Sāmoan notion of *tautua* can illuminate the new concept of service in postexilic times. An inclusive message that even foreigners might "serve YHWH" is revealed not only with the different view of marriage presented in the genealogies of Chronicles, but also in the theological connections with Genesis.

[27] It should be noted that although I am myself a *faifeau*, the issues discussed in chapter 7 do not relate to my own situation as a lecturer in a theological college.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY EXEGESIS AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Introduction

The literary location of the story of Jabez in the midst of genealogies is of interest to this study. Despite its unexpected appearance amongst these genealogies, in its genre and literary form the story does seem to fit well with other units of land acquisition in the genealogical chapters (1 Chron 1-9).[1] The function of genealogies is to clarify the roots and connections of participants, and here, the majority of Israel's families are clearly defined. What is obvious from the Chronicler's retelling of history is its dedication to clarifying the Israelites' ancestral history. However, there are some cases of genealogies being not clearly defined or explained and Jabez's story is one of them. Thus, if someone is suddenly appearing within the Chronicler's creation without any clear links to Israelites' genealogy, the gaps must be significant: such a person is either a foreigner, or at the very least, the issue of his/her genealogical connection is vexed.

Such an ambiguity or a lack of genealogical ties is crucial for the purpose of this chapter. In uncovering who Jabez really is to the Chronicler, consideration is given primarily to other translations and textual variants of 1 Chron 4:9-10 in ancient manuscripts where similarities and differences are carefully considered. As Ernst Würthwein has correctly noted:

[1] For instance, the narratives of land acquisition in 1 Chron 4:39-43; 5:9-10; and 5:18-22. See Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28 (17).

> …while the original text is a fixed text, when it is published it passes into the realm of textual transmission. From this point on … any changes or expansions that are made are due to the tradents or institutions responsible for the tradition.[2]

This study will be mindful of Würthwein's notification: though other translations assist in constructing the Chronicler's objectives behind the insertion of the Jabez text, traditional changes must be studied with much attention to the institutions responsible. A literary analysis of the words and syntax (form/genre) around 1 Chron 4:9-10 should also be extensive. This exegetical aim regarding the Jabez text is based on Jonker's general suggestion that:

> In determining the text-internal contexts of a narrative, one has to start from the innermost circle of the sentence- and text-syntactical environment in order to determine the illocutive–pragmatic aspects of every expression, as well as of every minimal argumentative or functional unit. The analysis should proceed to determine how minimal argumentative or functional units are embedded in the macro-structural texture and how these macro-strucural units function as part of a greater composition…every text is part of the social discourse that is embedded in historical, social and cultural context…the interaction of these *text-external contexts* with the text should also be determined.[3]

Adopting a literary approach is deemed necessary here in order to achieve a comprehensive perception of the Jabez narrative in Chronicles and its possible dialogue with both the Priestly/non-Priestly Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic History as well as other intertextual relationships. This is in line with Heard's suggestion that Jabez's prayer for land is connected to other land acquisition narratives (1 Chron 4:39-43; 5:9-10; 5:18-22), and these need to be examined together to fully understand their purposes in Chronicles.[4]

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[2] Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica*, trans., Erroll F. Rhodes (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2014), 158.

[3] Louis C. Jonker, *Reflections of King Josiah in Chronicles; Late Stages of the Josiah Reception in 2 Chr 34 F.* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus GmbH, 2003), 12-13. With reference to Christo Hardmeier, Jonker refers to "text-internal contexts" as those textual contexts that "belong to the texture of the same synchronic textual unit" which is the opposite focus to "text-external contexts" or "wider textual contexts" including other intertextual relationships.

[4] Refer page 11, n.1.

The terminologies associated with landholdings in postexilic times therefore become a necessary component of the study as discussed in this chapter. And given the ambiguity of Jabez's identity and his vague connections to Israelite land, there is a critical need for extensive exegetical investigation that takes into account possible allusions within Jabez's text found in some earlier canonical texts throughout the HB, particularly with regard to "enlarging borders." The aim is to test the hypothesis that Jabez's prayer represents a way of manouvering Deuteronomic theology by borrowing Deuteronomy's ideas of expanding borders but placing emphasis on prayer and service, instead of war and conquest ideology.

The foremost challenge for this exegetical work is the argument by Sara Japhet that such an "aetiological story" is too fragmentary and difficult to be decisive in terms of understanding the broader purposes of Chronicles.[5] Due to the absence of the Jabez personality in the preceding chapters of Chronicles, Japhet contends that the passage stands unconnected to its context and thus it "is not specifically Chronistic."[6] That is, its structure and genre are quite rare in Chronicles; the language is difficult and the translation does not bring out its theological message in accordance with the Chronicler's context.[7] For Japhet, the Jabez story could be a reworking of material by the Chronicler from either an earlier or later source.

This story has no *Vorlage* in the primary history or in any of the other canonical sources of Chronicles. If Jabez's text has no *Vorlage*, why can we not conclude that this story is the Chronicler's own creation? Although Japhet does admit that the stem "pain" [עצב] and the name Jabez [יעבץ] is a word-play that is clearly alluding to the

[5] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 105.
[6] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 105.
[7] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 105-06.

idea of עצב in Gen 3:16, she does not provide sufficient reason as to why the Chronicler is engaging with Genesis.

So, mindful of Japhet's reservations, this chapter explores the key terminology of "enlarged borders" in the HB precisely in order to illuminate the particularity of Jabez's prayer within the larger context of Chronicles. A literary context can play a larger role than she suggests, and the methodologies of Heard and Jonker prove more fruitful in this regard.

Textual Criticism

Since much of the work of textual critics involves detailed comparisons between ancient HB manuscripts, it is necessary to consult and identify possible variations in the wording of Jabez's text (1 Chron 4:9-10) from a number of ancient versions, namely, the Masoretic Text (MT), Septuagint (LXX), Targum (Aramaic), Vulgate (Latin), and Peshitta (Syriac).

The Hebrew manuscripts of 1 Chron 4:9-10 are not preserved in the Qumran or the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS), and therefore my analysis mainly follows the MT of 1 Chron 4:9-10 in comparison to its translation in the Septuagint (LXX). Since the Septuagint is the earliest known written translation of the HB and Greek was also the predominant language used by the Jewish community in 3rd and 2nd century B.C.E., [8] my first attempt is to discover textual variants between the MT and the LXX versions of 1 Chron 4:9-10.

Masoretic Text (MT):

[8] Roger Good, *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 17, 19, 71; Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament*, 101. Although the Greek translation of the Old Testament extended from 3rd into 2nd century B.C.E., both Good and Würthwein have affirmed that the completion of Greek translation of the Hebrew Chronicles occurred no later than 200 B.C.E.

9 ויהי יעבץ נכבד מאחיו ואמו קראה שמו יעבץ לאמר כי ילדתי בעצב
10ויקרא יעבץ לאלהי ישראל לאמר אם־ברך תברכני והרבית את־גבולי והיתה
ידך עמי ועשית מרעה לבלתיעצבי ויבא אלהים את אשר־שאל

[9]Jabez was honoured more than his brothers; and his mother named him Jabez, saying, "Because I bore him in pain." [10]Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying, "Oh that you would bless me indeed and enlarge my border, and that your hand might be with me, and that you would keep me from hurt and harm!"And God caused to grant what he asked.

LXX Text:

[9] καὶ ἦν Ιγαβης ἔνδοξος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ιγαβης λέγουσα Ἔτεκον ὡς γαβης. [10]καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο Ιγαβης τὸν θεὸν Ισραηλ λέγων Ἐὰν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσῃς με καὶ πληθύνῃς τὰ ὅριά μου καὶ ᾖ ἡ χείρ σου μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ποιήσεις γνῶσιν τοῦ μὴ ταπεινῶσαί με. καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ὁ θεὸς πάντα, ὅσα ᾐτήσατο.

[9]And Igabes was more honoured above his brothers, and mother called his name Igabes, saying, I bore as in pain.[10]And Igabes called on the God of Israel, saying, "If you would indeed bless me, and multiplied my borders, and that your hand be with me, and you would make my knowledge not to humiliate me. And God brought about all that he asked."

Textual Variants between MT and LXX versions of 1 Chron 4:9-10

MT Literal Translation	MT Notes	MT	LXX	LXX Notes	LXX Literal Translation
[9] Y/Jabez *was*	3ps וַיְהִי introducing temporal clause of what happened.	**9**ו\יהי יעבץ	[9]καὶ ἦν Ιγαβης	the aspect of ἦν as imperfect ind. indicates continuous event in the past.	And Igabes *was*
was honoured	*nip^{c}al* participle	נכבד	ἔνδοξος	predicate adjective	honourable / famous
from/than his brothers		מ\אחי\ו	ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ		above his brothers
and his mother		ו\אמ\ו	καὶ ἡ μήτηρ		and the mother
(she) called	*qal* perfect + 3p fem.	קראה	ἐκάλεσεν	3p. aorist, active – past action happened once	(she?) called
his name Jabez		שמו יעבץ	τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ιγαβης		his name Igabes
saying, because	*qal* infinitive + conjuntion	לאמר כי	λέγουσα	present part. (supporting verb)	saying
I gave birth	*qal* perfect	ילדתי	Ἔτεκον ὡς	aorist active + conj.	I bore as
in pain.	prep.+ noun	ב\עצב	γαβης	noun	(a) sorrowful one.
[10]Jabez called	perfect active + noun	**10**ויקרא יעבץ	καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο Ιγαβης	conj. + aorist, middle indicative +	And Igabes (himself) called

				subj. noun (the voice (middle) of the main verb καλέω is reflexive).	
to the God of Israel		ל\אלהי ישראל	τὸν θεὸν Ισραηλ		the God of Israel
saying	*qal* infin.	**לאמר**	λέγων	active participle	saying
if/Oh to bless (**indeed**)	marker of condition + *pi*^{c}*el* infin. absolute	**אם־ברך**	Ἐὰν εὐλογῶν	conjunction + active participle	If + blessing
you would bless me	*pi*^{c}*el* imperf. + 1p suffix	**תברכני**	εὐλογήσῃς με	2p aorist active, subjunctive. The mood is subjunctive: (doubt/ possibility)	You would bless me indeed
and you caused to enlarge	*hip*^{c}*il* perfect, 2p	ו\הרבית	καὶ πληθύνῃς	conj + 2p aorist active, subjunctive	and you would enlarge or multiply
my border	d/object + sing. noun	**את־גבול\י**	τὰ ὅριά μου	**pl. noun**	**my borders**
and to be	*qal* perfect	ו\היחה			
your hand		ידך	ᾗ ἡ χείρ σου		and your hand
with me		עמ\י	μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ		be with me
and you would make/keep	*qal* perfect	ו\עשת	καὶ ποιήσεις **γνῶσιν** τοῦ	Future active indicative + fem. noun	and you would make **knowledge**
from evil/harm		מ\רעה	μὴ ταπεινῶσαί με	aorist active infinitive, 1p. pronoun	not to humiliate me
to free	particle	ל\בלתי			
to (have) pain me		עצב\י			
And God caused to grant	*hip*^{c}*il* perfect	ו**יבא אלהים**	καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ὁ θεὸς	aorist active indicative + the subject (God) was doing the action	And brought upon God
what he asked	3p *qal* perfect	**את אשר־שאל**	πάντα, ὅσα ᾐτήσατο.	adj. adj. aorist, middle indicative (reflexive)	all/whole as many as that he asked (himself)

Other Ancient Translations (1 Chron 4:9-10)

Targum (Aramaic):

> 9. Jabez, *who was* Othniel, was more honored *and expert in the Law* than his brothers; his mother had called his name Jabez, "for," she said, "I gave birth *to him* in pain." 10. Jabez *prayed* to the God of Israel saying: "O that you might indeed bless me *with sons*," and extend my territory *with disciples!* O that your hand might be with me *in debate*, and that you *might provide me with companions like myself*, so that *the evil inclination* may not provoke me. And *the Lord* brought about what he had asked for.[9]

Peshitta (Syriac):

> 9. And it happened, one of them was dear to his mother and his father and he called his name *ʿEynay* (literally means "my eyes"). 10. And he said to him, and the LORD shall surely bless you and enlarge your territory and his hand shall be with you and shall save (liberate, or release) you from evil, so that it may not prevail (have power/mastery) over you, and he shall give you what you asked of him.[10]

Vulgate (Latin):

> And (now) Jabez was more honourable than any of his brethren, and his mother called his name Jabez, saying, "Because I bore him *with sorrow*." And Jabez called upon the God of Israel, saying, "If blessing thou wilt bless me, and wilt enlarge my borders, and thy hand be with me, and thou save me from being oppressed by evil." And God granted him the things he prayed for.[11]

Analysis of the Points of Divergence

From a linguistic standpoint, the ancient versions above indicate how the Jabez Hebrew text has been changed through the history of interpretation via textual transmission.

At the start of the biblical narrative, the LXX translated the MT יְהִי [derived from the verbal root הָיָה] by the imperfect ἦν or εἰμί ("was/to be") in introducing a

[9] K. Cathcart, M. McNamara, and M. Maher, ed. *The Aramaic Bible: The Targums of Ruth and Chronicles* (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1994), 54.
[10] R.P. Gordon and P.B. Dirksen, ed. *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta version* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 8. See also M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 111-13. In Syriac, the literal translation of the word *ʿEynay* as "my eyes" is not an explanation but a translation. For Weitzman, such translation itself is rare and can be a result of a corrupted text.
[11] Swift Edgar, ed. *The Vulgate Bible: The Historical Books: Douay-Rheims Translation* (London: Harvard University, 2011).

temporal clause of what happened in the past: καὶ ἦν Ιγαβης ἔνδοξος ("And Jabez was honoured/famous"). According to Roger Good, the use of ἦν as an imperfect here with a predicate adjective ἔνδοξος (honourable/famous) is common in Chronicles' language.[12] Good's exegetical work with examples of the imperfect ἦν (εἰμί) from the whole of Chronicles suggests that the LXX's description of Jabez (as a subjective noun) by an adjective ἔνδοξος can be interpreted in light of the aspect of the imperfect indicative tense of ἦν. This imperfect aspect of ἦν projects that an honourabe status of Jabez *was* something he experienced and continued over a period of time in the past.

In this case, the LXX strengthens and clarifies the verbal MT נכבד in its *nip^{c}al* participle form, in which Jabez himself was honoured in the community. However the reason of why and how he gets such an honourable status is ambiguous even in the LXX.

The LXX 1 Chron 4:9b also specifies the words of Jabez's mother in saying, Ἔτεκον ὡς γαβης, "I bore as a painful one." Translating the MT ב [בְּ] ("in") as a subordinate conjunction ὡς ("as/like") in the LXX establishes the meaning of Jabez as referring to his mother being "in pain" [בעצב] during the process of childbearing. Carol Meyers in particular describes a pun between the Hebrew words עצב (pain/γαβης) and יעבץ (Jabez/ Ιγαβης) which aligns with a syntactic account of Gen 3:16 in the context of painful childbearing. For Meyers, the connection between the verb עצב and the preposition ב in both texts (Gen 3:16a and 1 Chron 4:9b) seems to define the actual state of being in physical pain.[13]

[12] Good, *The Septuagint's Translation*, 86.
[13] Carol Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (New York: Oxford University, 1988), 82.

The particle אם ("if/Oh") precedes the *pi^{c}el* infinitive absolute, which provides the force of a petition. The imperfect תברך is translated by the LXX as an aorist εὐλογήσῃς, but with the subjunctive mood that carries a sense of doubt and possibility. The function of the subjunctive mood in the LXX supports the implication of the infinitive absolute of ברך in the MT with the word "indeed," to strengthen the action of the verb "bless": "oh that you would bless me indeed," as used in some English translations (e.g., ASV, HNV, NKJV, NAS, OJB, WEB, WBT).

Elsewhere, the particle אם is often translated as a marker of condition ("if") as in 1 Chron 28:7, 9 which according to Japhet is a "common lexeme" for apodosis between two parties. However, such an apodosis becomes a problem in Jabez's case for there is no apodosis that follows.[14] Gary Knoppers provides two options for expressing this particle: either as "signalling a condition" or an "optative."[15] The latter expression is in line with the language of wishes behind this prayer as translated mainly by the NRSV as well as other older versions such as MT and Targum stated above as "Oh that (you)..." [16]

Moreover, the singular noun גבול ("border") in the MT is translated as plural τὰ ὅρια ("borders") in the LXX (v.10b). However, the main distinction between the MT and the LXX is the insertion of the noun γνῶσιν ("knowledge") as part of the prayer request of Jabez in the LXX, avoiding other MT nouns such as רעה ("evil") and עצב ("harm").

There is no clear reason behind this particular textual distinction in the LXX. But according to Imanuel Tov's and Michael Gorman's general criteria in classifying

[14] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 110.
[15] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 339.
[16] Note that some versions (e.g., BBE, CEB, CSB) have translated אם as "if" to express that wish of Jabez without apodosis: "If only you would bless me…."

conscious variants in the LXX, there are factors to be considered by a textual critic. These factors are classified by Tov under four categories: "linguistic exegesis, contextual exegesis, theological exegesis, and midrashic tendencies."[17] Applying these criteria to the current analysis, it becomes impossible to avoid the influence of the historical context of the LXX tradition in the 2nd century B.C.E., where new immigrants from Judea kept Aramaic alive.[18] For this reason, Jabez's petition for γνῶσιν in LXX seems to be in line with the Targum translation of Jabez as someone considered to be an "expert" or a skilful person in keeping God's law.

Another divergence of the Targum from the MT is that Jabez's identity is distinctly identified as Othniel. Here, the request for an "enlarged border" is translated as an addition of *disciples* for Othniel (…*bless me with sons, and extend my territory with disciples*).[19] Behind identifying Jabez as Othniel lies the basic biblical stimulus of both the MT and the LXX versions of 1 Chron 2:55 and 1 Chron 4:9-10 where both Jabez and the scribes [סֹפְרִים] are linked to each other. The link between 1 Chron 2: 55 and 4:9-10 is continued on by the Targum tradition through upholding the Law as central. That is, both the Scribal and Jabez identities are combined into Othniel as defenders of the Law.

In a wider literary context, Judg 1:13 and Josh 15:17 both describe Othniel as the son of Kenaz, who victoriously attacked Kiriath-sepher, and married Achsah, the

[17] Michael J. Gorman, *Elements of Biblical Exegesis: A Basic Guide for Students and Ministers* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2009), 40-1; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 124-28. For Tov, "linguistic exegesis" refers to textual variants resulting from linguistic decisions made during the translation process; "contextual exegesis" deals with the context in which the LXX was meant to be used; "theological" refers to variants due to God's description; and "midrash" has to do with variants that can provide a different dimension to the plain meaning of scripture.

[18] Good, *The Septuagint's Translation*, 19. Here, Good describes in detail how the Greek culture/language flourished in the area under Ptolemy I's rule. Around this same time, a huge migration from Judea was encouraged and eventually became a large Jewish community in Alexandria in the 2nd century B.C.E. This community of new immigrants had kept Aramaic and perhaps Hebrew alive.

[19] See above version of Targum. See also Martin McNamara, *Targum and Testament Revisited*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Cambridge, 2010), 329.

daughter of Caleb, who was a foreigner. Caleb was among the Kenizzites, who, according to Josh 14:6 and 14, were integrated into Israel.

Othniel is also considered to be a responsible figure in preserving many teachings which had been forgotten after the death of Moses.[20] Thus from the Targumic tradition, Jabez is associated with Othniel who was more honoured than his brothers because of his specialised skills in the Law, and therefore able to request more good things – more clans, more people, divine help as well as an enlarged border or territory.[21] Although Othniel enlarged his border by violence, the Targumic tradition seems to regard Jabez as Othniel who deserves to be honoured only through his skill and obedience to the law rather than war.

Simon De Vries supports the above possible connection between Jabez and the scribes (סֹפְרִים) in 1 Chron 2:55 as a "clan aetiology"[22] for Jabez. But Williamson and Japhet have strongly argued that there is no substantial link between the two texts or elsewhere in the HB, making the Jabez's story unique and a stand-alone in the context of Chronicles.[23]

The word בְּעֹצֶב translated as "in pain" in both MT and Targum is widely adopted by many English versions such as: NRSV, NLT, ESV, NASB, NET, and YLT. However the Vulgate version presents it as "sorrow" (*in dolore*), and this is also taken up by other English translations including: KJV, ASV, ERV, OJB, WEB, WBT, WYC.

[20] J. Stanley McIvor, "The Targum of First Chronicles," in *The Aramaic Bible: The Targums* (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1994), 54, n.52.
[21] Cathcart, McNamara, Michael Maher, ed. *The Aramaic Bible*, 5, 56, 58.
[22] Simon J. Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, Forms of the Old Testament Literature, vol. XI (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 46.
[23] H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, The New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 25; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 105-6.

With its final composition dating around the 5th to 6th centuries C.E., the Peshitta has been heavily "influenced by the LXX or the Targum" in most cases.[24] The Peshitta (Syriac) diverges from the MT far more in Chronicles than other books, perhaps because the canonicity of Chronicles was questioned in the Syriac Church.[25] The Peshitta version never mentions the name Jabez but it refers to him as "one of them." And instead of mentioning only Jabez's mother as in MT, LXX, and Vg, the Peshitta uniquely provides both Jabez's mother and father.

All in all, the above review of textual variants confirms that variations are often shaped by the community for whom it was written, rather than for the communities in the Persian period.[26] Instead of turning to the later historical contexts, this study focuses on the MT, confident that later textual versions throw little light on the Persian period.

Masoretic Text (MT):

9 ויהי יעבץ נכבד מאחיו ואמו קראה שמו יעבץ לאמר כי ילדתי בעצב
10 ויקרא יעבץ לאלהי ישראל לאמר אם־ברך תברכני והרבית את־גבולי והיתה
ידך עמי ועשית מרעה לבלתיעצבי ויבא אלהים את אשר־שאל

Each wish (as underlined) is marked here by the consistent *waw* consecutive: "*and* enlarge my" [והרבית]; "*and* that your hand would be" [והיתה ידך]; "*and* that you would keep me" [ועשית]. Here, the usage of *waw* consecutive (ו) is not only to distinguish the three separate prayer wishes as proposed by Sara Japhet,[27] but also an apparent signal of a dramatic stylistic switch from a genealogical to a narrative form.

[24] Craig Morrison, "The Relationship of the Peshitta Text of Second Samuel with the Peshitta Text of First Chronicles," *Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome* (2005): 59-81.
[25] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 208.
[26] Kenneth A. Ristau, "Readings and Rereading of Isaiah: the Chronicler's representation of Josiah for the postexilic community," in *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: biblical and comparative perspectives*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Kenneth A. Ristau (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2009): 219-47.
[27] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 110.

The only other uses of *waw* consecutives elsewhere in the genealogies are found in other noticeable narratives for land acquisition as in 1 Chron 4:39-43; 5:9-10; 18-22.

This recurrence of *waw* consecutives is characteristic of narrative, but the specific narratives at issue here are all associated with land. Jabez's non-violent petition can be contrasted with the references to war between the Simeonites and the Amalekites (1 Chron 4:43); the war between the Reubenites and Hagrites (1 Chron 5:10); and the battle between the two-and-a-half tribes and the Hagrites, after they cry to God for help (1 Chron 5:20).[28]

Heard has interpreted this non-violent approach for land, as a reason for why Jabez was more honoured than his brothers, although Heard's assumption that Jabez may be related to Reuben and Simeon is not justified.[29] The text remains ambiguous and so does Jabez's unclear filial ties. Even beyond the evident lack of violence, Jabez does not seem to be impacting on the interests of others.[30] This aspect of non-violent land acquisition relies more on the P tradition in Genesis rather than D.

Landholding Terminologies

The idea of "enlarged borders" occurs several times in the HB in a wide variety of contexts. However, the specific landholding terminology about "enlarging borders" mentioned in Jabez's prayer (רבה/גבל) is not used elsewhere in Chronicles nor anywhere in the HB. If Jabez's prayer is such a classic and accessible one, why would we not find it anywhere else in the Bible? To answer this question, it is necessary to consider the semantic field and the word choices that are made in other contexts.

[28] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28.
[29] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10."
[30] John W. Wright, "The Fight for Peace: Narratives and History in the Battle Accounts in Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Kenneath G. Hoglund, M. Patrick Graham, and Steven Mckenzie (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 150-77, esp.153.

The combination of the terms רחב/גבל (enlarge/border or territory) occurs nine times in the HB, and this is the more familiar lexical choice for speaking about enlarged borders.[31] If we deem the wider semantic field to include רבה, then we might consider the Jabez text as the tenth occurrence of this idea. Out of these occurrences, five of them appear to be the most relevant to this discussion.[32] In canonical order, the following discussions of these terminologies are set in comparison to Jabez's use of the "enlarged border" terminology.

The first occurrence of the verbal root רחב (extend/widen/enlarge) in the HB is found in Exod 34:24 as a *hip^{c}il* perfect:

Exod 34:24 For I will cast out nations before you, and enlarge your border (כי־אוריש גוים מפניך והרחבתי את־גבולך) no one shall covet (חמד) your land when you go up to appear before the LORD your God three times in the year.

1 Chron 4:10a " .....Oh that you would bless me and enlarge my border (אם־ברך תברכני והרבית את־גבולי), and that your hand might be with me, and that you would keep me from hurt and harm..."

In both texts, the consistency of the singular noun "border" (גבול)[33] as a direct object and the *hip^{c}il* perfect root verb "enlarge" for רחב and רבה should be noted.[34] The

[31] Exod 34:24; Deut 12:20; 19: 8; Ezek 43: 13, 17; 45:1; 48:8, 13; Amos 1:13; and 1 Chron 4:10. Note that Isaiah 26:15 also implied enlarged borders but with the root רחק instead of רחב.

[32] The other five usages of the word "enlarge" in Ezekiel (43:13, 17; 45:1; and 48:8, 13) are not verbal but are consistently used as nouns referring to the measurement of different dimensions of the altar ("as one cubit wide (רחב) and the border (גבל) around it"). Ezekiel continues to describe the holy portion of land as an inheritance (נחלה) set aside for that altar and for the presence of YHWH to be in residence. That land allocation for the temple is set with a specific measurement: "twenty-five thousand cubits long and twenty thousand cubits wide" (Ezek 45:1). So it is a very large land allocation for a small building. However, the implications of רחב as nouns in Ezekiel are less relevant than the verbal forms discussed in this paper.

[33] Apart from the usual translation of גבול as "border/boundary/territory," Francesca Stavrakopolou has associated border (גבול) with monument and ancestral landholdings of the ancient Israelites. See Francesca Stavrakopoulou, *Land of Our Fathers: The Roles of Ancestor Veneration in Biblical Land Claims* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2010), 16-17.

rendering of גבול as "border" or "boundary" is more frequent than "territory" according to Rogerson, but this translation issue is perhaps not crucial to our argument.[35]

In regard to the semantic field for "enlarging" רבה/רחב, the transposition of the Hebrew consonants (ח and ה, ב) creates a phonetic word-play that might have some significance for our exegesis of the Jabez prayer. In Exod 34:24, such divine action is more explicitly effected through military success, since the casting out of nations is required before enlarging the borders.[36] Thomas Dozeman describes the word אורישׁ as "dispossess" or "disinherit" instead of "cast out" as in NRSV or "drive out" in NJPS. For Dozeman, both translations (cast out and drive out) "lose the meaning of land possession as inheritance."[37] Dozeman takes the word inheritance or "to inherit" as "a central theological motif in the Pentateuch but it occurs infrequently in Exodus"[38] and it is always associated with land.[39] John Van Seters adds that the notion of enlarged borders in Exod 34:24 "belongs to the later stages of development of Dtn laws."[40] In any case, the context of enlarged borders in Exod 34:24 is linked to

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[34] For instance, the *hip^{c}il* perfect of the root verb רחב in Exod 34:24a (והרחבתי) followed by the construct singular noun "border" (גבול) with its suffix (ך– your) and direct object marker (את) corresponds to the *hip^{c}il* perfect of the verb רבה in 1 Chr 4:10b. Both texts can be literally translated actively as "I/You will cause to enlarge your/my border."

[35] J.W. Rogerson, "Frontiers and Borders in the Old Testament," in *In Search of True Wisdom: Essays in Old Testament Interpretation in Honour of Ronald E Clements*, ed. Edward Ball (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 116-26, esp. 117.

[36] Walter Brueggemann, "The Book of Exodus," in *The New Interpreter's Bible One Volume Commentary*, ed. Beverly R. Gaventa and David Peterson (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2010), 677-981, 950.

[37] Thomas B. Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2009), 741. Dozeman differentiates the word אורשׁ from the word גרשׁ (drive out/cut off) as it is used in Exod 11:1.

[38] Exodus 15:17; 23:30; 32:13.

[39] Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus*, 745-46.

[40] John Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* (Louisville: Westminster, 1994), 356.

a Deuteronomistic theology of "dispossess by extermination,"[41] which is absent from the Jabez prayer in Chronicles.

The literary context of Exod 34:24 suggests a new covenant, and a covenant that includes dispossession.[42] That is, the exodus community of Israel ought to observe and keep these laws in order for them to possess and enjoy the advancement of big borders under YHWH's protection.[43] Hence, the issue of enlarged borders in Exodus 34 is related to Israel as a land keeper (stewardship) and her obedience to YHWH's law.[44]

Like Exod 34:24, the combination of terms רחב/גבל (enlarge/territory) is also presented twice in Deuteronomy as below:

Deut 12:20 When the LORD your God enlarges your territory [כי־ירחיב יהוה אלהיך את־גבלך] as he has promised you, and you say, "I am going to eat some meat, because you wish to eat meat, you may eat meat whenever you have the desire."

Deut 19:8 If the LORD your God enlarges your territory [ואם־ירחיב יהוה אלהיך את־גבלך] as he swore to your ancestors—and he will give you all the land that he promised your ancestors to give you.

Both examples indicate the singular *hip^{c}il* form of "enlarge" (רחב) followed by the singular noun "territory" (גבל) with direct object markers (את), as in the case of 1 Chron 4:10. Thus the word choice in the Jabez prayer sounds Deuteronomic, but it is not. Perhaps the Chronicler could have borrowed the more conventional Deuteronomistic idea of enlarging border/territory but instead, I will argue, he twisted

[41] Victor P. Hamilton, *Exodus: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2011), 582.
[42] John I. Durham, *Exodus*, World Biblical Commentary, vol. 3 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 463-64; Carol Meyers, *Exodus*, New Cambridge Bible Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 264-66; Brevard S. Childs, *Exodus* (London: SCM Press, 1974), 606-09; Terence E. Fretheim, *Exodus*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1991), 308-09.
[43] Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus*, 746.
[44] Walter Brueggemann, *Interpretation and Obedience: From Faithful Reading to Faithful Living* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 145.

it to something different in order to relate it to his own contemporary situation in which the military dimension is missing. The choice of רבה arguably connects instead to the multiple uses of this term in the Priestly texts of Genesis.[45]

Both texts (Deut 12:20; 19:8) suggest that YHWH will enlarge their territory as part of YHWH's promise to their ancestors (Deut 19:8). In the context of their "settlement," the sanctuary/temple is in the same location/place when the Israelites populated their new land. Within this new context, there would be many different settlements and it would be quite legitimate to eat meat wherever they like ("you may eat meat whenever you have the desire" (Deut 12:20b). Thus, within the national imagination of Deuteronomy, God defends their cause only through service and obedience.

Lastly, the semantic combination of רחב/גבל in Amos 1:13 needs to be set in contrast with the preceding discussion of enlarging a border. "Because they have ripped open pregnant women [על־בקעם הרות] in Gilead in order to enlarge their territory [למען הרחיב את־גבולם]" (Amos 1:13c). This time the *hipʿil* infinitive form of the verbal root "enlarge" appears for the first time after the preposition למען: "in order" ("in order to enlarge their borders"). The preposition למען stands in between the disgraceful action of "ripped open" and the cause of that action "to enlarge their territory." The whole text alludes to war between the Ammonites and the people of Gilead for more land. Thus Amos 1:13 may suggest a possibility of enlarging borders by means of "wrong" violence as a result of greed. By contrast, enlarging borders in Deuteronomy with "right" violence is stipulated by

[45] From the many occurrences of רבה in Genesis, I refer specifically to Gen 1:22, 28; 8:17; 9:1, 7; 16:10; 22:17; 26:4; 26:24; and 35:11.

Deuteronomy's national laws relating to the means of entering the land.[46] However, the violence in both Deuteronomy and Amos can be contrasted with Jabez's peaceful land acquisition approach of praying to YHWH in order to enlarge his borders.

In summary, the *hip^{c}il* form of the verbs for "enlarge" (רחב and רבה), followed by the singular direct object "territory" are consistent throughout the five texts discussed above. Exodus and Deuteronomy seem to be stressing the importance of obedience to the law and military strategy in order to gain access to it.[47] Given a word-play within the same semantic field of רבה/רחב + גבל that sounds Deuteronomic, the "enlarged border" context in Jabez's prayer appears to be more associated with Deuteronomic understanding of land acquisition, but closer examination reveals more complexity. If Jabez's prayer is not Deuteronomic, why does Jabez's prayer use terminology that sounds Deuteronomic? We need to consider the possibility of a word-play with Genesis material, just as in the other more familiar word-play on "pain," discussed below.

Another term for "enlarging" (רבה) is apparently derived from Genesis rather than from Deuteronomy. This line of interpretation would lend support to my hypothesis that Jabez's prayer represents a way of undermining, turning and twisting Deuteronomic theology by borrowing Deuteronomy's ideas of expanding borders in order to place emphasis on prayer and service, instead of on war and conquest ideology.

[46] For instance see Deut 7:1-3; 20:16-17.
[47] Although the immediate contexts of Deuteronomy's two texts above are non-violent, they imply violence as these two texts sit within the generally violent perspective of Deuteronomy's national imagination.

Crucial Connections to Genesis Theology

With the possibility that landholding terminology in 1 Chron 4:10 can be linked with Priestly theology, we must also acknowledge the Chronicler's inclusion of Genesis materials as reflected in the Jabez text.

Like the word-play on the verbal roots רבה/רחב discussed above, scholars have long recognized a word-play on the root עצב in Gen 3:16b from which the name יעבץ (Jabez) is likely to be derived.[48] Similar to this case of word-play on Jabez's name, Isaac Kalimi has cited nineteen examples of word-play texts or what he terms "paronomasia" (pun) in Chronicles; twelve of them are from other biblical sources[49] and seven have no parallels.[50] Isaac Kalimi seems to agree with Casanowicz that the Jabez text is the first of the seven examples of paronomasia unique to Chronicles.[51] Though Kalimi has explicitly stressed the purpose of paronomasia texts throughout Chronicles as "a literary stylistic device to shape an utterance in an aesthetic fashion, rendering it pleasant to the ear of the reader/listener.... ," the name of Jabez is left without further explanation.[52]

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[48] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10;" Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 346; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 105; Scott W. Hahn, *The Kingdom of God as Liturgical Empire: A Theological Commentary on 1-2 Chronicles* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 40; Julie Kelso, "The Transgression of Maacah in 2 Chronicles 15:16: A Simple Case of Idolatry or the Threatening Poesis of Maternal Speech?," *The Bible and Critical Theory* 3 (2007): 1-18.

[49] (1) 1 Chr 1:19//Gen 10:25; (2) 1 Chr 2:7//Josh 7:25; (3) 1 Chr 11:22//2 Sam 23:20; (4) 1 Chr 13:11; 14:11//2 Sam 6-8; (5) 1 Chr 16:27//Psa 21:6;45:4;96:6; (6) 1 Chr 18:17//2 Sam 8:18; (7) 1 Chr 23:4//Josh 8:3; (8) 2 Chr 6:10//1 Kgs 8:20; (9) 2 Chr 6:19,29//1 Kgs 8:38; (10) 2 Chr 6:28//1 Kgs 8:37; (11) 2 Chr 23:18//Gen 31:27; (12) 2 Chr 20:20//Isa 7:9.

[50] Isaac Kalimi, "Paronomasia in the Book of Chronicles," *JSOT* 67 (1995): 27-41. Note that Kalimi has quoted these 19 examples from I.M. Casanowicz's book *Paronomasia in the Old Testament* (Boston & Norwood: 1894), p.2ff, but Kalimi seems unconvinced by some of these paronomasia examples in Chronicles.

[51] (1) 1 Chr 4:9-10; (2) 1 Chr 7:23; (3) 1 Chr 22:9; (4) 1 Chr 29:19; (5) 2 Chr 3:1; (6) 2 Chr 20:26; (7) 2 Chr 33:7.

[52] Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005); Kalimi, "Paronomasia," 27-41.

Sara Japhet however, has stated that the Jabez story is "remarkable for its polished aetiology and is more characteristic of Genesis than of Chronicles."[53] In the words of Jabez's mother: "Because I bore (ילדתי) him in pain (בעצב)," [54] is clearly alluding to the words addressed to Eve in Gen 3:16: "I will greatly increase (רבה) your pain (עצבונך) in childbearing; in pain (בעצב) you shall bring forth (תלדי) children." Louis Jonker supports this connection by stating that "a play of Hebrew consonants relates the name Jabez to a painful birth." [55] This is universally characteristic of birth, not something specific to Israel, and therefore we need not be surprised that Jabez's genealogy is unclear and he may even be a foreigner.

In addition, the issue of blessing in the Jabez prayer may allude more to Priestly theology in Genesis rather than Deuteronomy. The verbal root רבה is translated as "enlarge/multiply" in both Genesis 1 and 1 Chron 4:10. In Genesis, this verbal root רבה/multiply occurs many times.[56] Most of these occurrences describe the Genesis concern about the promise of blessing in multiplying/enlarging/increasing of living creatures. The Priestly universal blessing in Genesis 1 is indeed restated in the address to Noah and his descendants in Gen 9:1, 7.[57] The following texts from Genesis help us to see the similarities and differences between the Priestly material and the Chronicler.

Gen 1:22 God blessed them, saying [לאמר], "Be fruitful and multiply [פרו ורבו] and fill [מלאו] the waters in the seas, and let birds multiply on the earth."

Gen 1:28 God blessed them and God said to them [ויאמר להם], "Be fruitful and multiply [פרו ורבו], and fill [מלאו] the earth and subdue it....."

[53] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 105.
[54] 1 Chr 4:9b.
[55] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 51. Cf. Meyers, *Discovering Eve*, 100-101.
[56] Refer page 27, n. 45.
[57] Christophe Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus* (FAT 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 62.

Gen 9:1 Then God blessed Noah and his sons, saying to them [ויאמר להם], "Be fruitful and multiply [פרו ורבו] and fill [ומלאו] the earth."

1 Chron 4:10b Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying (לאמר), "Oh that you would bless me and enlarge (והרבית) my border and that your hand might be with me...."

According to Claus Westermann, the imperative language in these texts "has the effect of conferring something" rather than being just a command.[58] Here, the blessing of multiplication and fruitfulness becomes effective at the same time when God pronounces it. So the insertion of לאמר followed by the blessing in the imperative in the Priestly formula describes the universal blessing that has already been conferred by God. The two verbs (multiply and be fruitful) usually occur in the context of blessing[59] and in these particular texts, the word fill (מלאו) seems to imply that the land was not yet fully occupied. In the context of 1 Chron 4:10, with the considerably reduced population of Persian period Yehud, we can also assume that the land resources were under-utilized. The key issue is not competition for scarce resources, but rather the legitimacy of the land claim.

In comparing these Priestly texts from Genesis with Jabez's prayer, there is an obvious difference in the application of רבה in that only the Chronicles text is concerned explicitly with land. The meaning of רבה/multiply in Genesis is pointing to the multiplication of people, as is also evident in the Targum version of 1 Chron 4:10 stated above.

[58] Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 138.
[59] Also in Psa 128:3; 107:38.

Unlike the Targumic version, the other ancient translations (namely the MT, LXX, and Vg) of the Jabez text render the verbal root רבה with regard to enlarged land/border. The emphasis seems to be landholding rather than people.

The Priestly promise of increase in Gen 17:1-21 appears twice (Gen 17:2a, 20) and P has repeatedly used the singular noun המון (multitude/many) to describe Abraham as the father of many nations (Gen 17:4, 5). The use of the singular המון is particularly relevant to our discussion. It denotes the inclusive extension of the promise from the seed of Abraham (Gen 17:7a) to nations outside of Israel including the descendents of Ishmael who was also the "father of twelve princes" (Gen 17:20). And in Gen 17:8, the question of land allocations among Abraham's descendants is raised.

If Jabez is a foreigner, it is possible that he would not be able to gain access to this Abraham-descendants-based blessing. Considering this problem, De Vries proposes that the only parallel to the Jabez language of blessing (and border enlargement) is found in Gen 12:1-3 where it describes blessing as "large posterity."[60] Although De Vries does not provide any specific connection between Jabez and Gen 12:1-3, Westermann argues that the language of blessing in Gen 12:1-4a is "shaped by J in such a way as to link the patriarchal with the primeval story (v.3b "all the families of the earth"), and at the same time to point beyond it to the history of the people of Israel (v.2b "into a great people")."[61] Again the root word ברך is also significant in

[60] Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 47.
[61] Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12-36: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), 146. Also see Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 1 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 270.

this case as it occurs four times and is obviously the key word in Gen 12:1-3. This text claims that in Abraham, "all the nations of the world will find blessing."[62]

Thus in the language of blessing, it seems that Gen 12 bridges the gap between the past (primeval history – where God has blessed all the families of the world) and the future history of the patriarchs through Abraham. Hence Gen 12:1-3 describes "large posterity," and Jabez's prayer seems to be making use of both Priestly and non-Priestly theology of blessing beyond Israel's borders in Genesis.

Conclusion

Guided by Jonker's idea of wrestling with the main text via its text-internal and text-external contexts, it seems that the Chronicler may have crafted a rewritten history using the resources available such as the P/non-P materials and Deuteromistic History. Within the immediate context, Jabez's idea of divine land acquisition without conquest was contrasted to other land narratives (e.g., 1 Chron 4:39-43; 5:9-10; 5:18-22).

The unique idea of an enlarged border (רבה/גבל) in Jabez's prayer was also a subject of interest in the above exegetical work on land terminologies where we began to engage with the text-external context when other canonical texts were compared and contrasted with 1 Chron 4:9-10. It is not used elsewhere in Chronicles nor anywhere else in the HB. The divine and non-violent technique of land gain implied in Jabez's prayer suggests that it stands against the Deuteronomistic idea of land possession through military power. Despite the fact that the prayer seems

[62] Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*, 149; Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 281; James McKeown, *Genesis*, Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 219-222; Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), 36-38.

Deuteronomic, it appears the Chronicler may have carefully suggested a more peaceful process for land issues.

A link was established between the aspect of blessing in the Jabez prayer and Genesis where the verbal root רבה is translated as "enlarge/multiply" in both Genesis 1 and 1 Chron 4:10. Although Genesis discusses multiplication of people rather than land, its use of המון symbolizes the inclusion of other nations where foreigners may have a chance to be part of Abraham's seed. The language of blessing of Gen 12 provides a combined blessing for all – primeval and patriarchal, hence Chronicles' employment of both non-Priestly and Priestly terminology through Jabez's prayer provides a possibility for the access of foreigners to land shares. The current study affirms that Chronicles may have turned and twisted its Deuteronomistic national sources towards P's inclusive theology for a specific purpose in the postexilic context. The openness of Chronicles to the idea of the inclusion of others is no doubt its message to its contemporary readers while in the process of reforming identity and establishing land connections.[63] Such a conclusion may also be supported by the Chronicler's particular choice of divine names, as will be argued in the next chapter, where we will consider the significance of Jabez's prayer to the "God of Israel."

[63] Unlike the exclusive assumption of Ezra-Nehemiah, this inclusive tendency of Chronicles can be firstly detected in its genealogical chapters (1 Chr 1-9) where the whole of Israel is situated within the whole world (ch 1). In particular, scholars like Sara Japhet, "Theodicy in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles," in *From the Rivers of Babylon to the Highlands of Judah* (USA: Eisenbrauns, 2006): 429-67; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 25-6; H.G.M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 138; Gary N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans; the Origins and History of Their Early Relations* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2013); Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 22-3, have contended that Chronicles is not formed by border setting and exclusion but by inclusion of "the others."

CHAPTER 2

THE DIVINE NAME

Introduction

The various names of God have been investigated intensively in biblical research, and in the case of Chronicles, the choice of divine names may reflect a particular theology, as it does in the case of P in Genesis, but this claim will be tested here.

The great mixture of divine names and epithets include "LORD" [יהוה], "God" [אלהים], "LORD God" [יהוה אלהים], "LORD the God of our/their ancestors" [יהוה אלהי אבותינו/הם], "LORD God of Israel" [יהוה אלהי ישראל], "God of Israel" [אלהי ישראל], "LORD of hosts" [יהוה צבאות], "LORD God of heaven" [יהוה אלהי השמים], and "God in heaven" [אלהים בשמים]. An exhaustive explanation of how the book has woven and re-woven all these divine names together in relation to its historical and political context is a task beyond this chapter's reach. However, I want to explore how the author may have deliberately chosen some of the major epithets to allow room for readers to relate to God from the point of view of the different communities in the postexilic period.

The first mention of God (YHWH) in Chronicles (1 Chron 2:3b)[1] draws on information from Genesis rather than Samuel-Kings.[2] Likewise, the second appearance of divine names in Chronicles in the Jabez narrative ("…and Jabez called

[1] 1 Chron 2:3b Now Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight of YHWH (יהוה) and he put him to death.

[2] Gen 38:7 "But Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight of YHWH (יהוה) and the LORD put him to death."

on the God of Israel (אלהי ישראל)…and God (אלהים) granted him…" in 1 Chron 4:10), has a direct link to Genesis (Priestly material) as many scholars have identified, rather than to Samuel-Kings, even though the Jabez narrative is unique to Chronicles.[3]

Perhaps there is no surprise in its use of אלהים, if there is an implied allusion to Genesis. What is intriguing however is how the Chronicler has inserted here the divine name "God of Israel" which has no antecedent in Genesis. Why not just God אלהים as in Genesis? Some scholars have suggested that the sequence in which the divine names are being used in the Chronistic genealogies is of no special significance. For instance, Sara Japhet states that "the stories from Genesis place only Er in a chronological context, but the matter is of no importance, really. It would be possible to mention YHWH, God of Israel, at any point in the genealogies, and the reference would have no special significance."[4]

In contrast to Japhet's argument, one hypothesis to be tested below is that the selective addition of "Israel" suggests a certain significance to the epithet "God of Israel" which is aligned with the broad meaning of "Israel" in Chronicles. I want to argue that the Chronicler has deliberately used the Jabez narrative not only to evoke the Genesis themes of land, blessings and pain, but also to introduce the issue of the possible inclusion of Northerners and foreigners, through the insertion of the epithet, "God of Israel" (or "LORD God of Israel"). How exactly has the Chronicler used these divine names to develop themes of particular significance in the postexilic context?

The access of foreigners to YHWH is suggested quite clearly in the case of King Cyrus in 2 Chron 36. Cyrus, despite his foreignness, is portrayed positively when he announces "…the fulfillment of the word of the LORD…the LORD stirred up

[3] See Chapter 1 above for a discussion on the connection to Genesis, pp. 29-31.
[4] Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1989), 117.

the spirit of King Cyrus… the LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth…" (2 Chron 36:22-23).[5] This portrayal of the foreign monarch's access to YHWH אלהים may not only suggest a gateway for foreigners to Israel's Yahwistic identity, but may also highlight the Chronicler's emphasis on the theme of inclusiveness during the postexilic context.

My argument is that Jabez may well be a foreigner, someone with limited connections to Israel through genealogy. He found a way forward however when he was recognized and granted a link to Israel, through engagement with the "אלהים of Israel." This would explain why the Chronicler consistently employs divine names in such a way as to blend foreignness as an acceptable characteristic in the postexilic redefinition of Israel's identity.

In addressing questions directly connected to divine names, we begin with a brief glance at how scholars have thus far identified God in the Chronicler's retelling of history. This will be followed by outlining the significance of the issue of divine names in that retold history.

Theocentric History in Chronicles, but who is God?

According to Sara Japhet's theory of "theocentric historiography," the concept of God in Chronicles emphasizes the interrelationships between God and the people of Israel as well as the whole world. That is, the dominant feature of God in Chronicles is "God-in-relation" – relation to the world and to the people of Israel. For Japhet, "the

[5] Note that these closing verses of Chronicles appear in almost identical form to the opening verses of Ezra 1:1-3. William Dumbrell in particular has suggested this connection as a sign of continuity between the two works. See William J. Dumbrell, "The Purpose of the Books of Chronicles," *JETS* 27/3 (1984): 257-66.

nature of this relationship together with the attributes of God Himself" forms the basis of the Chronicler's historiography.[6]

Jonathan Dyck's description of the Chronicler's "theocratic ideology" provides an overlapping view. Dyck has specifically focused on the issues of "politics and religion" in Chronicles where he suggests that the Jewish community in the second temple period can be defined as "theocratic in constitution" under God's rule. The second temple community lived under two forces/spheres, namely the religious and the political. Dyck tends to explore the idea of theocracy ("rule of God") as a way to describe the blending of these two spheres into one in Chronicles, where "Israel is the kingdom of Yahweh." According to Dyck, this combination of "theocratic ideas and the socio-historical context" (religion and politics) marks the uniqueness of the Jewish nation amongst other forms of government in the Persian period.[7] Specifically, Judah did not need its own king to express YHWH's sovereignty.

Williamson provides another view on theocracy by emphasizing prophecy. Williamson's point here is not just that the Chronicler merely mentions prophets but "their words are so built into the structure of the narrative that the work as a whole may be termed a prophetic history."[8] Such an aspect of prophetic influence according to Williamson becomes one of the distinctive features of Chronicles, in contrast to Ezra-Nehemiah's writings.[9]

The importance of prophecy in the Chronicler's understanding of theocentric history is also stressed by other scholars. Peter Ackroyd for instance has described Chronicles as "the first theology of the Old Testament," seeing the Chronicler as the

[6] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 11-12.
[7] Jonathan E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1-2.
[8] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 68.
[9] Williamson points to the less frequent reference to prophecy in Ezra-Nehemiah (Ezra 5:1-2; 6:14) compared to Chronicles.

first "Old Testament theologian."[10] This dimension of theocentric historiography has been recently extended by Scott Hahn, again referring to it as a "prophetic historiography," or a history that is told in a prophetic key. Hahn however interprets the prophetic role as a "liturgical act—receiving the Word of God, interpreting and applying it, and delivering it to God's people in their concrete historical moment."[11]

Taken together, Sara Japhet, Jonathan Dyck, H.G.M. Williamson and Peter Ackroyd are all using different terminologies (such as theocratic, prophetic, and theological language) to emphasise the theocentric aspect of Chronicler's history. Given that the divine name is a dimension of theo-centricity, what does "God" mean to the Chronicler? How does the use of divine names contribute to the development of the concept of God in Chronicles?

Divine Names in Chronicles

Of the four scholars mentioned above, only Japhet provides an extensive analysis of divine names in Chronicles. For Japhet, the broad theological understanding of the concept of God can only be perceived in the "literary work as a whole."[12] This obliges us to go back to the biblical sources that are relevant to Chronicles, especially Genesis and the Deuteronomistic writings. The aim here is to understand how the Chronicler may have adopted the Priestly and/or Deutronomistic theology of divine names, in order to develop the theme of inclusion of foreigners in his writings.

[10] Peter R. Ackroyd, *The Chronicler in His Age* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 280. In relation to the issue of the author's theological influence behind this history, see Pancratius Beentjes, "Prophets in the Book of Chronicles," in *The Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 45-53.
[11] Scott W. Hahn, "Liturgy and Empire: Faith in Exile and Prophetic Historiography in 1 and 2 Chronicles," *Letter & Spirit* 5 (2009): 13-48.
[12] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 12.

אלהים of Israel: Who are the אלהים?

Within the Pentateuchal source, אלהים is first used in Genesis 1. This word as it stands, is grammatically plural in form and is generally believed to be built up from a singular word אל. This root word אל appears to be a proper Semitic name for "god" in the Ancient Near East.[13] The expressions of אל as a deity, יל (*il*) in Ugaritic text, and יהל (*'hl*) in Phoenician texts, are not far away in meaning from that of the Hebrew.[14]

Along a similar line of interpretation, the lexicons by Francis Brown and J. Botterweck also discuss the three inter-related names for God in the Old Testament: אל, אלוה, and אלהים.[15] Each divine expression carries a sense of strength and might be associated with a religious deity, as described above.[16] By looking at these names individually, we can conclude that the etymology of אל may be connected to the old Arabic verb אילה or in Aramaic אלה which implies "to devote oneself to godly practices."[17] אל does not mean "creator" in itself. From the Hebrew perspective, אל symbolizes God as the prominent object of their religious practice. This designation אל as a freestanding form rarely occurs by itself in the Old

[13] T. Desmond Alexander & David W. Baker, ed. *Dictionary of the Old Testament Pentateuch* (Leicester: InterVarsity, 2003), 360; G. Johannes Botterweck, et al. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 271; Mark S. Smith, *God in Translation: Deities in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Biblical World* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 11-12.

[14] The close application of אל between the Canaanites (West-Semitic) and Hebrews as described in the Ugaritic texts is most likely due to their geographical locations as the Canaanites are the neighbors of Israel. See Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002), 2. Cf. Baker, *Dictionary*, 360.

[15] From these three divine names, I have to acknowledge that of course, there are more than three names for God in the HB.

[16] Francis Brown, et al. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2007), 41-2; Botterweck, *Theological Dictionary*, 272-3. See also Umberto Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1961), 20-21.

[17] Botterweck, *Theological Dictionary*, 273; Baker, *Dictionary*, 360.

Testament but it is often expressed either in relation to an adjective such as אל גדול, "the great God" (e.g., Deut 7:21) or in a genitive construction with another noun such as אל שדי, "God Almighty" (e.g., Gen 17:1), or אל עליון, "God Most High" (e.g., Gen 14:18).[18] Here we find the name אל being described in association with "greatness and might" instead of it being used by itself.

In comparison to אל, the name אלוה is used more frequently in the Old Testament, where it occurs fifty-seven times, with forty uses in the Book of Job.[19] Its only appearance in the Pentateuch (Deut 32:15,17) is synonymous with the description "Rock" [צור]. This same context may also be referring to the uniqueness of Israel's God אלהים as the creator (Deut 32:18 also Psa 18:32).[20] We noted that this form אלוה only appears once in Chronicles (2 Chron 32:15) as a pagan deity, a meaning that is also found in other books like Dan 11:37, 39.

Presumably, the plural form אלהים is most likely derived from the form אלוה because of the inclusion of ה in both forms, as well as the existence of a separate, distinct plural form of אל namely אלים in Exod 15:11.[21] The form אלהים seems to be the name most frequently used out of the three names, and it occurs 2570 times in the HB. Its plural form often seems to point to the "gods of the nations,"[22] whereas its

[18] *BDB*, 41-2. More examples of אל used as the compound names in the HB include, for instance, אל עולם "God of ancient Days, Everlasting God" (Gen 21:33; cf. Isa 40:28); and אל ראי "God of seeing" (Gen 16:13).
[19] Deut 32:15,17; 2Kgs 17:31; Isa 44:8; Hab 1:11; 3:3; Ps 18:32; 50:22; 114:7; 139:19; Prov 30:5; Dan 11:37, 38(twice), 39; Neh 9:17; 2 Chr 32:15; along with the 40 times in the Book of Job.
[20] Baker, *Dictionary*, 360-61.
[21] Exodus 15:11 "Who is like you, YHWH among the *gods* [אלים]? Who is like you, majestic in holiness, awesome in splendor, doing wonders?" It is also important to note that this occurrence of אלים in the form of poetry by Moses, is the only occurrence in the Pentateuch source.
[22] A number of instances include: the gods of Egypt (Exod 12:12); the gods of the Amorites (Josh 24:15; Jud 6:10); the gods of Syria, Sidon, Moab, Ammonites and the Philistines (Jud 10:6); and so on.

singular form seems to refer to a single local deity.[23] And this clearly indicates that אלהים is also a generic divine name used to describe "other" religious deities, rather than for a unique name for Israel's God. The early Israelite tradition assumes that every nation has its own god or gods, especially in the ancient Near Eastern world.[24]

This existence of "other gods" is also evident in Chronicles, with the use of the plural אלהים which appears twenty-three times in a variety of contexts.[25] Of these Chronistic occurrences, only six have parallel accounts in the book's sources, leaving the majority as the Chronicler's own creation.[26] In that regard, Sara Japhet suggests that the use of אלהים in Chronicles as the God of Israel is "no different from the epithets of other deities in Chronicles."[27]

Despite the existence of other אלהים as guardian deities of other nations, who are seen to stand in conflict with the superlative expression of the incomparable Hebrew divine אלהים, Mark Smith suggests that the name אל is "the original chief god of the group name Israel."[28] That is, "Israel is not a Yahwistic name with the divine element of Yahweh, but an El name with the element אל."[29] This specific relationship between אל and the people of Israel is portrayed in Deut 32:8. "When the Most High [עליון] apportioned the nations… according to the number of the sons of

[23] For instance, Baal-Zebub, the god of Ekron (2 Kgs 1:2, 6, 16); Ashtoreth, the deity of the Sidonians (1 Kgs 11:33); and the like.
[24] As evidently recorded in Micah 4:5; Jonah 1:5; 2 Kgs 17:29.
[25] For instance, "gods of the peoples of the land" (1 Chr 5:25; 2 Chr 32:19); "their gods" (1 Chr 10:10; 14:12); "all gods" (1 Chr 16:25, 26); "other gods" (2 Chr 2:5; 7:19, 22; 28:25; 34:25); "peoples' gods" (2 Chr 25:15); "the gods of Edom" (2 Chr 25:20); "the gods of Damascus" (2 Chr 28:23); "the gods of the kings of Aram"(2 Chr 28:23); "the gods of the people of Seir" (2 Chr 25:14 x2); "gods for you" (2 Chr 13:8); "the gods of the nations" (2 Chr 32:13, 14, 17) and "foreign gods" (2 Chr 33:15).
[26] 1 Chr 14:12//2 Sam 5:21; 1 Chr 16:25, 26//Psa 96:4, 5; 2 Chr 7:19, 22//1 Kgs 9:6, 9; 2 Chr 32:19//2 Kgs 18:33; 2 Chr 34:25//2 Kgs 22:17.
[27] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 20.
[28] Smith, *The Early History of God*, 32.
[29] Smith, *The Early History of God*, 32.

Israel" in MT [בני ישראל][30] or "the number of the angels of God" in LXX (ἀριθμόν ἀγγέλων θεοϋ).

Thus, אל is the original name for Israel's God, not אלהים. It is the general and oldest Semitic designation for god. Theologically, Walther Eichrodt argued long ago that the plural form of אלהים is not the result of "unification of all deities, but rather the summing up of the whole divine power in a personal unity."[31]

More precisely, the Priestly source developed a scheme of divine names which assumed an inclusive monotheism. In the "primeval history," God is known and addressed as אלהים.[32] The use of אלהים some twenty times within Gen 1:1-2:3 perhaps also emphasizes God אלהים as the creator and sustainer of the universe. By the ancestral period, we find that God appeared to Abraham as אל שדי and the covenant is now marked with "circumcision and passed on by Abraham's heirs, Isaac then Jacob."[33] Here we find a special group of people, the descendants of Abraham, addressing God mainly as אל שדי.

In the Mosaic period however, the divine name for Israel's God was changed to YHWH [יהוה], as he appeared to Moses and the rest of Israelites (Exod 6:2-8).[34] This transitional treatment of divine names – from אלהים to אל שדי then to יהוה – pinpoints the Priestly theology of divine names where God may be regarded universally when taking a retrospective look at the beginning of creation. Here, God

[30] Note that the NRSV has translated the word "Israel" (ישראל) here as "gods."
[31] Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1978), 185.
[32] The primeval history here is particularly referring to the creation story (Gen 1:1-2:3; 5:1-28, 30-32); the flood story (Gen 6:9-22; 7:13-16a; 8:14-19; 9:1-17); and the post-flood genealogy (Gen 11:10-26; Gen 10). See David M. Carr, *An Introduction to the Old Testament: Sacred Texts and Imperial Contexts of the Hebrew Bible* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 196-98.
[33] Starting from Abraham's calling in Gen 11:27-32; 12:4-5; 13:6, and the covenant of circumcision in Gen 17, then on to Abraham's heirs in the rest of Genesis (Gen 21-50).
[34] Carr, *An Introduction to the Old Testament*, 196-98.

can also be seen in a local context and is very much a part of Israel's history when tracing ancestral links and their development as a nation.

The names יהוה and אלהים appear to be used consistently by the Chronicler: יהוה occurs 559 times and אלהים occurs 267 times including their combinations such as יהוה אלהים, אלהי ישראל, יהוה אלהי ישראל, and the like. These statistics may tempt us to assume that the Chronicler adopted the Priestly theology of divine names. However the complete avoidance of the name אל שדי, despite its importance in the Priestly theology, suggests that such an assumption is unfounded.

Attempting to summarize the development of divine names in Chronicles, Japhet concludes as below:

> (a) The epithets most frequently occurring in Chronicles are "God of the fathers" and "God of Israel."
> (b) The Chronicler avoids certain epithets like: "God of heaven" [אלהי השמים]; "LORD of hosts" [יהוה צבאות] and "Adonay" [אדני].[35]
> (c) "The changes in divine names from the sources of Chronicles to the book itself, particularly with reference to "YHWH" and "Elohim," may teach us something about the general historical development of the use of divine names."[36]

Regarding (a) above, Japhet states that the way the Chronicler used the epithets "God of our fathers" and "God of Israel" indicates a particular outlook. For Japhet, the Chronicler used the epithet "God of our fathers" to emphasize the continuity of the relationship between the LORD and His people throughout generations.

However, Japhet seems to place less emphasis on how the Chronicler employed the epithet, "God of Israel." After suggesting a "particular outlook" for the epithet as

[35] As noted, "LORD, the God of heaven" is used and this must be regarded as exceptional as this divine epithet appears only once in Chronicles. What Japhet has failed to note at this point is that "LORD, the God of heaven" is also used in 2 Chr 36:23; and the epithet "LORD of hosts" is used three times in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chr 11:9; 17:7, 24).
[36] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 13-14.

noted in (a) above, Japhet went on to say "this epithet is used freely in Chronicles, unlinked to any particular context" except that it confirms the connection between YHWH and his people in a national sense.[37] Such a view supports her development of a "theocentric historiography" in which the concept of God emphasizes the interrelationships between God and the people of Israel.

However, rather than settling for the assumption that this epithet may not link to any particular context, I argue that the Chronicler may have chosen the epithet "God of Israel" as a foreigner's "security check" to access Israelite identity and land. We may deduce this from the narrative of Jabez – someone dangling without a father among the Israelite genealogies – yet who qualifies for land grants through a mere prayer to the "God of Israel."[38] Why did the prayer not address YHWH given that it is the most common epithet in Chronicles? To me, the significance of the specific employment of "God of Israel" especially in the context of Jabez, a narrative unique to the Chronicler, cannot be underestimated and deserves much more attention.

Before we turn specifically to the phrase "God of Israel," we need to advance further the hypothesis raised by Japhet that the Chronicler wants to emphasize the two epithets ("God of the fathers" and "God of Israel") over the other epithets. Why are these two epithets important in Chronicles? How can we reconcile this argument with the fact that YHWH appears with much greater frequency? And if Japhet's hypothesis is true about these two epithets, why does the Chronicler mention YHWH at all? Before addressing these questions, we need firstly to get an overall picture of how the Chronicler employs these two epithets in his own context.

[37] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 19.
[38] Kelso, "The Transgression of Maacah in 2 Chronicles 15:16," 1-18.

God of the Ancestors

In Chronicles, the epithet "God of the ancestors/LORD God of the ancestors" appears twenty-eight times, including the two references attributed to the patriarchs.[39] These occurrences are presented in Chronicles in three groups of different suffixes: the epithet with the third person plural suffix twenty-one times (הם…);[40] with the second person plural suffix three times (כם…);[41] and with the first plural person suffix two times (נו…).[42] Sara Japhet suggests that the variety of these forms are crucial because they indicate different contexts. More importantly, all of these instances about the "God of the fathers" in Chronicles are added by the Chronicler to the various parallel accounts taken from the book's sources.[43] Japhet also notes that to the Chronicler, this epithet is interchangeable with other epithets within the same passage such as "the LORD your God" (1 Chron 29:20). Given the epithet's attributes as perceived in Chronicles, (its addition to source material as well as its interchangeability with related divine ascriptions), this may suggest that the "God of the ancestors" is especially significant to the Chronicler.

For Japhet, these aspects of the "God of the ancestors" allow one to conclude that the Chronicler has a preference for this epithet over against the others. Observing each occurrence of this epithet in Chronicles may provide us with a full spectrum of the implications of this divine name for the purposes of the Chronicler.

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[39] "God of the fathers": 1 Chr 5:25; 12:17; 2 Chr 33:12; 34:32; "LORD God of the fathers": 1 Chr 29:20; 2 Chr 7:22; 11:16; 13:12, 18; 14:4; 15:12; 19:4; 20:6, 33; 21:10; 24:18, 24; 28:6, 9, 25; 29:5; 30:7, 19, 22; 34:33; 36:15; "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob": 1 Chr 29:18; 2 Chr 30:6.

[40] "God of *their* ancestors:" 1 Chr 5:25; 29:20; 2 Chr 7:22; 11:16; 13:18; 14:4; 15:12; 19:4; 20:33; 21:10; 24:18, 24; 28:6, 25; 30:7, 19, 22; 33:12; 34:32, 33; 36:15.

[41] "God of *your* ancestors": 2 Chr 13:12; 28:9; 29:5.

[42] "God of *our* ancestors": 1 Chr 12:17; 2 Chr 20:6.

[43] The Book sources on most occasions include Samuel-Kings; Deuteronomy 1; Isaiah 7. See William R. Millar, John C. Endres, and John Barclay Burns, eds., *Chronicles and Its Synoptic Parallels in Samuel, Kings, and Related Biblical Texts* (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1998); Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 14.

God of the Ancestors: Patterning in Chronicles

Texts	Characters	Status	Epithets	D/speech/ Narrator	Contexts
1 Chron 5:25	½ tribe of Manasseh	Northern tribe	God of their ancestors	Narrator	Judgment for transgression
1 Chron 12:17	David	King	God of our ancestors	Direct speech	Warning before Judgment
1 Chron 29:18 1 Chron 29:20	David David	King King	LORD, God of the Patriarchs LORD, God of their ancestors	Narrator Direct speech	 Prayer
2 Chron 7:22	Solomon	King	LORD, the God of their ancestors	Direct speech	LORD answers Solomon's prayer
2 Chron 11:16	Levites	Temple Servants	LORD, God of their ancestors	Narrator	Worship
2 Chron 13:12 2 Chron 13:18	Abijah Israelites	King Judah	LORD, God of your ancestors LORD, God of their ancestors	Direct speech Narrator	War between Abijah and Jeroboam
2 Chron 14:4	Asa	King	LORD, God of their ancestors	Narrator	Commandment for Judah to seek the LORD
2 Chron 15:12	Asa	King	LORD, God of their ancestors	Narrator	Worship
2 Chron 19:4	Jehoshaphat	King	LORD, God of their ancestors	Narrator	Residing at Jerusalem
2 Chron 20:6	Jehoshaphat	King	LORD, God of our ancestors	Direct speech	Prayer in the temple
2 Chron 20:33	"the people"	Judeans	God of their ancestors	Narrator	Early reign of Jehoshaphat
2 Chron 21:10	Libnah	Judean city	LORD, God of his ancestors	Narrator	Edomites rebellion
2 Chron 24:18, 24	Joash	King	LORD, God of their ancestors	Narrator	Judgment on Judah and Jerusalem
2 Chron 28:6 2 Chron 28:9 2 Chron 28:25	Ahaz Obed Ahaz	King Prophet King	Lord, God of their ancestors LORD, God of your ancestors LORD, God of his ancestors	Narrator Direct speech Narrator	Judgment on Judah for abandonment the God of ancestors

2 Chron 29:5	Hezekiah	King	LORD, God of your ancestors	Direct speech	Sanctifying the Levites
2 Chron 30:6 2 Chron 30:7 2 Chron 30:19 2 Chron 30:22	Hezekiah Hezekiah Hezekiah Hezekiah	King King King King	LORD, God of the Patriarchs; LORD, God of their ancestors LORD, God of their ancestors LORD, God of their ancestors	Narrator Narrator Direct speech Narrator	Worship at Jerusalem through the Passover festival
2 Chron 33:12	Manasseh	King	God of his ancestors	Narrator	Repentance and prayer
2 Chron 34:32 2 Chron 34:33	Josiah Josiah	King King	God of their ancestors LORD the God of their ancestors	Narrator	Worship at Jerusalem
2 Chron 36:15	Zedekiah	King	LORD, God of their ancestors	Narrator	Judgment on unfaithful king

Apart from the frequency and the interchangeability of this epithet as proposed by Japhet, two other aspects of the name "God of the ancestors" are obvious from the chart above. First, kings are the dominant users of the epithet: it is presented eight times in the form of direct speech by kings starting from David to Hezekiah in the context of prayer;[44] and it occurs eighteen times directly from the narrator's efforts in the context of worship, from King David to King Zedekiah.[45] The frequency and the interchangeability of this epithet as mentioned by Japhet make it distinctive in the way the Chronicler has used it.

Second, it appears that the Chronicler only employs the name "God of the ancestors" when dealing with kings and the people of Israel. Every occurrence of this

[44] Under the category of Direct speeches: King David's prayer in 1 Chr 29:20; twice by king Abijah's prayers in 2 Chr 13:12, 18; King Jehoshaphat's prayer in 2 Chr 20:6; and King Hezekiah's sanctification of the Levites for the Passover festival in 2 Chr 29:5.

[45] For example, it mentions by King David's prayer in 1 Chr 29:18; 2 times by King Asa in 2 Chr 14:4; 15:12; once by King Jehoshaphat in 2 Chr 19:4; 3 times by King Ahaz in 2 Chr 28:6, 9, 25; 4 times by King Hezekiah in 2 Chr 30:6, 7, 19, 22; once by King Josiah in 2 Chr 34:33 and also once by King Zedekiah in 2 Chr 36:15.

epithet was inserted as an addition to the parallel source material, indicating that the Chronicler has done so only in scenarios that directly involve the people of Israel. This feature draws attention to the possibility that the Chronicler reserves the name "God of the ancestors" to be used only with the descendants of Abraham and them alone. In so doing, therefore, the significance of the continuity of the relationship between God and the people of Israel throughout the generations has become paramount in the Chronicler's material.

Could this imply that "God of the ancestors" is deliberately blended in by the Chronicler as a possible alternative to the later Priestly use of אל שדי? If "God of our ancestors" is a characteristic unique to Chronicles, why is Jabez addressing the "God of Israel" instead? With the above discovery that "God of the ancestors" is being reserved for the descendants of Abraham, the deliberate insertion of the "God of Israel" instead of "God of the ancestors" in the Jabez prayer may well be due to his foreignness: he was someone without native ancestral links to Abraham, and hence had limited access to the "God of the ancestors."

God of Israel

As mentioned earlier, Japhet has stressed the importance of the interrelationship between God and Israel in her discussion of this epithet in Chronicles. Both construct forms: "God of Israel" [אלהי ישראל] and "YHWH, (the) God of Israel" [יהוה אלהי ישראל] occur thirty-four times in Chronicles including the absolute form: "Israel's God" [אלהים לישראל] in 1 Chron 17:24.[46] These occurrences are made up

[46] "God of Israel": 1 Chr 4:10; 5:26; 17:24 (twice); 2 Chr 29:7; "Lord God of Israel": 1 Chr 15:12, 14; 16:4, 36; 22:6; 23:25; 24:19; 28:4; 2 Chr 2:12; 6:4, 7, 10, 14, 16, 17; 11:16; 13:5; 15:4, 13; 20:19; 29:10; 30:1,5; 32:17; 33:16,18; 34:23,26; 36:13. I have to acknowledge the inclusion of the absolute

of two groups: nineteen times in direct speech[47] and fifteen times by the narrator, including the prayer of Jabez.[48]

In terms of a synoptic comparison of the book's sources, ten occurrences of the "God of Israel" in Chronicles are paralleled in its biblical sources;[49] there are three parallel accounts in which the "God of Israel" is not mentioned in the sources;[50] and the rest are unique to Chronicles. It is clear therefore that most parallel accounts in Chronicles are from the Deuteronomistic history (Samuel-Kings), used in the context of temple construction during the reign of Solomon.[51]

In terms of frequency, the phrase "God of Israel" appears five times while the "LORD God of Israel" appears twenty-nine times. The following table is designed to give us a closer look into how the epithet is used in Chronicles and hopefully to suggest other possible factors as to why it may be one of the significant divine names in the Chronicler's work. Do foreigners refer to YHWH in Chronicles or only to אלהים?

God of Israel: Patterning in Chronicles

Texts	Characters	Status	Epithets	D/Speech Narrator	Contexts
1 Chron 4:10**	Jabez	unknown	God of Israel	Narrator	Prayer
1 Chron 5:26[52]	King Pul and	King of	God of	Narrator	Judgment

form; "God (אלהים) for/to Israel" or "Israel's God" in 1 Chr 17:24 for this is unique to Chronicles compare to his source (2 Sam 7:26).

[47] 1 Chr 15:12; 17:24 (x2); 16:36; 23:25; 28:4; 2 Chr 2:12; 6:4, 7, 10, 14, 16, 17; 13:5; 15:4; 29:7, 10; 34:23, 26.

[48] 1 Chr 4:10; 5:26; 15:14; 16:4; 22:6; 24:19; 2 Chr 11:16; 15:13; 20:19; 30:1, 5; 32:17; 33:16, 18; 36:13.

[49] 1 Chr 16:36//Ps 106:48; 1 Chr 17:24//2 Sam 7:27; 2 Chr 6: 4, 7, 10, 14, 16, 17//1 Kgs 8:15, 17, 20, 23, 25, 26; 2 Chr 34:23, 26//2 Kgs 22:15, 18. All of these parallel accounts are copied word for word from each of these book sources (with a minor changes particularly between 2 Chr 6: 17//1 Kgs 8:26 in which the Chronicler omits "my father").

[50] (1) 1 Chr 5:26//2 Kgs 18:11-12; (2) 2 Chr 2:12//1 Kgs 5:7; (3) 2 Chr 33:18//2 Kgs 21:17.

[51] For instance see 2 Chr 6:4, 7, 10, 14, 16, 17//1 Kgs 8:15, 17, 20, 23, 25, 26.

[52] 1 Chr 5:26//2 Kgs 18:11-12. From this source, the Chronicler adds the "God of Israel" [אלהי ישראל].

	Tilgath-pilneser	Assyria	Israel		
1 Chron 15:12** 1 Chron 15:14**	David David	King King	LORD God of Israel LORD God of Israel	Direct speech Narrator	Preparation for the Ark of God Sanctification: Priests/Levites
1 Chron 16:4 ** 1 Chron 16:36[53]	David Asaph and his kindred	King Singers	LORD God of Israel LORD God of Israel	Narrator Direct speech	Service: Levites before the Ark of God
1 Chron 17:24x2[54]	David	King	God of Israel	Direct speech (twice)	Prayer
1 Chron 22:6 **	David	King	LORD God of Israel	Narrator	Preparation for the Temple
1 Chron 23:25**	David	King	LORD God of Israel	Direct speech	Prayer
1 Chron 24:19**	Priests	Ministers	LORD God of Israel	Narrator	Service in the Temple
1 Chron 28:4 **	David	King	LORD God of Israel	Direct speech	A chosen king over Israel forever
2 Chron 2:12[55]	Huram	King of Tyre	LORD God of Israel	Direct speech	Prayer
2 Chron 6:4, 7, 10, 14, 16, 17[56]	Solomon	King	LORD God of Israel	Direct speech (6 times)	Worship/Prayer
2 Chron 11:16**	Levites	Temple Servants	LORD God of Israel	Narrator	Worship
2 Chron 13:5**	Abijah	King	LORD God of Israel	Direct speech	Abijah versus Jeroboam
2 Chron 15:4**	Azariah	Prophet	LORD God of Israel	Direct speech	Warning to king Asa
2 Chron 15:13**	Asa	King	LORD God of Israel	Narrator	The act of repentance by king Asa
2 Chron 20:19**	Kothathites	Levites	LORD God of Israel	Narrator	Worship

[53] 1 Chr 16:36//Psa 106:48. The Chronicler copies word for word.
[54] 1 Chr 17:24//2 Sam 7:26. In both accounts, the epithet "The LORD of hosts" is prefixed to the "God of Israel."
[55] 2 Chr 2:12//1 Kgs 5:7. Hiram's direct speech in Chronicles mentions the "God of Israel" which is missing in Hiram's speech in Kings.
[56] 2 Chr 6:4, 7, 10, 14, 16, 17//1 Kgs 8:15, 17, 20, 23, 25, 26. All instances in Chronicles are aligned exactly with its sources except for one phrase, "my father" in 1 Kgs 8:26, which is missing in 2 Chr 6:17.

2 Chron 29:7**	Hezekiah	King	God of Israel	Direct speech	Sanctification of Levites
2 Chron 29:10**	Hezekiah	King	LORD God of Israel	Direct speech	Worship at Jerusalem
2 Chron 30:1, 5**	Hezekiah	King	LORD God of Israel	Narrator (twice)	Preparation for the Passover
2 Chron 32:17**	Sennacherib	King of Assyria	LORD God of Israel	Narrator	Sennacherib's contempt to Hezekiah
2 Chron 33:16** 2 Chron 33:18[57]	Manasseh Manasseh	King King	LORD God of Israel LORD God of Israel	Narrator Narrator	Manasseh's act of repentance: worship and prayer
2 Chron 34:23, 26[58]	Huldah	Prophet	LORD God of Israel	Direct speech (twice)	Warning to Judah and its inhabitants
2 Chron 36:13**	Zedekiah	King	LORD God of Israel	Narrator	Zedekiah's rebellion to king Nebuchadnezzar

*Note: ** indicate references without parallel in the sources of Chronicles.*

From the above layout, the following features of the epithet "God of Israel" become apparent.

First, the "LORD God of Israel" is used much more frequently than just "God of Israel." We noted earlier that the name "LORD God" is quite common in both Genesis 2-3 and Chronicles, and here we find the Chronicler suggesting the "LORD God of Israel" as a possible extention of "LORD God."

Second, as previously noted with "God of the ancestors," the epithet is distinctive because it appears to be commonly used in association with kings. Of the thirty-four occurrences of this epithet in Chronicles, twenty-seven of them are associated with kings: nineteen times in direct speech, and fifteen times by the narrator. Also noted is that the name is used twice in the direct speech of prophets, and it is used three times by Levites and priests. Most of these occurrences across

[57] 2 Chr 33:18//2 Kgs 21:17. It is noted that the Chronicler adds "the God of Israel" to his account and also has a positive image of Manasseh compared to the sinful image of Manasseh in Kings.
[58] 2 Chr 34:23, 26//2 Kgs 22:15, 18. Here, the Chronicler copies word for word.

Chronicles have been inserted by the Chronicler (as marked by the asterisks): seven are located in direct speech and thirteen are inserted by the Chronicler himself. The epithet "LORD God of Israel" is therefore placed on the lips of a very limited group of people – kings, prophets, singers, Levites and priests. Is the Chronicler therefore implying that the epithet is only employed by kings and religious figures in the Israelite community?

Third, although the epithet "God of Israel" (that is, without the prefix LORD) is often associated with kings as with "LORD God of Israel," we find an interesting pattern from the first two occurrences of "God of Israel." The first occurrence is with Jabez who "…called on the God of Israel…" (1 Chron 4:10a) – an honourable "someone" with unknown links to the people of Israel. The second occurrence is with Pul, king of Assyria "… the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul, king of Assyria..." (1 Chron 5:26) – a foreign king divinely aroused to be an agent to initiate the exile. Three common threads are found here: (1) both occurrences of the epithets are added by the Chronicler; (2) both Jabez and Pul could be regarded as honourable; and (3) both appear to be foreign with no direct Israelite ties, yet the Chronicler somehow seems to approve of associating them with the "God of Israel."

So from this propose that this divine name, although specific to those of high regard in society, is yet more generally available to anyone regardless of their origin. Although not a king, Jabez stands out oddly against all the kings as an unknown yet honourable character. The majority of prayers in Chronicles are said by kings and elites (such as prophets/Levites and kings: David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah),[59] yet it seems this unknown Jabez also qualifies to pray to the "God of

[59] These kings are also listed by Beentjes in his book. See Pancratius C. Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 12.

Israel." Here is someone "who seems to dangle without a clear paternal line"[60] in the midst of Judahite genealogies, yet the blurred mention of his nameless mother and her bearing him in pain, is enough detail for the Chronicler to link him to God אלהים. Our earlier analysis on the development of the epithet אלהים and its universal association with the Priestly theology assists us to locate the Chronicler's inclusive stance with regards to the employment of the epithet "God of Israel."

But why not just use אלהים in Jabez's prayer? At this point, we need to verify the validity of Israel as part of the epithet despite the possibility of Jabez's foreignness. The key proposal to be examined here is that Israel is valid due to Jabez's specific request for land – an identity to be acquired from the Israelite people via the "God of Israel."

God of Israel: Who is Israel?

Although G. von Rad's theory about the term "Israel" in the postexilic community is now widely rejected, it is worth mentioning it at this point in order to show how scholarship has progressed in recent years. Based on his tradition-historical study, von Rad contends that the term "Israel" "contains different and conflicting ideas" which reflect different views from various contexts and traditions "incorporated in the text." These conflicting views reflect "the clash between theory and reality:" that is, between the historical Israel made up of twelve tribes and the postexilic reality made up of only Judah, Benjamin and Levi. More recently, it has been argued that this ideal concept of "Israel" in the postexilic community consisting of only Judah, Benjamin and Levi, stands in opposition to the Chronicler's understanding of the postexilic Israelite community which is inclusive of the tribes in Samaria. But for von Rad,

[60] Kelso, "The Transgression of Maacah in 2 Chronicles 15:16," 1-18.

when the Chronicler talks about "all Israel in Judah and Benjamin" (2 Chron 11:3), he refers to the Kingdom of Judah as the "true Israel."[61] Although von Rad agrees that the genealogical chapters of Chronicles (1 Chron 1-9) are constituted on the assumption of twelve tribes, the real centre of concentration is in Judah, Benjamin and Levi alone.

At one level, von Rad's argument is reasonable, as the tribes of Judah, Benjamin and Levi take the majority of the Chronicler's genealogies.[62] The issue of Judah alone as the true Israel over against their neighbours in the North, is presumably nothing new in the postexilic community. The overarching ideology behind Ezra-Nehemiah in the postexilic period is also concerned that Judah alone is the true Israel, now attributed as God's people.[63] In supporting von Rad's argument, Julius Wellhausen also states that "Israel is the congregation of true worship…connected with the temple at Jerusalem in which of course the Samaritans have no part."[64] If this is true, then "Israel" as in the "God of Israel" that Jabez was referring to, was the God of Israel, namely Judah.

However, although von Rad has cited a particular example of "all Israel" made up of Judah and Benjamin, he has misconstrued the significance of what "all Israel" meant in light of other evidence which later scholars such as Japhet, Williamson, and Jonker have collected. The more recent trend in scholarship is to see the Chronicler's interests as extending beyond Judah to a pan-Israelite vision.

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[61] Gerhard von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild Des Chronistichen Werkes* (BWANT, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930), and cited in Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology*, 38.
[62] For example, the tribe of Judah in 1 Chr 2; 4:1-23; the tribe of Levi in 1 Chr 6; and the tribe of Benjamin in 1 Chr 8.
[63] Especially in Ezra 9-10 and Neh 9-10 concerning the discussion of the renewal movement and the legal observances of the exiled community (Judah), as well as the action taken against the mixed marriages with so-called aliens.
[64] Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (New York: Meridian Books, 1994), 188.

The Scholarly Consensus: Pan-Israelites

The scholarly consensus in opposing von Rad's conclusion starts with the Swedish scholar, Gustaf Adolf Danell, who believes that the term "Israel" is never the name of one particular tribe. This means that Israel, from the beginning in the patriarchal traditions, was more than the name of an individual tribe but a "union of tribes." It was from the start, "the ideal designation of the total confederation or amphictyony of which Judah also was a part."[65]

According to Danell, this meaning of "Israel" with a sense of inclusiveness also occurs in some of the prophetic books of the HB that present the image of a "pan-Israelite." Here, "Israel denotes the ideal totality of the northern and southern kingdoms and not the former alone."[66] For Danell, there are also times that the northern kingdom adopted the name "Israel" only, but that is because it wished to identify itself with the idealized total entity.

"All Israel" in Chronicles

The idea of a "Pan-Israel" developed by Danell provides the better account of Israel as "the united monarchy" in 1 Chronicles 10 to 2 Chronicles 9 under the reigns of David and Solomon. Julius Wellhausen, despite his exclusive approach to the northerners, firstly links the concept of "all Israel" to the establishment of the Davidic dynasty in Chronicles. Different from how David is expressed in Kings, the Chronicler presents David as an idealistic figure, as Wellhausen states:

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[65] Gustaf Adolf Danell, *Studies in the Name of Israel in the Old Testament* (Uppsala: Appelbergs, 1946). 80, 89, 288.

[66] Danell proposes the idea of pan-Israelite identity in these prophetic books in relation to the Davidic hope for the future generations of Israel. For instance, Ezekiel and Jeremiah in particular describe the exiled people who are to become the people of the future, but these people are from the northern and southern kingdoms. See Danell, *Studies in the Name of Israel*, 270, 280, 281 and 289.

> The founder of the kingdom has become the founder of the temple and the public worship, the king and hero at the head of his companions in arms has become the singer and master of ceremonies at the head of a swarm of priests and Levites;[67]

From the above, the Chronicler seems to put more emphasis upon David as an ideal king for "all Israel" – a leader who has responsibilities towards the united Israel, and this is underlined by the way in which the Chronicler represents David.[68] According to Wellhausen, such a positive image of David in Chronicles reflects the Chronistic world view which "is clericalised in the taste of the post-exilian time."[69]

Similarly, Welch's argument seems to affirm this idea of "all Israel" under the Davidic dynasty. However, he goes further to include the tribes of the Northern Kingdom in the context of Chronicles. For Welch, the impression of "all Israel" from the Chronicles' general outlook is attributed to "all segments of the people" including the northerners.[70] It is noteworthy that despite the fact that Welch's contribution is earlier than Danell, his application of "all Israel" seems to amalgamate Wellhausen's and Danell's arguments in saying that the Chronicler has linked the idea of all Israel by a thread which runs through David's records as a successful king.[71]

In addition to these classic contributions, Williamson, Japhet, Jonker, and Knoppers in particular have also placed more emphasis on this concept of "pan-Israelism/all Israel" from the positive perspective. These scholars believe that the essence of this positive aspect of all Israel including the northerners is fundamental to the book of Chronicles as a whole. Williamson goes on to provide an extensive study of the concept of Israel in Chronicles.[72]

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[67] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 188.
[68] See Chapter 5 below for more information about the Chronicler's presentation of David.
[69] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 182.
[70] Adam C. Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and Its Date* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 11.
[71] Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler*, 42.
[72] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 87-140; Louis C. Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), esp154-160; Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, 11-12.

In reference particularly to Williamson's argument, the word "Israel" appears three-hundred times in Chronicles: twelve refer to the patriarch Jacob;[73] it is used thirty-five times in the expression "(the LORD) the God of Israel"; twenty-one times in the corresponding idea that Israel is God's people; and twenty-seven times it refers to the various aspects of the period before the establishment of the monarchy.[74] Although the majority of these occurrences are generally irrelevant to this study, Chronicles is establishing new respect for Joseph, a northern figure. Williamson has then argued that 1 Chron 5:1-2 focuses on the questions of why the Chronicler eliminated Reuben from the genealogical record of Israel as a first born or in accordance with his birthright, and why Judah "became prominent among his brothers" and "yet the birthright belonged to Joseph" not Judah.

Williamson notes that the Chronicler reminds the reader of the incident told in Gen 35:22 where "Reuben went and lay with Bilhah, his father's concubine" (1 Chron 5:1) "…because he defiled his father's bed… " The Chronicler also prompts the reader to reflect on the second incident in Genesis 48 where Jacob blessed Joseph's sons: Ephraim and Manasseh by crossing his hands – the right hand on Ephraim the younger and the left hand on Manasseh. So from Gen 35:22, the defilement by Reuben caused the blessing of the firstborn to be passed to these two sons of Joseph (1 Chron 5:2).

According to Williamson, Chronicles is the only book in the Old Testament "unequivocally to state that the birthright passed from Reuben to Joseph."[75] This particular reference to Joseph and his sons' inheriting the birthright is viewed by

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Under the study of "all-Israel" in Chronicles, see also Peniamina Leota, "Ethnic Tensions in Persian-Period Yehud: A Samoan Postcolonial Hermeneutic" (PhD thesis, University of Divinity, 2005), 141-75, esp.141 n.24.

[73] 1 Chr 1:34; 2:1; 5:1 (twice), 3; 6:23; 7:29; 16:13, 17; 29:10, 18; and 2 Chr 30:6. Note that the Chronicler seems to prefer the word "Israel" instead of "Jacob."

[74] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 89.

[75] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 94.

Williamson as reflecting on the northern tribes as an "honourable part within the nation."[76] Jonker also expresses 1 Chron 5:2 as "a reference by which the Chronicler acknowledges the valid rights of the inhabitants of the former northern kingdom (closely associated with Ephraim)."[77] Similarly, Williamson points to a scholarly consensus that "all twelve tribes of Israel are regarded as necessary to the fullness of God's people."[78]

Williamson extends the idea of "all Israel" in the united monarchy as mentioned by Danell, Welch, Jonker, and Wellhausen above, to the ideal Israel in the divided monarchy (2 Chron 10-28).[79] He has noted that the Chronicler uses the word Israel eighty times in connection with the divided monarchy and in the majority of these occurrences it refers to the Northern Kingdom.[80] However for Williamson, there is no doubt that the Chronicler "used the name Israel for Judah, not to exclude or contrast with the Northern Kingdom, but to make the positive point that there was to be found in Judah an unbroken continuation of the Israel of earlier days."[81]

To summarize Williamson's approach, the Chronicler refers to the twelve tribes as the fullness of God's people. The Chronicler maintains the relevance of the Northern Kingdom which still remains part of Israel despite the divided monarchy. That is, the Chronicler's positive attitude to the divided monarchy as a whole reflects that both kingdoms, regardless of their differences and separation, qualify to be called Israel, and even more so in the postexilic context as both kingdoms come under one foreign rule.

[76] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 95.
[77] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 59.
[78] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 90.
[79] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 97-118.
[80] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 102.
[81] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 107.

Like Williamson, Japhet argues that this inclusive aspect of Israel is evident not only in connection with the reigns of David and Solomon (1 Chron 10-2 Chr 9) but also throughout Chronicles, particularly in the genealogical lists (1 Chron 1-9) and the "accounts of two important kings, Hezekiah and Josiah."[82]

Even in relation to 2 Chron 11:3, which was the cornerstone of von Rad's argument, Japhet contends that the idea of "all Israel" in both 2 Chron 11:3[83] and 1 Kgs 12:23[84] is similar. Japhet claims that the Chronicler drops the tribal terms found in Kings on purpose, such as "the house of Judah and Benjamin" and "the rest of the people" but uses "geographical labels" instead, such as "all Israel in Judah and Benjamin." The fact that the inhabitants of these areas are designated as "all Israel in Judah and Benjamin" without any mention of their tribal origins, indicates for Japhet that it is therefore equivalent to "all the people."[85] This phrase "all Israel" appears quite frequently in Chronicles, and for Japhet it includes "the entire people with all its tribes and components."[86]

This broad definition of an entire people can be described in three ways: first, by noting the inconsistent use of "all Israel" across Chronicles;[87] second, by recognizing the inclusion of people from Ephraim, Manasseh and Zebulun who are invited to participate in the Passover festival during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chron 30:10); and third, by the mention of the extension of boundaries "…from all the

[82] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 270.
[83] 2 Chronicles 11:3 "Say to King Rehoboam of Judah, son of Solomon, and to <u>all Israel in Judah</u> [ואל כל־ישראל ביהודה] and Benjamin,"
[84] 1 Kings 12:23 "Say to King Rehoboam of Judah, son of Solomon, and to <u>all the house of Judah</u> [ואל כל־בית יהודה] and Benjamin, and to *the rest of the people*."
[85] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 274.
[86] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 278.
[87] That is the term "all Israel" sometimes refers to the Southern Kingdom (e.g., 2 Chr 12:1; 24:8; 28:23); to the Northern Kingdom (e.g., 2 Chr 11:13; 13:4, 15; 30:1,6); or even to the entire people (e.g., 2 Chr 29:24; 30:5; 35:3). See also Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 270-71.

territory that belonged to the people of Israel…" from Simeon to Naphtali during the reign of Josiah (2 Chron 34:6-7).

All in all, these influential contributions combine to show that the concept of Israel in Chronicles is mainly of a pan-Israel including both kingdoms, and could also be more widely understood to include those who live outside the Palestinian region. Jabez's prayer needs to be considered in the context of this pan-Israelite scope. The inclusive language of 1 Chron 4:9-10 as well as the scholarly concept of pan-Israelite identity discussed above seem to be more appropriate to the inclusive sense depicted in 1 Chron 1-9. Chronicles obviously starts its genealogies with Adam, who is not a specific ancestor to Israel but a universal figure for all of humanity.

If we take this view, then it would not be surprising to find the insertion of Jabez among the Judahite genealogies even if he is a foreigner. Instead we may understand Jabez as an individual in the Israelite community with disconnected ties to Israel yet very much included and connected into the universal and inclusive view of a pan-Israelite people. This indeed justifies his prayer addressing the God of Israel for a land extension – a direct petition to the universal אלהים yet mindful of the Israelite land boundaries that are being extended for the inclusion of all, under the pan-Israelite concept. But if Jabez's main themes of blessings and land extension are all leaning towards Genesis theology, why did the Chronicler omit prominent Priestly names such as אל שדי and עליון?

In fact, Japhet identifies the missing archaic epithets from Genesis in Chronicles, but she does not explain the reason behind their omission. Yet these archaic epithets are so important that they are used as a basis for the Priestly theology of divine names in Genesis. But why? Instead, "the God of the fathers" and "the God

of Israel" are the prominent epithets in Chronicles, and we are still left with the question why YHWH appears a lot more frequently.

YHWH (יהוה) in Chronicles

The name YHWH (LORD) by itself occurs 430 times in Chronicles.[88] As mentioned earlier, YHWH (יהוה) is the first divine name we find in Chronicles (1 Chron 2:3) and likewise, we also find YHWH to be the last divine name at the closing of the book (2 Chron 36:22-23): "…the fulfillment of the word of YHWH…YHWH stirred up the spirit of King Cyrus…." So why is the name YHWH also so frequent in Chronicles? The following list of divine names is taken from the immediate context of Jabez's text in the genealogical chapters (1 Chron 1-9):

Epithets	References	1 Chron 1-9	1 Chron 10-2 Chr36
אלהים	1 Chron 4:10b; 5:20, 22, 25; 6:48, 49; 9:11, 13, 26, 27	10 times	221 times= 231
(YHWH) אלהים of Israel	1 Chron 4:10a; 5:26	2 times	30 times = 32
אלהים of the ancestors	1 Chron 5:25	once	3 times = 4
YHWH	1 Chron 2:3; 6:15, 31, 32; 9:19, 20, 23	7 times	423 times = 430
Total		**20 times**	**430/267**

From the above chart, the frequency of both epithets ("God of the ancestors" and "God of Israel") are low in frequency compared to YHWH and אלהים in the genealogical section. Of seven references to YHWH, only the very first one (1 Chron 2:3) has a parallel account in Gen 38:7, with the other six being the Chronicler's own insertions. From the twenty references in the genealogical chapters (1 Chron 1-9),

[88] But the combination of YHWH and other epithets such as "YHWH God," "YHWH God of Israel," and others is mentioned more than five hundred times in Chronicles.

eighteen of them seem to have been added by the Chronicler.[89] The first of all these Chronistic divine names is found in Jabez's story (1 Chron 4:9-10) under the name the "God of Israel." Surely the Chronicler has inserted this epithet for a purpose. Perhaps we can suggest that the writer(s) uses the genealogies of Genesis and starts with YHWH but is not interested in telling how they arrive at this name YHWH, though the Exodus account does, as mentioned above. That is, Chronicles starts off its retelling of history with Adam before engaging with Samuel-Kings in terms of divine names.

The table statistical analysis also suggest that the high frequency in the use of "YHWH" as a divine name may not be relevant to Jabez's prayer. If he was an Israelite, he might have used YHWH or some other epithet. However, if Jabez was a foreigner, the name אלהים is more appropriate in his prayer (although Jabez might have used the name YHWH as well, as in Isa 56:6 where YHWH is also served by foreigners). With this case, maybe the Chronicler wants to suggest a preference for using אלהים that relates to the Priestly name for the creator, rather than the אל שדי of Israel's ancestors.

יהוה אלהים

The phrase יהוה אלהים denotes "a proper name,"[90] but it is not a very common phrase in the HB. It only appears forty-two times: twenty times in the story of the Garden of Eden in Genesis 2-3;[91] once in Exodus;[92] three times in Samuel-Kings;[93]

[89] The other two are 1 Chr 2:3//Gen 38:7 (LORD) and 1 Chr 9:11//Neh 11:11 (God)
[90] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 37.
[91] Gen 2:4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22; 3:1, 8 (twice), 9, 13, 14, 21, 22, 23.
[92] Exod 9:30.
[93] 2 Sam 7:25; 2 Kgs 19:19 (twice).

once in the book of Jonah;[94] six times in Psalms;[95] and twelve times in Chronicles.[96] Based on this lists of occurrences, it seems that יהוה אלהים is a peculiarity particularly in Genesis 2-3 and in Chronicles.

Of the twelve occurrences in Chronicles, only five have partial parallels in the book's sources. Yet each of these five references in the book's sources has a different form to the יהוה אלהים found in Chronicles.

Chronicles	**Likely Sources**
1 Chron 17.16: "O LORD God" [יהוה אלהים]	2 Sam 7.18: "O Lord GOD"… [אדני יהוה]
1 Chron 17.17: "O God" … [אלהים]	2 Sam 7.19: "O Lord GOD"… [אדני יהוה]
1 Chron 17.17: "O LORD God!" [יהוה אלהים]	2 Sam 7.19: "O Lord GOD"… [אדני יהוה]
2 Chron 1.9: "O LORD God" [יהוה אלהים]	1 Kgs 3.7: "O LORD my God" [יהוה אלהי]
2 Chron 6.41: "O LORD God" [יהוה אלהים]	Psa 132.8: … "O LORD"… [יהוה]
2 Chron 6.41: "O LORD God" [יהוה אלהים]	Psa 132.9: (*no mention of* [יהוה אלהים]
2 Chron 6.42: "O LORD God" (יהוה אלהים)	Psa 132.10…(*no mention of* [יהוה אלהים]

Thus, the name יהוה אלהים is distinctive in Chronicles. This allows us to conclude that all the occurrences of יהוה אלהים in Chronicles, including the above mentioned parallel accounts, are the Chronicler's own insertion. Also from the above chart, the name אלהים itself (apart from יהוה אלהים) is almost always used in Chronicles in its construct form with first person suffix: "…my God…", except for the one

[94] Jonah 4:6.
[95] Psalms 59:5; 72:18; 80:5, 20; 84:9 (8), 12 (11).
[96] 1 Chr 17:16, 17; 22:1, 19; 28:20; 29:1; 2 Chr 1:9; 6:41 (twice), 42; 26:18; 32:16.

appearance in 1 Kgs 3:7. One of the reasons behind the Chronistic usage of אלהים according to some scholars is that during the Chronicler's time, "God is no longer to be viewed as the bearer of a personal name or as Israel's God: He is recognized as God of the entire world."[97] This view of אלהים in the historical context of Chronicles coheres with the general assumption behind the dominant usage of אלהים alone in the first creation narrative in Gen 1:1-2:3.[98]

Regarding the origin and significance of the compound expression יהוה אלהים, some scholars have argued that it is the result of a redactional process, while others have suggested that such a phrase has a particular meaning itself.[99] In fact, יהוה אלהים appears to be an odd combination in comparison with Genesis 1 where אלהים means universal and יהוה is often regarded as the personal God for Israel.[100] Thus, יהוה אלהים expresses a profound understanding, where Israel's identity and universal identity are blend together (i.e., national God + universal God = same God). This same God has been described by Cassuto as "the God of Israel is the God of the entire universe." Here, the names יהוה and אלהים represent two different aspects of God's activity, or two different ways in which God "reveals to the children of men."[101]

These two aspects of God in Chronicles are described by Jonker as a particular understanding of the relationship between God and his people. That is, "Judah and

[97] Y. Gutman, *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature* (Heb.: Jerusalem, 1958), 125, cited in Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 32. However, Japhet rejects this view due to the fact that it overlooks the significance of other textual evidence. She also believes that the changes could be the result of the long process of textual transmission. See p. 35-39.
[98] Gen 1:1, 2, 3, 4 (twice), 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 (twice), 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21 (twice), 22, 24, 25 (twice), 26, 27(twice), 28 (twice), 29, 31; 2:2,3 (twice).
[99] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 38.
[100] Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis*, 19.
[101] Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis*, 33.

Israel (and even other nations and empires) form part of an All-Israel only insofar as they seek this God and humble themselves before this God."[102] Taking Jonker's view into consideration, if the Chronicler's outlook was to be more ecumenical (pan-Israelite), the Chronicler could well have used אל שדי to include all the descendants of Abraham. However, the Chronicler has adopted the amalgamation of יהוה אלהים as expressing pan-Israelite identity (i.e., national (יהוה) + international God (אלהים)) which is more inclusive of all humanity.[103]

Furthermore, the Chronicler seems to be consistent in using יהוה אלהים which coheres with Chronicles' attitude toward non-Israelite groups living in Judah such as the resident aliens [גרים] including foreigners and even foreign women. This notion of גרים in Chronicles is meant to be understood as "we find it in Priestly literature" where an alien is described in Japhet's words as

> … a member of a foreign people who has joined the people of Israel, adopted their religion, and thus lost his (sic) foreign identity. As we have seen, the term "*gerim*" describes two groups in Chronicles: the remnant of the Canaanite population mentioned during Solomon's reign and the people who come from around the country to celebrate Passover in Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah. In the book of Kings, too, the reigns of Solomon and Hezekiah are the only periods (during the First Commonwealth) in which non-Israelites living in the land are expressly mentioned. Chronicles describes these members of foreign peoples as "*gerim*" and thereby transforms them into a segment of the Israelite community. As a result of this transformation, there are no longer any foreigners living in the land of Israel.[104]

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[102] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 314.

[103] Of course this idea of "pan-Israel" and "ecumenism" in Chronicles does not mean that the Chronicler is inclusive in every respect. For example, gender equality is not part of the Chronicler's inclusiveness, as has been argued by other scholars such as Kelso and Mitchell. See Julie Kelso, "O Mother, Where Art Thou?" in *An Irigarayan Reading of the Book of Chronicles* (London: Equinox, 2007); Kelso, "The Transgression of Maacah in 2 Chronicles 15:16," 1-18; Christine Mitchell, "Otherness and Historiography in Chronicles, in *Historiography and Identity (Re)Formation in Second Temple Historiographical Literature*, ed. Louis C. Jonker (New York: T&T Clark International, 2010), 92-109; Christian Frevel, ed. *Mixed Marriages Intermarriage and Group Identity in the Second Temple Period* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2011). However, this paper merely deals with historical questions: What kind of inclusiveness did the Chronicler have in mind? What kind of ecumenical perspective is the author trying to articulate?

[104] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 346. See above section where this point is first made in detail.

Japhet also provides the different accounts of intermarriages within the genealogies of Chronicles as supporting evidence of foreigners transforming into Israelites through marriage (1 Chron 2:3, 17, 34-35; 4:18; 7:14).[105] Such an inclusive approach brings to light the complex reality of the various communities fused together as "all-Israel" during the postexilic period. Perhaps a challenge for the Chronicler was addressing all these people in an inclusive manner yet being mindful of their differences in society.

Could this be why the Chronicler employs YHWH more frequently but sprinkled with occasional use of אלהים and other epithets? Aware that although the majority of the postexilic communities may belong to Israel by genealogical descent and thus comfortable with the Israel specific "YHWH," the Chronicler may have also deliberately merged in the Priestly divine names such as אלהים and יהוה אלהים to develop a sense of inclusiveness of others.

Conclusion

Having יהוה as the primary epithet in the book may on the surface cause us to believe that it is the preferred epithet in Chronicles. However, this analysis suggests that the consistent employment of אלהים and יהוה אלהים appears to be a major tool used by the Chronicler to develop the theme of inclusiveness in the postexilic context. While the deliberate insertion of epithets such as "God of the ancestors" and "God of Israel" relate more specifically to Israelites in the broadest sense, we also find the

[105] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 347. Note that this point of intermarriage in the genealogical chapters (1 Chr 1-9) has also been argued by Knoppers in particular. See Knoppers, "Intermarriage, Social Complexity," 15-30; Gary N. Knoppers, "Great among His Brothers but Who Is He? Heterogeneity in the Composition of Judah," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 3 (2001): 1-7; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*.

Chronicler ensuring that foreigners are seen as part of "all Israel," where they have a share in this access to YHWH through the universal umbrella of the Priestly אלהים. That is, a foreigner may not pray to the God of the ancestors, given the ancestors were Israelites. So the אלהים of Israel seems to be a more appropriate address of God for Jabez from a foreigner's viewpoint, in light of his missing ancestral links.

The Priestly idea of inclusive monotheism may relate as well to the nature of Chronicles as a cultic history of Israel. Considering Yehud as a new postexilic community, with the temple rebuilt in Jerusalem under Persian authority, Chronicles offers a distinctive hope for all Israel in response to the exclusive approach of Ezra-Nehemiah. But even beyond the cult, the prayer of Jabez also seems to affirm the value of non-cultic settings for prayer and this will be further discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

CUTLIC AND NON-CULTIC PRAYERS

Introduction

In contrast to the more secular tide of earlier HB studies, prayers throughout Chronicles have been closely studied by more recent scholarship.[1] Steven Schweitzer in particular refers to Chronicles as "a cultic history rather than a royal one."[2] A number of other scholars have supported his claim that Chronicles is a work centred on worship and seeking God, typified by the roles of cultic officials like kings, Levites and priests or temple servants in Jerusalem.[3]

This chapter will examine whether foreigners might also be included through the theme of prayer, and how this possibility may be understood from the wider imagination of Chronicles as a whole. It will be argued that the key to understanding lies in the way the Chronicler presents prayers that are not derived from its sources. In

[1] See Moshe Greenberg, *Biblical Prose Prayer; as a Window to the Popular Religion of Ancient Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 7-9; and Samuel E. Balentine, *Prayer in the Hebrew Bible: The Drama of Divine-Human Dialogue* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), 1, 225-26; Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 51-52; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 25.
[2] Steven J. Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles* (London: T&T Clark International, 2007), 12.
[3] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, esp.1044-45; Isaac Kalimi, "Jerusalem - the Divine City: The Representation of Jerusalem in Chronicles Compared with Earlier and Later Jewish Compositions," in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein*, ed. Steven L. Mckenzie, M. Patrick Graham, and Gary N. Knoppers (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 125-41; Ehud Ben Zvi, "Observation on Josiah's Account in Chronicles and Implications for Reconstructing the Worldview of the Chronicler," in *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Yariah Amit, Israel Finkelstein, and Oded Lipschits (Winona Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 89-106; John C. Endres, "Theology of Worship in Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Theologian; Essays in Honor of Ralph W Klein*, ed. Steven L. Mckenzie, M. Patrick Graham, and Gary N. Knoppers (London: T&T Clark International, 2003), 165-88; M. Patrick Graham, "Setting the Heart to Seek God; Worship in 2 Chronicles 30: 1-31:1," in *Worship and the Hebrew Bible; Essays in Honor of John T Willis*, ed. Rick R. Marrs, M. Patrick Graham, and Steven L. Mckenzie (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 124-41; and John C. Endres, "Joyful Worship in Second Temple Judaism," in *Passion, Vitality, and Foment; Dynamics of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Lamontte M. Luker (USA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 155-88.

this regard, non-cultic prayers turn out to be the most significant, especially when they come from the mouth of foreigners. But first of all, what does prayer, in its distinct literary formulation, contribute to the Chronistic retelling of the history of Israel? Why, specifically, should "seeking God" in the context of Chronicles be undertaken? What are the assumptions that lie behind each occasion of prayer throughout Chronicles and what purpose do these instances of model prayers serve? A number of recent scholarly studies on the concept of prayer bring important information to bear upon these primary questions.

Chronistic Scholarship on Prayer

Martin Noth has long argued that the Chronicler "effectively inserted speeches and prayers at strategic points in order to construe the presentation in accordance with his own theological views."[4] Despite the fact that there are some correspondences between the speeches and prayers in Chronicles, Otto Plöger contends that the prayers seem to be the medium of the Chronicler's presentation more than speeches.[5] Plöger has specifically stressed the special value of prayers over speeches as a result of his comparison process between the prayers in the Chronicles and in the DH. As he states, "the Chronicler certainly distinguishes himself from the Deuteronomist by

[4] Martin Noth, *The Chronicler's History* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 75-81. John Van Seters has also raised a kind of similar idea behind his point of distinction between the two histories of Israel (Deuteronomistic History and Chronistic History). However, Seters' argument is too broad and not specific to the evidence in Chronicles. See John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 357-61.

[5] Otto Plöger, "Speech and Prayer in the Deuteronomistic and the Chronicler's Histories," in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History*, ed. J. Gordon McConville and Gary N. Knoppers (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 31-46. This argument by Plöger has been built upon Gerhard von Rad's earlier approach to speeches and prayers in Chronicles. But von Rad has long stressed the speech-form as the usual literary practice in the context of Chronicles. These speeches often consist of encouragement and exhortation in circumstances of war. See also Gerhard von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 267-80.

choosing the prayer form considerably more often."[6] In other words, there are more detailed prayers in Chronistic History than in the Deuteronomistic parallels.

Plöger also identifies a thread of "human guilt and human powerlessness" that runs through the Chronicler's prayers which somehow portray the significance of prayers for the life of the community to which the Chronicler belonged.[7] The Chronicler may have employed prayers particularly with major royal figures like David, Solomon, and Jehoshaphat, not only to honour a certain event such as the rebuilding of the Temple, but also to introduce the new community of exiles in the postexilic period. Within the context of this new community, both prayers and sacrifices are now central.[8] Therefore, Plöger insists on elevating prayers for consideration as a major theme in Chronicles.

Like Plöger, Samuel Balentine's discussion of the literary formulation of prayer in Chronicles seems to support Martin Noth's point mentioned above regarding the author(s)' theological views behind the construction of prayers in Chronicles. For Balentine, the decision to position prayer "at a certain place in the presentation, clearly reflects the conscious choice of authors and editors."[9] Having focused only on the recorded prayers, he classifies them into three categories: ten "royal prayers;"[10]

[6] Plöger, "Speech and Prayer," 42.
[7] Plöger, "Speech and Prayer," 44-45.
[8] Though the idea of centralization via sacrifices in Jerusalem is unavoidable in Chronicles, a new theological perspective has now been revealed through the tradition of prayers – a tradition that "arose historically during the exile, where prayer played a special role in replacing sacrifices." See Plöger, "Speech and Prayer," 42.
[9] Samuel E. Balentine, "You Can't Pray a Lie; the Truth and Fiction in the Prayers of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. Mckenzie (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 249.
[10] 1 Chr 14:10//2 Sam 5:19 (David); 1 Chr 17:16-17//2 Sam 7:18-29 (David); 1 Chr 21:8//2 Sam 24:10 (David); 1 Chr 21:17//2 Sam 24:17 (David); 1 Chr 29:10-19 (David); 2 Chr 1:8-10//Kgs 3:6-9 (Solomon); 2 Chr 6:14-42//Kgs 8:22-53 (Solomon); 2 Chr 14:11, Post-Solomon (Asa); 2 Chr 20:6-12 (Jehoshaphat); 2 Chr 30:18-19 (Hezekiah).

six "psalmic prayers;"[11] and one "ancestral prayer" which is the prayer of Jabez (1 Chron 4:10); adding up to seventeen references in total.[12]

Although Balentine has identified Jabez's prayer as one of the five prayers which are not found in other canonical sources,[13] he simply assumes that this is an "ancestral prayer" without a detailed study of the text. Balentine continues that these recorded prayers are distributed unevenly throughout Chronicles, and the highest percentages of these prayers are the ones prayed by kings David and Solomon.[14] With the inclusion of these two kings, royal prayers do appear to be the most prominent ones in Chronicles.

Importantly, Balentine also stresses the significant prayers of Asa (2 Chron 15) and Jehoshaphat (2 Chron 20), both set in the context of war. Here the Chronicler is making the point that "the victories turn not on military strategy or historical happenstance but on a decisive act of piety: the king's prayer."[15] In other words, war can only be averted with God's help and this is also consonant with the Chronicler's overall assessment. However, this crucial point of the non-military imagination of Chronicles is arguably highlighted first and foremost in Jabez's prayer. We will return to this point in the next section.

[11] 1 Chr 16:8-36//Psa 105; 96; 106 (David); 2 Chr 5:13 (Solomon); 2 Chr 6:40-42//Psa 132:8-10 (Solomon); 2 Chr 7:3 (Solomon); 2 Chr 7:6 (Solomon); 2 Chr 20:21 (Post-Solomon). Note that Pancratius Beentjes has added the appointment of the Priests at Gibeon to offer burnt offerings to this list, which adds up to 7 instead of 6. See Pancratius C. Beentjes, "Psalms and Prayers in the Book of Chronicles," in *Psalms and Prayers*, ed. Eric Peels and Bob Becking (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 11.

[12] Balentine, "You Can't Pray a Lie," 246-67, esp.251.

[13] 1 Chr 4:10; 1 Chr 29:10-19; 2 Chr 14:11; 2 Chr 20:6-12; 2 Chr 30:18-19. See Balentine, "You Can't Pray a Lie," 246-67, esp.252.

[14] For instance, about 65% (or 11 of 17) occurring in the chapters devoted to David and Solomon; 59% (or 10 of 17) are royal prayers, or prayers articulated by kings; five are presented as hymnic praise sung by appointed levitical priests/people in general (1 Chr 16:8-36; 2 Chr 5:13; 7:3; 7:6; 20:21); and only one prayer is assigned to an ancestor of Judah (1 Chr 4:10). See Balentine, "You Can't Pray a Lie," 246-67, esp.251.

[15] Balentine, "You Can't Pray a Lie," 257.

Steven Schweitzer notes that prayer in the context of Chronicles points to an identity that is rooted in reliance on God.[16] This significance of prayers in Chronicles is part and parcel of his view concerning the variety of duties and privileges associated with the Levites desciribed in a number of P texts.[17] The image of the Levites and their role in Chronicles is distinct according to Schweitzer. That is, the varieties of the Levites' duties are almost entirely cultic in nature in texts other than Chronicles. Some of these duties, including prophetic activities, are not restricted to the Levites or Levitical singers.[18]

From Schweitzer's "utopian theory" of the cult elsewhere, the Chronistic presentation of Levites and their roles offers "a better alternative reality" for the present situation, without the exclusion of the other duties.[19] Schweitzer continues that some requirements of this alternative reality include the "instruction of people in Torah" and "seeking God" as vital parts of their spiritual training. However, much of this seeking for God takes place outside of the central cult as well.

Schweitzer's main emphasis is placed on the two settings of prayers throughout Chronicles: six in cultic[20] and nine in non-cultic contexts.[21] Under this classification, Jabez's prayer exists as the very first of the non-cultic prayers in Chronicles. This category regards prayers as not always confined just to the expected temple personnel

[16] Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 26, 63-64.
[17] For instance, Levites in Deut 17:8-13 act as guardians, teachers of the Torah and also judges; in P (e.g., Num 1:50-53; 8:19), they are assistants to the priests as caretakers for the cultic objects in the Tabernacle, and the like.
[18] For more information about the Levitical duties, see chapter 6 below, pp. 209-13.
[19] Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 169.
[20] Asaphite singers (1 Chr 16:35); Consecration of the gifts (1 Chr 29:18-19); Solomon's prayer for wisdom (2 Chr 1:3-10); Solomon's prayer (2 Chr 6: 12-42); Jehoshaphat's prayer (2 Chr 20:5-12); Hezekiah's prayer during Passover (2 Chr 30:18-20).
[21] Jabez's prayer (1 Chr 4:9-10); Gadites' prayer (1 Chr 5:19-22); David's prayers (1 Chr 14:9-12; 1 Chr 17:16-27; 1 Chr 21:16-17); Asa's cry (2 Chr 14:10); Hezekiah's and Isaiah's prayers (2 Chr 32:20); Hezekiah's prayer (2 Chr 32:24); and Manasseh's prayer (2 Chr 33:12-13).

like Levites, priests, and kings, but as also being performed by other members of the community such as Asaphites, Israelites and even foreigners.[22]

Pancratius Beentjes' arrangement of Chronistic prayers is presented in three groups, namely: "agent of prayer," "category" and "source" which adds up to twenty-one in total.[23] Of the twenty-one, nine of these prayers are adapted from Samuel-Kings [24] and twelve are seen to have been crafted by the Chronicler alone (*Sondergut*).[25]

Taken all together, more than fifty percent of these prayers are *Sondergut*. For Beentjes, such a majority of Chronistic prayers reflects "the author's own invention of specific features of his theology."[26] Like Balentine, Beentjes also agrees that the majority of the recorded prayers are said by only four kings: David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah. However, Beentjes seems to herald David and Solomon as the true models of all kings when he states that "the last verbal act of David and first verbal act of Solomon have been made up of prayers." [27] Despite this royal presentation of prayers, Jabez's prayer stands alone in its own class within the *Sondergut.* What is missing from Beentjes' construction is Scheweitzer's identification of cultic and non-cultic prayers which is crucial in the context of Chronicles.

Each of the proceeding scholars has different criteria in counting and classifying these prayers based on their aims. Balentine's list of seventeen recorded prayers

[22] Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 172.The efficacy of prayer as a "Chronicler's belief" or a "feature of Chronicles" is also discussed by other scholars. See Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 25; Roddy Braun, *1 Chronicles*, World Biblical Commentary, vol. 14 (Waco: Word Books, 1986), 58.
[23] Beentjes, "Psalms and Prayers," 9-44.
[24] 1 Chr 14:10//2 Sam 5:19; 17:16-27//2 Sam 7:18-29; 21:8//2 Sam 24:10; 21:17//2 Sam 24:17; 21:26//2 Sam 24:25; 2 Chr 1:8-10//1 Kgs 3:6-9; 6:3-11// 1 Kgs 8:14-21; 6:14-42//1 Kgs 8:22-53; 18:31//1 Kgs 22:32= 9.
[25] 1 Chr 4:10; 5:20; 21:26; 2 Chr 13:14; 14:10; 20:6-13; 20:26; 30:18-19; 31:8; 32:20; 32:24; 33:12-13= 12.
[26] Beentjes, "Psalms and Prayers," 9-44, esp.10.
[27] Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation*, 11-12.

(which I refer to these prayers as sixteen "Direct Speeches") counts twice the dedicatory prayer of Solomon (2 Chron 6:14-42) as a royal and psalmic prayer, in accordance with the two different canonical sources behind it (1 Kgs 8:22-53 and Psa 132:8-10). However, the psalmic flavour evidently covers only a small portion of this prayer (vss. 41-42) but the rest (vss.14-40) is adapted from 1 Kgs 8:22-53. What is promoted by Balentine nevertheless is the dominance of royal prayers in Chronicles over the psalmic ones, whereas in fact, the settings of these royal prayers are both royal and cultic.

Beentjes' list identifies twelve recorded prayers including Solomon's testimony to God's promise in front of the whole assembly of Israel (2 Chron 6:3-11). At first glance, despite the fact that they address the relationship between God and Solomon, these verses are understood better as testimony rather than a recorded prayer. Surprisingly, Beentjes has missed five substantial recorded prayers in Chronicles, including the long joyful thanksgiving of the Israelites for the arrival of the ark in Jerusalem (1 Chron 16:8-36). Of these five (2 Chron 5:13; 11:19; 16:8-36; 2 Chron 7:3; 20:21), two are individual prayers of David and three are corporate prayers, and the majority of these extras are found in cultic settings.

The most persuasive classification is that of the cultic and non-cultic prayers as analyzed by Schweitzer. However, his nine non-cultic prayers mentioned earlier, seem to omit seven extra prayers including: 1 Chron 11:19; 14:14-15; 21:8; 21:26; 2 Chron 13:14; 18:31; and 20:26. Of these seven, only two are in direct speech form (1 Chron 11:19; 21:8). The other five prayers using indirect speech are obviously avoided by Schweitzer as irrelevant to his classification. On the contrary, most of these indirect prayers are reported with God's answers, which also help to highlight the distinction between Chronicles and its sources.

To summarize, all of the above scholars have highlighted the significance and the distinct presentation of prayers in Chronicles in many helpful ways. First, most of the agents of these prayers are associated with kings, especially David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah; second, most prayers are uttered in non-cultic spheres; third, many are in direct speech form ("directly recorded" prayers); and fourth, the majority seem to be created by the Chronicler (*Sondergut*).

Interestingly, none of these scholars have explored the extraordinary status of Jabez's prayer in relation to the overall message of Chronicles. Although Heard and Beentjes have mentioned some key lexical ambiguities in Jabez's prayer,[28] the relation of this particular prayer to the whole of Chronicles' theological-didactical message seems to have been overlooked. What is clear and noteworthy is the fact that Jabez's prayer is the very first prayer in Chronicles. Significantly, it is the only example of prayer that falls at the intersection of five of the scholarly classifications mentioned above: "non-cultic;" "non-war;" "prose;" "direct speech;" and "*Sondergut*." In my view, the Chronicler's unique addition and placing of Jabez's prayer with such features sets a specific context for the role of prayer as divine intervention in their postexilic identity reconstructions with respect to land.

This raises questions of ideology and propaganda. To what extent does this introductory prayer serve the non-cultic and the non-military imagination of Chronicles? What are the elements of, and relationship between, war and the so-called "holy war"[29] in Israel under Persian rule? What might be the attitude of the Chronicler

[28] See below chapter 4, pp. 106, n.18 for more information.
[29] Although Gerhard von Rad is not the first to study the concept of "war" and "holy war" in the HB, I particularly refer here to his discussion of "holy war" as a standard "framework for understanding the Chronicler's war narratives." See Gerhard Von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 52-93. See also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 783.

to the foreigners, or the "sojourners" [גרים][30] in relation to non-cultic settings in the postexilic context?

To answer these questions, my first hypothesis is that Jabez's prayer serves the Chronicler's overall interest in prayer rather than in conquest. This theme of non-participation in warfare is arguably a key aspect of the social imagination of the Chronicler.[31] At issue is the fact that Jabez is neither a king nor a warrior. But who is this person? Based on the ambiguity of the text, my second hypothesis is that perhaps this single prayer may be interpreted as a crucial part of a rewritten historiography intended to assist in the process of the re-establishment of a postexilic community that is inclusive of foreigners.

My first observation requires a more rigorous focus on the distinct presentation of prayers in Chronicles in comparison to Samuel-Kings. The aim here is to discover how the Chronicler may have amended prayers from the sources for the development of his own theological stance. And one function of the following table is to see whether the distinct presentation of prayers in LXX Chronicles might precede its MT version.

[30] The term גרים in Chronicles refers to 2 groups according to Sara Japhet: (1) the remnant of the Canaanites (1 Chr 22:2; 2 Chr 2:16); and (2) people from all around who come to Jerusalem to celebrate Hezekiah's Passover (2 Chr 30:25). See Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 346-47.

[31] Balentine, "You Can't Pray a Lie," 262. The theme of non-participation in war in Chronicles is discussed by a number of scholars; see Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10;" Wright, "The Fight for Peace," 150-77. For general discussions of War throughout the HB, see John A. Wood, *Perspectives on War in the Bible* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998), 48-57; Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdale, Pa: Herald Press, 1980), 132-34.

Prayers in Chronicles and Samuel-Kings

Samuel-Kings[32]	Chronicles	Alterations in Chronicles
2 Sam 23:17a	1 Chron 11:19a	
ואמר חלילה לי יהוה…[17a] …and he said YHWH forbid…	ואמר חלילה לי מאלהי[19a] …and he said God forbid	מאלהי
LXX 2 Sam 23:17a	**LXX 1 Chron 11:19a**	
καὶ εἶπεν Ἱλεώς μοι, κύριε,… and he said, the Lord forbid…	καὶ εἶπεν Ἱλεώς μοι ὁ θεὸς and he said, God forbid…	ὁ θεονς
2 Sam 5:19	1 Chron 14:10	
וישאל דוד ביהוה…[19] David inquired in YHWH…	וישאל דויד באלהים… David inquired in God...	באלהים
LXX 2 Sam 5:19	**LXX 1 Chron 14:10**	
καὶ ἠρώτησεν Δαυιδ διὰ κυρίου and David inquired of the Lord…	καὶ ἠρώτησεν Δαυιδ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ… and David inquired of God	τοῦ θεοῦ
2 Sam 5:23-24	1 Chron 14:14-15	
וישאל דוד ביהוה…[23] **23** When David inquired in/of YHWH…	וישאל עוד דויד באלהים[14] **14** When David again inquired in/of God …	באלהים
אז יצא יהוה לפניך…[24] **24** …YHWH has gone out before you…	כי־יצא האלהים לפניך…[15] **15**…God has gone out before you…	האלהים
LXX 2 Sam 5:23-24	**LXX 1 Chron 14:14-15**	
23a καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν Δαυιδ διὰ κυρίου, and David enquired of the Lord…	**14** καὶ ἠρώτησεν Δαυιδ ἔτι ἐν θεῷ… and David enquired in God again…	ἐν θεῷ
24… ὅτι τότε ἐξελεύσεται κύριος ἔμπροσθέν σου… …and the Lord shall go out before you…	**15** ὅτι ἐξῆλθεν ὁ θεὸς ἔμπροσθέν σου… for God has gone out before you…	ὁ θεονς
2 Sam 7:18-29	1 Chron 17:16-27	
ואתה ידעת את־עבדך אדני יהוה[20b] **20b** for you know your servant, *'ădonāy* GOD!	יהוה בעבור עבדך …[19a] YHWH in your servant's sake,..	יהוה (the name **אדני** is missing in MT 1 Chron 17)
כי־אתה יהוה צבאות…[27] **27a** For you, YHWH of hosts…	כי אתה אלהי…[25a] **25a** For you my God...	אלהי (the name **יהוה צבאות** is not mentioned in MT

[32] Note that there are minor variations between these source texts of Chronicles in Samuel-Kings and the Qumran texts. For instance, the Qumran texts for 2 Sam 5:19 and 2 Sam 24:17a also use יהוה or κύριε as in the MT/LXX Samuel. In both texts, the MT/LXX Chronicles uses God (ὁ θεονς and אלהים) instead.

		Chronicles)
LXX 2 Sam 7:20	**LXX 1 Chron 17:19, 25**	
20b καὶ νῦν σὺ οἶδας τὸν δοῦλόν σου, κύριέ μου κύριε. For you know your servant, Lord my Lord.. **27a** κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ισραηλ, Lord Almighty God of Israel…	**19a** ------- **25a** ὅτι σύ, κύριε, For you Lord…	19a is missing in LXX 1 Chron 17:19 κύριε (LXX Chronicles drops παντοκράτωρ)
2 Sam 24:10b	1 Chron 21:8	
10b ויאמר דוד אל־יהוה חטאתי **10b** David said to YHWH, "I have sinned …	**8a** ויאמר דויד אל־האלהים חטאתי… **8a** David said to God "I have sinned…	אל־האלהים
LXX 2 Sam 24:10b	**LXX 1 Chr 21:8**	
καὶ εἶπεν Δαυιδ πρὸς κύριον Ἥμαρτον and David said to the Lord, I have sinned…	καὶ εἶπεν Δαυιδ πρὸς τὸν θεόν Ἡμάρτηκα… And David said to God I have sinned…	τὸν θεόν
2 Sam 24:17	1 Chron 21:17	
17a ויאמר דוד אל־יהוה… **17a** David said to YHWH...	**17** ויאמר דויד אל־האלהים **17** And David said to God...	אל־האלהים
LXX 2 Sam 24:17a	**LXX 1 Chr 21:17a**	
καὶ εἶπεν Δαυιδ πρὸς κύριον and David said to the Lord…	καὶ εἶπεν Δαυιδ πρὸς τὸν θεόν and David said to God	τὸν θεόν
2 Sam 24:25	1 Chron 21:26	
25 ויבן שם דוד מזבח ליהוה… **25** David built there an altar…	**26** ויבן שם דויד מזבח ליהוה David built there an altar…	-
ויעתר יהוה and YHWH answered …	ורקרא אל־יהוה ויענהו… He called to YHWH, and he answered him…	-
LXX 2 Sam 24:25	**LXX 1 Chron 21:26**	
καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐκεῖ Δαυιδ θυσιαστήριον κυρίῳ… and David built there an altar to the Lord… καὶ ἐπήκουσεν κύριος… and the Lord heard…	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν Δαυιδ ἐκεῖ θυσιαστήριον κυρίῳ… and David built there an altar to the Lord… καὶ ἐβόησεν πρὸς κύριον, καὶ ἐπήκουσεν αὐτῷ and he cried to the Lord and he heard him…	- -
1 Kgs 3:6-12	2 Chron 1:8-12	
6 ויאמר שלמה… And Solomon said… **11a** ויאמר אלהים אליו God said to him…	**8 a** ויאמר שלמה לאלהים… Solomon said to God … **11a** ויאמר־אלהים לשלמה… God said to Solomon…	לאלהים -

[11b]…ושאלת לך חבין לשמע משפט …but you have asked for your understanding to discern what is right...	[11b]…ותשאל־לך חכמה ומדע אשר תשפוט את־עמי… … but you have asked for wisdom and knowledge for yourself that you may rule my people…	חכמה ומדע
LXX 1 Kgs 3:6a, 11a, 11b	**LXX 2 Chron 1:8a,11a,11b**	
6a καὶ εἶπεν Σαλωμων… and Solomon said… **11a** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν… and the Lord said to him… **11b**…ἀλλ᾽ ᾐτήσω σαυτῷ σύνεσιν τοῦ εἰσακούειν κρίμα… …but you have asked for yourself understanding to hear judgement…	**8a** καὶ εἶπεν Σαλωμων πρὸς τὸν θεόν… and Solomon said to God… **11a** καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Σαλωμων … God said to Solomon… **11b** καὶ ᾔτησας σεαυτῷ σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν, ὅπως κρίνῃς τὸν λαόν μου, … …and you have asked for yourself wisdom and understanding to judge my people…	τὸν θεόν ὁ θεονς σοφίαν
1 Kgs 8:23-49	2 Chron 6:14-39	
[43a]אתה תשמע השמים מכון שבתך ככל אשר־יקרא אל־יך הנכרי ועשית… you hear in heavens your dwelling place and do according to all that the foreigner calls… [49a]ושמעת השמים מכון שבתך את־תפלתם ואת־תחנתם… then hear in heavens your dwelling place their prayer and their plea…	[33a]ואתה תשמע מן־השמים ממכון שבתך ועשית ככל אשר־יקרא אל־יך הנכרי you may hear from heavens your dwelling place and do as all the foreigner asks of you… [39a]ושמעת מן־השמים ממכון שבתך את־תפלתם ואת־תחנתיהם… then hear from heavens your dwelling place their prayer and their pleas…	מן־השמים מן־השמים (LXX 2 Chr 6 has longer version than LXX Kings)
LXX 1 Kgs 8:43a, 49	**LXX 2 Chron 6:33a, 39**	
43a καὶ σὺ εἰσακούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου καὶ ποιήσεις κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ἐπικαλέσηταί σε ὁ ἀλλότριος… and you shall hear from heaven your dwelling place and you shall do according to all that the foreigner shall call… **49** καὶ εἰσακούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου And you shall hear out of heaven your established dwelling place,	**33a** καὶ εἰσακούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου καὶ ποιήσεις κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐὰν ἐπικαλέσηταί σε ὁ ἀλλότριος,.. and you shall hear out of heaven your prepared dwelling place and you shall do according to all that the foreigner shall call on you… **39a** καὶ ἀκούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου τῆς προσευχῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν and you shall hear out of heaven, out of your dwelling	(Longer version in LXX 2 Chr 6 compared to LXX 1 Kgs 8) προσευχῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν their prayer and their request

	place their prayer and their request…	
1 Kgs 8:52	2 Chron 6:40	
52להיות עיניך פתחות אל־תחנת עבדך ואל־תחנת עמך ישראל לשמע אליהם בכל קראם אליך Let your eyes be open to the plea of your servant, and to the plea of your people Israel, to listen to them whenever they call to you.	עתה אלהי יהיו־נא עיניך פתחות ואזניך קשבות לתפלת המקים הזה Now my God let your eyes be open and your ears attentive to prayer in this place.	עתה אלהי my God ואזניך קשבות and your ears be attentive
LXX 1 Kgs 8:52	**LXX 2 Chron 6:40**	
52 καὶ ἔστωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου καὶ τὰ ὦτά σου ἠνεῳγμένα εἰς τὴν δέησιν τοῦ δούλου σου καὶ εἰς τὴν δέησιν τοῦ λαοῦ σου Ισραηλ εἰσακούειν αὐτῶν ἐν πᾶσιν, οἷς ἂν ἐπικαλέσωνταί σε, And let your eyes and your ears be opened to the prayer of your servant and to the prayer of your people Israel, to hear them in all things in which they shall call upon you.	**40** νῦν, κύριε, ἔστωσαν δὴ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ἀνεῳγμένοι καὶ τὰ ὦτά σου ἐπήκοα εἰς τὴν δέησιν τοῦ τόπου τούτου. Now, Lord, let your eyes be opened and your ears be attentive in the prayer of this place.	(shorter version)
1 Kgs 22:32b	**2 Chron 18:31b**	
32 bויסרו עליו להלחם ויזעק יהושפט So they turned to fight against him; and Jehoshaphat cried out.	31bויסבו עליו להלתם ויזעק יהושפט ויהוה עזרו ויסיתם אלהים ממנו So they turned to fight against him; and Jehoshaphat cried out, and YHWH helped him, God drew them away from him.	ויהוה עזרו ויסיתם אלהים ממנו …and YHWH helped him, God drew them away from him,
LXX 1 Kgs 22:32b	**LXX 2 Chron 18:31b**	
32b…καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν αὐτὸν πολεμῆσαι, καὶ ἀνέκραξεν Ιωσαφατ. and they encircled him to wage war (against) him, and Josaphat cried out.	**31b** καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν αὐτὸν τοῦ πολεμεῖν· καὶ ἐβόησεν Ιωσαφατ, καὶ κύριος ἔσωσεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. and they encircled him to wage war (against) him, and Josaphat cried out, and the Lord saved him, and God turned them away of him.	καὶ κύριος ἔσωσεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. and the Lord saved him, and God turned them away of him.

Considering the information displayed in this chart, the MT Chronicles is similar to its LXX version in most cases. The change of the divine name to God instead of YHWH (LORD) as an addressee appears to be consistent in most cases. Here, the Chronicler has emphasized the calling upon God by King David.

Apart from divine names changes, the major amendment appears to be in Jehoshaphat's prayer of desperation (2 Chron 18:31//1 Kgs 22:32). Here, the Chronicler adds at the end: "…and the LORD helped him. God drew them away from him." This particular instance of God's help signifies the direct expression typical of Chronicles in the context of battle: "do not be afraid;" "the battle is not yours but God's;" and "the LORD will be with you" (1 Chron 5:20-22; 12:19; 15:26; 28:20; 2 Chron 20:15; 25:8; 32:8).

As seen from the scholarly discussions above, the addition of divine intervention through prayer is an understanding to be nurtured in postexilic settings. Similar to Jabez's prayer perhaps, the Chronicler here is not confined by the traditional concept of cultic prayers, rather he encompasses the wider spheres of prayers heard and answered by God to issues of concerns in the various communities. As Balentine suggests, the Chronicler has employed a literary technique as editor in handling prayers from Samuel-Kings for a reason. And one reason obvious from the Chronicler's reshaping of Jehoshaphat's prayer is the significance of prayer used to affirm a non-violent approach to land acquisition.

Interestingly, one prayer that seems to pose minimal changes is Solomon's prayer before the whole assembly of Israel in 2 Chron 6:14-39. One portion of this prayer (2 Chron 6:32-33//1 Kgs 8:41-43) is rare in Dtr theology, because of "foreigners" [נכרי] whose prayers toward the temple are being accepted by God. This point I add to the evidence in favour of foreigners being also blessed in the postexilic theology of Chronicles.

This same prayer of Solomon contains a variety of different Hebrew words for prayer which appear to be overlapping in usage:

> "Regard your servant's prayer (תפלת) and his plea (תחנתו), O LORD my God, heeding the cry (הרנה) and the prayer (התפלה) that your servant prays (מתפלל) to you." (2 Chron 6:19//1 Kgs 8:28).

A careful inspection of this prayer reveals the repetitive piling up of three different nouns (prayer, plea and cry) which set the tone of the whole passage about Solomon's dedicatory prayer (vss.12-42). These nouns function quite consistently as a desperate plea for God's presence in the midst of Israel in Solomon's reign.[33] Each of these words portrays a specific ambition of the speaker (Solomon). For example, תפלה (prayer) reveals intercession and praise (vss. 20, 21, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 38, 39, 40); התחנה (the plea) shows an earnest prayer for God's help and power (vss. 21, 29, 35, 39); and רנה or זעק (cry) rings out a desperate petition in times of war as in 1 Chron 5:19-20.

Full discussions of the issues revolving around such lexical choices go far beyond the scope of this work. However, Solomon's act of prayer shows how the Chronicler freely retains some of the key words of prayer from the Deuteronomistic writings (e.g., in 1 Kgs 8:28), with particular focus on, and connection to, the continuance of the Davidic dynasty in the postexilic context.[34] Thus, while it is possible that the Chronicler has accurate independent knowledge of pre-exilic/exilic history (another version of DH), it seems more likely that most of these variations were added by the Chronicler.

By focusing on prayer materials unique to Chronicles, we may realise further how the Chronicler has creatively used wider lexical choices of prayer words in significant ways to achieve a distinct presentation. This sets forth the axiom of

[33] Note that this specific part of prayer is copied word for word from 1 Kgs 8:28.
[34] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 590-91; Simon J. De Vries, *1 Kings*, Word Biblical Commentary (Waco: Word Books, 1985), 126-27.

seeking God in a variety of literary forms (worship, prayers, thanksgiving, narrative, psalms) and introduces a range of vocabulary to support the theme of prayer. A closer look throughout Chronicles provides the following characteristics of the language of prayer added by the Chronicler (*Sondergut*).[35]

Lexical Choices – *Sondergut*

Action verbs text	**Masoretic**	**Hebrew Translation**	**The Art of Prayer**
Call: קרא			
1 Chron 4:10a	ו/יקרא [לאלהי]	and/he called [to God]	Prayer for land
1 Chron 21:26	ו/יקר [אל־יהוה]	and/ he called [upon the LORD]	David's expectant burnt offering
2 Chron 7:14	נקרא־ [שמי]	called [by his name]	God's promise to Solomon
2 Chron 14:11	ו/יקר [אל־יהוה]	and/he called[36] [to the LORD]	Asa's cry for God's help in war
Cry: זעק			
1 Chron 5:20	[לאלהי] זעקו	they cried [to God]	A cry for God's help in war for land
2 Chron 13:14	ו/יצעקו [ליהוה]	and/they cried [to the LORD]	A cry for God's help in war
2 Chron 20:9	ו/נזעק [אליך]	and/ cry [to you]	A cry before battle for land
2 Chron 32:20[37]	ו/יזעקו [השמים]	and/they cried [to heavens]	A cry before war
Worship: השתחוו			
1 Chron 16:29	השתחו [ליהוה]	worship/bow down [the LORD]	An imperative to worship for the arrival of the Ark
1 Chron 29:20	ו/ישתחו [ליהוה]	and/they worshipped [(bowed) to the LORD]	David's thanksgiving
2 Chron 7:3	ו/השתחו [ליהוה]	and/they worshipped	Worship in

[35] Note that all the prayer references in Chronicles that have parallel biblical sources with similar wordings, are left out in this study to avoid repetition. For instance, the word "call" in 1 Chr 16:8//Psa 105:1; the word "cry" in 2 Chr 18:31//1 Kgs 22:32; and so on. Most of these parallel texts in Chronicles have been copied word for word from the sources unless noted.

[36] I have translated this word "call" not "cry out" as in NRSV, in accordance with the Hebrew word **קרא** in the HB.

[37] Both sources (2 Kgs 19:1; Isa 37:1) avoid the indirect prayer of Hezekiah and Isaiah, and instead describe the actions of tearing of garments, covering in sackcloth and going into the house of the LORD.

		[(bowed) to the LORD]	reverence for God's presence
2 Chron 20:18	ל השתחות [ל יהוה]	to worship [the LORD]	Jehoshaphat' reply to God
2 Chron 29:28	משתחוים	worshipped (bowed down)	restored worship by the whole assembly
2 Chron 29:29	ו/ישתחוו	and/they worshipped (bowed) down	Hezekiah and all who were present worship God
2 Chron 29:30	ו/ישתחוו	and/they worshipped (bowed down)	Levites are ordered to worship
2 Chron 32:12	תשתחוו	You worshipped	Sennacherib acknowledges Hezekiah worshipping God
Bow down: ברע or קדד			
2 Chron 7:3	ו/יברעו	and/they bowed down	Worship in reverence for God's presence
2 Chron 29:29	ברעו	they bowed down	Hezekiah and all who were present worship God
2 Chron 20:18	ויקד	he bowed down	Jehoshaphat's reply to God
2 Chron 29:30	ויקדו	they bowed down	Levites are ordered to worship
Seek: דרש			
1 Chron 21:30	לדרש [**אל**הים]	to seek of God	David's expectant worship
1 Chron 22:19	לדרוש [ל יהוה]	to seek the Lord	Preparation of leaders to serve God
1 Chron 28:9	דורש [יהוה]	seek the LORD	David's words for Solomon
2 Chron 1:5	וידרשהו	and/sought at it	Solomon's action at Gibeon
2 Chron 15:2	ו/**אם־**תדרשהו	and/if you seek him	Prophet's word for Asa
2 Chron 15:12	לדרוש [**את־**יהוה]	to seek the LORD	Asa, Judah and all people obey in seeking God
2 Chron 15:13	ל**א־**ידרש [ל יהוה]	not seek [the LORD]	Condition: no seeking = death
2 Chron 16:12	ל**א** דרש [**את־**יהוה]	not seek [the LORD]	Consequence: Asa = sick
2 Chron 17:4	[ל**אל**הי **אב**יו] דרש	Sought the God of his father	Jehoshaphat's reaction
2 Chron 19:3	לדרש [**הא**להים]	to seek [the God]	Jehu's prophecy for Jehoshaphat
2 Chron 20:3	לדרוש [ל יהוה]	to seek [the LORD]	In fear, Jehoshaphat seeks God

2 Chron 22:9	אשר־דרש [את־יהוה]	who sought [the LORD]	Ahaziah's downfall
2 Chron 26:5	לדרש [אלהים] דרשו [את־יהוה]	to seek [God] to seek [the LORD]	Uzziah seeks God and is successful
2 Chron 30:19	לדרוש [האלהים]	to seek [the God]	Celebrating the festival
2 Chron 31:21	לדרש [לאלהיו]	to seek [his God]	Hezekiah seeks God and is successful
2 Chron 32:31	לדרש	to seek	Hezekiah's success
2 Chron 34:3	לדרוש [לאלהי]	to seek [God]	Josiah seeks God faithfully
Seek: בקש			
2 Chron 7:14	ויבקשו [פני]	they seek [my face]	God's promise to Solomon
2 Chron 11:16	לבקש [את־יהוה]	to seek [the LORD]	True worship maintained in Jerusalem
2 Chron 15:4	וׄיבקשהו	and/sought	Prophet's word for Asa
2 Chron 15:15	בקשהו	they sought	All Judah obey to seek God
2 Chron 20:4	לבקש	to seek	In fear, Jehoshaphat seeks God
Pray: התפלל			
2 Chron 7:14	וׄיתפללו	and/they pray	God's promise to Solomon
2 Chron 30:18	התפלל	He prayed	Celebrating the festival
2 Chron 32:20	וׄיתפלל	He prayed	Hezekiah and Isaiah's prayer before war
2 Chron 32:24	וׄיתפלל [אל־יהוה]	and/he prayed [to the LORD]	Hezekiah's prayer when he was sick
2 Chron 33:13	וׄיתפלל [אליו]	and/he prayed [to him]	Manasseh's prayer of repentance
Serve: עבד			
1 Chron 28:9	וׄעבדהו	and/ serve him	David's words for Solomon
2 Chron 30:8	וׄעבדו [את־יהוה]	and/serve the LORD	Invitation of the northerners to serve God
2 Chron 33:16	לעבוד [את־יהוה]	to serve the LORD	Manasseh's action of repentance
2 Chron 34:33	לעבוד [את־יהוה]	to worship/serve the LORD	Josiah's attempt for all Israelites to worship God
2 Chron 35:3	עבדו [את־יהוה]	serve the LORD	Josiah's command for Levites and Israel to serve God

The language of prayer in Chronicles is diverse and some of these variations may be accounted for by the different circumstances as shown in the table above. However, the wordings of these prayers with different Hebrew verbs sometimes overlap in usage within one passage or even within one verse:

- The vocal groups of verbs (e.g., call, cry, pray) followed by directional prepositions phrase marked by אל (to), are most likely prayers for God's help (e.g., 1 Chron 21:26; 2 Chron 14:11; and 20:9). The use of זעק ("cry") verbs appears to be limited to the context of war (e.g., 1 Chron 5:20; 2 Chron 13:14; 20:9; 32:20).
- השתחוו ("worship") and ברע or קדד ("bow down") are confined to cultic settings for liturgical purposes.[38] With these liturgical cases, there is a deep sense of engaging God with the sincerity of the worshiper via burnt offerings or a special form of religious practice (like slaughtering of sacrificial animals).
- The most frequent stem of the verb בקש/דרש ("to seek") in Chronicles is the infinitive construction form. It is obviously a clause to express the cause and effect of the verb in most cases.[39] The two Hebrew verbs [בקש, דרש] perhaps belong to the same semantic field and both seem to be the key words focusing more on faithful royal actions through the act of prayer or offering.
- The implication of the verb קרא ("to call") recognizes petition, praises, and liturgical practice in total trust in God.[40] It also carries a notion of theocratic courage to call in difficult times (as in the case of Jabez and king Asa).[41]

[38] As stated in 1 Chr 16:29; 29:20; 2 Chr 7:3; 20:18; 29:28, 29, 30; 32:12.
[39] For instance, see 1 Chr 21:30; 22:19; 2 Chr 15:12; 19:3; 20:3-4; 26:5; 30:19; 31:21; 32:31; and 34:3.
[40] For example, see 1 Chr 4:10a; 21:26; 2 Chr 7:14; 14:11.
[41] In relation to the latter point, Miller has provided some examples where the technical terms of קרא ("call") and זעק ("cry out") are closely linked in meaning and purpose. Both words are indicate to be a prayer of a victim of suffering for God's help in the context of the lament prayers as shown in the book of Psalms. See Patrick D. Miller, *They Cried to the Lord; the Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press), 44.

- The verb עבד ("to serve") has a distinct but related liturgical theme and it appears throughout Chronicles in a variety of forms (infinitive or imperative).[42] This variety includes serving/worshipping God through repentance or other form of actions (like building the temple) as instructed. Such use by royals in the public arena entails a sense of serving God with prayer as part of that service.

Of all the prayer narratives, it seems that prayers which are answered by God are most likely prayers for help. Hence, it can be said that these various lexical choices might have served the contents of each prayer according to the narrator(s)' purposes, whether in the form of prose, poetry, or part of the religious practices of the returning exiles.

In a syntactic comparison between Jabez's prayer and other prayer narratives unique to Chronicles associated within the group of the verb "to call," we can conclude that "calling" in both cultic (e.g., 1 Chron 21:26) and non-cultic settings (e.g., 1 Chron 4:9-10; 2 Chron 14:11) continues to be a significant non-sacrificial way of seeking and encountering God following the exile, together with sacrifice and offering for postexilic restoration.

Despite many royal and religious cultic prayers throughout Chronicles, the prayer of an unknown Jabez in the heart of Israel's genealogies (Judah) echoes a new attitude of the Chronicler towards the non-cultic place and the identity of Israel under Persian imperial rule. Perhaps within this context, the Chronicler wants to remind the community once again that anyone like Jabez whose identity is lost or unknown, even including foreigners, can access God through prayer. How the Chronicler may have

[42] For instance, the verb עבד is used differently in the following texts: 1 Chr 28:9 (imperative) in the context of David's words to Solomon; 1 Chr 30:8 (imperative) where Hezekiah orders the Northerners to serve God; 2Chr 33:16 (infinitive) in the context of Manasseh's action of repentance; 2 Chr 34:33 (infinitive) in the context of Josiah's attempt for all Israelites to worship God; and 2 Chr 35:3 (imperative) within Josiah's commandment for Levites and Israel to serve God. Such use by royals in the public arena entails a sense of serving God which includes prayer as part of that service.

continued this message through the subsequent prayers is vital in this development. And our attention now turns to the overall function(s) of prayer in Chronicles based on their various themes.

Proposed Prayer Layout in Chronicles

In this exercise, I want to class prayers based on their settings and themes. Here, I adopt various prayer categories provided by the scholarly discussions above to highlight features of each prayer in Chronicles.

Themes	**Agent of prayer &** ***Status***	**Setting &** ***Context***	**Text &** ***Source***	**D/Speech** **Yes or *No***
Land 1	Jabez *Unknown*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	1 Chron 4:10 *Sondergut*	Yes
2	Reubenites/Gad/ ½ Manasseh *Tribes*	Non-cultic *War*	1 Chron 5:20 *Sondergut*	*No*
3	Jehoshaphat *King*	Cultic *War*	2 Chron 20:6-12 *Sondergut*	Yes
Thanksgiving 1	David *King*	Cultic *Worship*	1 Chron 16:8-36 *Psa 105:1-15; 96:1-13; 106:1, 47-48*	Yes
2	All the congregation *People of Israel*	Cultic *Worship*	1 Chron 29:20-22 *Sondergut*	*No*
3	Levites, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, their sons & kindred *Temple servants*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 5:13 *1 Kgs 8:10*[43]	Yes
4	Israel *All the people*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 7:3 *Psa 136:1*[44]	Yes
5	Jehoshaphat, Judah, and Levites *King and inhabitants*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 20:18-19 *Sondergut*	*No*
6	Appointed singers *Temple servants*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 20:21 *Sondergut*	Yes
7	Levites/Priests *Temple servants*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 30:27 *Sondergut*	*No*
8	Hezekiah and people *King and officials*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 31:8 *Sondergut*	*No*

[43] Note that only the last part of this prayer text is found in 1 Kings 8:10: "…a cloud filled the house of the LORD…," but the rest comes from Chronicler alone.
[44] Here, only the beginning of the direct speech in 2 Chr 7:3 seems to be in line with Psa 136:1: "O give thanks to the LORD, for he is good, for his steadfast love endures forever."

Confession 1	David *King*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	1 Chron 17:16-27 *2 Sam 7:18-29*	Yes
 2	David *King*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	1 Chron 21:8 *2 Sam 24:10*	Yes
 3	David *King*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	1 Chron 21:17 *2 Sam 24:17*	Yes
 4	Hezekiah *King*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 30:18-19 *Sondergut*	Yes
 5	Manasseh *King*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	2 Chron 33:12-13 *Sondergut*	*No*
Offering 1	David *King*	Non-cultic *War*	1 Chron 11:19 *2 Sam 23:17*	Yes
 2	David *King*	Non-cultic *Worship*	1 Chron 21:26 *2 Sam 24:25*	*No*
 3	David *King*	Cultic *Worship*	1 Chron 29:10-19 *Sondergut*	Yes
 4	Solomon *King*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 7:7 *Psa 136:64*	*No*
 5	Hezekiah & people *King and officials*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 29:29-30 *Sondergut*	*No*
Wisdom 1	Solomon *King*	Cultic *Prayer*	2 Chron 1:8-12 *1 Kgs 3:6-9*	Yes
 2	Solomon *King*	Cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 6:14-42 *1 Kgs 8:22-53* *Psa 132:8-10*	Yes
Sickness	Hezekiah *King*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	2 Chron 32:24 *Sondergut*	*No*
God's aid in times of war	David *King*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	1 Chron 14:10 *2 Sam 5:19*	Yes
 2	David *King*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	1 Chron 14:14-15 *2 Sam 5:23-24*	*No*
 3	Judah *Southern Kingdom*	Non-cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 13:14 *Sondergut*	*No*
 4	Asa *King*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	2 Chron 14:11 ET *Sondergut*	Yes
 5	Jehoshaphat *King*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	2 Chron 18:31 *1 Kgs 22:32*	*No*
 6	Jehoshaphat and people *King and Israelites*	Non-cultic *Worship*	2 Chron 20:26 *Sondergut*	*No*
 7	Hezekiah and Isaiah *King and prophet*	Non-cultic *Prayer*	2 Chron 32:20 *Sondergut*	*No*
Total: 31	Royal = 18 King & prophet = 1 Temple Servants = 3 Unknown = 1 Corporate[45] = 8	Non cultic =16 Cultic = 15	Sources: Samuel-Kings =11 Psalms= 4 (6 texts) *Sondergut* = 17	Yes (D/S)[46] = 16 NO (I/S)[47] = 15

[45] This includes kings and others (e.g., inhabitants/assembly) apart from those assigned with special duties like priests and Levites or appointed singers; hence, "temple servants."
[46] D/S = Direct Speech
[47] I/S = Indirect Speech

To detail each prayer theme is a task beyond this work. However, grouping prayers in themes suggests some factors that are relevant to our overall argument.

The major difference between the analysis here and the previous studies on prayer is the inclusion of fifteen "Indirect Speeches." Apart from Schweitzer and Balentine, only Beentjes has included nine of these indirect prayers in his classification, missing six of them: 1 Chron 14:14-15; 29:20-22; 2 Chron 7:7; 20:18-19; 29:29-30; 30:27. Although he has pointed out specific royal prayers such as David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah as the most prominent royal prayers in Chronicles' construction, he missed some of the important indirect references allocated to each of them by the narrator.

With the inclusion of these indirect prayers, this work provides a distinct alternative view to Balentine's omission of these indirect prayers due to the "little…substantive information" they have, in comparison to the recorded prayers.[48] Though it is not necessary to review here the substantial effect of these indirect prayers in Chronicles, the lexical choices in these prayers may still reflect the theological intention of the Chronicler as most of these incidents are found in highly liturgical contexts.

What is obvious from the chart is that the majority of prayer events (using direct or indirect speech) are found under the theme of "Thanksgiving" in the cultic settings (refer to the above chart). Such statistics have evidently supported the primary argument about the book of Chronicles as a cultic history in relation to prayer. However, the common single reference to prayer in direct speech that is missing in the analysis of all three scholars above is David's prayer for his mighty men in 1

[48] Balentine, "You Can't Pray a Lie," 246-67, esp. 251, n.16.

Chron 11:19. Linguistically, the verb "to pour" [ינסך] in *piel* form, third person singular, followed by the direct object with the directional preposition in the phrase "to the LORD" [ליהוה] at the end of vs.18, seems to be an introduction to the first person direct speech in vs.19, which is also directed to "my God" [מ/אלהי].[49] This is therefore, in my opinion, a prayer instead of a testimony. Despite the unknown reason behind the omission of 1 Chron 11:19 by the above scholars, the usage of the *piel* form marks the on-going prayerful action of King David – a characteristic of an ideal king described in Chronicles.[50]

Another obvious fact that stands out from the above classification is that all prayers regarding land have been added by Chronicles. Given the focus on identity reformation faced by the various postexilic communities, their reconnection to land was one aspect that needed clarification. Here, I argue that the most relevant prayers for this paper are the petitions for land: 1 Chron 4:9-10; 5:18-20; 2 Chr 20:6-12. Limiting our attention to these three texts, my next observations will focus on the following aspects: a description of the speaker(s) and the addressee(s), the epithets used; those affected/involved; and a description of the relationships constituted and themes addressed by them in relation to the national imagination of Chronicles.

Petitions for Land

Petitionary prayers are the most frequent type of prayers throughout Chronicles. Furthermore, petitionary prayers for land afford the best examples of prayer texts that are specifically consonant with Chronicles' non-military ethos. Among the three

[49] Note that this phrase "my God" is the only difference inserted by the Chronicler from 2 Sam 23:17.
[50] With this case, David's kingdom is supported not only by these three mighty warriors but also by "all Israel" (1 Chr 11:10). See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 243-44.

petitions (1 Chron 4:10; 5:20; and 2 Chron 20:6-12) one is rendered in indirect speech.

(1) 1 Chron 4:10 In the midst of the Judah genealogies (1 Chron 2:3-4:23), the Chronicler inserts this prayer of Jabez, whose identity is unknown:

Speaker:	Jabez
Addressee:	the God of Israel
Petition:	"Oh that you would bless me and enlarge my border, and that your hand might be with me, and that you would keep me from hurt and harm!"
Those affected:	Jabez and the extent of his kinship group which is unclear
Theme:	Land acquisition and God's protection through prayer alone

(2) 1 Chron 5:18-20 Still in the genealogical section, the Chronicler also records the war between the Hagrites and the eastern Israelite tribes. In the battle, the Israelite armies cried:

Speaker:	the narrator (on behalf of Reubenites, Gadites and half Manasseh)
Addressee:	God
Petition:	for they cried to God in the battle
Those affected:	two-and-a-half tribes
Theme:	Land acquisition with God's aid in war

(3) 2 Chron 20:5-13 In the context of war between Judah and the armies of the Moabites, Ammonites and the Meunites, King Jehoshaphat turned to God in prayer: 2 Chron 20:19 the Levites sing this prayer since everyone else is praying and again in vss 20-21.

Speaker:	Jehoshaphat
Addressee:	O LORD, God of our ancestors
Petition:	**12** O our God, will you not execute judgment upon them? For we are powerless against this great multitude that is coming against us. We do not know what to do, but our eyes are on you.
Those affected	all Judah: their little ones, wives and children
Theme:	Land acquisition through God's help in the context of war.

Generalizations

These three petitionary prayers might be characterized by the following generalizations. They are presented in narrative form; all are clearly Chronistic (*Sondergut*); they contain the usual pattern of addressee, petition, those affected; and all have the common theme of land acquisition with various descriptions. What distinguishes all these prayers is the fact that their function appears to be supplied by their contexts. Each prayer arises from a potential need for land and may be uttered anywhere by anyone (from a king to someone unknown). The petition in 1 Chron 5:20 in particular, however, includes the acquisition of land by violence, which reflects a departure from the usual non-military tone in Chronicles and yet appears to be *Sondergut*.

(1) *1 Chron 5:18-20 acquiring land in warfare*

1 Chron 5:18-20 contains a battle for land. To understand the style, structure and motives of this battle text (1 Chron 5:18-20), Sara Japhet suggests that it is read in comparison with the shorter report of war in vs.10, where mention is made of the Reubenites' victory over the Hagrites in Saul's time.[51] Although Japhet argues that both texts (1 Chron 5:10 and 5:18-22) provide a general pattern for "understanding the historiographic process…from limited local traditions to national,"[52] the structure and motives of this prayer text (1 Chron 5:18-22) display violence in gaining land, after asking God to support them. So in light of the Chronicles' interest in non-violence, why is this indirect prayer for land part of the *Sondergut*? If the Chronicler has deliberately invented this prayer through the mouths of the two-and-a-half tribes, how is this to be explained?

[51] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 131-32.
[52] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 132.

To answer these questions, we need first to look at the bigger picture behind the chronological order of the events and how the Chronicler may have structured this prayer within the genealogical section, before we compare it to the above-mentioned direct petitions for land.

As this indirect petition stands, the Chronicler has first mentioned valiant warriors and weapons in the war between the Hagrites and the two-and-a-half tribes in vss.18-19. This is followed by a detailed description of how they have won it: "…for they cried to God in the battle, and he granted their entreaty because they trusted in him" (vs.20b). The victory is therefore recorded from the theological stance of the Chronicler who describes the cause of the event as being not because of the Israelite armies' great numbers, or because they were valiant as warriors, but because of the postulate that "the war was of God" (vs.22), which also seems to be characteristic of Chronicles.[53]

However, placing this prayer sequentially along with the other two petitions mentioned above, this indirect speech appears to have been positioned between the short (1 Chron 4:10) and the long (2 Chron 20:6-12) direct speeches regarding non-violent land acquisitions.

Perhaps the Chronicler does not wish to highlight this violent approach, especially if it relates to land east of the Jordan that was no longer part of Yehud in the Persian period. The episode seems to concern landholding in the past, rather than the present. Military violence then becomes an approach of the past. Even if it is intended to read this indirect prayer along with the other narratives of land acquisition (1 Chron 4:39-43; 5:9-10) within the genealogical section (1 Chron 1-9),[54] it is unlikely that the Chronicler has included this petition for the sake of supporting such

[53] A number of references throughout Chronicles emphasize this characteristic of God's war: 2 Chr 20:15; 25:8; 32:8; God's help: 1 Chr 12:19; 15:26; and so on.
[54] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28.

military ideology. Given the fact that Jabez's prayer functions as a prelude to all the prayer narratives for land in the genealogical context as well as in the whole of Chronicles, the ideology of seeking God through prayer alone is contrasted with such war-like actions in the past.

(2) *Non-cultic Jabez vs cultic Jehoshapat*

Unlike the single use of indirect speech in 1 Chron 5:20, the use of direct speech by Jabez (1 Chron 4:10) and King Jehoshaphat (2 Chron 20:5-12) appear quite similar to each other. Both speakers are honourable and yet humiliated by their specific contexts; both petitions open with the addressee, invoking God by the epithets of "God of Israel" and "LORD God of our ancestors."

The heart of both prayers is the petition for land. This is introduced by two different prayer verbs in the perfect tense, third person masculine singular: "(he) called" [ויקרא][55] and "(he) said" [ויאמר].[56] These verbs express a state of direct encounter between the speaker and the addressee. Clearly however, the story of Jabez is succinctly contained in only two verses (1 Chron 4:9-10) compared to the longer story of the King Jehoshaphat in 2 Chron 20:1-12. The setting of the prayer by Jabez is non-cultic while that of Jehoshaphat's prayer is in a liturgical cultic area, namely the temple. If Jabez and Jehoshaphat are both honourable, why then is Jabez's prayer presented within a non-cultic setting?

(3) *Jehoshaphat's Cultic petition (2 Chron 20:6-12)*

Unlike the short non-cultic prayer of Jabez, the pattern of Jehoshaphat's longer prayer is lengthened in most parts namely, the addressee, those involved, motivation, description of Jehoshaphat's distress and petition. As in other war narratives (2 Chron 13:1-12; 14:1-15; 32:7), this is a natural pattern that derives logically from the

[55] 1 Chr 4:10a "Jabez called…, saying…"
[56] 2 Chr 20:6a "he (Jehoshaphat) said…"

circumstances of the speaker. In this case, Jehoshaphat has to deal with the invading coalition's army which is often described as a "great multitude" (vss. 1, 12, 15, 24). The deliberate choice of the addressee "God of our ancestors" instead of "God of Israel" (as in Jabez' case) may well be due to Jehoshaphat's genealogy as well as his prayer in a cultic setting. Within the temple, Jehoshaphat insists (vs.9) that God would surely bestow and solve the crisis brought by the Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites on grounds of the established relationship between God and their forefather Abraham (vs.7).

The petition of Jehoshaphat follows the motive sentences:

הלא אתה־הוא אלהים בשמים Are *you not* God in heaven?
ואתה מושל בכל ממלכות הגוים Do *you not* rule over all the kingdoms of the nations?
הלא אתה אלהינו הורשת את־ישבי הארץ Did *you not*, O our God, drive out the inhabitants of this land (vss. 6-7).[57]

Here, the rhetorical questions are offered in the consistent format of the second person pronoun used for God אתה ("you") followed by a negation mark הלא ("not"). For Beentjes, the triple presence of these two words [אתה, הלא] modifies the structure of the entire prayer (vss. 6-7; 8-9; 10-11; 12). According to Beentjes, these negated questions demonstrate the "identity of interest" between Jehoshaphat (as a favourable king in the eyes of God) and God's power and solidarity.[58] With the opening invocation of God by the epithet אלהים בשמים ("God in heaven"), it appears that this God's power is in a state of invisible presence. However for Samuel Balentine, these negative rhetorical questions usually invite a resounding yes in response.[59]

[57] This petition reads like Persian imperial ideology found in the inscriptions quoted in Ezra 1:2 "Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: [יהוה אלהי השמים] YHWH, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth…"
[58] Beentjes, "Psalms and Prayers," 29.
[59] Balentine, *Prayer in the Hebrew Bible*, 99.

In vss. 8-9, the motive moves to identify the sanctuary [מקדש] as the dwelling place for God. The repetition of the word "house" in vs. 9 in relation to "sanctuary" in vs.8 is perhaps a literary technique employed to designate the objective of God's visible presence with them:

> "…we will stand before *this house* [הבית הזה], and *before you* [לפניך], *for your name is in this house* [כי שמך בבית הזה], and cry to you in our distress, and you will hear and save" (2 Chron 20:9c).

For John Endres, this second part of Jehoshaphat's prayer (vss.8-9) recalls the pattern of Solomon's prayer at the temple dedication in 2 Chron 6:28, 34; 7:14.[60] In times of sorrow, suffering and war, God is always available to those who "stretch out their hands toward this house" (2 Chron 6:29) for God "will hear and save" (2 Chron 20:9).

In vss.10-11, Jehoshaphat moves from motivation to descriptive statements of the disaster as indicated by the first words: ועתה הנה "Behold now." In the following description, Jehoshaphat declares two concerns (1) God's judgement: "…and whom they avoided and did not destroy…" (vs.10); and (2) God's land: "…your possession that you have given us to inherit" (vs.11). These concerns constitute the centre of Jehoshaphat's petition. Jehoshaphat's main concern is God's gift of the land (vss.7-8) and sanctuary (vs.9) but only God can "drive out the inhabitants of this land" (vs.7) without exercising the military option of fighting with these people who prepare to attack them (vs.11).

The petition ends with a humble and powerful expression (2 Chron 20:12b):

> [12b] …כי אין בנו כח לפני ההמון הרב הזה הבא עלינו ואנחנו לא נדע מה־נעשה כי עליך עינינו
>
> …for there is no power in us before the great multitude/host that is coming against us; and we do not know what we shall do/make, but our eyes are upon you.

[60] Endres, "Joyful Worship," 155-88, esp. 183.

The noun כח (or כוח "power") appears twelve times in Chronicles, describing the quality and ability of royal kings in most cases.[61] Of these twelve occurrences, it is only in this particular prayer of Jehoshaphat that כח is negated with the particle אין (no power/powerless) which is set opposite to the כח in vs.6 attributed to God's hand and might. The repetition of this noun (vs.6, 12b) in an opposite manner expresses the intention of Jehoshaphat's non-violent approach in prayer, asking God to act on their behalf.

As the story continues, we also note that there is no record of חרם, instead there is an extension of thanksgiving and celebration at the location of the victory (vss.21-22). As they began to sing, "the LORD set an ambush [מערבים] against" their opponent (vs.22). Gerhard von Rad has described this "ambush" as "lying in wait" which links to some kind of "supernatural power" of God. With this context, von Rad (followed by John Endres) attributes this war to "the conception of the holy war as absolute miracle, a path of development which had begun in post-Solomonic humanism and had been represented in greater form by Isaiah."[62]

Hence, like Jabez's non-violent approach for land, the impact of Jehoshaphat's petition coheres with the theme of seeking God rather than battle in Chronicles. The stereotypical views of land acquisition as violent and of access to land only by a particular group of Israelites, namely Judah, are now challenged by these two petitions by Jabez and Jehoshaphat. Both narratives stress non-violence and an inclusive description of God's providence and presence. Despite the fact that scholars have not reached consensus about the historical and sociological setting of the war in

[61] 1 Chr 26:8; 29:2, 12, 14; 2 Chr 2:5; 13:20; 14:10; 20:6, 12; 22:9; 25:8; 26:13.
[62] Rad, *Holy War*, 130. Also see Endres, "Joyful Worship," 155-88, esp.179.

Jehoshaphat's story,[63] it is evident from this analysis that Jehoshaphat's religious response reflects the theological agenda of Chronicles as a whole.

Conclusion

This chapter affirms that prayer is indeed one of the major themes in the Chronicler's work. The discovery of how the Chronicler adopts prayers from "his" sources with specific insertions highlights two ideas: 1) prayer reflects Israel's reliance on God; 2) prayer as having a "redefined" cultic component that may be performed even in non-cultic settings to cater to the needs of the new mixed Israelite postexilic community. Here, prayer no longer revolves just around the temple and its religious significance where foreigners may experience limited access (as in the remarkable note in 1 Kgs 8:41-43 repeated in 2 Chron 6:32-33).[64] Rather, prayer in the Chronicler's terms is a practice open to and inclusive of all.

The study of the language of prayers affirms that the usage of "calling" in both cultic (e.g., 1 Chron 21:26) and non-cultic settings (e.g., 1 Chron 4:9-10; 2 Chron 14:11) continues to be a significant non-violent way of seeking and encountering God since the exile. This is further supported by a closer observation of prayers in land petitions. That is, prayers of Jabez (an unknown someone) and Jehoshaphat (a royal Israelite) suggest the possibility of land gain without war which is also a "higher desideratum" in Chronicles' context.[65] Prayer is thus modelled as a replacement for

[63] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 783-86; Ralph W. Klein, "Reflections on Historiography in the Account of Jehoshaphat," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells : Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David N. Freedman, David P. Wright, and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 643-57, esp.652-54.
[64] Refer chapter 5 n.4 for detail.
[65] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28, esp.14.

war and violence, which appears to be the Chronicler's way forward for the Israelite postexilic community. It also suggests a direct appeal for land to the God of Israel and this reflects God as the overlord of all lands as in the P tradition. The next chapter intensifies this hypothesis from the perspective of land tenure.

CHAPTER 4

LAND TENURE

Introduction

Previous studies on Israelite borders and land issues have brought to light the realities of the difficult recovery process Yehud faced during the postexilic period. Much reconstruction was required, people's dwellings needed to be rebuilt, and there was obviously a dramatic drop in population.[1] With such a scene in mind, land was probably not a scarce resource. People's motivating factors for their reconnection to their land were not simply economic, but more about the legitimacy of their land claims and occupancy through the credibility of their genealogical links to Yehud.

Chronicles' genealogical opening effectively endorsed such land claims based on ancestral connections for the postexilic people of Israel. In this respect, the location of Jabez' prayer for land seems to fit well in its immediate context (1 Chron 1-9) where land allocation is closely related to genealogies. But as mentioned in Chapter 1, Jabez's sudden appearance without any clear link to genealogies leaves the legitimacy of his connection to the land hanging. Jabez expands his borders not by taking someone else's inheritance, nor by asking the native Israelites for land. His direct prayer for land reflects "the God of Israel's" position as overlord of all lands as in P tradition.[2]

[1] For further information about the decrease of Yehud's population, see scholarly discussion in chapter 5 below esp. pp.146-50.

[2] Cf. Norbert Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch: Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 200-01; Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 383-88. Both scholars have proposed the idea that God is the overlord represented in P theology.

In this chapter, I want to begin with the hypothesis that Chronicles is building especially on Priestly theology, as already indicated in Chapter 1 and in the discussion of "allusive paronomasia"[3] drawing on Gen 1:22, 28; 9:1; 17. The Priestly perspective may take into consideration part of a broader range of texts that respond to the ethnocentrism of Ezra 7-Nehemiah (Ezra 1-6 will be treated separately below).[4] The exclusion of foreigners in Ezra 9, for example, invokes a list of nations that are prohibited according to D traditions (e.g., Deut 7:1-4; 23:4-9), labelling them as foreigners that defile the land (Ezra 9:11). The discussion of impure and defiled foreigners in relation to land is detailed below. I argue however that such a negative treatment of foreigners is not always entertained in Chronicles.

This chapter aims to investigate the issues in relation to the גרים (foreigners/aliens) in Chronicles in the light of P and H theology. The granting of land to an unknown Jabez may be better understood when inclusive discourses are viewed as opposing the ethnocentric policies of Ezra-Nehemiah with regards to land defilement. What purpose does the Chronicler's addition of P traditions (regarding foreigners) serve in relation to land tenure? How would foreigners acquire land in the postexilic context? For example, if Jabez's plea implies an improper expansion of borders, how then does this request relate to the historic problem of borders in other

[3] Here, I refer to "allusive paronomasia" as a concept that has been studied and applied in the introductory exegesis of this thesis in which the Chronicles' landholding terminologies look like D (Deuteronomistic) but it is actually P (Priestly). For the study of Paronomasia in Chronicles, see Kalimi, "Paronomasia," 27-41.

[4] Among many, see Yonina Dor, "The Rite of Separation of the Foreign Wives in Ezra-Nehemiah," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers, Manfred N. Oeming, and Oded Lipschits (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 3-26; Saul Olyan, "Purity Ideology in Ezra-Nehemiah as a Tool to Reconstitute the Community," *JSJ* 35 (2004): 1-16; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 96-7; Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of the Geneaalogies of Jesus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988), 42-44.

biblical texts?[5] What are the specific land terminologies in the Jabez prayer that reflect P tradition? In addressing these questions and others encountered above, it is important to look first at land terminologies in 1 Chron 4:9-10.

Land Terminologies in 1 Chron 4:9-10

As a *Sondergut* text (1 Chron 4:9-10), Jabez's prayer appears to represent specific land terminologies:

> Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying, "Oh that you would bless me and *enlarge* [רבה] *my border* [גבול י], and that *your hand* [ידך] might be with me, and that you would keep me *from hurt* [מרעה] and *grieving me* [עצבי]!" And God granted [ויבא] what he asked (1 Chron 4:10).

In Chapter 1, I concluded that in combining key terms [רבה/גבל], the Chronicler appears to be twisting D towards P theology. Part of this twist is evinced when Jabez's prayer is generally not concerned with acquiring land by warfare as in D theology. In that regard, the common meaning of "hand" [יד] as "power," "strength" and "authority," referring to God's hand/power upon which Jabez depends may not be appropriate for this aim.[6] Could "your hand" [ידך] also imply a reference to land?

Jan Joosten argues that the idea of "hand/land" is expressed in Lev 25:35 where the hand of the "impoverished has slipped:"[7]

> 35 וכי־ימוך אחיך ומטה ידו עמך והחזקת בו גר ותושב וחי עמך
>
> If any of *his hand totters* [ומטה ידו] fall and become dependent on you, you shall support them; they shall live with you as though resident aliens (Lev 25:35).

[5] The improper expansion of borders is condemned in other texts such as Prov 22:28; Deut 19:14; and Isa 2:2-4. See Mark G. Brett, *Decolonizing God: The Bible in the Tides of Empire* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009), 52, 102.
[6] *BDB*, 388.
[7] Jan Joosten, "Covenant Theology in the Holiness Code," *ZAR* 4 (1998): 145-64, (154). Also cited in Brett, "Unequal Terms," 243-57, esp. 249, n. 22.

For Joosten, the phrase מטה ידו translated as "his hand totters" is "a euphemism that this Israelite has had to sell all of his land."[8] This euphemism of "hand totters" corresponds with the notion of land gifted to those who have lost their properties in the literary context of the HC (Lev 17-25). Within this context, Israelites would be given land because they are YHWH's servants and likewise each family would receive a land portion (Lev 25:38). Here, the "hand totters" probably applies to the poor who are treated as resident aliens as in vs.35 or hired labourers as in vs.40.[9] According to Joosten, the implication of such considerate treatment is reinforced by the HC tradition that Israel is God's people whom God redeemed from the slavery in Egypt: [10]

> For they are my servants, whom I brought out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as a slave [עבד] is sold (Lev 25:42).

Hence the nuance of ידך "your hand" as in Jabez's prayer can possibly be understood as land shares for aliens among their fellow Israelites.

Francesca Stavrakopoulou argues that the word "hand" may also be interpreted as a "sign" and "monument" or "pillar," in some contexts. For Stavrakopoulou, the words "hand" [יד] and "monument" [מצבה] in texts such as 2 Sam 18:18[11] and Isa 56:5[12] seemingly deal with "ancestor cults." Both words (hand and monument) function as a "permanent invocation" of the names of the past ancestors to be

[8] Joosten, "Covenant Theology in the Holiness Code," 154, n. 36.
[9] Note that both גר ותושב ("resident alien") in Lev 25:35 and משכיר כתושב ("hired or bound labourer") in Lev: 25:40 are presented as singular terms in the HB.
[10] Joosten, "Covenant Theology in the Holiness Code," 145-64.
[11] 2 Sam 18:18 Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and set up for himself a pillar that is in the King's Valley, for he said, "I have no son to keep my name in remembrance;" he called the pillar by his own name. It is called Absalom's Monument [יד] to this day.
[12] Isa 56:5 I will give, in my house and within my walls, a monument [יד] and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name [שם עולם] that shall not be cut off.

remembered (in these cases, the ancestors are Absalom and the eunuch).[13] The association of "hand" [יד] with "monument" [מצבה] is apparent in the continuous bond between man and land; between the past and the present; and between God and his people via ownership and possession. Although such an interpretation of "hand" would not generally apply to a foreigner, I argue there may still be a connotation that resonates also in the Jabez text. That is, Jabez's direct prayer to God אלהים is perhaps an attempt to by-pass the expected ancestral bond to land.

In the light of Deuteronomic ideology, land holding is protected by "boundary markers" [גבול] set up by former generations. These land markers on God's property [בנחלתך] are not meant to be removed because they are part of the allotment given by LORD God for Israelites "to possess" [לרשתה] (Deut 19:14; Cf. Prov 22:28). The connection between גבול and ידך in these texts (Deut 19; Prov 22) belongs to the same semantic field, and the Chronicler may be weaving the terminologies together.

Matthew W. Stolper describes two models of "hand land" that were used in the context of the Persian empire. On the one hand, the term *bit ritti* or "hand land" refers to "land owned by temples or the crown." This land ownership is different from the system of "military feudalism" where the "feudatories" (or those who have held the fief called "bow land") are subject to the condition of "military service and payment of an annual tax" to a superintendent and royal regimes.[14]

On the other hand, *bit ritti* is made available to the occupant to exploit, lease and even to sell. Persian records such as the Murašû texts suggest that such "hand

[13] Francesca Stavrakopoulou, *Land of Our Fathers*, 16-17.
[14] Matthew W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Musaru Archive, the Musaru Firm and Persian Rule in Babylonia* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut Te Istanbul, 1985), 24-26.

land" has no evidence of war or "military connotation in the name of the tenancy."[15] It is land that the occupants could use and utilise for their own benefit. Both meanings of "hand land" in the Persian social context (*bit ritti* as a temple land and *bit ritti* as a free land for sale/lease), may be reflected in Jabez's prayer in terms of non-military land acquisition.

Apart from יד, another possible allusion to land terminology found in Jabez' prayer is מרעה translated as "from hurt" (NRSV) or "from evil" (KJV). At the level of word-play, Christopher Heard proposes that the combination of preposition מן ("from") and the feminine noun רעה ("evil") are to be read as "pasture land" [מרעה].[16] For Heard, this usage of מרעה not only parallels with the first petition of Jabez (to "enlarge my border"), but it is also strengthened by the three references to מרעה found at the end of the same chapter (1 Chron 4:39, 40, 41).[17] It may be worth noting here that all these three references to מרעה are unique additions created by the Chronicler. Each reference is not only presented as a singular absolute noun (pasture) but is also being described in the narrative form with regards to clan leaders who travel to seek pasture for their flocks.[18]

The word מרעה ("pasture") also seems to be a phonetic word-play with the Deuteronomistic word מגרשה ("pasture lands"), which becomes a prominent land

[15] Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*, 25, n. 97; Brett, "Unequal Terms," 243-56, 249.
[16] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28, esp. 9-10.
[17] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28, esp. 9-10.
[18] Heard's translation of מרעה as "make pastureland" is presumably based on the implication of the LXX's version of the last part of the prayer: καὶ ποιήσεις γνῶσιν τοῦ μὴ ταπεινῶσαί με ("make me know that I will not be grieved." From this LXX translation, the meaning of Jabez's last petition could be something other than מרעה in 1 Chr 4:10. For Heard, this could be "either the syntactic function of מן in Jabez's עשית מרעה is unique or the Hebrew text is corrupt." See Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28, esp. 9-10.

terminology in Chronicles.[19] This phonetic word-play is formed by the transposition of the Hebrew consonants [ע, ש, and ג]. Despite the addition of ג to the noun מגרשה, both words perhaps belong to the same semantic field of pasture lands. As a prominent land term in Chronicles, מגרשה is therefore worthy to be examined at this point.

Word-play [מגרשה] in Chronicles

The word מגרשה appears forty-six times in Chronicles and most are direct quotations from Joshua 21.[20] Forty-three of these references occur in the genealogical section, and only three appear elsewhere in Chronicles (1 Chron 13:2; 2 Chron 11:14; 31:19).[21]

Rainer Albertz suggests that Joshua 21 contains some post-P texts regarding land allocations for the Levites.[22] Towns and pasture lands are part of tribal inheritances given as gifts for the Levites based on God's commandment (Num 35:1-5).[23] As a result, thirteen cities and pasture lands are allocated to the Levites according to Josh 21:19. This tradition of specific land allocation for the Levites is also being adopted in 1 Chronicles 6: "the people of Israel gave the Levites the towns with their

[19] Throughout the HB, the word מגרשה is a prominent word in Joshua (57 times) and Chronicles (46 references) more than any other books.

[20] That is 42 references in Chronicles are from Joshua 21: 1 Chr 6:55 ET//Josh 21:11; 6:57 ET//Josh21:14 (twice); 6:58 ET//Josh 21:15 (twice); 6:59 ET//Josh 21:17 (twice); 6:60 ET//Josh 21:17 (3 times); 6:64 ET//Josh 21:18; 6:67 ET//Josh 21:21 (twice); 6:68 ET//Josh 21:22 (twice); 6:69 ET//Josh 21:24 (twice); 6:70 ET//Josh 21:25 (twice); 6:71 ET//Josh 21:27 (twice); 6:72 ET//Josh 21:28 (twice); 6:73 ET//Josh 21:29 (twice); 6:74 ET//Josh 21:30 (twice); 6:75 ET//Josh 21:31 (twice); 6:76 ET//Josh 21:32 (3 times); 6:77 ET//Josh 21:34 (twice); 6:78 ET//Josh 21:36 (twice); 6:79 ET//Josh 21:37 (twice); 6:80 ET//Josh 21:38 (twice); 6:81 ET//Josh 21:39 (twice)=42. The other 4 references (1 Chr 5:16; 13:2; 2 Chr 11:14; 31:19) have no parallel sources and are therefore regarded as a creation of the Chronicler.

[21] Note that the majority of these references are found in 1 Chronicles 6, a long chapter (81 verses) devoted by the Chronicler to the tribe of Levi.

[22] Rainer Albertz, "The Canonical Alignment of the Book of Joshua," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers, Oded Lipschits, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 287-303.

[23] Albertz, "The Canonical Alignment," 297-98.

pasture lands" (Josh 21:8//1 Chr 6:64); "they gave Hebron to Kothathites" (Josh 21:4, 20//1 Chron 6:54, 66); "to the sons of Aaron (Josh 21:14//1 Chron 6:57).

From the above study of land terms, it becomes clear that several elements of Jabez's prayer appear to have belonged to the Priestly and HC ideology:

1. The implicit nuance of "your hand" [ידך] as in Jabez's prayer possibly points to land along with the fellow Israelites in accordance with Lev 25:35.
2. The interpretation of ידך as "monument" [מצבה] or border put in place by the ancestors that cannot be removed, corresponds to Jabez's prayer to God [אלהים] who is the overlord of all lands as depicted in Gen 1:1-2:3.
3. Stolper's interpretation of ידך ("hand land") as *bit ritti*, or a land owned by temples or the crown during Persian times is also relevant. The Persian records (e.g., Murašû texts) affirm that the term *bit ritti* does not imply the image of military force. This implication fits well in P theology.
4. The phonetic word-play between מרעה in Jabez's text (translated by Heard as "pastureland" instead of "from evil") and מגרשה ("pasturelands") is reflected in the Priestly material in Joshua 21.

With these land terminologies, it is fitting to review recent scholarly discussions on the issues of land and borders in Yehud. The discussion here will consider the issues more broadly, in order to provide the wider context for understanding the particularity of Jabez's prayer.

Borders of Yehud in Historical Research

Avraham Faust's study of the settlement and the demographic processes of the Yehud province during the Persian period provide a useful starting point for this discussion.[24] Leaning very much on archaeological findings for evidence, Faust argues that there

[24] Avraham Faust, "Settlement Dynamics and Demographic Fluctuations in Judah from the Late Iron Age to the Hellenistic Period and the Archaeology of Persian-Period *Yehud*," in *A Time of Change: Judah and Its Neighbours in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods*, ed. Yigal Levin (London: Continuum, 2007), 23-51. Following Oded Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem: Judah under Babylonian Rule* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 146; Knoppers, "Intermarriage, Social Complexity," 15-30, esp.15; Charles E. Carter, *The Emegence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 76. With regards to Yehud as a small province, each scholar has attempted to identify textual evidences found in the Old Testament in order to construct borders of Yehud in the Persian period.

was a collapse in the sixth century following the destruction of Jerusalem. Yehud's recovery process was rather slow as there was a dramatic drop in its population compared to the monarchy of Judah.[25]

John Wright also discusses this decrease in Yehud's population and his analysis is based mainly on the book of Chronicles. Wright assesses Yehud's borders in Chronicles and argues that the Chronistic genealogical details of Judah (2:3-4:23) and Benjamin (7:6-11; 8:1-40; 9:35-44) indicate the geographical contours of Yehud.[26] His analysis highlights that many "others" from outside the family of Judah are being incorporated into the genealogy of Judah through their service to the king and their economic specialization, rather than on the basis of bloodline (e.g., 2:21-23).[27] Wright also stresses that with Yehud's reduced population in postexilic Judah, the genealogical trend shows how the geographical dispersion of the people may have eventually produced a community based on kinship and patronage where "borders per se, have no place … "[28]

Philippe Guillaume has a similar approach to that of Wright's with regards to Yehud's land. One of Guillaume's main argument is that ancient Israel's land was divided into separate fields or boundary markers as recorded in Deut 27:17 and Hos 5:10. These boundary markers represent different or specific clan lands. Ideologically, Guillaume distinguishes between Deuteronomistic and Priestly land perspectives, but he argues that these two views converge on the idea of possession rather than on outright ownership.[29] That is, Deuteronomistic texts suggest that land is possessed

[25] Faust, "Settlement Dynamics and Demographic Fluctuations in Judah," 23-51, esp. 29-30.
[26] John W. Wright, "Remapping Yehud: The Borders of Yehud and the Genealogies of Chronicles," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period,* ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 67-89.
[27] Wright, "Remapping Yehud," 80.
[28] Wright, "Remapping Yehud," 86.
[29] Philippe Guillaume, *Land, Credit and Crisis: Agrarian Finance in the Hebrew Bible* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2012), 9-13.

conditionally but never owned.[30] Priestly texts (e.g., Lev 25) however suggest that "the sole owner of Canaan is God" and the Israelites are tenants. For Guillaume, the relationship between Israel and their land in both traditions is better described in terms of "possession rather than in terms of ownership."[31] This point will be elaborated in the following discussion on the two land terminologies namely אחזה (holding) and נחל ה (inheritance).

Theology of Land Terminology in D and P

The word אחזה in P tradition often refers to land as landholding or possession as in Genesis rather than land ownership.[32] The word אחזה appears mostly in the Pentateuch, especially in the book of Leviticus.[33] In most cases, אחזה has to be returned to its owner under the regulation of Jubilee (Lev 25:13-17). The idea of אחזה as possession rather than ownership is also reflected in the story of Joseph and his family in Genesis 47. The Priestly note in Gen 47:27b says "and they (Israel) gained holding [ויאחזו] in it, and were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly." This scene seems to be related to Gen 47:11 when Joseph "granted them a holding [אחזה] in the best part of Egypt" for them to reside.[34] Although the Priestly material in Gen 47:27b continues to say: (they) "were fruitful [ויפרו] and multiplied [וירבו]

[30] For instance, see Deut 4:21, 38; 12:9; 15:4; 19:10, 14; 20:16; 21:23; 24:4; 25:19; 26:1.
[31] Guillaume, *Land, Credit and Crisis*, 10.
[32] For example, see Gen 17:8; 23:4; cf. Lev 14:34.
[33] The term אחזה occurs 20 times in Leviticus (Lev 14:34 (twice); 25:10, 13, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33 (twice), 34, 41, 45, 46; 27:16, 21, 22, 24, 28). Both Genesis and Numbers have 9 references of אחזה and Deuteronomy has one (Deut 32:49).
[34] David M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1961), 112.

exceedingly [מאד]," they (Israelites) say only that "they have come to reside as aliens in the land" (Gen 47:4a).

In the context of the whole narrative in Genesis 47, P's view of אחזה reveals the concepts of "possession" and "land holding" as they themselves are residing as aliens in the land. Here, אחזה has been given to the Israelites as a gift by Pharaoh and therefore they were able to reside there without the need to conquer or colonize the land.

Guillaume argues that "the right to buy land [השדה] from its legal owners," mentioned in Gen 33:19-20, is similar to the right to exercise אחזה as implied in Genesis 34:10. Although Jacob bought the "plot of land" [את־חלקת השדה] with one hundred pieces of money (Gen 33:19b), there is no literary suggestion that the sons of Hamor were overlords of the land. Like in the case of Abraham and the Hittites in Gen 23:1-4, both Gen 33:19-20 and Gen 34:10 have nothing to do with buying land. Rather the land was given to the sons of Jacob (Israelites) to rent and cultivate and not to settle or own. So the giving of אחזה to Jacob's sons allows them tenure and thus usufruct in the land.[35]

The term אחזה is minimally found in Chronicles apart from 1 Chron 7:28; 9:2; 2 Chron 11:14; and 31:1. All of these references are *Sondergut* except 2 Chron 11:14 which is closely related to Nehemiah 11.3b. As *Sondergut* texts, Chronicles appears to evoke the frequent use of אחזה by P, as for example in Lev 25:10; Num 27:4; Josh 21:12; and Josh 22:4. These P texts reveal that אחזה has been granted for Israelites to

[35] Guillaume, *Land, Credit and Crisis*, 19.

live, including the daughters of Zelophehad (Num 27:4) and foreign Calebites (Josh 21:12).[36]

A parallel term to אחזה is נחלה which suggests land as "hereditary" or "inalienable property." Here, the land is designated as "something received or granted rather than bought or acquired." [37] Although Guillaume has left the word נחלה untranslated (due to the different possible meanings that could apply to this term), most cases in the Deuteronomistic literary context represent נחלה as inheritance that is granted by God, either as a gift via their ancestors (e.g., Deut 4:20, 21; 1 Kgs 21:1-4), or through war (e.g., Deut 11:23, 24). Thus, נחלה in Deuteronomistic tradition does not merely relate to the legitimacy of land gained by genealogical ties but also to land gained through conquest under the commandment of YHWH.

Such a perception of land echoes D's older emphasis, which often places YHWH as the original owner of נחלה with Israelites as part of YHWH's very own נחלה (Deut 4:20b).

> But the LORD has taken you and brought you out of the iron-smelter, out of Egypt, to become a people of his very own possession [להיות לו לעם נחלה], as you are now (Deut 4:20).

The word נחלה appears twenty-five times in the book of Deuteronomy. The first mention in Deut 4 with the phrase "people of his very own possession" [להיות לו לעם נחלה] is paralleled to the phrase "YHWH's own portion was his people" [הלק יהוה עמו] in Deut 32:9. Accordingly, it appears that נחלה determines Israel as part of God's portion [הלק] and "his very own possession." This phrase is commonly

[36] Note that Josh 21 and Josh 22 are also argued in this thesis as P texts. See further discussion of this below in the following section.
[37] Guillaume, *Land, Credit and Crisis*, 20.

found in Deuteronomy with reference to the Levites as the LORD's inheritance (e.g., Deut 9:26,29; 10:9 (twice); 12:12; 14:27,29; 18:1 (four times)) as briefly discussed above. Thus D's perspective of נחלה also promotes Israel as God's own inheritance.

The remaining references to נחלה in Deuteronomy are presented in a similar sequence of words: אלהיך נתן לך נחלה "(inheritance that…your God is giving you…" (Deut 4:21, 38; 12:9; 15:4; 19:10, 14; 20:16; 21:23; 24:4; 25:19; 26:1). The repetitiveness of this formula seems to designate נחלה as inheritance belonging to God that may also be given and granted by God.

From the above therefore, אחזה as commonly used in P appears to mainly refer to land possession for use and cultivation, while נחלה as in D is perhaps more commonly associated with land acquisition as inheritance. From this understanding, the following discussion provides textual evidence for crossovers between P and D. These crossovers include נחלה in P literature and אחזה in Joshua 21, to which we now turn.

Crossover Between P and D

The word אחזה appears seven times in the Deuteronomistic literature and the majority of these references are found in the book of Joshua.[38] From our previous discussion of מגרשה ("pasture lands"), we note that Joshua 21 is part of Priestly additions to the Deuteronomistic report. These P materials appear originally to have followed on the distribution of land in Josh 14:4 and 18:7 where Levites have no land but were allocated towns to live in with their מגרשה for their flocks. The first

[38] Deut 32:49; Josh 21:12, 41; 22:4, 9, 19 (twice).

mention of landholding in Joshua 21 points to "town and villages" given to Caleb in Josh 21:12. Caleb is listed here with the Aaronites (Josh 21:10-19), but historically, Calebites have been referred to as foreigners. Jacob Wright argues that Caleb's father Jephunneh is "the Kenizzite" and that "elsewhere the Bible applies this ethnonym to a non-Israelite people."[39] In addition to Wright's argument, the account of YHWH's covenant with Abram in Genesis 15 contains the granting of a huge amount of land to Abram's descendants, including land among the Kenizzites:

> …To your descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates, the land of the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites (Gen 15:18-19).[40]

Kennizite ancestors can also be traced back to Esau (Gen 35:11, 15;1 Chron 1:36, 53). For Wright, these above-mentioned texts reveal that "the Kenizzites wouldn't have come into existence until long after Abraham..."[41]

Regarding the forty-eight Levitical cities referred to in Josh 21:41 (reflected also in Num 35:6-7), Albertz argues that the Priestly editor of the book of Joshua seems to agree with the Deuteronomic concept that all priests are Levites. That is the Aaronites are also treated as Levites. The cities of refuge are included as part of Levitical cities (e.g., Josh 21:34-40).[42] The other three references of אחוה (Josh 22:9,19 (twice)) are found in the context of how the tribes of Reubenites, Gadites and

[39] Jacob L. Wright, *David, King of Israel, and Caleb in Biblical Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 168.
[40] Interestingly, the massive territory that Abraham was going to hold in Gen 15:18 was never held by Israel (only by Babylon) in real history. If this is true, why was it being promised then? In what sense would Abraham hold that land? To answer these questions, see Mark G. Brett, "Yhwh among the Nations: The Politics of Divine Names in Genesis 15 and 24," in *The Politics of the Ancestors: Exegetical and Historical Perspectives on Genesis 12-36*, ed. J. Wöhrle and M. G. Brett (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming).
[41] Wright, *David, King of Israel*, 169.
[42] See Trent C. Butler, *Joshua* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014), 216-17; L. Daniel Hawk, *Joshua*, Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative & Poetry (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2000), 222-23.

half-tribe of Manasseh have built an altar in the land of Gilead as their אחזה from God through Moses (vs.9).

So P's view of land as אחזה in Joshua 21 seems to agree with D in the interpretation of the Levitical/Aaronites cities being allotted for them to possess before giving the individual details.[43] However, the P editor also promotes the doctrine of including others, like Calebites/Kenizzites' cities of refuge as part of Levitical cities.

In regards to נחלה, the re-reading of the story of Naboth in 1 Kgs 21:1-4 by some scholars provides us some hints of an exemption being applied to the discussion of נחלה from the postexilic view.[44] Against many scholars who have dated 1 Kgs 21:1-4 to the pre-exilic period,[45] Alexander Rofé discusses the connection between Naboth's נחלה in 1 Kings 21 and the Priestly tradition.[46] Rofé suggests that Naboth's claim of that divine land as "my ancestral inheritance" [אתּ־נחלת אבתי] (1 Kgs 21:3b), alludes to the Priestly law in Num 36:7-9.[47]

This suggestion implies that Naboth's story is a late shift towards the Priestly perspective, even if it is located in Deuteronomistic literature. From the Priestly view, Naboth refuses to label himself as the native owner of the נחלה as in D tradition. Rather, he claims YHWH as the actual owner of his נחלה.

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[43] Hawk, *Joshua*, 222-23.
[44] Ernst Axel Knauf, "Inside the Walls of Nehemiah's Jerusalem: Naboth's Vineyard," in *The Fire Signals of Lachish: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin*, ed. Nadav Na'aman and Israel Finkelstein (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 185-94.
[45] For instance, see Dagmar Pruin, "What Is in a Text? Searching for Jezebel," in *Ahab Agonistes: The Rise and Fall of the Omri Dynasty*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 208-35, (212); Nadav Na'aman, "Naboth's Vineyard and the Foundation of Jezreel," *JSOT* 33.2 (2008): 197-218, (199-200); Brett, *Decolonizing God*, 53.
[46] Alexander Rofé, "The Vineyard of Naboth: The Origin and Message of the Story," *Vetus Testamentum* 38.1 (1988): 89-104.
[47] Rofé, "The Vineyard of Naboth," 89-104, esp.101.

Adding to Rofé's discussion, Ernst Axel Knauf also describes the Naboth's text as dating from a postexilic context. More importantly, Knauf introduces the possibility that Naboth's נחלה could be conceived in Priestly rather than Deuteronomistic terms. He states that "claiming land-ownership for God was a way, for the Second Temple, to save a piece from the estate of the late Israelite and Judahite kingdoms for its own coffers."[48]

In other words, divine land ownership appears to be the rights of succession for the Second Temple community. This divine claim is appropriate in order to hold one's land when there is a threat of losing it to Persian interests. The economy at the time "was monetarily based" and "the possibility of exchanging land for money could be a threat for losing one's land because of debt."[49] So to declare נחלה as the divine inalienable land is to support the Second Temple community from the competing "landed aristocracy" during the Persian rule.

This view of נחלה relates to the distribution of land in Joshua 13-21, which contains some Priestly materials (e.g., Josh 14:1-5; 17:2a-6; 18:1; 19:51; 20:1-9; 21:1-42). As we have seen, Albertz refers to these texts from Joshua as "post-Deuteronomistic reports," and he argues that these texts are similar to "what was employed by the late Priestly authors of Numbers 26-36."[50]

So Knauf's radical new proposal regarding Naboth's land is very illuminating and it may well assist us in assessing Jabez's land in Chronicles. Is this mechanism of P blending with D in Deuteronomistic literature also employed by the Chronicler? More specifically, could we interpret Jabez as the inverse of Ahab? The linguistic

[48] Knauf, "Inside the Walls of Nehemiah's Jerusalem," 185-94, esp.191.
[49] Knauf, "Inside the Walls of Nehemiah's Jerusalem," 191.
[50] Albertz, "The Canonical Alignment," 289.

inversions between the words of Ahab's request and Jabez's prayer for land are apparent:

1 Kgs 21:2-3	**1 Chron 4:10**[51]
1. And Ahab *said* [ידבר] to Naboth	1. Jabez *called* [**יקרא**] on the God of Israel
2. *"Give me your vineyard* [תנה־לי את־כרמך]	2. *"Oh that you would bless me* [אם־ברך תברכני]
3. so that I may have it for a *vegetable garden* [לגן־ירק]	*3. and enlarge my border* [והרבית את־גבולי]
4. I will give you a better vineyard for it; or, if it seems good to you, I will give you its value in money."	4. and that your *hand land* [ידך] and your *pasture land* [מרעה] might be with me."
5. But Naboth said to Ahab, *"The LORD forbid* [חלילה לי מיהוה] that I should give you my ancestral inheritance [את־נחלת אבתי]."	*5. And God granted* [ויבא אלהים] what he asked (enlarged border) (1 Chron 4:10).

The linguistic comparison between the two texts above establishes a total contrast in a number of different points:

1. King Ahab *spoke* [ידבר] to Naboth the Jezreelite // an unknown Jabez *called* [**יקרא**] to the God of Israel.
2. Qal imperative request [תנה־לי] for Naboth's land // infinitive absolute [**אם־ברך**] for God's land.
3. Naboth's land to be Ahab's ירק (herb) // God's land to be Jabez's גבול (border).
4. Ahab's negotiation to swap land or buy land // Jabez asks for pasture and pasture lands.
5. God YHWH forbid [חלילה] // God אלהים brought/granted [**ויבא**].

[51] Note that the translation of Jabez's direct prayer (1 Chr 4:10) here is amended according to the land-related terminologies discussed in this paper.

From this contrast, the inter-textual ideas behind D and P are reflected in the different actions of both Ahab in Kings and Jabez in Chronicles. On the one hand, D's old emphasis of acquiring land through war is reflected when Ahab tries to steal Naboth's inheritance because he wants to expand his borders. On the other hand, P's view of a divine overlord (Lev 25:23) is also in line with Naboth's refusal to sell his נחלה to the King Ahab because it is God's. Linguistically, Naboth's main reason behind his refusal is because of the LORD's forbiddance [חלילה לי מיהוה] rather than the essence of his inheritance. Accordingly, Naboth's refusal coheres with the deliberate omission of any contact between Jabez and the native Israelites or kings for a land. Such interpretation of Naboth as parallel to Jabez may suggest that Chronicles possibly supports the continuation of the Priestly legacy of YHWH as the landowner.

Lev 25:23-24 mentions the same ideological notion that land is owned by YHWH and that all who reside in it are immigrants:

> 23. The land [והארץ] shall not be sold in perpetuity, <u>for the land is for me</u> [כי־לי הארץ]; with me you are but aliens [כי־גרים] and tenants [ותושבים].
> 24. <u>In all the land</u> [ובכל ארץ] that you hold [אחזתכם], you shall provide for the redemption of <u>the land</u> [לארץ] (Lev 25:23-24).

According to Christopher Wright, the above verses are central to Israel's understanding of land tenure. It reveals the assertion of God's ownership of the land and is formally associated with the prohibition on permanent sale of that land.[52] As the texts stand, such prohibition is based on the understanding that YHWH owns and controls "all the land" [כל ארץ]. Guillaume supports the literal translation of כי־לי הארץ as "the land for me" rather than "the land is mine." For Guillaume, this

[52] Christopher J. H. Wright, *God's People in God's Land: Family, Land, and Property in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1990), 58-9.

translation clarifies YHWH as the overlord and Israelites are merely גרים and תושבים who hold [אחזתכם] or reside on God's land.[53]

So from Lev 25:23-24, Israelites are ideologically described as tenants and aliens rather than owners of the land. As tenants and aliens, the idea of land as possession or holding therefore becomes dominant. Unlike D's emphasis on inheritance and human land ownership, P's essential emphasis on divine land ownership seems to serve as a reminder to D not to forget YHWH as the owner of all lands whether holdings or inheritance.

The notion of YHWH as the landowner in Priestly or H tradition is therefore relevant for our discussion of 1 Chron 4:9-10. This Priestly rejoinder to D's assumptions about inherited נחלה may well be depicted in the abrupt prayer by Jabez for land (1 Chron 4:10) in the midst of the Chronicles' genealogical layout of land allocations to the people of Israel (1 Chron 2:1-8:40). With regard to Chronistic genealogies, H.G.M. Williamson in particular refers to 1 Chron 2-8 as the "horizontal dimension" of the history of the "sons of Israel." From this dimension, genealogies portray the inclusion of every resident in the family of Israel in the postexilic context. In Williamson's view, the content of these chapters (1 Chron 2-8) covers a broad scope of the pre-exilic history of Israel more than any other book in the HB.[54]

With such extensive genealogies at the beginning of Chronicles, one could easily forget that God is the source of all "these sons of…" [אלה בני] and "father of Israel." Hence with the abrupt appearance of Jabez's direct prayer to God in the midst of all these genealogies, perhaps the Chronicler wishes to flag P's concept of land as a reminder for Yehud that one could become so absorbed in land ownership via

[53] Guillaume, *Land, Credit and Crisis*, 18.
[54] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 2.

genealogical descent and perhaps lose focus on the perspective of God as their landowner in the first place. Here, the Chronicler has probably reshaped the Deuteronomistic history to remind them once again that everything starts from God's initiative.

Sara Japhet suggests that "genealogy does not usually allow room for religious views; there is hardly a mention of God or his relationship with man."[55] But of course, God does appear in the Jabez prayer. At this particular point, Japhet even argues that "it is always in conformity with the Chronicler's religious concepts (cf. also 2:3; 5:20; etc.)"[56] But more precisely, I argue, that the Chronicler seems to rewrite the material with an emphasis on P's theology and P's inclusive genealogical perspective, rather than D's emphasis on the inheritance of family land.

So the abrupt insertion of Jabez in the genealogical framework and the un-connectedness of his land acquisition to its literary context in Chronicles might seem out of place at first. However, it is possible to read this insertion as conveying a significant point about the theology of land in Chronicles. That is, Chronicles seems to be turning the older tradition of D about genealogies towards P theology about divine lordship. This P theology also appears in other land narratives in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chron 4:39-43; 5:9-10; 5:18-22; 2 Chron 20:6-12).

Theology of Land in Chronicles

The theology of land in Chronicles encompasses three major components: God, Israel and land, where one cannot be explained without the other throughout the providential history of God's people. In redefining Israel, Schweitzer suggests that "Israel is both a

[55] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 110-11.
[56] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 110-11.

people and a land"[57] while Thomas Willi states that the "Chronicler's Israel is the people of its land."[58] Both views of Willi and Schweitzer are close to the earlier work of Stanley Cook who also treats the relationship between people and land in the Old Testament.[59] But which "people" exactly are in Chronicles? At this point, I want to affirm that the Chronicles' historiography shows interest in a new postexilic mixed audience. This theology is mirrored by Williamson's declaration that:

> The Chronicler was writing at a time when one of the major issues for the Jewish people was the precise definition of the extent of its own community. There is evidence of considerable disagreement at that time concerning how "open" or "exclusive" a stance should be taken to those outside the confines of the group centred on Jerusalem.[60]

Mindful of the many writings about the social realities and groups behind this mixed audience,[61] my search will also include the various mixed marriages highlighted in the genealogical section of Chronicles.

Mixed Marriages - An Indication of Heterogeneous Community

Apart from redefining the relationship between Israel and the land, the genealogical material seems to reflect the possibility of mixed marriages (e.g., 1 Chron 2:3; 2:12, 17, 34–35; 4:18). Here, Chronicles' genealogies provide an alternative depiction of

[57] Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 9; Norman C. Habel, *The Land Is Mine: Six Biblical Land Ideologies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 2.
[58] Thomas Willi, "Late Persian Judaism and Its Conception of an Integral Israel According to Chronicles: Some Observations on Form and Function of the Genealogy of Judah in 1 Chronicles 2:3-4:23," in *Second Temple Studies 2 Temple Community in the Persian Period*, ed. Tamara C. Eskenazi and Kent H. Richards (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 146-62.
[59] Stanley A. Cook, *The Old Testament: A Reinterpretation* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd, 1936), 115. Here, Cook refers to the combination of the three major components (God, Israel and land) in a "triangular relationship." Within this relationship, he states that "people and land are essentially one (Hos 1:2), each is YHWH's inheritance (1 Sam 26:19; Zech 2:12) and Israel is sown or planted (Hos 1:23; Amos 9:15) in a land which YHWH gave his servant Jacob (Ezek 28:25)."
[60] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 24.
[61] Samuel L. Adams, *Social and Economic Life in Second Temple Judea* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 10-22; Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson, ed. *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance* (Winona, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 5; Japhet, *From the Rivers of Babylon*, 98; Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 74-82; Joel Weinberg, *The Citizen-Temple Community* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 27-30.

extending Israel's borders to "others" even those outside Jerusalem,[62] hence proposing a "heterogeneous" community.[63] One example is the inclusion of a Canaanite woman Bath-shua as part of Judah's genealogy (1 Chron 2:3). When 1 Chron 2:3-8 retells this founding narrative about the danger of Judah's lineage as in Gen 38:1-11,[64] the emphasis seems to be placed on cultic purity rather than gender identity. This is affirmed by the inclusion of the Canaanite Shua in Judah's lineage (Gen 38:2) along with the death penalty for Judah's own first born Er because of wickedness (Gen 38:7; cf. Gen 35:22).

Such inclusion of foreigners corresponds to God Almighty's [אל שדי] blessing for "a company of nations" [קהל גוים] in Gen 35:10-11, demonstrated by the transition of names from "Jacob" (as a person) to "Israel" (as a nation). This idea of extension/multiplication [רבה] of blessing from single to plural is aligned with a transition of names from "Abram to Abraham," which is also followed by God Almighty's blessing of "multitude of nations" [המון גוים] in the Priestly account of Abraham in Gen 17:1-7.

Such divine blessing of many nations also includes the blessing of all lands. Thus the Chronicler's understanding of mixed marriages in the past seems to be finely woven in contrast to the expulsion of mixed marriages in Ezra 9-10; Neh 2:19-20. The act of expulsion described in these texts also alludes to some Deuteronomistic

[62] For a detailed discussion on mixed marriages in the genealogical chapters of Chronicles, see especially Knoppers, "Intermarriage, Social Complexity," 15-30; Frevel, *Mixed Marriages*, 1-14.
[63] Weinberg, *The Citizen-Temple Community*, 128-9. Weinberg describes here the two essential conditions of the Jewish people's existence after the exile that are abolished: "polycentrism and heterogeneity." For Weinberg, this existence of Jewish people is "the result of an enforced disperse existence in different lands and diverse conditions."
[64] For instance, "Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the Lord and he put him to death" (vs.3b) – a direct quotation from Gen 38:7.

literatures mentioned earlier (e.g., Deut 7:1-5).[65] In a similar manner, the tension between the Israelites and the peoples of the lands in Ezra 9:1-2 reveals the intention of Ezra to link land rights with endogamy.[66]

> **1** …The people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites have not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands with their abominations, from the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites. **2** For they have taken some of their daughters as wives for themselves and for their sons. Thus the holy seed has mixed itself with the peoples of the lands, and in this faithlessness the officials and leaders have led the way (Ezra 9:1-2).

The mixing of Israelites and the peoples of the lands through intermarriage produces cultic separation which eventually leads to the defilement of the land (Ezra 9:11).[67] As Saul Olyan has pointed out, this defilement is "associated with aliens and with intermarriage only in selected texts…and Ezra's memoir speaks of alien practices as defiling abominations" (Ezra 9:11).[68] The connection between foreigners and the defilement of land has also been mentioned by Michael Fishbane as part of D's and HC's views. For Fishbane, Ezra's prayer contains materials from Deut 7:1-4 and Deut 23:4-9 as well as Lev 18:26-30. So the account of intermarriage with the Canaanites and other nations in Deut 7:1-3 is now revised in Ezra 9:1-3. That is, Ezra 9 justifies the strict prohibition on all intermarriages through allusion to Lev 18:26-30. Based on Fishbane's argument, the mentioning of this issue in Lev 18 affirms an emphasis on the separation of impurity rather than ethnicity.[69]

So the list in Ezra 9:1 is the D sounding list of nations and foreign peoples. It conveys the idea of land being defiled by such foreigners via mixed marriages and

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[65] Jonathan E. Dyck, "The Ideology of Identity in Chronicles," in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. Mark G. Brett (Bib Int 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 88-116.
[66] Olyan, "Purity Ideology in Ezra-Nehemiah," 1-16.
[67] "…The land that you are entering to possess [לרשתה] is a land unclean [ארץ נדה] with the pollutions [בנדת] of the peoples of the lands [עמי הארצות], with their abominations [בתועבתיהם]. They have filled it from end to end with their uncleanness [בטמאתם]" (Ezra 9:11).
[68] Olyan, "Purity Ideology in Ezra-Nehemiah," 1-16, (13).
[69] Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 114-29.

God therefore ordered to destroy them (Deut 7:2). In relation to D's negative view of aliens and prohibition to intermarriage, Tamara Eskenazi argues that "marriage with peoples of the land is dangerous if one seeks to possess and retain the land (Ezra 9:12)."[70] In short, Ezra 9:1-3 seems to combine elements of D and P in order to claim that foreigners have defiled the land.

Chronicles' inclusive imagination stands in opposition to such negative views of foreigners and mixed marriages.[71] In doing so, it alludes to P theology with regard to the place of foreigners as well as the integration of the Northerners in cultic practice in Jerusalem. This will be discussed further below.[72]

How Might Foreigners Acquire Land?

P theology's openness places strangers within what Konrad Schmid calls "the circle of Abraham." Gen 26:34 and 27:46 show that Edom (Esau) is allowed to marry two Hittite women; and Jacob accepts the advice from his parents to marry a woman from his own kin in Paddan Aram (Gen 27:46; 28:1-5).[73] It seems that P has a marriage policy to marry within "the Abrahamic household" or within Abraham's kinship system. Schmid refers to this marriage policy as "the extension of the Abrahamic covenant." The instances of intermarriage within this circle are defined as part of

[70] Tamara C. Eskenazi, "The Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 509-29, (517-18).
[71] See especially Knoppers, "Intermarriage, Social Complexity," 15-30; Brett, "Unequal Terms," 243-57; Rolf Rendtorff, "The Gēr in the Priestly Laws of the Pentateuch," in *Ethnicity & the Bible*, ed. Mark G. Brett (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 77-87.
[72] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1044-45.
[73] Konrad Schmid, "Judean Identity and Ecumenicity: The Political Theology of the Priestly Document," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers, Manfred Oeming, and Oded Lipschits (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 3-26 (8).

"Abrahamic covenant" in Genesis 17 where "the multiple of nations" [המון גוים] is repeatedly mentioned (Gen 17:5, 6).[74]

Mark Brett's discussion of the P narrative in Gen 35:11 also reflects this ethnic proximity in which a "company of nations" [וקהל גוים] is included as part of God's blessings to be "fruitful and multiply" [פרה ורבה].[75] Based on these observations, P narratives and laws do not actually claim that foreigners defile the land, although certain kinds of behaviour certainly can.

Hence, if P, or more specifically H, suggests that foreigners do not actually defile the land, the implication for honourable Jabez as a probable foreigner seems especially significant. The implication would be that Jabez did not defile the land and indeed, he may have access to a share of it. He may therefore have had a status as a גר, and it would be important to consider the representation of גרים elsewhere in Chronicles.

The Place for גרים in Chronicles

The absence of the word גרים throughout Samuel-Kings (given that Samuel-Kings is a reliable source of Chronicles) is absolutely striking.[76] So the references below of גרים in Chronicles are noteworthy:

> The whole assembly of Judah, the priests and the Levites, and the whole assembly [וכל־הקהל] that came out of Israel, and the resident aliens [והגרים]

[74] Schmid, "Judean Identity and Ecumenicity," 3-26, (9-26).
[75] Mark G. Brett, "The Politics of Marriage in Genesis," in *Making a Difference: Essays on the Bible and Judaism in Honor of Tamara Cohn Eskenazi*, ed. Kent H. Richards, David J.A. Clines, and Jacob L. Wright (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012), 49-59, (57).
[76] Surprisingly, there is no mention of גרים throughout the whole of Samuel-Kings apart from one reference in 2 Sam 1:13. However the wording of גרים in 2 Sam 1:13 is very rare. For instance, the words בן־איש גר in 2 Sam 1:13b ("son of a resident alien"). Presumably, this rare phrase could be the older form of גרים in the entire HB, not even in D or P.

> who came out of the land of Israel, and the resident aliens [והגרים] who lived [והיושבים] in Judah, rejoiced (2 Chron 30:25).

It is crucial to note here the inclusion of גרים where the Chronicler is deliberately adding it to its sources where fitting. Here, the Passover is depicted as an event for all Israel, aliens included. Concern for גרים is characteristic of the Holiness Code. Sara Japhet identifies five groups of people that are entitled to partake in the Passover: three of them are the citizens of Judah ("the whole assembly of Judah;" "the priests and the Levites;" "the whole assembly that came out of Israel;") and two are non-Israelites ("the aliens who came out of the land of Israel;" and "aliens who lived in Judah").[77] For Japhet, the existence of these aliens "reflects the earlier priestly hendiadys גר ותושב (Lev 25:35, 47; Num 35:15)." Their status allows them to participate in the Passover festival (Exod 12:43-49).[78]

Sara Japhet, H.G.M. Williamson, Saul Olyan and William Johnstone all agree that this is the picture of Israel in its broadest sense including the aliens who are invited to join in the life of Israel as in Exod 12:43-49.[79] This inclusive account of גרים under certain conditions (i.e., circumcision) links to the HC according to Christophe Nihan, Saul Olyan, and Mark Brett.[80] Here, the גרים and the natives have equal rights in the context of Passover as they are both bound by "one law" [תורה

[77] Note that the Passover participants here (2 Chr 30:25) are greater than those in Ezra 6:21-22. Ezra's account records only the returnees from exile and those who have separated themselves from the pollution are allowed to participate.
[78] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 956.
[79] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 955-56; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 371; Saul Olyan, *Rites and Rank: Hierarchy in Biblical Representations of Cult* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2000), 69-70; William Johnstone, *1 & 2 Chronicles: 2 Chronicles 10-36* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).
[80] Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 566-67; Olyan, *Rites and Rank*, 69-70; Mark G. Brett, "Natives and Immigrants in the Social Imagination of the Holiness School," in *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman (London: T&T Clark, 2013), 89-104.

אחת] of equality as also recorded in Lev 24:22 [משפט אחד] or "one statute" [חקה אחת] as in Num 9:14.[81]

The Chronicler is affirming inclusion of גרים as a major theme, which align with HC. With regard to this one law in the HC, the Chronicles' view does not recognize the difference between the returned exiles and aliens, since both may worship one Israelite God.[82] This view of integration is supported by the few references to גרים in the rest of Chronicles:

> (1) David gave orders to gather together the aliens [את־הגרים] who were residing in the land of Israel, and he set stonecutters to prepare dressed stones for building the house of God (1 Chron 22:2).

Here, the workers for David's initial preparation for the Temple are גרים who reside in the land of Israel.

> (2) For we are aliens [כי־גרים] and transients before you, as were all our ancestors; our days on the earth are like a shadow, and there is no hope (1 Chron 29:15).

David's prayer confirms the point mentioned in 1 Chron 22:2 and Ps 39:12 that Israelites have neither right nor property as they too are גרים. David declares that the entire life of humanity including the socio-political status depends on God's generosity.

> (3) Then Solomon took a census of all the aliens who were residing in the land of Israel, after the census that his father David had taken; and there were found to be one hundred fifty-three thousand and six hundred (2 Chron 2:17 ET).

This verse reveals a census of these workers/aliens who were already ordered by David in 1 Chron 22.2. One difference between 1 Kgs 5:15 ET and 1 Chron 2:17 is

[81] Brett, "Natives and Immigrants," 89-104 (92-3); Peter H. Lau, "Gentile Incorporation into Israel in Ezra-Nehemiah?," *Biblica* 90 (2009): 356-73, (357-59).
[82] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 328.

evident in the omission by the Chronicler of the phrase נשא סבל ("burden-bearers/labourers" RSV or "carried burdens" NKJV); and the deliberate omission of 1 Kgs 5:8-14 may uphold a more positive view of Solomon's attitude towards גרים in Chronicles compared to the Kings' account.

> (4) He gathered all Judah and Benjamin, and those from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon who were residing as aliens [הגרים] with them, for great numbers had deserted to him from Israel when they saw that the LORD his God was with him (2 Chron 15:9).

This phrase portrays that the land of Israel as in 1 Chron 22:2 is not just in Judah but includes areas outside of Judah's land: tribes from Ephraim, Manasseh, Simeon; all are inhabitants of the land as well as the great numbers who came to witness the presence of God. Again, the Chronicler highlights the opportunity of reintegration in the context of worship rather than as a consequence of military force as in Kings (e.g., 1 Kgs 15:17-22).

The book of Kings never expresses this dimension of integration of גרים in a cultic and a peaceful way. With these few references of גרים in Chronicles, it seems that the Chronicler enhances the Kings text with the HC concept. I am arguing that the Chronicler aims to stress the Holiness view that גרים are also welcome to reside in the land where God is depicted as the landowner. They may gather for service in the preparation and the construction of the Temple, and they may also share with native Israelites as participants in the Passover festival (2 Chron 30:25).[83]

[83] Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark Press, 1910), 476.

In relation to the HC and the place for גרים, Ezek 47:22 is the only reference throughout the whole HB where גרים are capable of owning land.[84] As many commentators have suggested, Ezek 47:22-23 seems to be a creative twist upon more limited visions of landholding in Num 34:13-15 and Ezek 47:13-14.[85] Walther Eichrodt views Ezek 47:22-23 as "a great and daring step forward towards putting the alien on the same footing as the native born," in terms of land rights.[86] Other scholars like Paul Joyce, Daniel Block, and Leslie Allen have agreed that this integration in Ezekiel is in line with the humane attitude towards aliens as part of the legal and moralistic traditions in H and P, as in Lev 19:33-34 and Jer 22:3).[87]

With this connection between Ezek 47:22-23 and H as well as P, it is therefore necessary for this study to view the special land for גרים in Ezekiel 47. I want to compare the priestly view of גרים in Ezekiel 47 and the unknown Jabez in Chronicles who might be an alien as well.

Land of גרים in Ezek 47:22

> You shall allot it as an inheritance [בנחלה] for yourselves and for the aliens [הגרים] who reside among you and have begotten children among you. They shall be to you as citizens of Israel; with you they shall be allotted an inheritance among the tribes of Israel.

Land allocation for aliens as in the above quote is an interesting example of an incorporated Israel. The aliens are to have a share in the inheritance of the tribe with which they live.

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[84] Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1966), 592; Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 281.
[85] Paul M. Joyce, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2007), 237-38; Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 717-18; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 281; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 592.
[86] Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 592.
[87] Joyce, *Ezekiel*, 238; Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48*, 717; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 281.

Accordingly, such an exceptional allocation of land for aliens may well allude to the HC regulation in Lev 24:22 as well as Exod 12:48-49 mentioned above.[88] According to Brett who compares the verbal similarities between Ezek 47:22 and Exod 12:48-49, it appears that the relations between HC and Ezek 47:22 in terms of גרים "landholders" are somehow overlapping.[89] This means if the גרים decide to settle in the land (Ezek 47:22a), then they are entitled to the same treatment as native Israelites (Exod 12:48). This relates to Brett's description of גרים in the Persian period from HC's view where aliens are "obligated to preserve the purity of land and sanctuary."[90] On the other hand, גרים in D are likely to be people from other tribes and therefore not necessarily foreigners; גרים in HC are generally foreigners because if they want to join in the Passover, they have to be circumcised.[91]

In putting HC's view of גרים together with Ezek 47:22, the Chronicler may have deliberately inserted the Jabez prayer in the middle of the Judahites' genealogies to suggest that although Jabez's genealogy is unknown, he may still secure his connection to the land as a resident alien. Positioning Jabez as a resident alien, who may have eventually gained land also reflects the ideology of big borders in Chronicles.

Expansive Borders in Chronicles

Josiah's borders in Chronicles

One scene of expansive borders in Chronicles is evident in a revised model of the Deuteronomistic narrative (2 Kgs 23:21-23) in 2 Chronicles 34 describing the period

[88] Cf. Num 15.29; Is 56:3-8. See especially Brett, "Natives and Immigrants," 89-104 (102-03).
[89] Brett, "Natives and Immigrants," 102.
[90] Brett, "Natives and Immigrants," 103.
[91] Cf. Brett, "Natives and Immigrants," n. 42.

of the expansion of Judah during the reign of King Josiah.[92] When the Passover is celebrated during Hezekiah's reign, the couriers travel "from Beer-sheba to Dan…through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, and as far as Zebulun" (2 Chron 30:5,10). By the time of King Josiah, the borders extend: "In the towns of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Simeon, and as far as Naphtali…throughout all the land of Israel" (2 Chron 34:6-7).

According to Sara Japhet, the geographic borders in the Chronistic account of Josiah are recorded with new details when compared with the source in 2 Kings 23. For instance, 2 Kings 23 mentions parts of the northern kingdom: "… from Geba to Beer-sheba" (vs.8); Bethel (vs.15); and "the high places…in the towns of Samaria," (vs.19). In Chronicles' account however, Josiah's territory extends from Simeon "as far as Naphtali" and encompasses all the territory that belonged to the people of Israel (2 Chron 34:6-7).

From this literary record, Japhet stresses that the borders of the Chronistic Josiah "are far greater than in Kings." [93] Gary Knoppers shares a similar understanding. Knoppers states that "whereas in Kings Josiah's nationwide activity is confined to only one part of one year (2 Kgs 22:3; 23:3), in Chronicles the concern with the full array of Israelite sodalities is a sustained theme throughout Josiah's tenure."[94] That is, the Chronistic Josiah shows consistent passion for national unity where all people from different places (2 Chron 34:9) gather in support of their nation's worship. Interestingly, we find something similar in Ezra 1-6.

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[92] Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 58, n. 2.
[93] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 297-8. Also see Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 101. It is worth mentioning here that Williamson gives equal judgment on Hezekiah and Josiah's borders. For Williamson, Hezekiah's reform also mentions Asher's border "as far as north as that of Naphtali" as in 2 Chr 30:11. For that reason, Williamson states that "Hezekiah's interests were no less limited than Josiah's."
[94] Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, 92.

Expansive Borders in Ezra 1-6

The expansive borders can be detected from the more inclusive approach depicted in Ezra 1-6, in contrast to the national idea found in the rest of Ezra-Nehemiah. For instance, in Ezra 9, Ezra confesses before God the sin of the people where the "holy seed has mixed itself with the people of the land" (9:2). This exclusive approach is different from the "H" approach described in Ezra 6:21-22 where "all who had joined them and separated themselves from the pollutions of the nations of the land to worship the LORD, the God of Israel" (vs. 21b). Thus, it can be argued that these separated people could be the גרים who may have become proselytes, have embraced the religious way of life, and mingled with the native Israelites. So how can Ezra 1-6 be related to Ezra 9?[95]

The proposal that Ezra 1-6 comes later and is different from the rest of the Ezra tradition has been argued mainly by Williamson. According to Williamson, Ezra 1-6 should be considered as an "independent composition from a date later than the combining of the Ezra and Nehemiah material."[96] That is, Ezra 1-6 is not as exclusive as it seems, and this can be supported with a number of pieces of evidence. First, Ezra 2 has a list of exilic people who are also named according to their residents (vss.20-35) rather than just on genealogical grounds. Although Blenkinsopp argues that the list of uncertain descent in vss. 59-63 "illustrates a fierce determination of a segment of Babylonian Jewry to maintain its identity against the threat of assimilation,"[97] Jonathan Dyck contends that these peoples, including those who "could not prove

[95] The distinction between Ezra 1-6 and the rest of Ezra-Nehemiah is also mentioned by Lau, "Gentile Incorporation," 356-73, esp. 356.
[96] H.G.M. Williamson, "The Composition of Ezra 1-6," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 34/1 (1983): 1-30, esp. 8. Also see H.G.M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, Word Biblical Commentary (Waco: Word Books, 1985), xxii-xxiii.
[97] Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1988), 91-2.

their families or their descent, whether they belonged to Israel" (vs. 59-63) comprise the "whole assembly" [כל־הקהל] (vs.64).[98]

Second, Ezra 6 contains the edict of both Cyrus (6:3-5) and Darius (6:6-11). Dyck describes these foreign edicts as an "outside initiative" which points to the role of Persians who have legally organized the rebuilding of the temple. Thus although everything is read from the perspective of the children of the Golah, it appears more to be an ideal phenomenon.[99] The children of the Golah have become organizing blocks for understanding Judean identity which does not directly separate the people of the land and foreigners as depicted in Ezra 9.

Hence, if there are extensive borders in Ezra 2, this may not be surprising because Ezra 1-6 points back to the Priestly views which are more accommodating, and more inclusive of big borders. This Priestly approach is also reflected in the discussion of big borders in 2 Chronicles 34 noted above.

In summary, the inclusive approach in Chronicles is evidently supported by its account of mixed marriages in 1 Chron 1-9, and the narrative of big borders in Josiah's reformation (2 Chron 34). It can be argued then that the Chronicler has carefully arranged and readjusted the past materials of borders in a way which most likely cohered with the Priestly and Holiness Code theology. And while Israel's "people borders" are being extended to include "others" through cultic celebrations, it indicates without a doubt that a massive change in their perception of land may have also taken place. That is, land as their Yahwistic commodity has also become inclusive of foreigners. This Chronistic inclusive approach is not only apparent in

[98] Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology*, 87.
[99] Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology*, 84-90, (86). Dyck stresses the significance of the exilic perspective in Ezra 1-6 in which the exile "is something to be remembered" not "something to be overcome" as in 2 Chronicles 36.

some of the postexilic writings such as Ezra 1-6 mentioned above; but is also apparent in Trito-Isaiah (e.g., 56:3-7; 60:10; 61:5).[100]

In regards to the discussion of extensive borders and the inclusion of others in the postexilic land, we may now proceed to examine how the Chronicler employs various technical terms for land to finely paint the P contexts of land for a postexilic audience.

Land Terminologies in Chronicles

Several land terminologies in Chronicles, including some of the terms already discussed above (e.g., מגרשה, אחזה, נחל ה), may serve to support the overlap between D and P in Chronicles.[101] With this overlap, other land terminologies in Chronicles would be interpreted in light of their wider semantic field in reference to the terminologies employed in the Jabez prayer.

The word שדה ("field") appears six times in Chronicles: two are from the biblical sources,[102] and four are found only in Chronicles.[103] From the two references that have biblical sources, the first mention of שדה in 1 Chron 6:56 ET is a direct quote from Josh 21:12 in the context of Levitical "dwelling places" [מושבותם] (1

[100] For a thorough discussion of foreigners in Trito-Isaiah (56-66), see John Goldingay, "Isaiah 56-66: An Isaianic and a Postcolonial Reading," in *Isaiah and Imperial Context: The Book of Isaiah in the Times of Empire*, ed. Mark G. Brett, Andrew T. Abernethy, Tim Bulkeley, and Tim Meadowcroft (Eugene: Pickwick, 2013), 151-66; Mark G. Brett, "Imperial Imagination in Isaiah 56-66," in *Isaiah and Imperial Context: The Book of Isaiah in the Times of Empire* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2013), 170-85.

[101] The most prominent land terminology employed in Chronicles apart from ארץ is מגרשיה ("pasture lands") as it appears 46 times in its plural form. Of 46, only 5 of these references have no biblical sources. The word האדמה ("ground") appears 7 times, while שדה "field" occurs 6 times. There are 3 references to the word אחזה ("possessions/holdings") (1 Chr 7:28; 9:2; 2 Chr 11:14); and נחל ה ("inheritance") appears 4 times (1 Chr 16:18; 28:8; 2 Chr 6:27; 10:16).

[102] 1 Chr 6:56 ET//Josh 21:12; 1 Chr 16:32//Psa 96:12.

[103] 1 Chr 27:26; 2 Chr 26:23//2 Kgs 15:7; 2 Chr 31:5, 19. Note that 2 Chr 26:23 has quoted from 2 Kgs 15:7 but the Chronicler adds the words "burial field" [בשדה הקבורה] in it.

Chron 6:54-60 ET). Here, שדה is presented as a singular construct noun and it corresponds to the many villages [את־הצריה] attached to it. In other words, שדה is presented here as part of those "dwelling places," including both towns and pasture lands, that were given to Caleb, son of Jephunneh (1 Chron 6:56 ET). Sara Japhet describes מושבותם as a "distinct priestly term, occurring 17 times in Priestly texts"[104] and 3 times in Chronicles (1 Chron 4:33; 6:54 ET; 7:28).[105]

Moreover, in 2 Chron 26:23, שדה is added to the historical source in 2 Kgs 15:7 which clarifies the broad "city of David" [עיר דוד]. For the Chronicler, this city of David is a separate "burial field" [שדה קבורה] for Azariah/Uzziah to be buried in, not the whole city as in Kings. So the Chronicles' account spells out שדה in this case as a resting place or the field of burial belonging to the Kings. The Chronicler's replacement of the "city of David" in 2 Kgs 15:7 with the "burial field," suggests that שדה in this particular case appears to be part of the royal estate for the kings' graves in Chronicles.[106]

The repeated references to שדה in 2 Chron 31:5, 19 describe people's contributions in their usual act of worship during the time of Hezekiah. In verse 5, the word שדה is used as a singular absolute, referring to it as an agricultural portion of land. That is, "…and all the produce of the field [שדה]" is part of the people of Israel's large contribution to the Passover festival.[107] In 2 Chron 31:19, שדה is used as a plural construct form referring to "common land" or "pasture land" [מגרש] that

[104] For instance, Gen 36:43; Exod 10:23; 12:20; 35:3; Lev 3:17; and more.
[105] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 159-60.
[106] Habel, *The Land Is Mine*, 21.
[107] Japhet refers to "the people of Israel" in 2 Chr 31:5-6 as northerners who contribute everything including both tithes and first fruits whereas the people of Judah only contributes tithes. See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 964-65.

belongs to the priestly and Levitical families (2 Chron 31:11-19). The concept of שדה therefore covers a wide range of meanings: a "dwelling place" for Levites; a wider land during Davidic rule; a royal estate for kings' graves; an agricultural land; and pasture lands.

Apart from שדה, the term גבול itself appears only six times throughout Chronicles. Of the six, four references have parallel accounts in Joshua and Samuel-Kings;[108] two of which have no known biblical source (1 Chron 4:10; 2 Chron 11:13). Of the four references that have parallel accounts, three are adjusted by the Chronicler. Part of the adjustments includes the addition of the term גבול to each parallel text. The following passages are set to clarify these additions, which are unique to Chronicles, followed by the parallel texts from the biblical sources:

(1) **1 Chron 6:54 ET** These are their dwelling places according to their settlements within their borders [בגבולם]: to the sons of Aaron of the families of Kohathites—for the lot fell to them first—
Josh 21:1 Then the heads of the families of the Levites came to the priest Eleazar and to Joshua son of Nun and to the heads of the families of the tribes of the Israelites;

(2) **1 Chron 6:66 ET** And some of the families of the sons of Kohath had towns of their territory [גבולם] out of the tribe of Ephraim.
Josh 21:20 As to the rest of the Kohathites belonging to the Kohathite families of the Levites, the towns allotted to them were out of the tribe of Ephraim.

(3) **1 Chron 21:12** either three years of famine; or three months of devastation by your foes, while the sword of your enemies overtakes you; or three days of the sword of the LORD, pestilence on the land, and the angel of the LORD destroying throughout all the territory [גבול] of Israel.' Now decide what answer I shall return to the one who sent me."
2 Sam 24:13 So Gad came to David and told him; he asked him, "Shall three years of famine come to you on your land? Or will you flee three months before your foes while they pursue you? Or shall there be three days'

[108] 1 Chr 6:54 ET//Josh 21:1; 1 Chr 6:66 ET//Josh 21:20; 1 Chr 21:12//2 Sam 24:13; 2 Chr 9:26//1 Kgs 4:21 ET.

> pestilence in your land? Now consider, and decide what answer I shall return to the one who sent me."

The addition of גבול in each case is evidential proof of the Chronicler's concern about borders of the postexilic community. The first two references are both described in the context of lands assigned to the Levites. Although Chronicles is not consistent with adding גבול in each section of the descendants of Aaron, the Chronicles accounts are more precise than Joshua 21 in which גבול is never mentioned at all. If we take the first reference (1 Chron 6:54 ET) as a form of introduction to the rest of the Aaronites' pasture lands, then גבול is presumably not meant to be repeated in each case.

In 1 Chron 21:12//2 Sam 23:13, the addition of גבול clarifies the concept of "your land" mentioned in 2 Sam 23:13. Here, Chronicles provides a clear identification of the specific area that would be destroyed by the angel as part of David's punishment.

Of these additions of גבול to these source texts, 2 Chron 9:26 seems to follow its source closely (MT 1 Kgs 4:21 ET):

[26]ויהי מושל בכל־המלכים מן־הנהר ועד־ארץ פלשתים ועד גבול מצרים

He ruled over all the kings from the Euphrates until the land of the Phillistines and until the border of Egypt (2 Chron 9:26)

[21]ושלמה היה מושל בכל־ממלכית מן־הנהר ארץ פלשתים ועד גבול מצרים מגשים מנחה ועבדים את־שלמה כל־ימי חייו

Solomon was sovereign in/over all the kingdoms from the Euphrates (to) the land of the Philistines until the border of Egypt; they caused to bring tribute and served Solomon all the days of his life (MT 1 Kgs 4:21 ET).[109]

[109] Note that there is no Qumran text for 1 Kgs 4:21.

Although 2 Chron 9:26 is shorter than its source, the focus in both texts is clear. It is about the identification of the different lands that king Solomon ruled: "from the Euphrates to the land of the Philistines even/and [עד] to the border [גבול] of Egypt."

This one example of גבול about the close affinity between 2 Chron 9:26 and 1 Kgs 4:21 supports Gary Knoppers' argument that the Chronicler and the Deuteronomist share "considerable interest in the united kingdom and the institutions established during this period."[110] Knoppers' analysis shows that both reigns of David and Solomon are portrayed by the Chronicler as "uniformly illustrious…an exemplary monarch who enjoys unprecedented and unceasing success" (1 Chron 10-2 Chron 10).[111] This glorious period is also depicted in the Deuteronomist's account, but the Deuteronomist goes further to include "the period marked by apostasy" (1 Kgs 2-10).[112]

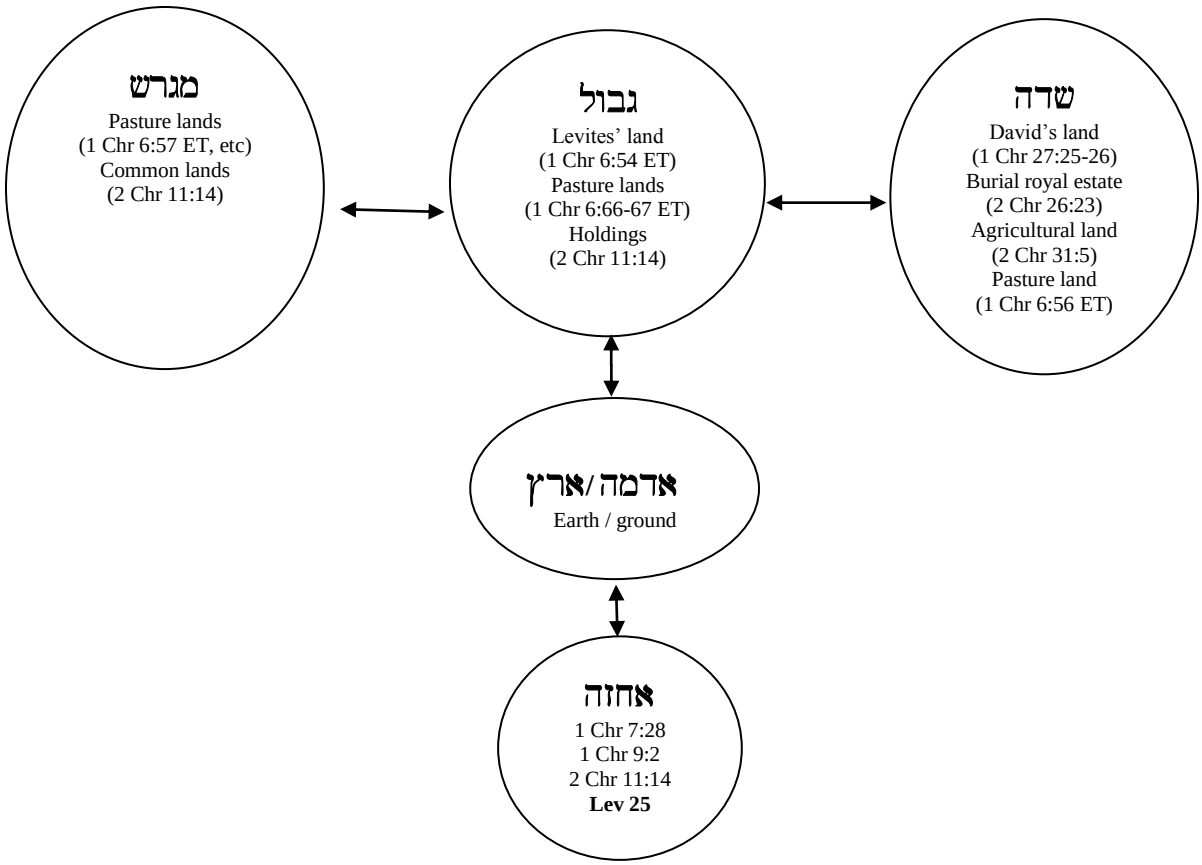
Of the two references of גבול (1 Chron 4:10 and 2 Chron 11:13) that have no parent texts, both texts represent the Chronicler's perception with regard to borders. The first presentation of Levites and priests in 2 Chron 11:13-15 reveals that the Chronicler omits the oracle of Jeroboam as in 1 Kgs 11:29-39. Knoppers argues in this particular case that the Chronicler concentrates on the reign of Rehoboam's account (2 Chron 11) which is also found in 1 Kgs 14:21-31.[113]

However, the Chronicler offers a different evaluation of Rehoboam from that in 1 Kings 14. Part of this evaluation includes the use of a certain passage about Levites and priests "who were in all Israel presented themselves to him from all their territories" (2 Chron 11:13). Sara Japhet refers to this passage (2 Chron 11:13-17) as

[110] Gary N. Knoppers, "Rehoboam in Chronicles: Villain or Victim?,"*JBL* 109/3 (1990): 423-40 (423).
[111] Knoppers, "Rehoboam in Chronicles: Villain or Victim?," 429.
[112] Knoppers, "Rehoboam in Chronicles: Villain or Victim?,"426.
[113] Knoppers, "Rehoboam in Chronicles: Villain or Victim?," 423-40 (431).

the one that contains new material about the "aspect of religious life."[114] This religious aspect is revealed in the emigration of priests and Levites "from all their border" [מכל־גבולם] to offer sacrificial worship in Jerusalem (2 Chron 11:13-14). Here, the Hebrew singular form גבולם is also meant as מגרש ("pasture lands") "and their holding" [ואחזתם] which they have left behind (v.14). According to Japhet, this is the first time "the Chronicler alludes to the new cult established in the northern kingdom by Jeroboam, a theme resumed later in 13:8-9."[115] So the Chronistic evaluation of Rehoboam is evidently cultic, which alludes to the northerners' integration.

In summary, there is an overlap in meanings and usages amongst these technical land terms throughout Chronicles as depicted in the following diagram:



[114] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 663.
[115] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 668.

Evidently, שדה can be either related to מגרש (1 Chron 6:56), אדמה (1 Chron 27:26), and agricultural land (2 Chron 31:5). The term גבול also associates with מגרש (1 Chron 6:54; 6:66; 2 Chron 11:4) as well as אחזה (2 Chron 11:13-14). In a variety of contexts, these overlaps could be the affirmation of Chronicles' perspective on land, coloured with different meanings.

Likewise, Leviticus 25 also contains the overlap between שדה and אחזה. Here, both terms (אחזה and שדה) are specifically referring to "cultivated land." According to Jeffrey Fager, the core meaning of both terms in Leviticus 25 is "to affect the distribution of land that produces food, that is, land that forms the basis of survival."[116] With this view from HC text, אחזה as a means of land for survival also links to the meaning of מגרש in 2 Chron 11:14 (pasture lands) as well as מרעה ("pasture") mentioned in Jabez's text (1 Chron 4:10), in their wider semantic fields.

Conclusion

This chapter on land tenure contributes to the hypothesis stated at the beginning that Chronicles is building on Priestly theology. The land terminologies in the Jabez text (1 Chron 4:10) provided a starting point for our discussion. As the language of Jabez's landholding terminologies have indicated (e.g., "hand totters"//land hand), the HC emphasizes divine grace for the lowly in society (e.g., Lev 25:42). This feature of P and HC is also highlighted in a non-military approach behind the meaning of *bit ritti* which is also attached to the idea of "hand land."

[116] Jeffrey A. Fager, *Land Tenure and Biblical Jubilee: Uncovering Hebrew Ethics through the Sociology of Knowledge* (Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1993), 89.

The analysis also detects P theology in a number of cases with regards to the concept of land. This includes the discussion of אחזה or "land holding" and "usufruct," and the blending of D and P texts in the context of Chronicles. Factors such as mixed marriages and big borders also build on P's expansive approach. As the study of Yehud's borders and the Chronistic theology of the land confirm, P explicitly reveals positive views towards foreigners and aliens in terms of access to land as well as to the God of Israel. Hence, the Chronicler may well have used the story of Jabez as another gateway to P theology. This idea of divine oversight of land is related to the leitmotif of divine sovereignty in the postexilic context. This is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE REPRESENTATION OF SOVEREIGNTY IN CHRONICLES

Introduction

Several scholars have discussed Chronicles' interest in Israel's monarchs as a major contributor to the retelling of the history of Israel.[1] Many have also identified the reflection of the divine reign through the Davidic rule. Sara Japhet, for example, argues that YHWH's rule is implemented by Israel's kings and earthly monarchy reflects divine kingship in action here on earth.[2] In this chapter, we will explore the ways in which YHWH's rule is exercised both through Israelite and foreign kings, since this provides the wider context for understanding the conception of sovereignty in Jabez's prayer.

Scholars such as Louis Jonker and Manfred Oeming in particular, claim that the Persian imperial rulers were "God-appointed leaders" and they signified continuity of God's promises to the Davidic kings now being bestowed onto foreign rulers.[3] Kings are integrated under God's rule, and in effect there is a balancing of native and foreign political sovereignty, since both are subordinate to God's sovereignty. This balancing

[1] Among many, see especially Matthew Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles: Temple, Priesthood, and Kingship in Post-Exilic Perspective* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), esp. 209-20; Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, esp. 65-113; Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 395-489.

[2] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 395-411. Japhet refers to the mentioning of God's kingdom in 1 Chr 10:14; 11:10; 14:2(2 Sam 5:12); 16:20; 17:11,14 (2 Sam 7:12,16); 28:5, 7; 29: 23, 30; 2 Chr 9:8 (1 Kgs 10:9; 13:8). All these texts appear to be associated only with the Israelite monarchs David and Solomon. These notable texts claim the combined rule of David and Solomon as exceptional national reigns above any kings of Israel in Chronicles, for none has claimed to have shared with God's throne. Among many others, see especially Brian E. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 24.

[3] Jonker, *Reflections of King Josiah*, 87; Manfred Oeming, "See, We Are Serving Today (Nehemiah 9:36): Nehemiah 9 as a Theological Interpretation of the Persian Period," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 571-88, esp.571.

act not only supports the understanding of the universal divine rule of YHWH in Chronicles, but also flags the reality that the security of the temple still requires human kings.

My argument in this chapter is that the Chronicler has rewoven the concept of the sovereignty of God via Israel's kingship, with the aim to ease the integration process among the various Israelite postexilic communities. It is through kingship, past and present, native and/or foreign, that the sovereignty of God is realised for postexilic Israel and its cultic institutions. That is, the favourable recognition of foreign rule reflects a broadening of the temple boundaries and its cultic practices that are inclusive of foreigners as well. In fact, Solomon's prayer appears to support this very notion:

> Likewise when foreigners, who are not of your people Israel, … when they come and pray toward this house, may you hear from heaven your dwelling place, and do whatever the foreigners ask of you (2 Chron 6:32-33//1 Kgs 8:41-43).[4]

Here we find a temple being open to the prayers of foreigners - an act long foreseen and approved of by King Solomon. Could this be why Jabez, a foreigner, was comfortable enough to address his prayer to the God of Israel's temple? Was he armed with the belief that God was now open to even unknown citizens like him? As discussed in previous chapters, Chronicles' positive attitude towards non-cultic prayers such as Jabez's may well demonstrate the emerging view of foreigners as co-servants of God – a view to uphold, especially when a foreign Cyrus becomes Yehud's God-appointed king and temple endorser. The chapter will also explore how

[4] See Samasoni Moleli, "Cultic worship with *nŏkrî* according to 1 Kgs 8: 41-43," presented at the SABS/SBL conference in South Korea, July 2016. This paper argues that the mentioning of *nŏkrî* in 1 Kgs 8:41-43//2 Chron 6:32-33 is so unusual within Deuteronomistic literature and that 1 Kgs 8: 41-43 may possibly be part of a later redaction during the postexilic period. The changing role of the temple is reflected in the inclusion of this *nŏkrî* text. The wording in 1 Kgs 8:41-43 and 2 Chron 8:31-32 is almost identical and it is likely that the text in Kings was added on the basis of Chronicles where we find a number of possibilities for inclusion.

Jabez's prayer may be understood in a context where Cyrus has linked his authority to the "God of heaven" (2 Chron 36:23).

The connection between kingship and the temple is crucial because without the king's authority, the temple is not established. But native kings are not necessarily required for preserving the temple, for it is now handled by the Persian king. In effect, the temple is the expression of divine sovereignty. The inclusion of foreign kings in maintaining the temple reflects the balancing process between native and foreign rules, both of which are secondary to the authority of God in Chronicles. Allusions to foreign kings in Isa 44:28; 45:1 and Jer 22:22, will also be considered below in analyzing the Chronicler's perspective on kingship.

The recent work of Matthew Lynch underscores God's supremacy with reference to the three mediating institutions namely, "Temple, priesthood, and kingship" in Chronicles.[5] I want to add that of these three institutions, kingship plays a major role in the presentation of God's sovereignty in Chronicles. I argue that without kingship – whether native or foreign – the existence of the temple and priesthood is not guaranteed.

My initial interest in this discussion stems from Louis Jonker's argument that the "continuity of YHWH's promise to the Davidic kings was now vested in the foreign kings."[6] In my view, the survival of the "temple" and "priesthood" is very much dependent on the continuity of the Davidic kingship, but as in the case of Isa 45:1, the messiah might have a Persian name. Chronicles is not only interested in retelling the history of the Davidic rule and the formation of the Davidic "dream" of

[5] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 72-136, 137-209, 209-60.
[6] Jonker, *Reflections of King Josiah*, 87. Jonker describes this sovereignty of God via the Davidic kings using the "constructive criticism" in relation to "the Persian rulers" as also God appointed leaders. Like David, both native and foreign kings should perform their duties accordingly.

the temple as fulfilment of God's promise, but it also appears that Chronicles is even more concerned about the continuation of God's promise throughout history.

To strengthen my argument, this chapter starts with the understanding that Chronicles is in part responsive to the occupation of the Persian imperial power. Attention will firstly be given to the overview of Persian imperial ideology and the linguistic study of kingship terminologies in Chronicles, before moving to the ideology embedded in biblical texts that represent sovereignty in Chronicles.

Chronicles and Persian Imperial Ideology

In understanding the socio-historical context of Chronicles, it is helpful to first identify the date of the final composition of Chronicles. Indeed, the precise date of Chronicles is still a matter of scholarly debate. This work, however, takes the most recent scholarly consensus that the composition of Chronicles occurs around the fourth century B.C.E., perhaps just before Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire.[7] This would mean that the books of Chronicles were finally composed towards the end of the Persian or probably the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Unlike Ezra-Nehemiah which is often considered a narrow window to the history of postexilic Israel,[8] Chronicles provides a broad history of kingship, including pre-exilic kings, and not just described in annalistic terms.[9]

[7] See Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 16; Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 16-17; Ackroyd, *The Chronicler in His Age*, 9; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 27-28; Dyck, "The Ideology," 4; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 116; Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 13-16; Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 71-78.

[8] Katherine E. Southwood, *Ethnicity and the Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9-10: An Anthropological Approach* (New York: Oxford University, 2012), 3. This study however aims to provide some textual evidences of Chronicles being influenced by its social setting.

[9] Generally speaking, Chronicles omits, extends and even contracts some of the versions used in Kings. Chronicles often deals with the kings of Judah rather than the northern kings unless the northern kings or even foreign kings have some effect on the Judahite's kings (e.g., king Rehoboam and Jeroboam in 2 Chr 10:1-11//1 Kgs 12:1-24; king Hiram and David in 1 Chr 14:1-2//2 Sam 5:11-12; king Ahab and

The chronology of kings in the late Persian and early Hellenistic period starts from the reign of Cyrus (559-530 B.C.E.), and continues through to the reigns of Cambyses (530-523 B.C.E.), Darius I (522-486 B.C.E.), Ahasuerus or Xerxes (486-465 B.C.E.), Artaxerxes I (465-424 B.C.E.), Darius II (424-404 B.C.E.), Artaxerxes II (401-399 B.C.E.), and Darius III (336-330 B.C.E.).[10] From this long ruling period, Jonker suggests that Chronicles may have been composed between the reign of Artaxerxes I (465-424 B.C.E.) and the time before the fall of Persia to Alexander the Great (332 B.C.E.).[11]

Given the significance of the social and political contexts to the Chronicles, it makes sense to start with the ideology of the Persian Empire and its relations to the nature and the theology of Chronicles as a whole. It is my aim in this first section to investigate the language of Chronistic kingship in the late Persian era, before considering the social and cultural setting of the imperial community in which Chronicles was first constructed.

Chronistic Community: Yehud in the Persian Period

Chronicles presents an awareness of an Israelite community in the process of identity restoration, the core of which was perceived as the authentic Israel's national and cultural existence. Without a local king, the Israelites are once again subject to a political foreign ruler (Ezra 1:1-4; 6:3-5;[12] 2 Chron 36:6-23).[13] As a small community

Jehoshaphat in 2 Chr 18:1-34//1 Kgs 22:1-40; king Neco and Josiah in 2 Chr 35:20-26//2 Kgs 23:29-30; etc.).

[10] Further details about the chronology of kings, see especially Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, trans., Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002). Also see Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 52-3; Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 73-78.

[11] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 76.

[12] My quotation from Ezra reflects the acceptable understanding that Chronicles is late and becomes the final book of *Ketuvim*, the last book of the *Tanak*. See Isaac Kalimi, *The Retelling of Chronicles in Jewish Tradition and Literature: A Historical Journey* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 17-33, 32.

in the midst of multi-religious society, the legitimation of Yehud's cultic practice is sorely needed. The burden of the taxation system imposed by the Persian Empire added to the many problems that affected the impoverished and isolated Yehud community during these imperial rulers' times.

Nehemiah 5 suggests certain upheavals and political tensions faced by the Yehud cultic community.[14] Within this period, Judah is considered as "a bulwark of Persian dominion against fickle and unruly Egypt."[15] The rebuilding of Jerusalem's wall via Nehemiah's mission (Neh 2:1-10) is also part of the Achaemenid's "new basis for assessing tribute and guaranteeing regular payment."[16] The different mechanisms employed by the Persian Empire until Alexander's reign, are described by Hoglund in four terms: "ruralisation, commercialization, militarization, and ethnic collectivization."[17] These mechanisms empower the Persian Empire to control local traditions including Yehud.

With such poor socio-economic conditions of Yehud, Chronicles seems to emphasise an Israel with its own political agenda especially in reference to "Israel" instead of "Jacob."[18] Different from the political approach in Deuteronomistic history

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[13] Philip R. Davies, "Chronicles and the Definition of Israel," in *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 77-88, 80.
[14] The glimpse of these tensions (which some called "injustices" or "the outcry of the people") is recorded in Neh 5:1-5, see Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period* (London: SCM Press, 1994), 495; Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 254.
[15] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 586.
[16] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 586. Also see Josef Wiesehöfer, "The Achaemenid Empire in the Fourth Century B.C.E.: A Period of Decline?," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers, Oded Lipschits, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 11-30, 25-26, 28. According to Wiesehöfer's observation, nothing much has changed of this tribute sytem even during the time of Alexander the Great (330 B.C.E.). The subject loyalty is still considered to be a norm, and often taken as a divine command for the "well being for all inhabitants of the Empire." The only evident change is that the tributes that the Greeks used to pay to the Persians is now "abolished and replaced by contributions to the king." From the many strategies used by the Persian Empire to sustain their power, Alexander's tactical military skill earned his victory.
[17] Kenneth G. Hoglund, *Achaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria-Palestine and the Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 54-68. Also quoted by Carter, *The Emegence of Yehud in the Persian Period*, 42.
[18] Out of 297 references to the name "Israel" throughout Chronicles, the name Jacob is only mentioned twice (1 Chr 16:13, 17). So evidently, Israel in Chronicles is hardly referred to as Jacob (a given name at birth) for Jacob is always Israel (as in Gen 32:24-30; 35:10). This is another distinctive mark of the

where "Judah and Israel do not unify the two houses into one," this "Israel" becomes a "new Israel" in the postexilic period. This time, the new Israel is centred in Jerusalem – "not its palace but its temple."[19]

In effect, the concept of "Israel" in Chronicles is not only about "the tribal nature of the 'nation'" (as suggested by Davies)[20] but is also represented as a cultic community bigger than the Israel in its own history. It is such a historical panorama that shapes a unique political agenda in Chronicles from its old monarchical sources (both Samuel-Kings and non-canonical sources). That is, Chronicles is cultic and it promotes the subject of centralization (i.e., the temple is rebuilt in Jerusalem) but at the same time caters for the inclusion of aliens and foreigners as part of the "new Israel."[21] According to Jonker, this inclusive aspect once again "determined the Chronicler's reformulation of the older historiographical traditions" in a changing context of the late Persian period.[22] An enlarged "Israel" itself takes on some of the characteristics of empire.[23] So against Sara Japhet's argument about the lack of Persian influence in Chronicles, the following discussion shows the effect of such royal ideology in Chronicles.[24]

Chronistic attitude to the northerners who are also included as part of God's Israel. See Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 102-10, esp.102; Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 313-328.

[19] Davies, "Chronicles and the Definition of Israel," 81-2. For the discussion about the relationship between palace/monarchy and the temple, see especially Jozef Tiňo, *King and Temple in Chronicles: A Contextual Approach to Their Relations* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 10-12.

[20] Davies, "Chronicles and the Definition of Israel," 81.

[21] The word "Jerusalem" is mentioned 151 times in Chronicles, which is more than in any book in the HB. This linguistic feature affirms Matthew Lynch's argument that "Chronicles displays a strong emphasis on centralization…an interest in the inclusion of all YHWH worshippers in Jerusalem's temple (2 Chr 11; 13; 30). See Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 59-60.

[22] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 6.

[23] See Louis C. Jonker, "Being both on the Periphery and in the Centre: The Jerusalem Temple in Late Persian Period Yehud from Postcolonial Perspective," in *Centres and Peripheries in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 243-67. See already the "federalist" identity proposed by Dyck, "The Ideology of Identity in Chronicles," 89-116.

[24] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 23-28. In Japhet's discussion of Chronicles' date of composition, she contends that there is no Greek or Persian influence detected in Chronicles.

Persian Empire

The Persian Empire roughly covers the period from 539 to 331 B.C.E. which, according to Samuel Adams, is the most "long-lasting governing structures in the history of the ancient Near East."[25] During Darius I's reign (522-486 B.C.E), the empire was divided into a network of twenty "satrapies" or "provinces," each ruled by a governor or a "satrap."[26] By the time of Artaxerxes I, when Chronicles was formed, the geographical area of Judah was already part of the Persian imperial context; hence the Persian province of Yehud.[27] This may imply that Yehud in Chronicles could have been formed as part of the Persian satrapy "Beyond the River," one among numerous different provinces.

Different from the Assyrian and Babylonian centralized models of ruling, the administrative system of Persia was predominantly powered by the policy of deliberate decentralization.[28] This policy incorporates politically the return of the Israelite exilic people to their own land under the permission of Cyrus (2 Chron 36:22-23 and Ezra 1:1-4 (cf. 6:1-12)). This imperial strategy is often seen as positive where Persians seem to allow different "customs to flourish, including cultic practices and they encouraged local infrastructure projects and trading."[29] Such tolerance also involves the freedom of cultic worship in each respected territory. With this freedom,

[25] Adams, *Social and Economic Life*, 131. Also see Amélie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 83-97.
[26] Adams, *Social and Economic Life*, 132-33. Among many scholars, see Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology*, 96-7; Jennifer Finn, "Gods, Kings, Men: Trilingual Inscriptions and Symbolic Visualizations in the Achaemenid Empire," *Ars Orientalis* 41 (2011): 219-75.
[27] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 67.
[28] Hoglund also refers to this policy as a "political reorganization." See Hoglund, *Achaemenid Imperial Administration in Syria-Palestine*, 60.
[29] Adams, *Social and Economic Life*, 131.

"the governors and people of Yehud depended on the Persian ruler in power, his flexibility, and the political and military dynamics of the day."[30]

Despite the fact that the books of Zechariah and Haggai have interpreted this return of Israel to their own land as God's favour, Lester Grabbe describes it as "part of Cyrus's propaganda to the newly conquered peoples, he had himself proclaimed as the choice of their particular god."[31] Here, Achaemenid kings (including Cyrus) are not only seen as the absolute rulers of the empire but also as the representatives of their deity (Ahuramazda) on earth.

With the success of the Persian decentralisation model, Pierre Briant has suggested that it was first time disparate people gathered under a single kingdom whose unified territories stretched from the "Indus to the Aegean Sea," including the province of Yehud.[32] With such a unified approach, Briant emphasizes the multi-ethnic Yehud society that came in existence during the Persian period.

Jakob Wöhrle describes the intention behind this strategy where "the Persians saw their empire as an entity structured in individual nations with their respective countries."[33] Wöhrle goes on to highlight the difference between the Persian ruler and the previous Assyrian and Babylonian authorities. While the Assyrian and Babylonian rulers depicted themselves as "king of the world" and "king of the four quarters," the Persian kings described themselves as "king of countries."[34] This Persian epithet of king contains all kinds of people. More important to our discussion is Wöhrle's suggestion that there is a congruity between the Persian imperial ideology and the P

[30] Adams, *Social and Economic Life*, 135.
[31] Lester L. Grabbe, "The Persian Documents in the Book of Ezra: Are They Authentic?," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Manfred N. Oeming and Oded Lipschits (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 531-70, 541.
[32] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 873.
[33] Jakob Wöhrle, "Abraham Amidst the Nations: The Priestly Concept of Covenant and the Persian Imperial Ideology," in *Covenant in the Persian Period: From Genesis to Chronicles*, ed. Richard J. Bautch and Gary N. Knoppers (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 23-39, 32.
[34] Wöhrle, "Abraham Amidst the Nations," 32.

ideology in the Pentateuch (particularly in Gen 17).[35] With this in mind, this chapter agrees with Dyck and Jonker that the Persian imperial ideology is also evident in Chronicles.

Persian Ideology Reflected in Chronicles

The interaction between the Persian ideology and Chronicles is evident in a number of theological and linguistic points.

First, the Persian restriction of nations to their own territories was key to the peaceful coexistence of all its nations. Foreigners seem to serve as a ground on which Chronicles builds its own inclusive approach in reference to "others." Beginning with the Persian model, the positive portrayal of King Cyrus's edict at the climax of Chronicles (2 Chron 36:22-23)[36] appears to highlight a gateway for foreigners to Israel's Yahwistic identity during the postexilic context under the jurisdiction of God. Perhaps this inclusiveness served the interests of the Persian Empire, but this text was written in Hebrew for a Judean audience. From the Chronicler's standpoint, the province of Persian Yehud must come to accept the reality of Persian reigns as rulers over them, but the centre of their national life is in Jerusalem, not Persepolis.

Secondly, we need to note the language that describes the Assyrian and Babylonian kings such as the "king of the world;" king of the four quarters;" and "king of countries/people" as described by Wöhrle above. These descriptions are not substantially different except that the latter has more "national" content. The

[35] Wöhrle, "Abraham Amidst the Nations," 26-30.
[36] Also cited in Ezra 1:1-3, and Dumbrell reckons that this is an indication of continuity between the two works. See Dumbrell, "The Purpose," 257-66. Recent scholarship has raised this issue concerning Ezra 1-6 as part of the later writings. Sara Japhet for instance argues that this continuity is only in the redactional connection of the books, otherwise "God of heaven" would be more common in Chronicles. See Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 25-6; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1076.

commonality among all these descriptions is the claim of world domination. Accordingly, such language corresponds rightly to "all the kingdoms of the earth" ruled by Cyrus in 2 Chron 36:23 (Ezra 1:2):

> Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: YHWH, the God of heaven [יהוה אלהי השמים], has given me all the kingdoms of the earth [כל־ממלכות הארץ], and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever is among you of all his people, may the LORD his God be with him! Let him go up.

The epithet "the God of heaven" adopted by Cyrus might be a redactional addition beyond the main work of Chronicles. Sara Japhet insists that the reference "God of heaven" in this particular text is unusual as it only appears once in Chronicles.[37] But why did the later editor add something so apparently out of the Chronicles' common language? Why is the insertion only appearing at the climax of Chronicles' history?

In response to these questions, it is possible to assume that the overall outlook of Chronicles' work is intended to highlight the sovereignty of God as reflected also in the exceptional wording of MT/LXX Gen 24:3, 7.[38] This expression of God is distinct compared to that of King Cyrus the ruler of "all the kingdoms of the earth." Although such a divine epithet is unusual in Chronicles, Japhet also states that it "is a characteristic feature of the Persian period and is confined to that period."[39] In other words, the divine title "God of heaven" is uncommon in the Chronicles language but it is a usual expression in the social context of Chronicles.

This discrepancy affirms the date of Chronicles as suggested above. Chronicles originated at the end of the Persian Empire when Cyrus was not the king. However, the editor has apparently inserted this passage later as a reminder of a great king like

[37] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 25-6; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1076.
[38] For instance, Gen 24: 3 and I will make you swear by YHWH, the God of heaven and the God of earth [ביהוה אלהי השמים ואלהי הארץ]… which seems to adopt the original language in the LXX Genesis according to Japhet. See Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 25, n. 40.
[39] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 25.

Cyrus, the successor to world power. Such power was part of the divine sovereign plan in the history of Israel at that point in time from the Chronicler's view. However, the title "God of heaven" is only in the mouth of a Persian king, not the Chronicler's narrator. The Chronicler seems to insist on YHWH's name, even if foreigners pray to the "God of Israel."

Interestingly, Jabez' prayer (1 Chron 4:10) does not address YHWH "God of heaven," as Cyrus names the divinity. Instead, Jabez prays to "the God of Israel" which suggests some kind of balance between a hint of universalism (as in P's use of אלהים)[40] and residual nationalism (via ישראל). So what concept of sovereignty is implied by Jabez prayer? It seems that Chronicles is not offering a resistance to Persia, but providing a "middle way," a via media. This might be compared with the middle way of Genesis 1-2, to identify the אלהים of creation with the אלהים of Israel. Thus for Jabez to ask the "God of Israel" instead of a king, it appears that even native kings are being reconfigured as subordinate to the God אלהים as well as the temple. At crucial moments in Chronicles' kingship narratives, Chronicles insists on the title יהוה אלהים (1 Chron 17:16, 17; 22:1, 19; 29:1; 2 Chron 1:9; 6:41, 42; 26:18; 32:16) in connection with the Davidic covenant or the temple.[41]

Third, the genealogies of "all humanity" that begin in 1 Chron 1:1 may also be related in some way to "all the kingdoms of the earth" as in 2 Chron 36:23.[42] For Willi, Chronicles is not only about genealogy and descendants but it is also about the existence of the world of nations in Israel's history. Willi argues that the list of ethnic

[40] Refer to the discussion of divine names in chapter 2.
[41] Of ten references, three have parallel accounts (1 Chr 17:16, 17//2 Sam 7:18, 19; 2 Chr 1:9//1 Kgs 2:7); but the rest belongs to Chronicles. Even with these three parallel texts, Chronicles does not use the title in the place that its source does.
[42] Thomas Willi, "Die Völkerwelt in Den Chronikbüchern," in *Israel Zwischen Den Mächten: Festschrift Für Stefan Timm Zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Pietsch und Friedhelm Hartenstein (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2009), 437-53, 437, 450.

groups in 1 Chronicles 1 reflects Israel's response to the earlier lists in Genesis 10 that make up the cosmos of the Achaemenid Empire.[43] Behind that list however is the world-wide intention of Chronicles, the sovereign kingship of God, to encompass a variety of nations.

Like Willi, Jonker also describes this link by referring particularly to 1 Chron 1:1-27 as "a universalist frame" of Chronicles. For Jonker, this passage echoes the significant start of Chronicles with Adam to Abraham. The mentioned list is not "offensive in the Persian empire" but rather in line with the "imperial openness towards different cults." From among many cults, perhaps the Chronicler wants to offer "his universalist understanding of the history of 'All-Israel' in continuity with the imperial royal ideology of the time."[44]

Both Willi and Jonker are convinced that the Chronicler's God controls all nations and peoples including foreign kingships. Such divine rule remains great and continues to be recognized and worshipped by other foreign rulers especially via the kingdoms of David and Solomon in Chronicles. In the language of Chronicles for instance, Solomon dwells "on the throne of YHWH" (1 Chron 29:23) and receives a blessing from Huram, king of Tyre (2 Chron 2:10-11). This leads to the direct speech of Huram about God "who made heaven and earth" (2 Chron 2:12 ET). Here, the "God of heaven and earth" is on the lips of Huram king of Tyre and not the Chronicler. The correspondence between "the throne of YHWH" and "who made heaven and earth" reflects the sovereignty of YHWH in 1 Chron 16:23-26, who is to be honoured "among the nations" and "among all the peoples" (vs.24).[45]

[43] Willi, "Die Völkerwelt in Den Chronikbüchern," 438.
[44] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 120.
[45] Willi, "Die Völkerwelt in Den Chronikbüchern," 437-53, 448-49.

The last interaction between Chronicles and the imperial ideology is through the medium of the "historical narrative" of David's power. Lynch contends that it is through this medium that "Chronicles painted images of imperial power that rivalled and imitated Achaemenid portraits of power, and that cast a vision for Yehud's eventual historical re-emergence as a significant locus of political and religious power."[46] In other words, the narrative representation of the past is a literary form that functions to demonstrate the power and significant force of Israel's own kingship. In my opinion, the re-appropriation of the kings' narratives is significant in the context of Chronicles as they form a prominent part of the rewritten construction of the Chronicler, marking God as sovereign above all rulers including the Achaemenid rulers. The dominance of Persian kings might even be seen as a passing phase under YHWH's divine rule.

Such a suggestion of resistance is found, for example, in the choice of the word "citadel" [בירה] for the temple (1 Chron 29:1, 19).[47] The most frequent usage of בירה in the HB points to the citadel of the king Ahasuerus (MT) or Artaxerxes (LXX) as reported in the book of Esther (1:2, 5; 2:3, 5, 8; 3:15; 8:14; 9:6, 11, 12).[48] Though this term is only employed in postexilic texts and is often associated with the capital of the king Artaxerxes, Chronicles applies it to the temple of the LORD God (1 Chron 29:1, 19). These two references are unique to Chronicles and such a term is different from the usual Hebrew term for the temple [בית/היכל]. Gary Knoppers has interpreted this Chronistic usage of בירה as "the enormity of the task that awaits

[46] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 63.
[47] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 63.
[48] Other occurrences are found in Dan 8:2; Neh 1:1; 2:8; 7:2 (apart from 1 Chron 29:1,19).

Solomon" in the rebuilding of the temple.[49] The association of בירה with the temple and its cultic formalities supports the idea of divine sovereignty amongst the hybrid Persian deities worshipped in different cultic places in the context of Chronicles.[50]

Another example of resistance is the so-called "penchant for public ceremonies" which also celebrates ancient Judean glories. Japhet contends that a focus on public ceremonies is one of the characteristics of Chronicles and that can be detected by a number of cases where Chronicles expands on the event in Samuel-Kings. Some of the most outstanding cases according to Japhet are the dedication of the temple during the reign of Solomon (1 Kgs 8:1-66); and the transferring of the ark (2 Sam 6:2-8, 12-19).[51] Lynch clarifies some of these cases from the book of Chronicles in light of the Achaemenid rule. For Lynch, these public ceremonies in Chronicles are set against the "political ceremony in Achaemenid Iran." These narratives include the early succession of David's reign; David's capture of Zion; David's mighty men (1 Chron 11-12); David's intention to bring the ark to Jerusalem described (1 Chron 13); as well as Hezekiah's and Josiah's Passover ceremonies (2 Chron 30; 35:1-19). Of all these accounts, Hezekiah's and Josiah's cases are mostly unique to Chronicles. Lynch states:

> At the very least, political-ceremony-as-religious-ceremony became a significant feature of the *milieu* in which the Chronicler wrote. Chronicles' efforts to bolster Yhwh's supremacy through great ceremonies and a great "citadel" is in the very least analogous to efforts to exalt the Persian "king in residence" at his great citadel, even likely, given the purported Persian effort to mimic the imperial court at the local level.[52]

[49] Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (New York: The Anchor Bible, 2004), 950. Among other interpretations, Josephus refers to "the citadel" as "the Tower" built by "the kings of Asmonean race" (*Ant*. 15:403).
[50] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 60-1. Lynch mentions at least 10 different "non-Yahwistic" cultic centres, and many of these "sat within the borders of the monarchic Israel."
[51] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 38.
[52] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 65.

The imperial social rules have become part of Israel's story. Dyck also suggests that all these pressures point to the need to re-establish Israel's "identity construction" in Chronicles by taking the Persian Empire as divinely legitimated in re-establishing Israel.[53] Thus, the significance of such new political horizons is realized only when they are living in a changing socio-historical circumstance, and the question about the divine role behind the Achaemenid administration remains crucial.

But what kind of power relationship did Yehud have with the Persian imperial authorities? How should such foreign kings be viewed, given Yehud's own historical Davidic traditions? How should the relationship between foreign kings and the sovereignty of God be valued given their own theocratic traditions?

In light of these questions, we may now turn to the study of kingship terminologies in MT Chronicles, compared to its LXX version.

Kingship Terminologies in Chronicles

Many kings mentioned in the genealogical section (1 Chron 1-9) are foreign.[54] The first use of the word "king" [מלך] in Chronicles is the list of Edomite kings [המלכים] in 1 Chron 1:43 (quoting from Gen 36:31). The LXX translation of Gen 36:31 includes the phrase "before a king reigned in Israel" (πρὸ τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι βασιλέα ἐν Ισραηλ) but this phrase is missing in the LXX version of 1 Chron 1:43. That is, the MT translation of 1 Chron 1:43 follows closely the Genesis MT/LXX translation in that regard. Certainly, the MT of Chronicles has an appreciation of the theology of the P literary strand in Genesis. Before kingship became part of Israel's

[53] Dyck, "The Ideology," 106-8.
[54] The mentioning of Hezekiah (1 Chr 4:41), and Jotham/Jeroboam (1 Chr 5:17) in 1 Chr 1-9 is more like a pointer to a detailed account of these kings later in the narrative part of Chronicles' history.

politics, Edom already had kings. Nevertheless, Chronicles reminds its contemporaries about the sovereign divine rule, which would never change no matter what the history of Israel holds.

In dealing with foreign kings before the establishment of the monarchy, divine rule is clearly depicted in the language of 1 Chron 5:6 and 5:26.

> 1 Chron 5:6a: Beerah his son, whom king Tilgath-pilneser of Assyria carried away into exile [הגלה]…
> 1 Chron 5:26: "So the God of Israel stirred up [יער] the spirit of King Pul of Assyria…

The common *hip^{c}il* form of the word הגלה ("carried away") in 1 Chron 5:6 and ויער ("stirred up") in 5:26 defines the divine force from two different angles. First, the King Tilgath-pilneser of Assyria in 1 Chron 5:6 serves on behalf of God (even though God is never mentioned in the whole passage of 1 Chron 5:1-10). The King of Assyria becomes the source of the Reubenites' exile due to Reuben's sin described in 1 Chron 5:1. Second, in 1 Chron 5:26, "God of Israel stirred up [יער] the spirit of Pul King of Assyria" to go against the "Reubenites, Gadites, and half of Manasseh." Here, God is the cause of Pul's action against the Israelites. Both verbs [הגלה and ויער] are missing from its *Vorlage* (Genesis 46 and 2 Kgs 18:11-12). These verbs appear here in Chronicles for the first time; and both foreign kings are depicted as human agents of the God of Israel. Unique to these texts is the Chronicler's own construction of foreign kings as being subordinate to God's sovereignty. The Chronicler points out foreign kings who have already taken part in God's rule before the monarchy.

So from the start of Chronicles, the idea of kingship is foreign and is not inherent within the Israelites' genealogies. Foreign kingship is seen as divine retribution for the sins of the chosen Israel. The Chronicler asserts the notion of universal sovereign kingship of God where all rulers are under God's control, and that

the present Persian rulers are simply a continuation of divine rule. As Jonker states, "although the Empire and its ruler are appreciated (according to the closing verses of the book), it should also be clear that Israel's God, Yahweh, is pulling the strings behind the scenes."[55] This divine continuity is reflected throughout the whole of Chronicles. It is depicted in the pre-exilic times under David and Davidic kings (especially Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah), as well as the foreign kings (e.g., Nebuchadnezzar, Neco, Cyrus) during the exilic and postexilic periods, as will be further discussed below.

King David

There are fifty-three references of David's kingship in Chronicles and of these, thirty-four have no parallel account. Of the nineteen that have parallels, there are three occurrences where the noun מלך is added by the LXX/MT Chronicles on LXX/MT Samuel/Kings.[56] Each of these cases highlights the sovereign kingdom of David compared to that of the foreign king Huram, and even of Solomon. For instance, during the succession of David as the king of "all Israel," 1 Chron 18:17 refers to David's sons as "chief officials" (ראשנים) whereas in 2 Sam 8:18 they are referred to as "priests" (כהנים). In 2 Chron 2:12 ET, the Chronicler puts the word "king" (King David) into the mouth of king Huram in his direct speech regarding God's will behind the temple project. The same insertion occurs in Solomon's direct speech in 2 Chron 8:11, but not in 1 Kgs 9:24.

Of the thirty-four references without direct parallel, LXX lacks מלך in two cases (1 Chron 28:1, 2). So a consideration of text critical variations does not

[55] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 120.
[56] 1 Chr 18:17//2 Sam 8:18; 2 Chr 2:12 ET//1 Kgs 5:7 ET; 2 Chr 8:11//1 Kgs 9:24.

substantially affect these observations. Overall, the majority of terms used to refer to David's kingship belong to Chronicles and most of these are from the context of David's preparation for the rebuilding of the temple (1 Chron 21-29).

King Solomon

Unlike David, the majority of kingship terminologies used with reference to Solomon have parallel texts, leaving only four references unique to Chronicles. These 4 references are: (1) 1 Chron 29:23[57] where the MT/LXX Chronicles add מלך and יהוה on MT/LXX Kings: מלך can be considered a reminder of the previous kingship (David), and יהוה as a sign of divine authority behind the transition from David to Solomon; (2) 1 Chron 29:24 shows that the MT Chronicles adds שלמה המלך which are not mentioned by the LXX; (3) 2 Chron 2:11 ET is part of the Chronicles' extension to a limited account of Solomon's treaty with Hiram in Kings (1 Kgs 5:6-11 ET); (4) 2 Chron 8:15 reveals the continuation from David to Solomon in the context of a thanksgiving/offering to YHWH. Within this context, Chronicles' account is extensive compared to its *Vorlage* (1 Kgs 9:10-28).

From the majority of references to Solomonic kingship that have parallel accounts in Kings, only a few have linguistic changes that appear in Chronicles; five of these changes include the addition of the word "king:" either in agreement with the MT Kings, rather than the LXX Kings;[58] or as part of MT/LXX Chronicles' additional

[57] In 1 Chr 29:23, Chronicles ignores the story of Abishag who "was maid-in-waiting" to David (1 Kgs 1:1-4); and Adonijah who attempts to usurp the throne of his father David (1 Kgs 1:5-27) by force. Instead, Chronicles appears to highlight King Solomon as selected by David (1 Kgs 1:28-53//1 Chr 23:1; 29:20-30).

[58] For instance, see Chr 9:22//1 Kgs 10:23; 2 Chr 9:9x2//1 Kgs 10:10.

insertions on MT/LXX Kings;[59] or MT Chronicles follows LXX Kings instead of MT Kings.[60]

Two other differences in Chronicles include the replacing of the national name of God (יהוה) with אלהים in 2 Chron 4:11//1 Kgs 7:40; and 2 Chron 7:5//1 Kgs 8:63):

> **2 Chron 4:11b**: Thus Huram finished the work that he did for King Solomon on the house of God [בבית האלהים]:
> **1 Kgs 7:40**: So Hiram finished all the work that he did for King Solomon on the house of the LORD [בית יהוה]:

> **2 Chron 7:5b**: So the king and all the people dedicated the house of God [את־בית האלהים].
> **1 Kgs 8:63**: So the king and all the people of Israel dedicated the house of the LORD [את־בית יהוה].

In the first case, a foreign king works on the "house of God" (cf. Solomon's dedication of the "house of God" in 2 Chron 7:5b//1 Kgs 8:63). Here we find the Chronicler identifying a foreign ruler who names God as אלהים rather than יהוה in the eyes of the Chronicler. This swapping of divine names once again depicts Chronicler's preference for the universal God אלהים described in the previous chapter. This may also validate the foreign kings' involvement in the continuation of God's promise in Israel's history.

Foreign Kings

Of the fifty-eight occurrences of terms relating to foreign kings, sixteen have no parallels in Samuel-Kings. However, some of these unparalleled references are either part of a single verse added by Chronicles to its sources, or they are part of the whole passage or an event unique to the Chronicler's account. With the forty-two parallel

[59] For instance, see 2 Chr 9:8x2//1 Kgs 10:9; 2 Chr 8:10//1 Kgs 9:23.
[60] See 2 Chr 7:5//1 Kgs 8:23.

references, the word מלך appears eleven times in MT/LXX Chronicles but not in MT/LXX Kings.[61] Even with the sixteen unparalleled accounts, some are either part of Chronicles additions of a new scenario, or part of an insertion to the event described in its *Vorlage*.

One instance that is worth noting here is that 1 Chron 4:23, which is part of the whole story about the descendants of Judah (1 Chron 4:1-23), is created by Chronicles (apart from the very brief genealogy of Judah in Num 26:19-22). With this last verse ("….they lived there with the king in his service" vs.23b), Klein believes that the remark "the king" refers to the Davidic kings in the monarchic period.[62] Knoppers however, argues that it is pointing to the great king of Persia in the postexilic context. It corresponds to an extension of the genealogy of Shelah (vs.21) into the Chronicler's time and thus it reflects how the people of Israel are contributing to the imperial economy.[63] This contribution is evident in 1 Chron 2:55 and 4:14 (verses which are omitted by its sources) where Shelanites and their descendants are presented as craftsmen and artisans.

The above example reflects the Chroniclers' unique literary style which might be related to the Chronicler's inclusive structure in the postexilic context. The common feature in most cases is the favourable portrayal of foreign kings where they are employed as God's agents against the Israelite kings. There are several examples: King Tilgath-pilener has exiled Beerah, a descendant of Reuben (1 Chron 5:6); King Aram is saved by God from the power of Asa, king of Israel (2 Chron 16:7; 28:5); the defeat of King Manasseh by the king of Assyria (2 Chron 33:11); as well as the

[61] 1 Chr 5:26//2 Kgs 18:11;18:9//2 Sam 8:9; 19:9//2 Sam 10:8; 2 Chr 2:3 ET//1 Kgs 5:2 ET; 12:9//1 Kgs 14:26; 24:23//2 Kgs 12:18; 28:16(twice)//2 Kgs 16:7; 32:11//2 Kgs 18:22/Isa 36:7; 32:21//2 Kgs 19:35/Isa 37:36.
[62] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 142.
[63] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 351.

victory of King Nebuchadnezzar over King Zedekiah (2 Chron 36:13, 17). Also, the involvement of King Huram of Tyre with the project of rebuilding the temple (2 Chron 2:11-12 ET) upholds an inclusive attitude to Huram despite his foreignness.

Such dealings with foreign kings, added in by the Chronicler are more positive than its *Vorlage*.[64] This may well be a glimpse of what Chronicles is intending to portray throughout its kingship narratives where God's sovereignty prevails even if the unrighteous Davidic kings may lose their thrones.

In summary, the word מלכים/מלך appears three hundred and fifty-four times (excluding its verbal form) throughout Chronicles. From this number, fifty-one kings are mentioned by their names in Chronicles (twenty-three of Israel's kings including Saul, David and Solomon; and twenty-eight foreign kings). The Chronicler omits

[64] From a literary study, other instances of positive images of foreigners include: (1) 2 Chr 2:11 ET is an additional part of Chronicles account of king Solomon's treaty with King Hiram (2 Chr 2:1-18 ET] as found in 1 Kgs 5:1-18 ET; 7:13-14. Here, MT/LXX Chronicles labels Hiram as "king of Tyre" a foreign king who mingles with Solomon king of Israel in the process of rebuilding the temple.
(2) 2 Chr 16:7 – (twice) is an additional part of Chronicles (1 Chr 16:7-10) in the account of Asa's league with Ben-Hadad in 1 Kgs 15:17-24. Chronicles portrays the positive image of king Aram who has escaped from the hand of king Asa under God's authority via the prophet Anani.
(3) 2 Chr 27:5 – is part of Chronicles' additions (2 Chr 27:4-6, 8) to 2 Kgs 15:32-38. Under the reign of Jotham, Chronicles inserts these words (vs.5) which record the victory of Jotham over the king Ammonites as a confirmation of a king who "did what was right in the eyes of YHWH."
(4) 2 Chr 28:5 – unlike Jotham, Chronicles also adds (2 Chr 28:5-16) including this verse in favour of King Aram against Ahaz, the king of Israel.
(5) 2 Chr 28:21, 23 – the continuation of an extensive account by Chronicles of king Ahaz who "plundered the house of YHWH" as his tribute to the king of Assyria, "but it did not help him" (vs, 21c).
(6) 2 Chr 30:6 – part of Chronicles' own account of Hezekiah's Passover (1 Chr 30:1-31:1). As part of the preparation for the Passover, Hezekiah orders the Israelites to return [שובו] to YHWH in order to save them from "the grasp of the kings of Assyria" (vs.6c).
(7) 2 Chr 32:4 – part of the additional portion of Chronicles (2 Chr 32:2-8, 13-14, 17-18) to the 2 Kings 18 about the invasion of "the kings of Assyria." Verses 7, 22 record the words of encouragement from Hezekiah for the Israelites to be strong before the king of Assyria.
(8) 2 Chr 33:11 – also an additional part of Chronicles (2 Chr 33:11-17) on 2 Kgs 21:1-18. With this verse, it records the defeat of King Manasseh by the King of Assyria due to his evil doings.
2 Chr 36:13, 17 – these are some of the Chronistic insertions to the brief account of King Zedekiah in 2 Kgs 24:18-20; Jer 52:1-3. Chronicles shows that God was with King Nebuchadnezzar against King Zedekiah.

most of the northern kings;[65] extends some of the reigns described in Kings;[66] and contracts the number of verses used in Kings.[67] In terms of texts unique to Chronicles from the three classifications of kings above: David has 34/53 (= 64%); Solomon has 4/39 (around 10%); and foreign kings 16/58 (around 28%). Importantly, the Hebrew phrase דויד מלך/מלך דויד ("King David") is mentioned twenty two times more than in any other book of the HB.[68] This literary evidence suggests that Chronicles is building on the theme of Davidic sovereignty beyond its *Vorlage*.

Thus, at the level of linguistic study, foreign kings are prominent (fifty eight); but in terms of individual kings, David appears more central to Chronicle's stance. With David's kingship, the Chronicler has drawn some details from the earlier texts but the majority is unique to Chronicles (either created or borrowed from other non-canonical sources).[69] As stated, most of these additional references are found in the

[65] Omitted kings include: King Nadad (1 Kgs 15:17-24), Baasha (1 Kgs 15:25-32), Elah (1 Kgs 16:8-14), Zimri (1 Kgs 16:15-20), Omri (1 Kgs 16:21-28), Ahab (1 Kgs 16:29-34), Ahaziah (1 kgs 22:52-54), Jehoram (2 Kgs 3:1-3), Jehu (2 Kgs 9:1-13), Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 13:1-9), Jehoash (2 Kgs 13:10-13, Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 14:23-29), Zechariah (2 Kgs 15:8-12), Shallum (2 Kgs 15:13-16), Menahem (2 Kgs 15:17-22), Pekahiah (2 Kgs 15:23-26), Pekah (2 Kgs 15:27-31), the fall of Samaria under the reign of Ahaz (2 Kgs 17:1-23;18:9-12, foreign resettlement of Samaria under the king of Assyria's rule (2 Kgs 17:24-41), the fall of Samaria under the reign of Hoshea (2 Kgs 18:9-12), Jehoiachin by the Babylonian (2 Kgs 25:27-30; Jer 52:31-34).

[66] For instance, king Rehoboam (2 Chr 12:1-16//1 Kgs 14:21-31; Abijah (2 Chr 13:1-23//1 Kgs 15:1-8); Asa (2 Chr 14:1-14//1 Kgs 15:9-12), Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 20:1-30//1 Kgs 22:41-51); Jehoram (2 Chr 21:2-22//1 Kgs 8:16-24); Amaziah (2 Chr 25:1-26//2 kgs 14:1-22); Uzziah (2 Chr 26:3-23//2 Kgs 15:1-7); Hezekiah (2 Chr 29-31//2 Kgs 18:1-8); Josiah (2 Chr 34-35//2 Kgs 22:1-2; 23:4-20, 21-23, 28-30); Zedekiah (36:11-17//2 Kgs 24:18-20). The most extensive kingship accounts in Chronicles are obviously David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah.

[67] For example, Micaiah's prophecies against King Ahab and King Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 18:1-34//2 Kgs 22:1-40; Judah's deliverance from King Sennacherib (2 Chr 32:20-23//2 Kgs 19:1-37); King Hezekiah's sickness (2 Chr 32:24-26//2 Kgs 20:1-11); the reign and dethronement of king Jehoahaz (2 Chr 36:2-4//2 Kgs 23:31-35); the reign of Jehoiakin (2 Chr 36:5-8//2 Kgs 23:36-24:7); Jehoiachin and officials in Babylon (2 Chr 36:9-10//2 Kgs 24:8-17); the captivity of Judah (2 Chr 36:18-21//2 Kgs 25:8-21).

[68] 1 Chr 11:3; 14:8; 15:29; 17:16; 18:10,11; 21:24; 24:31; 26:26; 26:32; 27:24; 27:31; 28:2; 29:1, 9, 24, 29; 2 Chr 2:12 ET; 7:6; 29:27; 30:26; 35:4 = 22.

[69] The issue of extra-biblical sources or non-canonical sources that the Chronicler might have used has been the subject of debate among scholars since W. M. L. de Wette. Wette takes a simple understanding that the book of Chronicles is the extension of Sam-Kings. Recent scholars however, like Ulrich, Steven McKenzie, Louis Jonker and others, have found that the Chronicler corresponds more to the Qumran scroll (4QSam[a]) from which the LXX translation of Samuel was also constructed. In that sense, the books of Chronicles are not necessarily reshaping the MT of Sam-Kings, as first suggested by de Wette. Louis Jonker also contributes to this discussion by stating that since "the discovery of the Qumran texts, we have been cautioned not to over-interpret differences between

context of David's preparation for the Temple at the climax of his reign (1 Chron 21-29) where the Chronicler has deliberately labelled David as king. These additional materials have been studied in detail in numerous works. For our purposes, it suffices to say that the Chronistic David is greater than the David of Samuel-Kings.

Tracing the divine sovereignty in Chronicles reveals that the Davidic dynasty forms the pillar of all kingship narratives in relation to the cultic life of Israel.[70] This feature together with the positive portrait of foreign kings becomes the basis of further discussion on the Davidic kings, who are presented more in their cultic than in their civic roles.

Treatment of Kingship in Chronicles

The treatment of kingship in Chronicles is more cultic than what we find in its sources. Jozef Tiňo in particular, following Graeme Auld, suggests that kingship in Chronicles is more "religiously-tinted" compared to its political depiction in Samuel-Kings.[71] Chronicles' cultic kingship sustains God's Law and the temple as a united phenomenon. As Tiňo argues, it is "only through abiding by the Law can YHWH be approached in the Temple."[72]

As suggested earlier, the survival of the "law-temple" fusion is made possible by kingship in the context of Chronicles. Among the many possible cultic

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Samuel-Kings and Chronicles." Unfortunately, we do not have Qumran texts of Chronicles for detailed comparisons. See Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 163; Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984); Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 5-6. Also see Graeme A. Auld, *Kings without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 29; Graeme A. Auld, "What Was the Main Source of the Books of Chronicles?," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and M. Patrick Graham (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 91-99.

[70] Hahn, *The Kingdom of God as Liturgical Empire*, 48, 170.

[71] Tiňo, *King and Temple in Chronicles*, 25.

[72] Tiňo, *King and Temple in Chronicles*, 53.

centres/temples and communities at the time, human kingship was needed to establish and maintain the Yehud cult.[73] The cultic aspect can be detected in how the Chronicler deals especially with David-Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah-Josiah's historical narratives. The following textual comparisons exhibit the changes made by Chronicles in issues related to the ark and the law of God.

Example 1: Ark of God

In the religious sphere, 1 Chron 13-16 provides a unique account of David's proposal to bring the Ark to Jerusalem. Within this context, Chronicles has emphasized David's association with "all Israel" in bringing the Ark into Jerusalem:

> 2 Sam 6:1 David again gathered all the chosen men of Israel [אֹתָם כָּל־בָּחוּר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל], thirty thousand.
> 1 Chron 13:5 So David assembled all Israel [אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל] from the Shihor of Egypt to Lebo-hamath, to bring the ark of God from Kiriath-jearim.

Here, Chronicles avoids the limited number (thirty thousand men) mentioned in 2 Sam 6:1 instead, it adds "all Israel" to include the large circle of people from the borders of Egypt that enter Lebo-hamath. In bringing the ark of God from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem where David resides (1 Chron 13:3), all-Israel is involved in the Chronicler's account. With the portion added by Chronicles (1 Chron 13:1-4): "the whole assembly of Israel" [קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל לְכֹל] (vs.2) was approached by David and the entire congregation agreed, for "the thing pleased all the people" (vs. 4). The same attitude of David is seen in his appointment of many people with special tasks to participate in the temple: Levites and priests (1 Chron 23-24); musicians (1 Chron 25); gatekeepers (1 Chron 26); officers of the kingdom (1 Chron 27), which are also

[73] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 57-9. Lynch provides a list of Yahwistic temples beyond Yehud including, "the temple of the God YHWH in Elephantine Egypt," "the House of YHWH on Mount Gerizim," "the Jerusalem temple," and the "BYT YHW" in Idumea.

distinctive to Chronicles. The issue about the appointment of David as "king over all Israel" and his relation to the temple, will be elaborated below in the next section.

Example 2: Law of God

> **1 Kgs 8:25** Therefore, O LORD, God of Israel, keep for your servant my father David that which you promised him, saying, 'There shall never fail you a successor before me to sit on the throne of Israel, if only your children look to their way, to walk before me as you have walked before me [ללכת לפני כאשר הלכת לפני]

> **2 Chron 6:16** "Therefore, O LORD, God of Israel, keep for your servant, my father David, that which you promised him, saying, 'There shall never fail you a successor before me to sit on the throne of Israel, if only your children keep to their way, to walk in my law as you have walked before me [ללכת בתורתי כאשר הלכת לפני]

Both texts deal with Solomon's dedicatory prayer and thus the Chronicler seems to hold onto the significance of walking before God. However with word changes from the source text, Chronicles explicitly emphasises that walking before YHWH the God of Israel, is indeed walking in YHWH's law. The same emphasis on keeping the law is also evident in 1 Kgs 9:4//2 Chron 7:17 through YHWH's response to Solomon's prayer:

> "If you walk before me….doing as I have commanded you and keeping my statues [חקי] and my ordinances [משפטי]" (1 Kgs 9:4//2 Chron 7:17).

These two examples are presented as hints of the David-Solomon cultic reigns in Chronicles. Both rulers embrace issues related to the "law of God," the temple, and the whole of Israel.[74] The three institutions of Law, temple and Israel together model

[74] With regards to the "law of God," Konrad Schmid argues that the law of Moses is uncommon and late in Kings. For Schmid, the frequent evaluative clauses of the southern kings is based on "the conduct of the predecessor- and/or a comparison with David (1 Kgs 3:3; 15:3;2 Kgs 14:3; 16:2;22:2), and with the northern kings it is usually persistence in the way of Jeroboam I." It is hardly ever based on the law of Moses. Thus the evaluation of the "law of Moses" is the latest layer of Deuteronomistic History. Accordingly, Schmid's argument can be closely related to the preceding discussion about the cultic/priestly aspect of Chronicles as a later literature. See Konrad Schmid, "Deuteronomy within the

the divine sovereignty throughout Chronicles starting with King David.

David Kingship – A New Beginning

The cultic aspect of David's reign is obvious right from the start. The list of his mighty soldiers begins the Chronicler's account of David's reign (1 Chron 11:10-47), which is more detailed than the original account in 2 Sam 23:8-39.[75] However, the proper story of David starts in 1 Chron 10:14b when YHWH "turned the kingdom" [יסב את־המלוכה] over to David, and David advanced further as the anointed king with the involvement of "all Israel."

Sara Japhet and Saul Zalewski in particular have emphasized the legitimacy of the divine transfer of honour to David.[76] Japhet argues that although 1 Sam 13:13-14 also regards the "transitional stage" as a form of punishment because of Saul's sin, Chronicles stresses it as a devolution of the "king's principle crime," his failure to follow God's command. Chronicles also adds another sin when Saul "had consulted a medium, seeking guidance."[77]

Reviewing the textual evidence reveals that Japhet's argument is justified. In 1 Chron 10:13-14, the repeated occurrences of the word מעל in verse 13 and Saul's failure to seek [דרש] YHWH in verse 14 reveals Saul's fall under God's jurisdiction. These specific technical words are frequently used throughout Chronicles to mark the action of forsaking God (e.g., 1 Chron 2:7; 5:25; 2 Chron 12:2; 26:16,18; 28:19,22; 29:6; 30:7; 36:14). In addition, Saul is described as king [מלך] only once in

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"Deuteronomistic Histories" in Genesis - 2 Kings," in *Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, Hexateuch and Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Raymond F. Person and Konrad Schmid (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 8-30.

[75] In a comparison between 1 Chr 11:10-47 and 2 Sam 23:8-39, the Chronicler adds verses 10, 42-47, which are missing in Samuel's account.

[76] Saul Zalewski, "The Purpose of the Story of the Death of Saul in 1 Chronicles X," *Vetus Testamentum* 39/4 (1989): 449-67.

[77] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 405 n.30.

Chronicles (1 Chron 11:2). So the Chronicler's presentation of David is more than just a replacement of the "failed king" Saul by "an idealized David" as described by Yairah Amit.[78] Rather, David is portrayed as a deep character with a unique purpose. David's reign does not arise from the rule of Saul but marks a new beginning [יסב] for Israel in the postexilic context.[79]

With this new kingship, Chronicles continues to stress the continuity of native kingship with two significant points: David as an anointed king over "all Israel" and David as the true founder of the Yahwistic cult.

David – Anointed King of All Israel

From the brief description above, the phrase "king over Israel" [למלך על־ישראל] occurs ten times in Chronicles: nine times with reference to king David and once with reference to king Solomon.[80] The majority of these references are found in Samuel-Kings but the omissions and additions made to its sources by the Chronicler reveal its cultic purpose in David's kingship. The first mention is found in 1 Chron 11:3b when David was anointed by the elders of Israel as king over Israel at Hebron (copying from 2 Sam 5:3):

> **2 Sam 5:3c** …and they anointed [וימשחו] David king over Israel [את־דויד למלך על־ישראל].
> **1 Chron 11:3b** And they anointed [וימשחו] David king over Israel [**את**־דויד למלך על־ישראל], <u>according to the word of YHWH [כדבר יהוה]</u> by Samuel.

The association of David's kingship with God's word ("according to the word of YHWH") and "all Israel" (as part of Chronicles' own addition) is reflected throughout

[78] Yairah Amit, "The Saul Polemic in the Persian Period," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred N. Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 647-61 (652).
[79] See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 229-30.
[80] 1 Chr 11:3//2 Sam 5:3; 12:38 ET//-; 14:2//2 Sam 5:12; 14:8//2 Sam 5:17; 18:14//2 Sam 8:15; 28:4x2//-; 29:26//-; 29:27//2 Kgs 2:11; 2 Chr 1:13//1 Kgs 4:1a = 10.

Chronicles until David's death, including the transition from David to Solomon's reign. Here are some of the examples:

- 1 Chron 12:38 ET (unique verse to Chronicles) - the time when David's warriors make him king with their full heart [בלבב שלם] and single mind [לב אחד].
- 1 Chron 14:2//2 Sam 5:12 – in Hiram's message to David with "cedars, log and masons and carpenters to build a house for him" (David). This provision from king Hiram caused David to be convinced that YHWH has *established* [הכינו][81] his kingdom over all Israel. This kingdom according to Chronicles is not merely *exalted* [כי נשא] as in 2 Sam 5:12 but *highly exalted* [כי־נשאת למעלה] as in 1 Chron 14:2.
- 1 Chron 14:8//2 Sam 5:17 – Here, the exalted kingdom has been challenged by the Philistines. In defeating the Philistines, Chronicles' changes of its *Vorlage* include דויד ויצא לכניהם ("David went out against them") rather than דוד וירד אל־המצודה ("David went down to the stronghold" NSRV); as well as the name God [אלהים] in verse 10, (instead of יהוה in 2 Sam 7:19) when David asked God to confirm.
- When it comes to 1 Chron 18:14//2 Sam 8:15, Chronicles remains the same with its MT/LXX *Vorlage*[82] in associating David with the themes of equity [צדקה] and righteousness [משפט].
- 1 Chron 28:4 is peculiar to Chronicles and for the first time Chronicles has extended David's kingdom over Israel forever [עולם] in a direct speech.
- 1 Chron 29:26-27 brings the memory of David in the past, who reigned over Israel for 40 years (33 years in Jerusalem and 7 years in Hebron).

Despite some minor word changes, the above observations during David's reign (1 Chron 11:3-1 Chron 28-29), reassert the theme of David being king over all Israel according to God's word. This kingdom is cultic as it has been chosen by God, for the benefit of all Israel. The involvement of God with David's rule implies its divine aspect that makes it sovereign in relation to other human kingdoms. Such sovereignty was also evident in the below deliberate additional words by the Chronicler:

> The fame/name of David [שם־דויד] went out into <u>all lands</u> [בכל־הארצות], and YHWH brought the fear of him <u>on all nations</u>" [על־כל־הגוים] (1 Chron 14:17).

On the literary level, David's fame appears to be timeless. At the end of his reign where he commits the building of the temple to his son Solomon, David declares in his own words:

[81] Given the verb כון in *hip^{c}il* form [הכינו] third person singular, it can be literally translated as David's kingdom was caused to establish by YHWH.
[82] Note that there is no Qumran text for 2 Sam 8:15.

> …Yet YHWH God of Israel chose me [יבחר] from all my ancestral house to be king over Israel forever [עולם] (1 Chron 28:4a).

With these particular additions, David is presented as the elected cult founder by virtue of YHWH's own sovereign choice.[83] Chronicles here proposes David not just a founder of the monarchy *per se*, but rather a cultic founder of all time. In presenting David as a preferred kind of kingship in the second temple community, Chronicles avoids a detailed account of Saul's reign but focuses on David's anointed kingship, as one supported by YHWH, all Israel, as well as foreign rulers.

David and the Temple

Various scholars have described the association of David with the temple as a later shift in emphasis from political reign to cultic rule, which is a characteristic of Chronicles' ideology. Scholars such as Peter Ackroyd, Williamson, Sara Japhet, William Riley, and Jozef Tiňo have interpreted the temple as the continuation of David's dynasty in the context of Chronicles where the Davidic kingship no longer exists.[84]

Accordingly, there are two shifts in emphasis that we have now encountered in Chronicles: the shift from Saul to David; and the shift from David to the temple. From the latter shift, the Chronicler has repeatedly declared the abandonment by David of building the temple (1 Chron 22:8; 28:3). However, the following structure of narratives unique to Chronicles, ultimately brings David into an honoured kingship, and depicts the close affiliation of David to the temple:

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[83] James M. Trotter, "Reading, Readers and Reading Readers Reading the Account of Saul's Death in 1 Chronicles 10," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. Patrick Graham & Steven L. McKenzie (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 294-310, 308.

[84] Peter R. Ackroyd, *The Age of the Chronicler* (Auckland: Colloquium, 1970), 50; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 29; Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 395-428; William Riley, *Kings and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 29-39, 54-98, 184-5; Tiňo, *King and Temple in Chronicles*, 12-15.

1 Chron 6:31-48 ET	The appointing of the temple singers by David
1 Chron 13:1-4	David's intention to bring the Ark to Jerusalem
1 Chron 15:1-24	Delivering of the Ark to Jerusalem
1 Chron 21:28-22:1	The site for the Temple
1 Chron 22:2-23:1	David's preparation for the Temple
1 Chron 23:2-24:31	The Division and Duties of Levites and Priests
1 Chron 25:1-31	The Divisions of the Musicians
1 Chron 26:1-32	The choosing of gatekeepers and overseers
1 Chron 27:1-34	The selecting of officers of the kingdom
1 Chron 28:1-29:9	David commits the building of the Temple to Solomon
1 Chron 29:10-19	David blesses YHWH

The special idiom in 1 Chron 17:10: "YHWH will build you a house" [ובית יבנה־לך יהוה] is quite striking. The Chronicler employs the verb בנה ("to build") instead of the normal עשה ("to make") as in 2 Sam 7:11 as a sign of close affiliation of David to the temple. William Riley suggests that the word בית in 1 Chron 17:10 pertains to the Temple rather than to the Davidic dynasty.[85] That is the LORD will build a house for David, but one of David's sons will build a house for the LORD (1 Chron 17:12). Despite the ambiguity of this expression, the relation of David to the temple is quite different compared to that of Solomon. As clearly depicted in the list of preparatory events mentioned above, the cultic service pursued by David before the building of the Temple represents David as a true founder of the temple. While Solomon is often defined as the temple builder, 2 Chron 21:7 depicts that בית belongs to David and it remains forever:

> Yet the LORD would not destroy the house of David [את־בית דויד] because of the covenant that he had made with David, and since he had promised to give a lamp [ניר] to him and to his descendants forever (2 Chron 21:7).

[85] Riley, *Kings and Cultus in Chronicles*, 183-5.

From this reference, the connection of David to the Temple is even stronger. Riley has interpreted בית and ניר as both referring to the Temple.[86] More persuasive than Riley's interpretation, Paul Hanson claims that ניר can also refer to "dominion" or "sovereign authority" of God bestowed on David's dynasty. For Hanson, this covenantal David can be viewed as a "vassal king" who has been preserved by "the deity Suzerain" similar to that found in Assyrian annals.[87]

Riley and Hanson agree on David's בית as God's kingdom that "would not be destroyed" but would remain as a ניר for David's descendants under God's authority. I suggest that this implication of בית could be a pun on the fate of Saul and his sons in 1 Chron 10:6. Here, a similar word is implied when "Saul and his three sons and all his בית died together." Despite the knowledge that Solomon is the actual builder of the temple rather than David, the double meaning of בית in this particular text may imply that David and his son would be the fulfilment of God's promise in building the temple.

Part of this divine plan is reflected in 1 Chron 21:18-22:1 (from 2 Sam 24:18-25), when David is told to "erect an altar to the LORD on the threshing floor of Ornan, the Jebusite" (1 Chron 21:18b). Yairah Amit and Scott Hahn have linked this story to the Abrahamic traditions in Genesis 22 and 23, in relation to the site of the temple.[88] Particularly important for our purposes is David's heavy involvement in the

[86] Riley, *Kings and Cultus in Chronicles*, 183-5,179 n.3.
[87] Paul D. Hanson, "The Song of Heshbon and David's Nir," *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968): 297-320 (314-17). Here, Hanson has described ניר in 2 Chr 21:7 together with other texts in Kings (1 Kgs 11:36; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19).
[88] Hahn, *The Kingdom of God as Liturgical Empire*, 52-3; Yariah Amit, "Araunah's Threshing Floor: A Lesson in Shaping Historical Memory," in *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana V. Edelman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 133-44. The allusion to Genesis suggested by Hahn and Amit from this story is due to some similar wordings between Chronicles and Genesis rather than between Chronicles and Kings. One instance is that the words "full price" [מלא בכסף] are mentioned twice in Chronicles (1 Chr 21:24 x2) and the first occurrence of this term is found in Gen 23:9. This is only an example of their detailed arguments.

preparation of the temple project to be carried out by Solomon on mount Moriah as recorded in 2 Chron 3:1. Amit's distinction is apt:

> Although in the Deuteronomistic History the Jerusalem temple is a project of Solomon, in the Chronistic History Solomon is only the contractor, because the place, the plans, the materials, the management, and even the contents were prepared by David and passed on to Solomon in David's will.[89]

The temple project came about as David's dream from the beginning. The plan [את־תבנית] (1 Chron 28:11, 12, 18, 19) for the building of the temple has now been given [ויתן] to Solomon by David (1 Chron 28:11). Clearly, Chronicles shows that this plan was only revealed by YHWH to David and David knew it when he declares: "All this, in writing at the LORD's direction, he made clear to me—the plan [התבנית] of all the works" (1 Chron 28:19). Later, Solomon fulfills this plan at the place designated by YHWH through David (2 Chron 3:1). The Chronicler's concern is to portray Solomon as "the faithful accomplisher" of the divine plan given to David.[90]

Solomon's Kingship: The Kingdom of Peace and Rest

The transition of the monarchy from David to Solomon in 2 Chron 1-9 was noted by David's speech in 1 Chron 22:7-10. More precisely, the connection between Solomon and the issue of peace is described in 1 Chron 22:9:

> See, a son shall be born to you; he shall be a man of rest [איש מנוחה]. I will give him rest [והנחותי] from all his enemies on every side; for his name shall be Solomon [שלמה], and I will give peace and quiet [ושלום ושקט] to Israel in his days.

[89] Amit, "Araunah's Threshing Floor," 133-44 (137).
[90] Riley, *Kings and Cultus in Chronicles*, 85-87.

With this speech, Jonker argues that there is a pun on the name "Solomon" [שלמה] and the theme of "peace" [שלום] reported throughout Chronicles.[91] Given the pun/*paronomasia* as a literary technique that is often utilized in Chronicles,[92] Jonker declares that "this is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where the name of Solomon is etymologised."[93] This etymological Solomon may very well reflect the nature of his kingdom, i.e., a kingdom gained without wars and bloodshed (1 Chron 22:8). So here we find a glimpse of Solomon's kingship being associated with "rest" and "peace." This kingdom is sovereign among all nations not by power or wealth but by the act of the liturgy presented in the temple and kingly wisdom given by God through David. The entire narrative of Adonijah in 1 Kgs 2:13-46 is omitted by Chronicles, leaving only a brief introduction to Solomon:

> 2 Chron 1:1: Solomon son of David established himself in his kingdom; and YHWH his God was with him and made him exceedingly great, [ויהוה אלהיו עמו ויגדלהו למעלה] (copying from 1 Kgs 2:12b ...and his kingdom was firmly established (cf.1 Kgs 2:46b)).

Chronicles skips all the material in 1 Kgs 2:13-46 which reveal the negative side of Solomon, but only introduces Solomon's kingship being established with its addition: עמו ויהוה אלהיו ("YHWH his God was with him") and ויגדלהו למעלה ("made him exceedingly great"). These additional words are also found in David's speech in 1 Chron 22:11:

> Now my son, YHWH be with you.. [יהוה עמך] and 1 Chron 28:20 …Be strong and of good courage, and act. Do not be afraid or dismayed; for YHWH God, my God, is with you [יהוה אלהים אלהי עמך].

[91] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 128.
[92] Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Israelite History*, 67-81. Within these pages, Kalimi identifies more than 20 cases of punning in Chronicles.
[93] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 128.

Based on words both omitted and added by Chronicles as well as the direct link of narratives from David to Solomon, Chronicles' Solomon is different from that in Samuel-Kings. Chronicles seems to use the same brush from Kings to paint only the cultic aspect of Solomon in order to construct the unity of Solomon and David's reign.[94] Knoppers suggests that the "Chronicler's additions to these sources are not incidental to the larger presentation, but are pivotal to an understanding of the roles of David and Solomon in the United Monarchy."[95]

Both Knoppers and Jonker agree that this transition from David to Solomon follows the same pattern with the transition from Moses to Joshua reported in Deuteronomy-Joshua.[96] One of the commonalities between Moses and David is their failure to achieve their plans. What is passed on to Solomon is a cultic kingdom gained without battle. From the fact that David is prevented from building the temple, peace-rest therefore becomes the condition of Solomon's kingdom depicted in Chronicles (1 Chron 22:7-10) but not in Kings (1 Kgs 5:3-5 ET). Thus, the David-Solomon kingships are reconfigured by Chronicles to be subordinate to the temple.

A "man of rest" and a "house of rest"

The nature of the relationship between the Solomonic kingship and the temple is reflected in Jonker's discussion of another pun between Solomon as a "man of rest" in 1 Chron 22:9 and the temple as a "house of rest" in 1 Chron 28:2-3.[97] The combination of these expressions ("man of rest" and "house of rest") again reminds us of the significance of the temple under Solomon's rule. Described as the good king or the king of peace, Solomon's kingship now reflects the Chronistic characteristic of

[94] Leslie C. Allen, "Kerygmatic Units in 1 & 2 Chronicles," *JSOT* 41 (1988): 21-36, 25.
[95] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 784.
[96] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 784-5; Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 128.
[97] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 131.

victory without war. As Jonker states "the theme of rest and peace and quietness is not only characteristic of the Chronicler's version of Solomon's history, but forms a golden thread running throughout the Books of Chronicles."[98]

In agreeing with Jonker, I want to also emphasize the platform upon which Solomon is commanded to build his kingdom of peace. That is, the maintenance of peace and quietness is fully dependent on the observation of the Torah (1 Chron 22:12-13). If the "man of rest" observes the law, the establishment of peace and rest is guaranteed. That is, in Chronicles, the prosperity of Solomon's kingship as well as his "discretion and understanding" depends on him abiding by YHWH's law condition.

The theme of law observance raises the question of conditionality in the reigns of David and Solomon.[99] Despite the ambiguity of the Chronistic texts and its alternations of its source, this issue of conditional or unconditional dynasties remains debatable. Pomykala stresses that there is one dynastic promise in Chronicles which is the promise conditioned by obedience to the king. But the sovereignty of God is essentially unaffected by these contingencies. In line with this point is the suggestion by Allen that the succession of Solomon's dynasty is fitting well "into Yahweh's larger plans."[100]

Synthesis: David-Solomon Kingships in Relation to God's Kingdom

Reflecting on our discussions of these themes – David as a king of all Israel and his preparations for the temple; Solomon the chosen builder and the king of peace and rest; and the temple as the house of rest – it appears they all together form a foundational cultic unit to serve the sovereignty of God's kingdom in Chronicles.

[98] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 129.
[99] Kenneth E. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: It's History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta, Geo.: Scholars Press, 1995), 88-97.
[100] Allen, "Kerygmatic Units in 1 & 2 Chronicles," 25.

Allen states that "the combined reigns of David and Solomon are regarded as the inauguration of the Temple age which persisted to the Chronicler's day."[101] Crucially, the David-Solomon reigns are endorsed by YHWH's authority in Chronicles (1 Chron 11:3; 12:23 ET; 2 Chron 10:15) and have become "a highwater mark of divine revelation in human history."[102] Both native kings are presented in Chronicles as "co-founders of the temple era" and "the symbol of the new age founded jointly by David and Solomon."[103]

Scott Hahn refers to this new age as "the new people of God, a liturgical empire called to bring the blessings of God to all nations through its temple and its law" envisioned in Chronicles.[104] Both Allen and Hahn suggest that the David-Solomon kingships are the fulfilment of God's promises, and both reigns are unique in Chronicles as they carry cultic-dimensions about God's kingdom on earth. This "liturgical empire" has become possible only after the divine establishment of David's covenant with God, verified through the restoration of the ark in 1 Chronicles 17.

The covenantal discourse between David and God through Nathan presents David as not only "the servant of God" (mentioned eleven times)[105] and "the shepherd of God" (1 Chron 17:6), but also portrays David as "the representative of God" (1 Chron 17:8, 13, 21) on behalf of all Israel including his son Solomon (1 Chron 17:11). From a theological viewpoint, Hahn contends that "David is described throughout in royal and priestly terms as the king and shepherd chosen by God; the coming of his kingdom is presented as the sign that the Lord reigns on earth as in heaven."[106]

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[101] Allen, "Kerygmatic Units in 1 & 2 Chronicles," 21-36.
[102] Allen, "Kerygmatic Units in 1 & 2 Chronicles," 24.
[103] Allen, "Kerygmatic Units in 1 & 2 Chronicles," 25.
[104] Hahn, *The Kingdom of God as Liturgical Empire*, 106.
[105] For example, the phrase "my servant" [עבדי] is mentioned twiced (1 Chr 17:4, 7//2 Sam 7:5, 8); "your servant" [עבדך] is mentioned eight times (1 Chr 17:18 (twice), 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27//2 Sam 7:20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29).
[106] Hahn, *The Kingdom of God as Liturgical Empire*, 44.

In support of Hahn's view, Lynch lists a number of texts that show the David-Solomon exalted reigns in Chronicles with their parallel texts: (1) 1 Chron 17:14//2 Sam 7:16; (2) 1 Chron 28:5//-; (3) 1 Chron 29:23//1 Kgs 2:12; (4) 2 Chron 9:8a//1 Kgs 10:9a).[107] All these texts describe David's successor Solomon who will sit on "the throne of YHWH" as in Chronicles (1 Chron 28:5; 29:23) or on "the throne of David" as in Kings (1 Kgs 2:12).[108] With a minor change between 1 Chron 29:23 and 1 Kgs 2:12, Chronicles makes a slight but significant alteration of its source. While Japhet analyses this Chronistic alteration as reflecting "the Chronicler's view of the nature of the Israelite kingship,"[109] the simple implication is that the throne of David in 1 Kgs 2:12 can also be called the "throne of the kingdom of YHWH" [כסא מלכות יהוה] in Chronicles (1 Chron 28:5, 29:23; 2 Chron 9:8). Chronicles stresses that the "throne" [כסא] or kingdom belongs to neither David nor Solomon but to YHWH alone.[110] Their human reigns are established to fulfil God's sovereignty above all rules on earth.

Jacob Wright describes Solomon in Chronicles as a "catalyst of national unity" when all Israel obeys him and supports him as king (1 Chron 29: 22-24).[111] Hahn declares that "the Davidic king is God's throne (1 Chron 28:5); the temple is God's

[107] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 209-43.
[108] Note that Sara Japhet states "Chronicles never refers to the throne of David; instead it has the "throne of the Lord" in this verse; as well as "the throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Israel" (1 Chr 28:5); "the throne of Israel" (2 Chr 6:10,16//1Kgs 8:20,25); "the throne in Israel" (1 Chr 22:10; 2 Chr 7:18//1 Kgs 9:5). See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 514.
[109] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 514-15. Japhet goes on to describe the nature of Israelite kingship in terms of "all leaders" being the consent for David's rule.
[110] The most frequent use of the word כסא (throne) in both Chronicles and its sources refers to it as "kingdom" (e.g., 1 Chr 17:12//2 Sam 7:13; 17:14//2 Sam 7:16; 22:10//-; 28:5//-; 29:23//1 Kgs 2:12; 2 Chr 6:10//1 Kgs 8:20; 6:16//1 Kgs 8:25; 7:18//1 Kgs 9:5; 9:8//1 Kgs 10:9; 18:9//1 Kgs 22:10; 18:18//1 Kgs 22:19; 23:20//2 Kgs 11:19.
[111] Wright, *David, King of Israel*, 2,29-44. Matthew Lynch, among others, also describes the Davidic kingship as a "nationally unifying figure." See Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 213.

house; the Davidic king is God's servant (1 Chron 17:4, 7)."[112] But the direction of this rule in Hahn's account is towards the empire rather than a nation.

When summing up the above discussion, it is fair to say that according to Chronicles, David's and Solomon's reigns represent God's throne on earth. As Lynch expresses, "David and Solomon sat on the divine throne, and ruled directly over YHWH's kingdom (1 Chron 17:14//2 Sam 7:16; 1 Chron 28:5; 1 Chron 29:23//1 Kgs 2:12; 2 Chron 9:8a//1 Kgs 10:9a; 2 Chron 13:8a)."[113] Hahn also adds that "the only place where the expression 'kingdom of God/the Lord' is found in the Hebrew Bible is in Chronicles and it is only in reference to the Davidic kingdom of David and his son (1 Chron 28:5; 2 Chron 13:8)."[114]

Ideologically, this divine kingdom is a highly exalted kingdom [בי־נשאת למעלה] (1 Chron 14:2); a kingdom forever [מלכותי עד־לעולם] (1 Chron 17:12, 14; 28:7), undefeated by virtue of any sin as it is built upon YHWH's covenant forever [לעולם בריתו] (1 Chron 16:15, 17; 2 Chron 13:5; 21:7). Like the Abrahamic everlasting covenant in Genesis 17:7,[115] Chronicles has deliberately insisted on addressing the everlasting divine kingdom as an authentic development of the theocratic ideal, accomplished in the Davidic kingship. Kingship involvements in maintaining cultic duties associated with the temple, as well as the integration of all-Israel are evident in Chronicles. This is also apparent under the leadership of Hezekiah and Josiah and their association with temple rituals in Chronicles rather than civic roles.

[112] Hahn, *The Kingdom of God as Liturgical Empire*, 76.
[113] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 209.
[114] Hahn, *The Kingdom of God as Liturgical Empire*, 48.
[115] "I will establish my covenant between me and you, and your offspring after you throughout their generations, for an everlasting covenant [לברית עולם], to be God to you and to your offspring after you" (Gen 17:7).

Rituals: Hezekiah's and Josiah's Passover

Different from Kings, Hezekiah's Passover in 2 Chron 30 supports the authority of the temple.[116] Like the previous kings described above, Chronicles is evidently more devoted to the ritual activities during the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah than that of Kings (2 Chron 29-32//2 Kgs 18-20; 2 Chron 34-35//2 Kgs 22-23).[117] In contrast with Hezekiah's reign, Josiah's Passover is held on the fourteenth day of the first month (2 Chron 35:1).

Josiah's Passover on the one hand follows the "proper time" as clearly specified in Lev 23:5 (H) and it is never changed in the subsequent cultic calendars.[118] Hezekiah's date of celebration on the other hand is on the fourteenth day of the second month, a postponement from its "proper time" for two reasons: firstly, there was an insufficient number of sanctified priests to carry out the sacrificial duties; and secondly, all the people were not yet gathered in Jerusalem (2 Chron 30:3).

Sara Japhet points out that the purpose of Hezekiah's Passover was "to provide a cultic religious framework for the integration of the people of the north into Jerusalem cult."[119] As the second month Passover, it is indeed more than just integrating the northerners: "many of them from Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun had not cleansed themselves, yet they ate the Passover otherwise than as prescribed" (2 Chron 30:18). But Hezekiah prayed on behalf of them for the LORD's pardon for "all who set their hearts to seek God...even though not in accordance with

[116] More than in any other book of the HB, the word פסח appears 18 times in Chronicles (2 Chr 30:1, 2, 5, 15, 17, 18; 35:1(twice), 35:6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19) and this includes the proper Passover on the 14th day of the first month as depicted by Lev 23:5; Num 9:2, 4, 5; 9:13; 28:16; 33:3; Ezek 45:21; Ezra 6:19, as well as the second month celebration which is peculiar to Chronicles.
[117] The following accounts are unique to Chronicles: 2 Chr 29:3-36 about Hezekiah's restoration of service in the Temple; 2 Chr 30:1-31:1 of Hezekiah's celebration of the Passover; 2 Chr 31:2-20 about Hezekiah's provision for the Priests and Levites. For Josiah's account, the Chronicler offers the whole of 2 Chr 35:1-19 to Josiah's Passover, compared to only 3 verses in Kings (2 Kgs 23:21-23).
[118] Judson R. Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler's History Work* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 114-115.
[119] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1044-46.

the sanctuary's rules of cleanness" (vs. 19); and YHWH "healed the people" without punishment (vs.20).

It appears that the Chronicler holds on to the Yahwistic traditions by following the normal pattern in accordance with the Deuteronomistic prescription and also the Holiness Code (Lev 23:5) [120] via Josiah's Passover (2 Chron 35//2 Kgs 23). In Hezekiah's Passover (2 Chron 30) however, the Chronicler seems to go a step further when Hezekiah is unable to recruit sufficient sanctified priestly personnel and subsequently decides to delay and prescribe an alternative date - one month later. It seems that the delay does not in any way evoke a negative tone in the Chronicler's account. Instead it profoundly shows the possible flexibility of the Passover. It can also be argued that Hezekiah's Passover is deliberately inserted by the Chronicler as a sign of the new temple's authority with its gracious attempt beyond the nationalism depicted in Josiah Passover.[121]

Extending what Sara Japhet has observed about the integration of the southern and the northern inhabitants, the inclusive Hezekiah's Passover seems to cover a larger group of people involved; more than just the Davidic descendants. It actually includes those who are far away or even the Diaspora communities under the categorisation of those who are not "assembled in Jerusalem" at the time of the celebration (2 Chron 30:3). The unclean priests and those who are not in Jerusalem suggests an element of inclusiveness with the fact that even the "second month celebration" or the "wrong celebration" can be justified. The gracious alternative of Hezekiah's second Passover shows the Temple as open for all, and the king is active in applying the cultic law.

[120] Deuteronomistic prescription with regards to the place that YHWH will choose as dwelling for his name (Deut 16:1, 2, 5, 6; and the proper date as in Lev 25:5; Num 9:2, 5. This proper tradition of the Passover is also adopted by Ezra 6:19, 20.
[121] Jonker, *Reflections of Kings Josiah*, 55.

Theocratic Rather Than Dynastic Kingship

Based on the above discussion, the sovereignty of YHWH is demonstrated by the portraits of Davidic kings in Chronicles. That means the ideal Davidic kingship is not intended by the Chronicler to heighten the dynasty *per se*, as modelled by previous political kings of Assyria and Babylonia. It aims to magnify the cultic practices and the significance of the temple.

In addition, Davidic kings endorse the true identity of Israel as a nation under the sovereignty of God. This does not mean David was never without faults in Chronicles. In references to 1 Chron 13; 15:11-13; 21; 22:7-8; 28:3 David is also proven to be a faulty king. However, throughout Chronicles, these are the only unfavourable records apart from what one finds in Samuel-Kings about the character of King David. It is appropriate to argue that the politics of kingship (Davidic kingships) in Chronicles are likely to be theocratic rather than dynastic.[122] Such a divine jurisdiction can be applied to both native and foreign kings, as will now be shown in the next section.

The Derivative Sovereignty of Foreign Kings

King Neco

King Neco of Egypt mentioned during the reign of king Josiah from 640-609 B.C.E., appears more loyal in Chronicles than in Kings. Chronicles provides an extensive account of the death of Josiah (2 Chron 35:20-36:1) when compared to 2 Kgs 23:29-

[122] Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology*, 96-101.

30. Part of the additional insertions by Chronicles to the Kings' account, are the exact words of king Neco to Josiah in 2 Chron 35:21, as set out here with fresh translations.

MT 2 Chron 35:21	LXX 2 Chron 35:21
וישלח אליו מלאכים לאמר מה־לי ולך מלך יחודה לא־עליך אתה היום כי אל־בית מלחמתי ואלהים אמר לבהלני חדל־לך מאלהים אשר־עמי ואל־ישחיתך	καὶ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλους λέγων Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, βασιλεῦ Ιουδα; οὐκ ἐπὶ σὲ ἥκω σήμερον πόλεμον ποιῆσαι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν κατασπεῦσαί με· πρόσεχε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, μὴ καταφθείρῃ σε.
Translation of 2 Chron 35:21	Translation
And he (Neco) sent messengers towards him (Josiah) saying, "What have I to do with you king of Judah? I am not against you today but against the house, with which I am at war; and God said to me to stop you opposing God who is with me; so that he will not destroy you."	And he sent messengers to him saying, what have I to do with you king of Juda? I am not come today to make war against you and God said to me to stop; pay attention to the God that is with me, lest he corrupt you.
MT 2 Kgs 23:29	LXX 2 Kgs 23:29
בימיו עלה פרעה נכה מלך־מצרים על־מלך אשור על־נהר־פרת וילך המלך יאשיהו לקראתו וימיתהו במגדו כראתו אתו	ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἀνέβη Φαραω Νεχαω βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην· καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ιωσιας εἰς ἀπαντὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτὸν Νεχαω ἐν Μαγεδδω ἐν τῷ ἰδεῖν αὐτόν.
Translation of 2 MT Kgs 23:29	Translation
In his days Pharaoh Neco king of Egypt went up to the king of Assyria on the river Euphrates, the king Josiah walked to meet him but he caused to kill him at Megiddo as he met him.	In his days Pharaoh Nechao king of Egypt went up to the king of Assyria at the river Euphrates and Josiah went in meeting him and Nechao put him to death at Mageddo when he saw him.

The MT/LXX Chronicles do not fully follow 2 Kgs 23:28-30. Chronicles adds details that suggest there is divine authority behind Neco's killing of Josiah, which is missing in Kings. Such linguistic difference between Chronicles and Kings, I argue, can be part of Chronicles' manipulation of foreign Neco in the context of Josiah's death. As Chronicles MT stands, Neco warns Josiah with an imperative [חדל]: "stop you opposing God;" in contrast to LXX "to stop" (κατασπεῦσαί). The MT Chronicles is clearer than the LXX Chronicles in using the direct language spoken by Neco against

Josiah. But what is common to both versions is the portrait of Neco as a prophetic voice commanded [אמר] by God instead of stirring his spirit like other foreign kings mentioned earlier. Such a phrasing gives rise to suggestions that this is an odd ending for a king (Josiah) who has been devoted to following God's will at the beginning of his reign.[123] Now Josiah is at the hands of a foreign king, a normal sign of retribution in Chronicles. Judging from the language of this passage, Josiah's downfall is the result of his refusal to heed God's voice as spoken by Neco.

In supporting this line of argument, Paul Hooker argues that the "Chronicler has fashioned an account of Josiah's death on the model of the death of Ahab" in 2 Chron 18:28-34//2 Kgs 22:29-40.[124] As Ahab's death is the result of his refusal to listen to the prophet Micaiah, Josiah's death is caused by his failure to listen to Neco's words. Both cases are set in the context of war, which is not characteristic of Chronicles but rather a reflection of the Deuteronomistic knowledge.[125] With Josiah's war field at Megiddo, Louis Jonker suggests that the Chronicler wants to utilize this war context once again "like so many others encountered before, to promote specific theological ideas."[126] Part of the Chronicler's own construction over against its source text (2 Kgs 23:28-30), the theological element of this part of Josiah's story is somehow linked to the issue of human kingships (native and foreign) being secondary to the divine sovereignty.

Neco's Partaking in Divine Sovereignty

Following the above discussion, the Chronicler seems to put these words in the mouth of Neco, specifically claiming his association with God אלהים. Given Hooker's

[123] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 242-48, 408-11; Paul K. Hooker, *First and Second Chronicles* (Louisville: Westminister John Knox Press, 2001), 284-86.
[124] Hooker, *First and Second Chronicles*, 285. Also see Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1043.
[125] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 409.
[126] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 296.

allusion of Josiah to Ahab stated above, Neco's words could be considered as a prophetic voice for Josiah. Williamson also adds that the cause of events during this part of Josiah's reign reflects the prophecy of Huldah against Josiah and the people of Judah for they have forsaken God in 2 Chron 34:23-28.[127] Sara Japhet takes it further by listing the common elements between these two accounts (2 Chron 34:23-28//1 Kgs 22 and 2 Chron 35:20-36:1) where: both kings (Ahab and Josiah) are prevented from going to war (1 Kgs 22:19-23//2 Chron 35:21); both ignore the warnings from God (1 Kgs 22:30//2 Chron 35:22); and both are asked to carry them away (1 Kgs 22:34//2 Chron 35:23).[128]

With this negative twist in Josiah's story, the words of God are then spoken in the voice of Neco. Therefore, opposing Neco is thus opposing God. Japhet has described this twist as a "theological problem" and suggests that Neco's words could possibly be spoken on behalf of his own god (god of Egypt) instead of the God of Israel.[129] Williamson has suggested that Josiah's encounter with Neco "has been written up within an Israelite context in order to make of it a word of God to Josiah, the rejection of which then serves to explain his death."[130] So regardless of whether Josiah's refusal to listen is due to Neco's foreign god (as suggested by Japhet) or not, the aspect of divine sovereignty behind both interpretations is clearly highlighted. Through retribution, the Chronicler consistently maintains God's sovereign involvement even through transitions from local kings to foreign kingships.

Like King Hiram and other foreign kings described earlier, the manipulation of kingship is highlighted through Neco, something that may not have been expected by the readers of Kings. Yet here again, we witness Chronicles' favourable employment

[127] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 410.
[128] Japhet refers to this affinity between the two accounts as "a literary stylistic borrowing" which is more likely a "theological substructure" by the Chronicler. See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1043.
[129] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 1056-57.
[130] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 410.

of foreign rule to highlight the theme of the sovereignty of God behind all rule - native or foreign. In this case, the foreign ruler highlighted is not Cyrus but even the foreign king who killed the most distinguished king Judah after David.

Cyrus: A Continuity of Davidic Rule

The anointing of Cyrus in Isa 45:1 is consistent with Chronicles' perspective. A number of scholars have mentioned this point. Manfred Oeming for instance has stated that "the Achaemenid kings are like Davidic dynasty - the custodians of Israel who have been appointed by Yahweh."[131] In the absence of such an honourable king in the postexilic period, the Chronicler describes Achaemenid kings in light of the Davidic dynasty. Like David, the Persian ruler is described as the appointed agent of God in ushering the restoration of Israel to their home land. The link between David and Cyrus' kingships can be detected in some of the word choices in the following phrases:

David kingship	Cyrus kingship
1 Chron 11:3b And they anointed [וימשחו] David king over Israel, <u>according to the word of YHWH by Samuel</u> [כדבר יהוה ביד־שמואל].	2 Chron 36:20b-21a: …until the establishment of the kingdom of Persia, to <u>fulfill the word of YHWH by the mouth of Jeremiah</u> [למלאות דבר־יהוה בפי ירמיהו] 2 Chron 36:22 In the first year of King Cyrus of Persia, in <u>fulfillment of the word of YHWH spoke by Jeremiah</u> […לכלות דבר־יהוה בפי ירמיהו] …<u>YHWH</u> stirred up [העיר] the spirit of King Cyrus of Persia so that he sent a herald throughout all his kingdom and also declared in a written edict
1 Chron 29:30 with accounts of all his (David) rule and his might and of the events that befell him and Israel and <u>all the kingdoms of the earth</u> [כל־ממלכות הארצות].	2 Chron 36:23 Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: <u>YHWH, the God of heaven</u> [יהוה אלהי השמים], has given me <u>all the kingdoms of the earth</u> [כל־ממלכות הארץ] and <u>he has charged me</u> [והוא־פקד עלי] me to build [לבנות] him a house [בית] at Jerusalem…

[131] Oeming, "See, We Are Serving Today," 571-88, 571.

Both reigns are established with divine endorsement via the prophetic voices (Samuel and Jeremiah) and both rules cover "all the kingdoms of the earth." Of only three occurrences of the phrase "all the kingdoms of the earth" in Chronicles, two references are found in 2 Chron 17:10; 20:29, as part of YHWH's security in Jehoshaphat's reign.

As the nuance of the verb *stir* [יער] is mostly common in Isaiah-Jeremiah's writings,[132] Jer 50:9 and 51:11 use the same verb that describes God's coercion of Cyrus as in 2 Chron 36:22.[133] As mentioned earlier, the same verb is also applied in 1 Chron 5:26 when the "God of Israel" caused to stir the "spirit of king Pul of Assyria" in order to carry away "the Reubenites' descendants; and YHWH to stir "the anger of Philistines" to go against Jehoram, the king of Judah as in 2 Chron 21:16. Both texts (1 Chron 5 & 2 Chron 21) use יער in its *hip^{c}il* form in which God is the subject of the verb יער, and both accounts are unique to Chronicles.

We have discussed earlier the positive portrait of the King of Assyria in the pre-exilic period. Here, it is Cyrus's edict at the climax of Chronicles (2 Chron 36:22-23) that highlights an access of foreigners to Israel's Yahwistic identity during the postexilic context.[134] Within this same context, Ezra 6:10 shows that the Persian King provides support for the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem, precisely so that these elders of the Jews would pray for the Persian King.[135]

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[132] The verb יער is prominent in the book of Isaiah (18 times) and Jeremiah (6 times) more than in any other book of the HB.
[133] Amber K. Warhurst, "The Chronicler's Use of the Prophets," in *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 165-81,179.
[134] Dumbrell, "The Purpose," 257-66.
[135] Klaas A. D. Smelik, "Nehemiah as a Court Jew," in *New Perspectives on Ezra-Nehemiah: History and Historiography, Text, Literature, and Interpretation*, ed. Isaac Kalimi (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 61-72,71.

Having the Persian kings as "benefactors of the temple," to use Smelik's words, Lynch suggests "the temple looms so large in the Chroniclers world" where the temple is not confined to the postexilic Judah. Rather, "it was the link between the great God of the past and the experience of God in postexilic Yehud."[136] Foreign rulers are now playing major parts in the fulfillment of that link in the context of Chronicles. The continuity of the Davidic kingship and the survival of the temple are guaranteed by foreign Cyrus's kingship endorsed by YHWH's divine sovereignty. The following discussion strengthens this possible continuity from David's to Cyrus's kingships through the prophetic language.

Cyrus = David: Anointed and Shepherd

Louis Jonker, Amber Warhurst, Mark Leuchter, Lisbeth Fried, and Roddy Braun have seen a connection with the theology of foreign kingship in the prophets.[137] Building upon the research of these scholars, the findings below are based on my exegetical work on king Cyrus who is the anointed one of God as described in Isa 45:1:

> Thus says the LORD to his anointed [למשיחו], to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped to subdue nations before him [לרד־לפניו גוים] and strip kings [מלכים אפתח] of their robes, to open doors before him [לפתח לפניו דלתים] — and the gates shall not be closed:

Throughout the whole of the HB, this is the only reference where a foreign ruler is said to be anointed. Thus the above verse is worth reflecting upon in relation to the connection between the Achaemenid kings and David's dynasty.

[136] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 265.
[137] Louis C. Jonker, "The Chronicler and the Prophets: Who Were His Authoritative Sources," in *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 145-64; Warhurst, "The Chronicler's Use of the Prophets," 165-81; Mark Leuchter, "Rethinking the "Jeremiah" Doublets in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles," in *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 183-200; Lisbeth S. Fried, "Cyrus the Messiah? The Historical Background to Isaiah 45:1," *The Harvard Theological Review* 95 (2016): 373-93.

The repetition of the adjectives פתח (strips/opens) along with the plural nouns (robes, gates, doors) corresponds to the many nations [גוים] which God would subdue in the name of Cyrus. Without going deep into Cyrus as the central figure in the history as presented in Deutero-Isaiah, Fried affirms a positive view of the political kings when he states that "the line of the Achaemenid kings would now take the place of the Davidides."[138] Despite the tradition of Israel as one nation under the Davidic dynasty, the spirit of resistance to these foreign rulers is absent in Chronicles. Moreover, Isa 44:28 also refers to Cyrus as the "shepherd" [רעה] of God:

> who says of Cyrus, "He is my shepherd [רעי], and he shall carry out all my purpose" and who says of Jerusalem, "It shall be rebuilt," and of the temple, "Your foundation shall be laid" (Isa 44:28).

The same root [רעה] is aligned with the noun "spirit/wind" [רוח] from God in the language of Jer 22:22:

> The wind shall shepherd all your shepherds [כל־רעיך תרעה־רוח], and your lovers shall go into captivity; then you will be ashamed and dismayed because of all your wickedness

Like Cyrus in Isa 44:28, Jeremiah proclaims the coming doom where the shepherds/rulers (Jer 2:8) of Judah will be blown away by a powerful wind into exile. In a similar scenario, Cyrus is described as a "shepherd" or a "wind" which blows from God's mouth in taking Judah back into their land in the context of Chronicles. Here, the designation of King Cyrus as a shepherd of God corresponds to David, the only king known as "the shepherd of the LORD" or ruler over Israel (1 Chron 11:2//2 Sam 5:2; 1 Chron 17:6), as mentioned above. With this point, the Old Testament

[138] Fried, "Cyrus the Messiah?," 373-93, esp.374.

tends "to reserve shepherd imagery for YHWH and, significantly, extends its use only for YHWH's Davidic appointee."[139]

In 2 Chron 36:22, the Chronicler has briefly mentioned the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy behind the appearance of King Cyrus. Looking closely into Jeremiah's prophecies, both Israelites and foreign rulers are under God's rule. Jeremiah starts with the taking away of the Israelites by the king of Babylon (Jer 25:9); followed by the punishing of Babylon by God; then the taking away of the Israelites after seventy years (Jer 25:12); and concludes with some features of restoration after the Babylonian exile (Jer 26:6,7) and the rebuilding of the temple (Jer 29:12).

With this information, the ascension of Cyrus in 2 Chron 36:22 as the "fulfilment [לכלות] of the word of the LORD spoken by Jeremiah" is all about the continuity of Davidic kingship through foreign kings under God's jurisdiction. This is also quite evident considering the nuance of the word כלות ("to fulfil")[140] used in 2 Chron 36:22 instead of the normal verb מלא mentioned twice in the previous verse (2 Chron 36:21). The strong association of Chronicles with the prophetic literature can be regarded as the affirmation of the shift in emphasis from the dynasty to the cultic life of Israel in the context of Chronicles, where the monarch's kingship no longer exists.

Jonker claims that Yehud now comes to accept the Persian imperial rulers as "their God-appointed leaders."[141] Jonker puts more emphasis on how the Chronicler has presented Davidic kings like Hezekiah and Josiah in Chronicles. Furthermore, the

[139] Young S. Chae, *David as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd: Studies in the Old Testament, Second Temple Judaism, and in the Gospel of Matthew* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 26.
[140] Instead of a noun according to the NRSV translation ("fulfilment"), the word is presented in the HB as a verb, (*qal* infinitive of the verbal root לכלות, meaning "to fulfil" or "to accomplish."
[141] Jonker, *Reflections of King Josiah*, 87.

continuity of God's promises to these Davidic kings is now bestowed on the foreign rulers:

> The re-appropriation of these historical traditions was probably meant as an example to the Persian rulers of how God-appointed rulers should perform their duty. The participation of the Israelite kings (David, Hezekiah and Josiah, in particular) in cultic affairs as depicted by the Chronicler, becomes significant in this context. Within a multi-religious society, the ruler was expected to sustain the Jewish cult.[142]

Jonker takes up these Davidic kings as models of an honourable king in Chronicles whose prestige comes with cultic duties. In other words, whether native or foreign, they are honoured based on performance and service rather than just status in Chronicles.

In summary, and along with Jonker, all kings (both Israelite and foreign kings) are in some respects similar so long as they do what they ought to do according to God's authority. Under foreign rule, the Yehud community continues to be God's people, a part of a wider society or a world ruled by God.[143] Ideologically, all people including Davidic kings and the Persian kings have their places in that wider world ruled by God in the postexilic period. So the pro-Persian perspective must therefore only be understood in the framework of these kings' cultic roles and duties as mere agents of God, from the Chronicler's standpoint.

This idea of sovereignty can be illuminated by comparisons with Genesis 15. The vast amount of land promised to Abram by YHWH: "from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates…" (Gen 15:18b) is never held by Israel in history.[144] But it corresponds to the satrapy "Beyond the River" which is a term used in the Persian rule instead. What is indicated here is a possible transfer of ideas from

[142] Jonker, *Reflections of King Josiah*, 87.
[143] See Ehud Ben Zvi, "When a Foreign Monarch Speaks," in *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi (London: Equinox, 2006), 270-88. Zvi has cited 2 references from Chronicles (2 Chron 2:10; 9:8) where it says that "YHWH/God loved Israel." Both statements from both texts are from the mouths of foreign monarchs (King Huram of Tyre and Queen of Sheba).
[144] Cf. the idealistic claim about Solomon's reign mentioned above.

native kingship to foreign kingship, where the Persian King is depicted as the viceroy. Like a native dynasty, the Persian Empire appears to be the custodian of the Israelites appointed by Israel's God. Thus the Israelites must have held all that land under the Persian King when, in actual fact, it is God's jurisdiction.

Conclusion

Chronicles is a retelling of history that suggests a higher level of sovereignty within a new environment. The continuity of Davidic kingship underpins the Chronicler's historiography. Understanding this historical kingship would assist the Yehud community to relate to their imperial rulers as part of the divine rule in their past and present experiences.

Chronicles reconstructs the past history of Israel's kingship to reflect the sovereignty of God through both native and foreign rulers. Accordingly, the balance between native and foreign rulers is explicitly reflected in Jabez's prayer to the "God of Israel," an epithet that prevails a "middle-way" between an idea of universalism (as in P's use of אלהים in Gen 1) and residual nationalism [via ישראל], as stated above. So even under foreign rule, the continuation of the temple and cultic practices associated with it is guaranteed.

The Davidic cultic values continue to survive throughout Israel's history as Yehud is now uniting it into a new temple community, even wider and more universal than the first. Behind it all, divine sovereignty is highly exalted in Chronicles via the ruling of both Israel's and foreign kings. Yehud is now expected to accept and respect the continuity of Davidic kingship as implied by the Cyrus edict, because they have now been incorporated into the universal world of kings and kingdoms, all under the

rulership of God. In effect, David becomes Cyrus without any loss of divine sovereignty, and even if the Cyrus edict is a late addition to the text of Chronicles, it is fully compatible with the earlier material. Hence, Judah does not need an army to assert its sovereignty. Instead, only a temple is required, and Jabez's prayer for land may be addressed to the God of Israel's temple, rather than to a particular king or governor. This is the conception of sovereignty that underpins the Jabez pericope.

There remains one more puzzle to investigate in 1 Chron 4:9-10, which relates to the theme of honour. Jabez was honoured before God granted what he asked. The next chapter examines how an individual like Jabez has reached an honourable status in Chronicles' social context, through engaging a hermeneutical suggestion from our reading context in Sāmoa.

CHAPTER 6

JABEZ IN CONTEXT AND JABEZ IN SĀMOA

Introduction

It has been suggested in the contemporary scholarship on Chronicles that the "imperative of reward and punishment" reflects a more specific concept of divine justice than found in Samuel-Kings.[1] That is, God's dealings in history replicate the understanding that "every act – either good or bad – is rewarded" and rewarded promptly rather than across several generations. According to Japhet, for every good or bad act from Chronicles' sources where no consequence is attached, Chronicles attempts to add in a reward/punishment. And for every reward/punishment from the sources without some good or bad deed to justify it, Chronicles attempts to add in an adequate act.[2]

This rewarding of good acts appears to be executed in the Jabez narrative and Japhet suggests that the righteousness reflected through Jabez's prayer to the God of Israel may indicate a valid justification of Jabez's reward.[3] However given the ambiguity of the text, I want to propose that Chronicles' specific mention of Jabez's status as "honoured more [נכבד] than his brothers" (1 Chron 4:9a) may point to another possible form of action that could further support Jabez's divine reward. How was Jabez honoured then? How is honour earned from Chronicles' perspective?

[1] Japhet, "Theodicy in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles," 427-69 (456). Note that Chronicles removes intergenerational punishment.
[2] Japhet, "Theodicy in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles," 427-69. Also see Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 191-98; Kelly, *Retribution*, 30-43, 64-106ff.
[3] Japhet, "Theodicy in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles," 452.

Of the three occurrences of נכבד in its *nipʿal* participle form in Chronicles, the first one is found in Jabez's text (1 Chron 4:9a). The other two occurrences of the very same form [נכבד] are attached to Abishai (1 Chron 11:21a//2 Sam 23:21a) and Benaiah (1 Chron 11:25a//2 Sam 23:23a), as two of the many warriors that faithfully served king David. It is evident from these texts that as warriors, both Abishai and Benaiah earned their honourable status from their acts or exploits of bravery while serving under David.

Heard states that נכבד "normally implies esteem granted to its grammatical subject by others rather than a personal quality abstractly attaching to the subject."[4] Grammatically, the nuance of נכבד suggests honour as an esteem granted by others to a recipient (passive). This is evident in the honour granted to Abishai and Benaiah for their services. There is some confusion about how to interpret the ranking of the two warriors. Scholars have identified some confusion in the ranking of warriors in both Chronicles and its source accounts.[5] However, it seems that Chronicles' close reiteration of the sources' accounts of these two warriors' brave acts informs us of high regard for acts that lead to honour as a social status.

In considering Jabez's narrative, might there be a deliberate matching of the terminology for honour [נכבד] earned through military service? In this chapter, I want to test the hypothesis that perhaps Jabez's service (in whatever shape or form) to his community made him an honourable man. And his service was in turn acknowledged by the God of Israel by granting him his plea for land.

Although we can recognize from the above a close correlation between the concepts of service and bestowal of honour, a direct linguistic link between the terms

[4] Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10," 1-28 (3).
[5] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 102; Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 100.

"honour" and "service" is absent in Chronicles.[6] But this does not imply that there were no conceptual links in the cultural world. Working around this lack of an explicit link, I am now consciously and deliberately choosing to read the Jabez narrative using a Sāmoan social and cultural lens, where one gains honour through his/her *tautua* (service) to the family and community. In the Sāmoan context, one's *tautua* to the extended family may be rewarded with *mamalu* (honour) by granting a *matai* (chief) title. It is through becoming an honourable *matai* that such an individual who has served the family may gain *pule* (authority) over his/her family's customary land.[7] This provides a broader framework than military service, as in the cases of Abishai and Benaiah.

Based on this Sāmoan *tautua-matai* scheme, my ultimate argument in this chapter is that service constituted Jabez's good actions that were recognized by the community. As a result of that recognition he was declared more honourable [נכבד]. And through God's justice, the reward for his good act of service was his land plea being granted by the God of Israel.

This chapter discusses my argument in two parts. Part A examines the concept of "honour," focusing on the general understandings of the system of "honour and shame" as identified by some scholars. Possible connections between "honour" and "service" in the wider context of Chronicles are also explored. In addition, how the notion of service might shape an individual's existence in the postexilic community is explained, and this is done in two ways. First, by portraying individuals in Chronicles who are honoured (e.g., kings) because of their title as "appointed servants of God,"

[6] In linguistic terms, there is no connection between the words "service" and "honour" in a single verse or pericope throughout Chronicles.

[7] Loretta Tausilia Evile Mamea, "Pacific Leadership and Cultural Competence: A Commentary," in *Su'esu'e Manogi: In Search of Fragrance Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi and the Samoan Indigenous Reference*, ed. Iugafa Tuagalu, Tamasa'ilau Suaalii-Sauni, Tofilau Nina Kirifi-Alai, and Naomi Fuamatu (Apia: National University of Samoa, 2009), 315-25 (320-21).

and how their service may have reflected God's involvement in the wider community. Second, by highlighting the individuals (e.g., priests, Levites, chief commanders) who seem to have earned their honourable status through their appointment to various services in the wider social community. Here I argue that although Chronicles might not be explicitly identifying the particular acts of service, it somehow still recognizes the acts to determine those being honoured, not only in their community, but also in the eyes of the God of Israel. The possibility of Jabez as a foreigner being honoured through service is considered here in light of an inter-textual reading of Isa 56:3-8. This discussion focuses on how the Chronicler may have shared common views with the third Isaiah in order to legitimate the process of redefining identity.

Part B of the chapter draws analogies between the Chronistic service and the notion of *tautua* (service/servant) in the Sāmoan context. Different types of *tautua*, the inclusive nature of this cultural pattern and its persistence in Samoan society are discussed. The chapter concludes by drawing parallels between Sāmoan *tautua* and Jabez's service.

PART A

Linguistic Study of Honour in the Hebrew Bible

The specific verbal root for honour [כבד][8] in its various forms means, "to be heavy, weighty, burdensome, honoured" and it reflects a connection with the noun כבוד,[9]

[8] In the HB, the verb כבד appears to be a synonym of other verbal roots like הדר and תמם which are verified infrequently in some texts such as Lev 19:32, Lam 5:12, Prov 25:6, Psa 8:5, Dan 4:34,37; etc. Also see Saul M. Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations in Ancient Israel and Its Environment," *JBL* 115/2 (1996): 201-18.

meaning, "abundance, honour, and glory."[10] Gary Knoppers has linked these verbal literalistic meanings with an alternative translation of Jabez as "heavier than his brothers."[11] Although Knoppers appears to follow an exegetical tradition in relation to the wordplay between עצב (pain) and יעבץ (Jabez) where Jabez was heavier in terms of a painful birth experience, this meaning of honour is rarely used in a literal sense.

The Hebrew verbal form of honour in its *nipʿal* participle form [נכבד as in the Jabez text] is used seventeen times throughout the HB.[12] Its first use occurs in Gen 34:19 when the Canaanite Shechem was more honoured than all the house of his father.[13]

> And the young man did not delay to do the thing, because he was delighted with Jacob's daughter. Now he was the most honoured [נכבד] of all his family (Gen 34:19).

From the language of Gen 34:19, we may say that Shechem was honoured for his status in Canaanite society as a "prince [**נשיא**] of the region" (Gen 34:2). Some commentaries have interpreted prince here as "the title of a hereditary ruler of a Canaanite city" which reveals Shechem as more respected than anyone else in his clan.[14] But the common application of **נשיא** throughout the HB portrays "prince" as a

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[9] The noun כבוד also has a synonym in the HB with different translations (NRSV): הדר (honor), **פאר** (glory), הוד (splendor), יקר (precious), גדל (greatness), רוח (nobility); etc. See Baker, ed. *Dictionary*, 432; Joshua Moon, "Honor and Shame in Hosea's Marriages," *JSOT* 39.3 (2015): 335-51 (339). Note that Moon's search merely focuses on the prophetic corpus.

[10] *BDB*, 457-8.

[11] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, 339.

[12] Gen 34:19; Num 22:17; 24:11; Deut 28:58; 1 Sam 9:6; 22:14; 2 Sam 23:19, 23; Isa 3:5; 23:8; Nah 3:10; Psa 87:3; 149:8; Prov 8:24; 1 Chr 4:9; 1 Chr 11:21, 25= 17. Note that 1 Chr 11:21, 25 are paralleled to 2 Sam 23:19, 23.

[13] See B. Jacob, *The First Book of the Bible: Genesis*, trans., Ernest I. Jacob and Walter Jacob (New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1974), 233-34; Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18-50* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 365.

[14] E.A. Speiser, *Genesis*, A New Translation with Introduction & Commentary (New York: The Anchor Bible, 1962), 262-65; Gordon Wenham, *Genesis 16-50*, Word Biblical Commentary

title given by the community to the most honourable natives who are being entrusted with responsibilities for the benefit of Israel's community.[15] It also points to leaders of Israel including leaders of each tribe appointed by Moses in the book of Exodus and Numbers.[16]

The second and third occurrences are found in Num 22:17 and 24:11 where honour is presented as a reward of silver and gold (22:18) offered by Balak to Balaam. Although this offer exemplifies a sign of avarice on Balaam's side, Eryl Davies argues that such presentation of "honorarium to a seer for services rendered was a well-established custom in Israel (cf.1 Sam 9:8; 1 Kgs 14:3; 2 Kgs 8:8f)."[17] With this monetary reward, Davies believes that the meaning is not that Balak would show great respect to Balaam, but he would reward him substantially for his service.[18]

Different from the two examples above, some occurrences refer to respectable characters in narratives. For instance, (1) honouring YHWH as part of Deuteronomistic law for Israel (Deut 28:58); (2) honouring the prophet Samuel for "whatever he says always comes true," as stated by Saul's young servant (1 Sam 9:6); and (3) honouring David for his faithfulness as in Ahimelech's direct speech to king Saul (1 Sam 22:14). Another six occurrences of נכבד in other parts of the HB are not so significant to our purpose.[19]

(Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1798), 311-13; Longman III Tremper, *Genesis*, The Story of God Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2016), 428-30.

[15] For instance, the 12 sons of Ishmael are described as princes granted as part of God's blessings according to Gen 17:20 and Gen 25:16. Abraham is also called the prince among the Hittites as in Gen 23:5; and then David (1 Sam 25:30; 2 Sam 6:21; 7:8); Abner becomes a prince in serving Saul (2 Sam 3:38); as well as Moses and Aaron as princes/leaders of Israel (Num 4:34).

[16] Note that the plural form נשאים (princes) refers to leaders of Israel in general (e.g., Exod 16:22; 34:31; 35:27; Num 1:16,44; 4:46; 7:2-3,10; 16:2;17:2; etc). Its singular form נשיא (prince) always points to each tribe's leader/prince with their names provided (e.g., Num 2:3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 18, 20, 22, 25, 29, 24; 3:30; etc.).

[17] Eryl W. Davies, *Numbers*, The New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 247-48.

[18] Davies, *Numbers*, 248.

[19] The verb נכבד in all 6 references is presented in a poetic form, referring to either honorable people (e.g., Isa 3:5; 23:8); nobles (Nah 3:10; Psa 149:8); or living things (Psa 87:3; Prov 8:24).

From the above review of the verbal form נכבד, it is clear that honour may be granted based on: one's family background (e.g., the case of prince Shechem); one's wealth (e.g., Balak's offer to Balaam); and one's faithful service (e.g., David's and Samuel's cases). All of these conditions show honour as a paramount social status witnessed and affirmed by society. Moreover, the double usage of honour in 1 Sam 2: 30b in its *piel* form exemplifies the fact that God can also grant honour as a reward for those that honour God. ("… for those who honour me I will honour…").[20]

Saul Olyan specifically refers to this honour as "covenant honour" which is also applied even in "covenants of unequals (vassal-suzerain treaties)." Within this context of unequal treaties, "YHWH himself – the suzerain par excellence in Israel participates in reciprocal honour, as do human overlords."[21] In other words, YHWH longs to motivate Israel to honour him by promising honour rather than shame in return.

Moon also affirms this point by stating that this succinct statement from YHWH (1 Sam 2:30b) "only works on the assumption that every party (person or deity) pursues honour and avoids shame."[22] What is clear from Olyan's and Moon's work is the fact that an honourable title is a reward granted by either a community itself or God in recognition of one's good deeds.

[20] Here, the *piel* meaning is also the meaning of the *nip'al* participle used in 1 Chr 4:9, since the *nip'al* is the passive equivalent of the *piel*. Thus in 1 Sam 2:30, the subject (YHWH) receives the action of the *piel* participle verb honour ("who honor me…"). See Arthur Walker-Jones, *Hebrew: For Biblical Interpretation* (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 117, 200-01.

[21] Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations," 201-18 (205). Olyan continues to specify the principle of the covenant honor, which is summed up with conditional words: "…those who honor me I will honor and those who despise me [בזה] shall be treated with contempt/shame [קלל].

[22] Moon, "Honor and Shame," 335-51 (339).

The Concept of Honour in Chronicles

In Chronicles, the Hebrew root word כבד occurs twenty-four times: nine verbs;[23] two adjectives; [24] and thirteen nouns (כבוד). [25] Of thirteen nouns, all are parts of Chronicles' additions to its sources. In most accounts, honour is associated with wealth and respect attributed mainly to kings such as David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah for their cultic services. This unique amount of honourable language and its regular use demonstrates how often the concern for honour comes to the fore in Chronicles. Generally, however, the language of honour for loyal cultic services often includes the vocabulary of "shame" according to contemporary scholarship.

The System of "Honour and Shame" in Contemporary Scholarship

Few scholars have considered the concept of "honour and shame" as a single system, which is relevant in some cultures.[26] Saul Olyan and Joshua Moon, for example, have provided a class of terms for honour [e.g., כבוד, כבד, הרד, הדר], and a class of terms for shame [e.g., קלל, בלם, בוש, חפר, בזה, זלל, חרף] from the HB, and they all belong to one cultural system.[27] Moon's interpretation of the marriage of the prophet Hosea and Gomer argues that "by noting the importance of the shame

[23] 1 Chr 4:9; 10:3 11:21; 11:25; 19:3; 2 Chr 10:10, 11, 14; 25: 19. All of these verbal references to honour have parallel accounts in Samuel-Kings, except 1 Chr 4:9.
[24] 2 Chr 9:1//1 Kgs 10:1 (added); 10:4//1 Kgs 12:4.
[25] 1 Chr 16: 27; 17:18; 29:12, 28; 2 Chr 1:11, 12; 16:14; 17:5; 18:1; 21:19; 26:18; 32:27,33. All of these noun occurrences are unique to Chronicles. Besides, כבוד as a noun does not appear in the language of Ezra-Nehemiah at all.
[26] Although the notions of honour and shame exist in virtually all cultures, it is believed that these terms play a minor role especially in many Western societies. See Halvor Moxnes, "Honor and Shame," *Biblical Theological Bulletin* 23 (1993): 19-40; Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations," 201-18 (202-03); Moon, "Honor and Shame," 335-51.
[27] Moon, "Honor and Shame," 339; Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations," 203.

embodied by Hosea's marriage," we see how YHWH bears shame to keep his covenant to his people.[28] Moon argues that the honour and shame dichotomy is "something like a commodity…a near-tangible commodity to be gained, lost, traded amassed, or squandered." But at the core of this social commodity stands the "self-evident principle that one ought to pursue honour and avoid shame."[29]

Olyan locates the above vocabularies and ideas of honour and shame in the context of West Asian covenant relations using Israel as the primary focus of his investigation.[30] From a covenantal context, honour is owed by an inferior to a superior (e.g., by the young to the elderly and by the worshiper to his/her deity, and the like). It can also be earned through military victory and replaced by shame through defeat.

Thus, the covenant honour according to Olyan is "reciprocal." That is, honouring a loyal partner strengthens the bond, and to shame a faithful party is quite the opposite, which may result in a covenant violation.[31] Olyan adds that in covenant settings, worshippers' sacrifices and other cultic rites that honour God are similar to how vassals honour their human suzerain "with expected demonstrations of servitude and covenant loyalty."[32] He also suggests that vassals, for their part, compete for position in a hierarchy of honour controlled by the suzerain. Here, the suzerain can distinguish between his vassals by means of honour where one vassal may be more honoured than another. It is apparent from Olyan's suggestion that while vassals honour their suzerain with their service, their service also may in effect cause the suzerain to differentiate each vassal's level of honour.[33]

[28] Moon, "Honor and Shame," 335-51 (350).
[29] Moon, "Honor and Shame," 338, 340.
[30] Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations," 203, n.6.
[31] Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations," 204-05.
[32] Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations," 206.
[33] Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations," 204-07.

Moxnes' analysis of the characteristics of "honour and shame" defines honour as a public recognition of one's social status received as either "ascribed honour" or "acquired honour."[34] Ascribed honour is not based on something the individual has done but is inherited by a child from the family at birth. Here a child takes on the family's honoured status within its social group. Acquired honour however is honour earned through virtuous deeds, and this honour may be gained or lost in people's pursuit for public respect.[35]

Efforts to locate the system of "honour and shame" in Chronicles reveal that the actual terminology of "shame" is rarely found compared to that of honour.[36] The paucity of shame terminology in Chronicles is perhaps why not many scholars consider a possible connection between honour and shame in Chronicles. However, I find that Chronicles strongly associates honour with key figures such as kings who faithfully engage in service to God. So in contrast, shame is associated with those that do not serve God.[37] We now want to turn to the study of the Hebrew terminology for service in Chronicles, and to locate any connections to the concept of honour.

The Concept of Service in Chronicles

Little scholarly attention has been given directly to the linguistic study of service in Chronicles. However, some studies have been devoted to the conceptual connection

[34] Moxnes, "Honor and Shame," 19-40 (20).
[35] Moxnes, "Honor and Shame," 20.
[36] Throughout the vocabulary of Chronicles, only 4 occurrences of related terminologies of shame are found; two of which have parallel accounts in 2 Samuel: (1) 1 Chr 15:29 [תבז- despised]//2 Sam 6:16; (2) 1 Chr 19:5 [נכלמים-humiliated] //2 Sam 10:5; (3) 2 Chr 30:15 [נכלמו- ashamed]; (4) 2 Chr 36:16 [בוזים- despising].
[37] Mainly refers to honourable expressions of king David (1 Chr 29:28), Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:5; 18:1), and Hezekiah (2 Chr 32:27, 33) as part of the Chronicler's *Sondergut*. On the contrary, a shameful description of King Asa in 2 Chr 16:14 is also added by the Chronicler to his source text (1 Kgs 15). For this example of Asa's shameful expression, see Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations," 201-18, esp.215, n. 45.

between honourable status and rewards granted due to one's loyal service.[38] Indeed, the vocabulary of service in Chronicles, though somewhat complex, reflects a concern for cultic service as reflected by the frequent use of the Hebrew verbal root עבד.[39]

As a noun, עבד is often attributed to prophets and kings who hold an elite status for their services [עבודת] to God and they are often referred to as "servants of God." King David (as mentioned in the previous chapter), is one such honourable individual whom Chronicles upholds as a true servant of God, more so than its sources because of David's commitment to the temple project.[40] As discussed below, Chronicles' emphasis on the concept of service is characterised by its unique account of the various temple service appointments that Kings David and Solomon made.

In stressing the importance of the people's roles in the temple, Brian Kelly believes that Chronicles' presentation of the temple project appears as "a genuine populist work."[41] That is, the assistance of the entire community was necessary and the temple could only be built with the people's help via their representatives. In my view, the service of these appointed "representatives" is crucial, in that their service may have earned them honour in the community. In verifying this, our discussion mainly focuses on the following main sections:

- Individuals that Chronicles present as "servants" of God – the honourable in society because of their title as servants of God.

[38] Recent examples are particularly Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, Chapters 3-4; John W. Wright, "Those Doing the Work for the Service in the House of the Lord: 1 Chronicles 23:6-24:31 and the Sociohistorical Context of the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Period," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 361-84.

[39] The language of Chronicles employs a variety of terminologies for service (both nouns (service) and verbs (to serve/minister)): מלאכת (group work/service); צבא (service in the context of war/army); שרת (to minister in the temple); עבד (cultic service in/of the house of YHWH); עשה (to do/work/serve). Of all, עבד is the most frequent root word for cultic service used in Chronicles.

[40] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 166.

[41] Kelly, *Retribution*, 239-41.

- Chiefs and/or leaders in Chronicles who are honourable for their service in their community.

Servants of God

In the language of Chronicles, the phrase "servant of God/YHWH" is presented in different forms.

Note that references marked with the asterisk (*) are the ones added by the Chronicler to his sources; those without are the references copied from sources almost verbatim.

Chronicles	NRSV	MT	Source[42]
Moses:	1 Chron 6:49 ET Moses servant of God *	משה עבד אלהים	Num 3:2
	2 Chron 1:3 Moses servant of YHWH *	משה עבד־יהוה	1 Kgs 3:4
	2 Chron 24:6 Moses servant of YHWH *	משה עבד־יהוה	2 Kgs 12:8
	2 Chron 24:9 Moses servant of God *	משה עבד אלהים	2 Kgs 12:10
David:	1 Chron 17:4 my servant David	דויד עבדי	2 Sam 7:7
	1 Chron 17:7 my servant David	עבדי לדויד	2 Sam 7:8
	1 Chron 17:17, 18, 19 your servant	עבדך	2 Sam 7:19, 20, 21
	1 Chron 17:23, 24, 25 your servant	עבדך	2 Sam 7:25,[43]26, 27
	1 Chron 17:26, 27 your servant	עבדך	2 Sam 7:28, 29
	1 Chron 21:8 your servant	עבדך	2 Sam 24:10
	2 Chron 6:15 your servant David	עבדך דויד	1 Kgs 8:24
	2 Chron 6:16 your servant David	עבדך דויד	1 Kgs 8:25
	2 Chron 6:17 your servant David	עבדך דויד	1 Kgs 8:26
	2 Chron 6:42 your servant David	דויד עבדך	Ps 132:10
Solomon:	2 Chron 6:19, 20, 21 your servant	עבדך	1 Kgs 8:28, 29, 30
Israel:	1 Chron 16:13 his servant *	ישראל עבדו	Ps 105:6 (Abraham)
	2 Chron 6:27 your servants..Israel	עבדיך..ישראל	1 Kgs 8:36
Hezekiah:	2 Chron 32:16 his servant Hezekiah *	יחזקיהו עבדו	2Kgs 18:30

Without focusing on the content behind each reference, we can say that the above layout provides a wider picture of how the Chronicler presents the most prominent servants of God starting from Moses. This linguistic factor is sufficient to note all references with which the Chronicler has amplified his *Vorlage*. For instance, of the

[42] Of these source texts, there are minor textual variations between the MT and the DSS texts as noted in n.43 below. But most of these texts are quite similar in wording in both the MT and the LXX versions. In relation to variants between MT Chronicles and LXX in these particular texts, both MT and LXX Chronicles have similar wordings in most cases, except that the LXX has used two terms (δοῦλος and παῖς) for "servant" interchangeably.

[43] The DSS (4QSam[a] 51) has אדני יהוה not יהוה אלהים as in MT 2 Sam 7:25.

twenty-five references above, there are six references added by the Chronicler (as marked) to the sources, which we now turn to discuss.

Starting with Moses, being a leader and prophet of Israel who is often known by the Deuteronomic tradition as "the law giver," 1 Chron 6:49 (=1 Chron 6:34 MT) adds the phrase "Moses the servant of YHWH/God" to its source (Num 3) as a reminder behind the act of burnt offering made by the Aaronites. This priestly task should be done as "commanded" [צוה] by Moses the servant of God. Elsewhere in Num 1-3, the subject of the verb צוה refers to YHWH who "commanded" Moses to enrol all Israelites (e.g., Num 1:19, 54; 2:33, 34; 3:16, 42, 51). Here in Chronicles' account however, the verb צוה applies to Moses as a subject of commandment and Aaronites should attend to their roles accordingly. Chronicles' addition of Moses as a servant of God pronounces Moses as an honourable leader and law giver that deserves the Aaronites' attention in their priestly tasks.

The same applies to the Chronicler's additions regarding Moses (2 Chron 1:3) to its sources (1 Kgs 2:4). Although Japhet places emphasis on Solomon's worship at Gibeon in 2 Chron 1:2-6,[44] the repetition here of the tabernacle made by Moses which is first mentioned in 1 Chron 21:29 reveals that Moses' act in establishing the tabernacle is highly valued by Chronicles.[45] Again, the insertion of Moses, servant of God, may perhaps declare Chronicles' stamp of approval of Solomon's use of the tabernacle to offer thousands of offerings, and God hears and responds.

Such cultic context of worship continues in the narrative behind 2 Chron 24:6, 9 in regards to the renovation of the temple funded by the taxes collected by the Levites as prescribed by Moses the servant of YHWH. Williamson refers to this act of Moses

[44] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 523.
[45] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 194.

as a way the Chronicler explores his "tabernacle-temple typology" as introduced earlier in verses 4-14.[46] Here, the Chronicler's concern according to Williamson is to draw out the parallels between the temple and the tabernacle together with the significant action of Moses in collecting tax (vs 9-10), an action that is missing in the sources (2 Kgs 12:4-16).[47] Brian Kelly argues that the outlook of these insertions of the name Moses affirms that Chronicles is not neglecting the Mosaic laws or the patriarchal tradition.[48] On the basis of Chronicles' impositions upon the events discussed in its sources, Moses is clearly included as God's honourable servant in establishing offerings as services to God.

One of the interesting variations of servant language in Chronicles is found in 1 Chron 16:13 with the name "Israel" instead of "Abraham" as in its source Ps 105:6: "seed of his servant Abraham, children of Jacob, his chosen ones." In the context of thanksgiving for the Ark's return to Jerusalem, the Chronicler offers the name Israel instead of Abraham as the seed of the chosen ones.[49] It is argued by Sara Japhet that this change of name in Chronicles affirms that Israel is directly from the seed of Israel=Jacob and "not distant heirs of Abraham."[50] Abraham is mentioned in 1 Chron 16:16, but vs.17 connects this covenant to Jacob or Israel. For Knoppers, Chronicles describes the "divine election of David, Solomon, Judah, Jerusalem, the Temple and the Levites" while this single reference in 1 Chron 16:13 adapts Psa 105:6[51] to provide a more expansive concept of election.

[46] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 321.
[47] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 319.
[48] Kelly, *Retribution*, 23.
[49] As has been mentioned by Williamson, the name "Israel" is a preferred name in Chronicles as it refers to it twelve times. See Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 69.
[50] Sara Japhet, "Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles," *JBL* 98/2 (1979): 205-18 (217); Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 318.
[51] Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 646.

In 2 Chron 32:10-17 (*Sondergut*), Hezekiah is confronted by the Assyrian emissaries, and vs 16-17 show that both God and Hezekiah are being mocked by Sennacherib and his servants. This scenario represents Hezekiah as a loyal servant of YHWH, tested by a foreign authority.

Different to Moses, Hezekiah and Israel, references to kings David and Solomon as servants appear to be copied directly from the sources. This may show Chronicles' approval of declaring David and Solomon as honourable and loyal servants to God. As in the preceding chapter, native kings such as David and Solomon are honourable in Israelite society. What is unique to the language of Chronicles however, is the combination of these native kings and the general term for "service" [עבודת]. This general term has a prominent place in the vocabulary of Chronicles, in which thirty-two occurrences belong to Chronicles without any *Vorlage* in Kings.[52] These insertions of various services for the temple are associated mainly with Kings David and Solomon. As servants of God, both Kings David and Solomon are upheld here as being qualified to perform the appointments of various temple services.

Groups Appointed to Temple Services [עבודת] in Chronicles

In preparation for the building of the temple, David's major role as a servant of God was to appoint those gifted in various services required in the temple. The following table lists various appointments made by King David. Subsequent appointments were also made by Solomon, Hezekiah and Josiah, all of whom had closely modelled their appointments after David's structure for temple service.

[52] Under King David in 1 Chr 6:32 ET; 6:48; 9:13, 19; 23:24, 26, 28, 32; 24:3, 19; 25:1, 6; 26:8, 30; 27:26; 28:13, 14, 20, 21; 29:7; King Solomon in 2 Chr 8:14//1 Kgs 9:10-28 (but added verse); King Reoboam in 2 Chr 10:4//1 Kgs 12:4 (copied word for word); 2 Chr 12:8//1 Kgs 14:21-31 (added verse); Joash in 2 Chr 24:12//1 Kgs 12:1-22 (added verse); Hezekiah in 2 Chr 29:35; 31:2, 21; Josiah in 2 Chr 34:13//2 Kgs 22 (added verse); 2 Chr 35:2, 10, 15, 16//2 Kgs 23.

Texts	Groups	Service [עבדת]
1 Chron 6:16-53 ET	Levites[53]	Levites ministered with song in the tabernacle; responsible for all the *service* in due order; looking after the ark in the tabernacle (vs 16-48 ET). (Also in 1 Chron 15, Levites are appointed to carry the Ark; minister to YHWH forever).
	Aaronites	Aaronites/priests have made offerings on the altar of burnt offering; they have done all the *work* of the most holy place and made atonement for Israel (vs 49-53 ET). (Note that in 1 Chron 15:11-12, a mixture of Levites and priests are appointed by David to be "the heads of the fathers of Levites"). Schweitzer argues that one of these family heads is Zadok.[54]
1 Chron 9:10-34	Priests	Priests serve as qualified workers in the house of God (vs 10-13).
	Levites	Levites as appointed servants of the temple and also gatekeepers (vs 14-27); some of the Levites take care of many pieces of equipment (like the oil, the wine, the furniture, the holy utensils, etc. (vs 28-34).
1 Chron 23	Levites	Levites (38000 in total): of this total, 24000 of them are in charge of the work in the house of YHWH; 6000 will be officers and judges; 4000 gatekeepers; 4000 offer praises to YHWH (23:2-6); Levites are no longer needed to carry the tabernacle; but to assist the descendants of Aaron, including the cleansing of all that is holy; help with the row of bread, the choice of flour…and the baked offering; and they shall stand every morning and evening praising YHWH (23:26-30).
1 Chron 24	Priests/Aaronites	For Aaronites, they have to consecrate the most holy things; their appointed duties are to enter the house of YHWH according to the procedure established for them by their ancestor Aaron as YHWH God of Israel had

[53] The word לוי occurs more than 100 times in Chronicles. According to Kyung-jin Min, Chronicles is one of the books in which the word occurs frequently. See Kyung-jin Min, *The Levitical Authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 65.See also Yeong Seon Kim, *The Temple Administration and the Levites in Chronicles* (CBQMS 51; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2014); Mark Leuchter, *The Levites and the Boundaries of Israelite Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 218-48.

[54] Steven J. Schweitzer, "The High Priest in Chronicles: An Anomaly in a Detailed Description of the Temple Cult," *Biblical* 84 (2003): 388-402 (394). For Schweitzer, the Chronicler's concern here is to identify Zadok with a Levitical heritage.

		commanded (24:1-31).
1 Chron 25:1-31	Sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun[55]	Musicians[56]
1 Chron 26:1-32	Korahites and sons of Merari[57]	Gatekeepers[58] and treasurers
1 Chron 27:1-34	People of Israel, the heads of families; commanders of the thousands and the hundreds; officers	Serving the king (David)

From the above groups, the large numbers of people (mainly from the 3 groups: Levites, Aaronites, others/lay people) who contribute to the service in the temple are clearly identified. The larger complex of 1 Chron 23-27 establishes both priestly and Levitical hierarchy in performing the requisite cultic services. For Schweitzer, these five chapters (23-27) show consistency with the first occurrences of the priestly-related service appointments upheld through the genealogical chapters in 1 Chron 6 and 1 Chron 9.[59]

Notably, the Levites seem to have a lesser honour than the priests, for Levites serve as assistants to the priests in many respects (23:26-30) especially from the view of the cultic realm where priests earn a privileged position at the altar (see table

[55] According to Schweitzer, Heman and Jeduthun appear as Levites only in Chronicles. Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 150, n.43.
[56] Schweitzer refers to Heman the Kohathite and his other 2 relatives (Asaphites and Jeduthunites) as "explicitly of Levitical descent in Chronicles (1 Chr 6:39-47 ET)… who also serve as singers and musicians. See Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 150.. For the Levites as musicians, Adam Welch has long argued that the Chronicler has considered this role as "the peculiar duty and privilege of the entire levitical body." See Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler*, 56-7. If this is correct, then Chronicles shows its specific interest in the roles played by the Levites as well.
[57] In 1 Chr 1-9, Korahites are described by Schweitzer as descendants of Levites via Kohathites as in 1 Chr 6:22 ET); 9:17-27 who "serve as the vast majority of the gatekeepers for the Tabernacle." Here in 1 Chr 26, they are now serving in the temple together with some of the Merarites who are also one of the three sons of the ancestor Levi: Gershom, Kohath, and Merari as recorded in 1 Chr 6:1 ET); 6:16 ET); 23:6. See Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 149-50.
[58] John Wright describes the additional roles of gatekeepers in 3 main areas in Chronicles "(1) the political administration of the state; (2) the administration of temple revenues; (3) the custodian care of the temple." See John W. Wright, "Guarding the Gates: 1 Chronicles 26.1-19 and the Roles of Gatekeepers in Chronicles," *JSOT* 48 (1990): 69-81 (74).
[59] Schweitzer, "The High Priest in Chronicles," 394, n.16.

above). Although Gary Knoppers has interpreted 1 Chron 23:28 differently,[60] the distinction between the level of honourable services of the Levites and the priests is the subject of on-going discussions among scholars of Chronicles, especially focussing on 1 Chron 23-27. The debate turns on the significance of "pro-priestly" or "pro-Levite" literary activity in Chronicles.[61] This division of Levites and priests will be discussed below in the next section.

Like David, Solomon was also engaged in appointing the divisions of the priests and Levites for their service in the temple. According to Jonker, Chronicles wants "to contribute to the discourse on different priestly factions that most probably characterized his own time."[62] This is evident in 2 Chron 8:14 inserted by the Chronicler to its source (1 Kgs 9:10-28). Here, the Chronicler implies the general term עבדת in Solomon's act of installing priests for their service. What is crucial in this narrative is that Solomon assigns daily duties for the Levites, priests and gatekeepers, "according to the ordinance [במצות] of his father David" (2 Chr 8:14a).

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[60] Knoppers has strongly argued that the word ל יד ("to assist") in 1 Chr 23:28a has been misconstrued by many with the understanding that Levites, are subordinated to priests, because they "assist the sons of Aaron." For Knoppers, such wording should be translated as "to help the descendants of Aaron" denoting a sense of proximity with the meanings: "at the side of" or "alongside." This meaning shows Levitical and Aaronic cultic duties as generally complementary. If not, then the Chronicler could have used על־יד as the Chronicler does on many other occasions (e.g. 1 Chr 25:2,3,6; 26:28; 29:8; 2 Chr 12:10; 17:5, 8,16; 21:16; 26:11,13; 31:15; 34:10,17). See Gary N. Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118/1 (1999): 49-72 (59 n.40).

[61] Scholars have discovered this literary dichotomy mainly on the basis of 1 Chr 23-27 and have argued that Chronicles was composed on two main literary layers: priestly and Levitical. On the one hand, scholars (among many) who proposed the pro-priestly composition of Chronicles include Madsen, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 8-10; Paul D. Hanson, "1 Chronicls 15-16 and the Chronicler's Views on the Levites," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, ed. Michael Fishbane and Emmanuel Tov (Winona Lake, Ind.: Einsenbrauns, 1992), 69-77 (75). These scholars have argued that Chronicles was written by a priestly composer or someone from a priestly group and later added to by a Levitical reviser. On the other hand, scholars who projected the pro-Levitical activity are: Adam C. Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd, 1935), 217-39; Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler*, 55-77; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 23-31; Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 152-55. These scholars have proposed that Chronicles was firstly penned by a Levitical writer and later added to by a priestly editor. However most of these pro-Levitical scholars have also proposed that the roles of Levites and priests are placed on equal footing in Chronicles in relation to their roles as servants of the temple.

[62] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 254.

The Chronicler describes Solomon as a faithful servant who follows in the footsteps of his father David by leading all Israel to offer sacrificial worship (2 Chron 1:1-6). In return, God directly grants him wisdom and knowledge as well as honour prior to building the temple (2 Chron 1:7-17//1 Kgs 3:5-29).

Similar to David's and Solomon's assignment of cultic duties, Hezekiah and Josiah also dedicate various services to the Levites, priests and others during the celebration of the Passover. In particular, the references where the noun עבודת (service) appears under Hezekiah's and Josiah's histories are inserted by the Chronicler into his source material (2 Kgs 22-23); and most are obviously cultic services in the temple (2 Chron 29:35; 31:2, 21; 34:13; 35:2, 10, 15, 16).

These two kings (Hezekiah and Josiah) also organize the duties for the priests and Levites to serve in the temple according to the plan already set by David (1 Chron 23:6-24; 24:3-19). To some extent, Hezekiah and Josiah seem to continue the tradition of David and Solomon in promoting the cultic services of various groups. In this way, Hezekiah and Josiah are, in the Chronicles' construction, closely aligned with honourable David and Solomon as faithful servants of God.

Status of Levites and Priests in Chronistic Scholarship

The superior status of priests is not denied in Chronicles, as depicted in their various appointments by both Kings David and Solomon. However, a number of scholars have also viewed 1 Chron 23-27 as advancing a loyal pro-Levitical position. For instance, Williamson believes that Chronicles emphasizes the fact (in contrast with Samuel, for example) that the Levites participate in the temple cult.[63] Based on his exploration of different literary layers of redaction in 1 Chron 23-27, Williamson

[63] H.G.M. Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Courses," in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, ed. J.A. Emerton (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 251-68.

suggests that the Chronicler "wanted to include David's final ordering of the Levites because of their great importance to his overall interests, but he could not find a point at which to fit them smoothly into his narrative."[64]

Schweitzer contends that while the services allocated to priests are indeed superior, those roles are also restrictive, yielding them no extra power over the Levites. Describing the Levites as servants of the tabernacle with the Aaronites who make the offering according to the commands of Moses (1 Chron 6:48-49 ET, 23:13-14, 28-32; 2 Chron 8:14; 13:10; 29:12-16, 21-24; 30:16; 35:11), Chronicles seems to position the Levites as priests "under extreme circumstances."[65] Although some scholars have challenged this view,[66] others hold similar views to Schweitzer's. For example, Kyung-jin Min refers to 1 Chron 23-27 as advancing the status of the Levites compared to the Levites described in P and Ezekiel.[67]

Welch has raised a significant point in favour of Levites:

> There he (the Chronicler) recognized two orders the priests and the levites, but as between the two, he dwelt more largely on the functions of the levites. In his view this order was essential to the temple-worship, because of the relation which it held to the ark… The place of the levites in the sacred service was guaranteed through their relation to this sacred emblem.[68]

Welch also adds that the importance of this role is not only because the Levites are capable of handling it but also because David had appointed them to minister to it when the ark was brought to Jerusalem.[69] The continuation of the ark's journey from David's time to the reign of Solomon becomes the theme of the narrative in 2 Chron 5:2-14, which corresponds closely to the source text in 1 Kgs 8:1-11 with minor

[64] Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Courses," 265.
[65] Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia*, 152-55 (154).
[66] Among many, see, Madsen, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary*; Hanson, "1 Chronicls 15-16."
[67] Min, *The Levitical Authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah*, 50-71. Here, Min refers to Ezekiel as one of the Zadokite priests who describes the Levites as "being demoted and *clerus minor*" in position and function. In Priestly texts (e.g., Num 3:10; 18:1-17; etc.), Levites are depicted as lower clergy and subordinate to priests.
[68] Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism*, 218.
[69] Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism*.

changes. One of these changes is found in 2 Chron 5:4 where "the levites carried the ark" but in 1 Kgs 8:3, it is "the priests carried the ark." With this change, Jonker contends that "the active role of the Levites is therefore emphasized in the Chronicler's version."[70]

Knoppers, Jonker, Williamson, Welch and Schweitzer seem to agree that Chronicles upholds a degree of equality between Levites and Priests.[71] In fact, there are many other texts in Chronicles which favour the Levites (e.g., 2 Chron 20:19-23; 23; 29:5-36; 34:8-14; 36:14), and there seems to be a promotion of Levites to the status of priesthood.

However I suggest that the above texts may not be sufficient to harmonize the different roles of the priests and Levites adequately in Chronicles. Perhaps this problem can be summarized by a literary analysis of Chronicles, which points to two different stands mentioned above: "pro-Levitical and pro-priestly." The recent work of Matthew Lynch also mentions that Chronicles stresses "the *unified* actions of priests and Levites in far too many places to distinguish discrete pro-priestly or pro-Levitical redactions of the book."[72]

Most relevant to our purposes, we may say that all these appointees are deemed honourable (to a lesser or greater degree) not only because they serve in the house of God, but also because their services are clearly appointments by King David, servant

[70] Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 254.
[71] However, Knoppers argued that there are no especially pro-Levitical texts nor pro-priestly texts in Chronicles. As he states "rather, the Chronicler maintains a conciliatory posture toward the two parties." Knoppers' interpretation is based on the whole of Chronicles where there is no competition or hierarchy between the Levites and the Aaronites. See Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors?," 70. In a similar vein, Jonker also suggests that although Chronicles appears to highlight the relevant roles of the Levites, it also identifies the priests who help in carrying the ark of the covenant to its place in the inner sanctuary of the house (2 Chr 5:7). For Jonker, this is an indication that both priests and Levites have consecrated themselves and both have participated in the bringing of the ark to the temple. See Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles*, 254.
[72] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles*, 144. See n.30 for all of his references.

of God (1 Chron 23:2-5; 28:19).[73] Regardless of the scholarly debates on the subject, it seems that Chronicles places emphasis on the idea that those appointed to whatever service, do have honour, even if the precise measure of honour is vague in each case. This is because appointments may come not only as recognition of their previous services and contribution to the community, but also as evidence that they qualify to perform duties alongside the kings of Judah.

Individuals Appointed to Other Services

Native Chiefs/Warriors

As briefly mentioned earlier, Abishai is a native and has strong links to the royal family as King David's nephew; his mother Zeruiah is David's half-sister (1 Chron 2:13-16). He was the most honoured among David's top three commanders. His service included lifting up his spear "against three hundred, he killed *them,* and won a name beside the three" (1 Chron 11:20).

Like Abishai's strong connection to Israel, Benaiah is also mentioned as a son of Jehoiada (1 Chron 11:22//2 Sam 23:20), a descendant of Aaron from the tribe of Levi (1 Chron 12:21) and a very brave man. He was finally honoured among the thirty soldiers of David (1 Chron 11:25//2 Sam 23:23) for his service of striking "down two sons of Ariel of Moab…killed a lion in a pit on a day when snow had fallen; he killed an Egyptian, a man of great stature, five cubits tall." Benaiah also "went against him

[73] Note that Levites in Chronicles enjoy considerable status compared to what we find in Ezekiel (e.g., Ezek 44:10-14; 48:11). Ezekiel portrays Levites being punished for they have gone astray from God. They have special allotments to reside in but their property belongs to the prince (Ezek 48:22). See especially Nathan MacDonald, *Priestly Rule: Polemic and Biblical Interpretation in Ezekiel 44* (Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 38-41; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 658; Min, *The Levitical Authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah*, 55-57.

with a staff, snatched the spear out of the Egyptian's hand, and killed him with his own spear" (1 Chron 11:22, 23).

Abishai and Benaiah's genealogical links are clearly noted in both Chronicles and its sources (2 Sam 23). However, while most commentators have stressed the theme of David as king over all Israel, Chronicles' additions also reflect his emphasis on the importance of service of those who support him. For instance, the Chronistic Abishai and Benaiah are depicted as those who were honoured for their service more than for their blood connection. This is evident from the below-mentioned verses which are copied almost verbatim from 2 Sam 23:18, 23.

Abishai:

> 20 Now Abishai, the brother of Joab, was chief of the Thirty [שלושה]. With his spear he fought against three hundred and killed them, and won a name beside the Three. 21 He was the most *honorable* of the Thirty [בשנים נכבד], and became their commander; but he did not attain to the Three (1 Chron 11:20, 21//2 Sam 23:18, 19).

Benaiah:

> He was *honorable* [נכבד] among the *Thirty* [שלושים], but he did not attain to the Three. And David put him in charge of his bodyguard (1 Chron 11:25//2 Sam 23:23).

Both Abishai and Benaiah are presented as honourable and reliable warriors for David as detailed in the source text (2 Samuel 23). According to Japhet, the word בשנים ("among the two/doubly") in the MT 1 Chron 11:21 (which is omitted by NRSV), stresses "Abishai's superiority to Benaiah."[74] But having been listed as one of the thirty chiefs or mighty men who support David's kingship, Abishai was more honourable as he was "their commander" and Benaiah was also honoured among his thirty bodyguards.

The mentioning of "the most honourable of the thirty" for Abishai and Benaiah shows that Abishai and Benaiah were among many men in military service in support

[74] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 246.

of David. In recognition of their service to David, they were promoted to be commanders. Thus it appears that there were twenty-eight other chiefs who shared chiefly responsibilities with Abishai and Benaiah, and we cannot deny the possibility that these twenty-eight men were also honoured. As noted above, both Abishai and Benaiah are natives with strong Israelite genealogical connections. However, their honourable status was not defined solely by their local standing but also by their service as warriors to David. From Chronicles' literary style, it was their service that granted them their "honourable" status in social settings. Their acts of bravery and commitment to military responsibilities while in service to the king profess their service to God as well, via David as a "servant of God" (1 Chron 17:7, 24; 1 Chron 21:8, 2 Chron 6:16). That is, David's recognition of their commitment to him may also signify God's acknowledgment of their service.

Foreign Chiefs/Warriors

Foreigners in positions of service may have achieved a level of honour similar to native Israelites like Abishai and Benaiah. First among the genealogies is Jarha, not only a foreigner as an Egyptian, but also a slave to Sheshan who has no sons, but only daughters (1 Chron 2:35-36). Sara Japhet reckons Jarha resembles foreigners such as Hagar in Genesis 16.[75] To secure the continuation of Sheshan's genealogical line, he gave one of his daughters Ahlai in marriage to Jarha, by whom she bore him a son named Attai; and Attai became the father of Nathan (vs 36). This Nathan, as Japhet stated, "should be identified with the prophet of David's day" as in 1 Kgs 4:5.[76]

Chronicles notes that despite his father Jarha's foreignness, it was through Nathan that God informed King David that he was not to build a house for God (2

[75] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 84.
[76] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 83.

Sam 7:4; 1 Chron 17:4). One may say that Nathan's service as a prophet, speaking on behalf of God to King David gives him an honourable social position. Also, one of Nathan's sons Zabad was one of David's mighty men who was no doubt honoured for his service as a warrior (1 Chron 11:41).

Unique to Chronicles, Ismaiah the Gibeonite was "a mighty man among the thirty" who served in David's military army (1 Chron 12:4). This is the only mention of Ismaiah in the HB. The historical background of the Gibeonites in 2 Sam 21:2 says that they are not Israelites and similarly, the tradition behind Josh 9:16-20 reveals an oath made by the chiefs of Israel to the Gibeonites: "We have sworn to them by YHWH, the God of Israel, and now we must not touch them" (Gibeonites) (Josh 9:19). Part of this oath allows the Gibeonites to reside in the land of Israel (cf. 2 Sam 21:3-5). It seems that Chronicles has preserved this oath in Josh 9 by mentioning Ismaiah as a foreign Gibeonite, but presented him also as a loyal servant of David, who was later honoured as a mighty man among the thirty.[77] Interestingly, Gibeonites effectively serve "the altar" in Josh 9:27, and the wider community in Josh 9:21. These may be two different views of what might be appropriate service from Gibeonites. Deut 29:11 has strangers doing the same task for the community.

Foreign Kings

It is clear from Chronicles' reiteration of foreign King Huram[78] that his service to Kings David and Solomon was crucial in the temple project. Both Chronicles and its source (1 Chron 14:1-2//2 Sam 5:11-12) introduce Huram's favourable act to David when he sends messengers, builders and carpenters to build the house for David.

[77] Jonker, *1 & 2 Chronicles*, 100.
[78] Note that Chronicles always uses "Huram" (*Qere*): (1 Chr 2:3,11,12; 8: 5; 2 Chr 4:11; 8:2,18; 29:10); apart from "Hiram" (*Kethib*) used in Samuel-Kings (2 Sam 5:11; 1 Kgs 5:1 ET; 5:2 ET; 5:7-8 ET; and so forth). According to Sara Japhet the different spelling is a sign of a different pronunciation of this name in the Chronicler's time, see Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 539.

Here, King Huram's support led to David's confirmation of his kingdom being established by YHWH over "all Israel." King Huram continues his service to Solomon after David in the building of the temple (2 Chron 2:1-18 ET//1 Kgs 5:1-18 ET; 7:13-14). From the house of David to the house of God in Solomon's reign, Huram's service is highly recognized in Chronicles' version and his support for David's and Solomon's building the house of God testifies to his service to the God of Israel.[79]

One change that Chronicles introduced was rephrasing "Blessed be YHWH [יהוה] this day, which hath given unto David a wise son over this great people" (1 Kgs 5:7), as "Blessed be YHWH God of Israel [ברוך יהוה אלהי ישראל], that made heaven and earth" (2 Chron 2:12). This reference to the God of Israel from Huram shows that he is a foreign honourable king in Chronicles' version. Huram's submission to all that Kings David and Solomon required of him provides an indication of his service to the God of Israel via Kings David and Solomon as servants of God. In addition to the examples of cultic and military service, Huram's provision of craftsmen indicate another version of service to the temple.

Foreign Skilled Workers/Leaders

When Solomon requested some skilled workers from King Huram, the skilled worker sent was also named Huram, and has been described in the source as:

> The son of a widow of the tribe of Naphtali, whose father, a man of Tyre, had been an artisan in bronze; he was full of skill, intelligence, and knowledge in working bronze. He came to King Solomon, and did all his work (1 Kgs 7:13-14).

The same skilled worker Huram is described in Chronicles as:

[79] In spite of Huram's service to both houses (David and YHWH), Jonathan Dyck in particular argues that Chronicles seems to place more emphasis on the house of God than on the house of David. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology*, 147-8.

> A skilled artisan, endowed with understanding, the son of one of the Danite women, his father a Tyrian. He is trained to work in gold, silver, bronze, iron, stone, and wood, and in purple, blue, and crimson fabrics and fine linen, and to do all sorts of engraving and execute any design that may be assigned him, with your artisans, the artisans of my lord, your father David (2 Chron 2:13-14 ET).

According to Sara Japhet, the detailed description of the skilled Huram in Chronicles is an indication of how significant Huram's specialised service was for the building of the house of God. Moreover, the double versions of Huram's specialised services in Chronicles and its sources "[are] influenced by those of Bezalel the son of Uri and Oholiab the son of Ahisamach who realized the work of the tabernacle in Exod 35:30-35."[80]

We note from the description of Huram above that although his mother is a native, his father is a foreigner - a man from Tyre. Without a doubt, people like Huram that served King Solomon were honoured for their service in building the house of God despite their foreignness. We know this because of Chronicles' unique addition that Solomon

> …took a census of all the *aliens* [גרים] who were in the land of Israel following the count that David his father had made; and they were found to be one hundred and fifty-three thousand six hundred. Seventy thousand of them he assigned as laborers, eighty thousand as stonecutters in the hill country, and three thousand six hundred as overseers [מנצחם] to make the people work (2 Chron 2:17-18 ET]).

From this unique insertion, we find that from the one hundred and fifty-three thousand six hundred aliens, three thousand and six hundred of them were appointed as "overseers" to set the people to work. Interestingly, it is only in Chronicles that we find the plural form of "overseers" [מנצחים][81] in the HB. Two of these references are unique to Chronicles and are found in the context of Solomon dealing with Huram (2

[80] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 541.

[81] The singular form of this word [מנצח] is prominent in the book of Psalms referring to an overseer as a "choirmaster."

Chron 2:2 ET); 2:18 ET]). Here, aliens [גרים] were not only just labourers, but perhaps extremely skilled workers such as Huram who were also trusted leaders, honoured for their service to the building of the house of God despite their foreign roots.

To summarize, the idea of service regardless of one's genealogy is clearly acknowledged in Chronicles. Indeed, the combined actions of kings and people affirm a "democratizing trend" in Chronicles.[82] As detected mainly by the Chronicler's alterations and additions to his historical sources, the Chronicler presents kings as well as people and princes who act alongside the kings. In this sense, Chronicles is a "democratic" work, portraying the collective participation of kings and people in the cult.[83] Perhaps this combined sharing of tasks is what the Chronicler hopes to introduce to the postexilic mixed community.

The above analysis highlights that one's service, whether as a native or a foreigner, may suffice to grant honour in postexilic settings. Chronicles presents native kings as "servants of God" thus anyone who serves these kings is indirectly serving God as well. Natives (such as Benaiah and Abishai) and foreigners (such as Zabad and skilled Huram) appointed to positions of leadership are honoured because of their specialised skills and commitment to their service.

It is also noted from the analysis that the special appointments made by the kings were of those to work in the temple development project. With some of these appointments being unique to Chronicles' account, it seems that the Chronicler wishes to emphasize the importance of one's service to the temple as the key institution in the postexilic context. That is, anyone appointed by an honourable king to a specialised

[82] Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 417; Kelly, *Retribution*, 236-41; Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology*, 148ff.
[83] Kelly, *Retribution*, 236.

role in the temple is deemed honoured in the "house of God"- a new temple open for all as depicted also in Trito-Isaiah.

The concept of service therefore is presented as a worthy undertaking in defining one's identity and membership in the postexilic community. Chronicles is suggesting that one's service to the community in whatever form or shape may still be continued to apply to the temple as the postexilic image of God among Yehud. This is also the view depicted in Trito-Isaiah where one's service via the temple – native or foreign – is paramount to YHWH. In comparing Chronicles' message of the temple as a postexilic centrepiece to that of Trito-Isaiah's, we hope to understand how honour earned through one's service to YHWH via the temple, is a crucial component of postexilic settings.

Inter-textual Reading: Isaiah 56:3-8

A number of commentators refer to Isaiah 56:3-8 as evidence of a kind of theology found in the postexilic period.[84] There are two specific cases documented in this passage: the case of the eunuch [הסרים]; and the foreigner [בן־הנכר].

The multiple services of eunuchs [לסרים] in keeping the Lord's Sabbath…"who choose the things that please me and hold fast my covenant" (vs.4), would be honoured by God in vss.5-6: "I will give them in my house and within my

[84] G.H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings*, The New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 204; John Gray, *I & II Kings*, Old Testament Library (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1977), 225; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 598. Like Chronicles' inclusive approach, the wide-ranging vision of Isaiah 56:3-8 (and Isa 66:18-24) appears to encounter the various social, economic, political and religious conflicts in the postexilic community. For instance, conflicts between the returnees and people of the land; conflicts between the Judeans and Samarians; and the issue of intermarriage and the "holy seed" as documented in Ezra-Nehmiah. See Christophe Nihan, "Ethnicity and Identity in Isaiah 56-66," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers, Oded Lipschits, and Manfred N. Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 67.

walls, a monument/hand and a name [יד ושם] better than sons and daughters" as well as "an everlasting name" [שם עולם] that "will not be cut off" (vs.6).

Based on the phrase "a monument and a name" [יד ושם] as used in the postexilic context, Francesca Stavrakopoulou describes divine honour/reward as referring to land claims by those without ancestral lands (such as foreigners) or without descendants (like eunuchs) under YHWH's jurisdiction.[85] This land merit according to Christophe Nihan is identified with YHWH's "servants" [עבדים] (vs.6) which allow the eunuchs (as well as the foreigners) to become full non-restricted members of the community.[86]

From a historical point of view, Jacob Wright argues that the eunuchs in Isa 56 "often represent the imperial rule. Similar to Judean eunuchs in the service of a foreign king, the community as a whole was often torn between loyalties to the empire on the one hand and the demands of YHWH on the other." [87] However, by keeping the Sabbath, doing what pleases the deity, and holding fast to the covenant, Isa 56 represents a turn from devotion to empire to devotion to YHWH. With these services, Wright implies that "Isa 56 replaces the imperial palace with the temple and city of Jerusalem as the locus of the *yād wāshēm.*"[88] This new temple is now open wide for anyone including aliens, eunuchs, foreigners, even the "people of the land" who fulfil YHWH's requirements.[89] In total contrast to the unconditional rejection of eunuchs in Deut 23:2-9, Trito-Isaiah clarifies that eunuchs are also welcomed into

[85] Stavrakopolou, *Land of Our Fathers*, 125-26. Also quoted by Brett, "Unequal Terms," 243-57 (248).
[86] Nihan, "Ethnicity and Identity in Isaiah 56-66," 67-104 (83).
[87] Jacob L. Wright and Michael J. Chan, "King and Eunuch: Isaiah 56:1-8 in Light of Honorific Royal Burial Practices," *JBL* 131 no.1 (2012): 99-119 (118).
[88] Wright and Chan, "King and Eunuch," 119.
[89] John D. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, Word Biblical Commentary (Nashville: Nelson Reference & Electronic, 2005), 820; Raymond De Hoop, "The Interpretation of Isaiah 56:1-9: Comfort or Criticism?," *JBL* 127 n.4 (2008): 671-95 (672,679). While Hoop refers to this Israelite community as an open community with YHWH's attitude toward the inclusion of the foreigner and the eunuch, one of the main themes of Isa 56:1-8 is about "YHWH's servants."

YHWH's community. This possibility is conditional on their service in honouring YHWH.

Like that of eunuchs, the commitments of foreigners [בן־הנכר] "to join themselves to the LORD; to minister to him; to love the name of the LORD; and to be his servants" (vs.6); are also honoured by granting [בוא][90] them a place or "holy mountain" in which to reside. Part of this grant includes the acceptance of their burnt offerings and sacrifices in the "house of prayer" (vs.7). Such activities illustrate the higher worship of YHWH in the postexilic period, where all are invited to join in God's community. However, as suggested by Nihan, the main issue here is not just the admission of foreigners (or eunuchs) to the sanctuary but allowing them to serve in it.[91]

The words לשרתו ("to minister to him"), and ואהבה ("to love") are omitted from the Isaiah scroll of Qumran (IQIsa).[92] So although the scribe of IQIsa might have thought of these phrases as repugnant,[93] the LXX version includes all these phrases but with slightly different translations of some words from the MT Isa 56:6.[94]

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[90] Note that in Isa 56:7, the Hebrew verbal root בוא translated here as "to bring" (NRSV) is similar to the verbal root for the word "grant" in Jabez's case in 1 Chr 4:10b.

[91] Nihan, "Ethnicity and Identity in Isaiah 56-66," 77.

[92] IQIsa omits the word לשרתו and also replaces לאהבה ("to love") with לברך ("to bless") the name of YHWH.

[93] John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 460; Joseph R. Rosenbloom, *The Dead Sea Isaiah Scroll: A Literary Analysis; a Comparison with the Masoretic Text and the Biblia Hebraica* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1970), 62-63. Whereas Oswalt does not explain the reason for the omission in IQIsa, Rosenbloom clarifies that the vital omission in IQIsa seems to be the word לשרתו ("to minister to him"). With this specific omission, and with the fact that IQIsa stands without description, it appears that IQIsa holds on to the belief that foreigners, though they might be allowed to take part in the religion of God, they still have limited access to the religious offices of the priesthood.

[94] According to MacDonald, the LXX version translates the word שרת (minister) with δουλευ,ειν ("to serve") instead of the usual λειτουργε,ω; and also translates the word לעבדים ("servants") with δουλους και δουλας ("servants and handmaids"). With these changes in LXX, MacDonald states "since women cannot serve as priests this excluded a cultic understanding of Isaiah 56:6." See MacDonald, *Priestly Rule*, 29, n.91. Also see Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 146-48.

What is relevant here is the repetition of נלוה ("join")[95] in Isa 56: 3, 6. Both MacDonald and Schuele have stressed the significance of נלוה as it is derived from the verbal root לוה which is the basis of the word "Levite."[96] MacDonald identifies the joining of foreigners to the various duties assigned to the Levites in the Tabernacle through a play on the root לוה in Num 18. For MacDonald, "the joining of foreigners in Isa 56 could be understood as a play on this same etymology."[97]

Like MacDonald, Schuele also suggests in relation to Isa 56 that "foreigners were not only to be tolerated in the temple but also allowed to officiate in the role of a Levitical priest."[98] John N. Oswalt's description seems to support the view of MacDonald and Schuele. Oswalt stresses priesthood as a possible place of honour. The key role is being a servant regardless of one's bloodline and is especially motivated by the grace for God's honour (his *name*).[99]

Implicitly agreeing with Wright's argument regarding "people of the land," Clinton Hammock has referred to foreigners as in Isa 56:1-8 as the people of the land who have sought integration into the Judean community by personal choice (converts). Hammock adds that the pairing of the eunuchs and foreigners in Isa 56:3-8 is an attempt to "accommodate social/political realities to assure that the reproduction and the socialization of children can be continued by absorbing the converts into the community as a source of fertility to supplement the non-reproductivity of non-reproducing members, such as the eunuch."[100] Contrasting the proscription of eunuchs

[95] Sommer refers to נלוה ("join") as well as שרת ("serve") as technical terms connected specifically to temple service. See Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 147.
[96] Andreas Schuele, "Between Text & Sermon: Isaiah 56:1-8," *Interpretation* (2011): 286-88 (287); MacDonald, *Priestly Rule*, 27.
[97] MacDonald, *Priestly Rule*, 27.
[98] Schuele, "Isaiah 56:1-8," 287.
[99] Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66*, 460.
[100] Clinton E. Hammock, "Isaiah 56:1-8 and the Redefining of the Restoration Judean Community," *Biblical Theological Bulletin* 30 (2000): 46-57 (50).

in Deuteronomy 23, and the exclusions in Ezek 44:6-16, Nihan in particular argue that Isaiah 56 reuses the language of Ezek 44:6-16 to justify the admission of foreigners into the sanctuary.[101]

A number of commentaries have also acknowledged the close parallels between Isa 56:1-8 and 66:18-24.[102] As these two texts are considered part of later additions suggested by Claus Westermann,[103] the single thread starts with a discourse about admitting foreigners and eunuchs to serve in the Jerusalem temple (Isa 56:3-8). Likewise it concludes by returning to the issue of divine gathering of "all nations" [ת־כל־הגוים)] and "all flesh" [כל־בשר] (66:18-24).

Shalom M. Paul contends that these two passages (Isa 56:3-8; 66:18-24) highlight one of the two parties among the Judeans at the postexilic times, called "the universalists" in contrast to "the pietistic and exclusionary, advocate purity of stock" (as depicted in Ezra-Nehemiah).[104]

From the above scholarship on Isaiah 56, the inclusion of foreigners in the temple services is a central component of the argument. This paints a picture of the temple as an integrating institution, merging all into a unified Judean community despite different ancestral roots. In Trito-Isaiah, a similar concept of service to the temple is relevant to community membership in the postexilic context. As discovered above, this same idea of service to the temple was also specifically included by Chronicles. Although foreigners' temple participation may not be clearly spelt out,

[101] Nihan, "Ethnicity and Identity in Isaiah 56-66," 81; cf. MacDonald, *Priestly Rule*, 26-34.
[102] Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Heaven & London: The Anchor Yale Bible, 2003), 82-84; Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 817-18, 820-21; Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66*, 460-64.
[103] Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1969), 305-08.
[104] Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40-66: Translation and Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2012), 448-49. See also Johannes Goldenstein, *Das Gebet Der Gottesknechte: Jesaja 63,7 - 64,11 Im Jesajabuch* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001), 224-26 (226); Brett, "Unequal Terms," 245.

Chronicles reminds readers of the indirect services of foreigners (such as Hiram) to the temple project. What appears to be common to both Chronicles and Isaiah is the elevation of the temple and all who are involved in its services are linked to it and to each other. Both writers are suggesting that serving the temple – the presence of God among Yehud – is a way forward for the postexilic communities.

Concluding Remarks

Reading Jabez's identity through my Samoan lens of *tautua-mamalu/matai* (service to honour) in light of the whole of Chronicles, it is fair to say that Jabez may have been engaged in any of the above services for him to be regarded as honourable. He could have been: an individual honoured for his military service to the Israelite king and the community (e.g., Abishai); or a foreign king,[105] with honour inherited from his roots (e.g., Huram); or a highly skilled individual who served with integrity in the temple project (e.g., Hiram). If service can yield an honoured status as suggested by Isaiah 56, then genealogy needs not be the sole criterion for receiving divine reward.

[105] This possibility of Jabez being a foreign king, is based on the understanding that the Persian Empire had very local kings, but they were all related to the great king – the Persian king. To consider Yehud as a province ruled by Persian governors, Lisbeth Fried admits that the "Persians utilized local forms of governance and adopted local modes of kingship." With this local governance, the "satraps appointed a temple's chief priests; governors appointed lesser officials." In her description of Persian rulers and local royal court, she states that "during the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, priests of powerful temples delivered up to their Persian conquerors the titles and theologies surrounding their local kings." That means all these lesser positions are appointed by the central administration and are responsible to it either directly to the great king or to his satrap. See Lisbeth S. Fried, *The Priest and the Great King: Temple-Palace Relations in the Persian Empire* (Winona, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), esp. 47,156,179. Moreover, the literary study also reveals that there are "strip kings" [מלכים אפתח] mentioned in Isa 45:1 under Cyrus' rule. In Isa 60:10, foreign kings [מלכיהם] are said to be servants [שרת] in the temple. According to Paul, this foreign participation in cultic service in Isa 60:10 has a similar meaning to Isa 56:6 as well as Isa 66:21. Blenkinsopp has also commented that Isa 60:10 portrays the "theme of reversal of fortune" about the city of Judah. Here, foreigners and their kings "will serve Israel of the future as slaves and serfs, whether as child-minders (49:23), shepherds, and vinedressers (61:5)…." The implication of these texts in Isaiah would be that Jabez would lose his status or honour as a king, and become a menial worker. See Paul, *Isaiah 40-66*, 526; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 214.

A conceptual link between the language of service and honour is affirmed by Isaiah 56, for granting a name [ושם] (vs.3) is effectively granting honour, which may entail a divine reward in land.[106] This connects well with my Sāmoan hypothesis set from the start that Jabez's *tautua* (service) may have earned him both an honourable status and a divine reward of land from the God of Israel. We need not think that Chronicles is citing Isaiah 56, but only that these texts assume a conceptual agreement that service can be linked to honour and to land allocations.

PART B

Jabez Narrative Interpreted from the Sāmoan Context

We discovered from the above study that despite Jabez's undefined genealogical ties, his service may have been the key factor behind both his "more honourable" status and his divine reward of land in postexilic settings. This possibility was generated by an analogy with the notion of *tautua* (service) in the Sāmoan *matai* system (*faa-matai*). That is, *tautua* is the key factor to an individual's honourable status as a *matai* title holder in Sāmoan settings where *matais* are also custodians with authority over *fanua* (customary land) and this cultural background shaped my historical hypothesis for reading Chronicles.

In the language of postcolonial criticism, my approach to aligning Jabez's service and reward with the Sāmoan *tautua* and *fanua* is an attempt to strike the balance between the two horizons (horizons of the text and the reader) and hopefully provide a theological implication to harmonize and/or enlighten the current issues of

[106] Wright and Chan, "King and Eunuch," 102, 109.

landholdings and identity in Sāmoa. While these local issues will be discussed in the next chapter, I focus here on the analogy of *tautua* and biblical service discussed in the first part of this chapter. To fully grasp the basis of *tautua*, it is useful to start with the so-called *faa-matai* (*matai* system) as the context upon which the concept *tautua* is formed.

Matai and the *Matai* system

The word *matai* is the combination of two words: *mata* (literally means "eye") and *iai* (meaning "toward" or "to"). Saleimoa Vaai argues that the designation *matai* could be firstly derived from the concept of "looking toward or up to another." [107] Malama Meleisea provides an alternative definition of *matai* (*mata-iai*) as being "separated," "set apart" or "consecrated." [108] Both of these connotations reflect *matai* as a respectable/honourable and paramount title.[109] It is sacred and hereditary within the Sāmoan traditions.

In its hierarchical social and cultural system, Sāmoa has always been ruled only by chiefs or those bearing *matai* titles (chiefs and orators).[110] *Matai* were often seen as *atua o lalo nei* or earthly gods, as they were the prime rulers of Samoan customary lands. However, the authority of a *matai* over the extended family's land could not be exercised without the extended family's consent, as the land is, by right, corporately owned by the extended family. Such a structure emphasizes groups rather than individual significance.

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[107] Saleimoa Vaai, *Samoa Faamatai and the Rule of Law* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1995), 30.
[108] Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the History of Western Samoa* (Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific, 1987), 7.
[109] The *Matai* title comes in two orders: *alii* (chiefs) and *tulafale* (orators).
[110] Aiono, *O Le Faasinomaga*, 268.

The essence of the Sāmoan structure is fortified by the so-called *faa-matai* or *matai* system. At the national level, the *matai system* is first and foremost Sāmoa's traditional system of government.[111] It is a system that emerged out of the fusion of the family and a hierarchical structure of titles within the local set-up of Sāmoan village life.[112] Faamatala in particular describes this system as "characterized by institutions in which the relationships and interactions of kin and groups are influenced by reference not only to kinship factors but particularly by such considerations as titles, hierarchy of titles, genealogies and honorifics."[113] Thus, the *matai* system governed aspects of the whole of the Sāmoan communal life including *matai* entitlement through either genealogy or honourable service within the family and village. In relation to the *matai's* authenticity over land tenure, the *matai* system is an integral part of the *faa-Sāmoa* (Sāmoan way of life).

In my view, the Sāmoan *matai* is parallel to the native kings and chiefs described in the above sections. All are respectful titleholders and heads of their respective families and communities. Like biblical kings who allocate duties for the temple servants, *matai* are the custodians of family (*aiga*) estates and are responsible for assigning sections of the land for habitation and cultivation by members of the *aiga.* Thus the way to gaining authority over land and means to occupying it is through the *matai* system. It is a system that does not recognise individual ownership as in the European sense.[114] Within the communal framework in Sāmoa, both before and after independence in 1962, the use of land is controlled by *matai*.[115] More importantly, although the *matai* system primarily revolves around genealogy, it is still

[111] Afamasaga Faamatala, "A Changing Fa'amatai and Implications for Governance," in *Changes in the Matai System*, ed. Asofou So'o (Apia: NUS, 2007), 207-28 (208).
[112] Malama Meleisea, "To Whom Gods and Men Crowded: Chieftainship and Hierarchy in Ancient Samoa," in *Tonga and Samoa: Images of Gender and Polity*, ed. Judith Huntsman (1995), 19-36.
[113] Faamatala, "A Changing Fa'amatai and Implications for Governance," 208.
[114] Vaai, *Producing the Text of Culture*, 26-31.
[115] Tcherkézoff, "Are the Matai out of Time?," 113-29 (113).

possible for one to access the land without blood ties. The question arising is: in the Samoan context how does one with no genealogical connections become a *matai* and could therefore acquire land?

There are two formal criteria for accessing *matai title*/land authority in the Sāmoan context. As in any culture, the first way is through the advantage of kinship. Every kin is an heir of a family and is therefore entitled to petition for a *matai* title and land authority regardless of one's place of residence (local or overseas).[116] The different categories of genealogical link would include those who have access to these authorities through marriage and adoption. The second criterion (which is the basis of *matai* entitlement), is service or *tautua*. Peniamina Leota has briefly outlined the different prospects of *tautua* (via adoption/marriage/*tagata ese*),[117] and the values of the *matai* system, such as respect, identity, caring, *pule* (authority), and others, constitute the nature and meaning of *tautua* within the Sāmoan context.

The Concept of *Tautua*

The word *tautua* is made up of two words: *tau* and *tua*. These two words reflect the dynamic meanings of *tautua* in the Sāmoan context. Both *tau* and *tua* have multiple meanings: *tau* literally means "reaching a goal/destiny, fight, close relationship/relatives, and cost; and *tua* literally means: back/behind, backbone, and depending. From these meanings, the word *tautua* can be both a noun (service) and a verb (to serve). All of these meanings are inter-related and they support the one concept of *tautua* within the Sāmoan social, cultural, religious, and family contexts.

[116] Asofou So'o, "More Than 20 Years of Political Stability in Samoa under the Human Rights Protection Party," in *Globalisation and Governance in the Pacific Islands*, ed. Stewart Firth (Canberra: ANU Press, 2006), 349-61 (359).
[117] Leota, "Ethnic Tensions in Persian-Period Yehud, " 14-15.

The prefix *tau* is also interpreted in relation to issues like: satisfaction (i.e., *tau* as reaching a goal); family connections (*tau-* as *tau iai* meaning "relative" whether it is through genealogy or through marriage/adoption); *tau* as a cost of something (whether it is *taugata* (expensive) or *taugofie* (cheap); *tau* as a fight/battle which echoes a reality of commitment and sacrifice. The suffix *tua* can either refer to the back as a place (behind) opposite to the front; or as a "backbone" that holds the whole of the human body upright.

These etymological meanings illustrate *tautua* as a flexible concept that is not confined to a single definition and therefore constitutes different types of services in the Sāmoan contexts:

Tautua toto- serving with integrity until death (i.e., service is costly)

Tautua tuāvae- serving with integrity from behind (i.e., service is obedience)

Tautua upu- serving with integrity of your words (i.e., service is supporting)

Tautua le paō- serving with integrity is a privilege (i.e., service is commitment)

Tautua matavela- serving with integrity of hospitality (i.e., service is giving)

Tautua taumalele- serving with integrity from afar (i.e., service is supporting)

Without dwelling on the negative side of *tautua,*[118] the positive side is mainly determined by the meaning of serving/fighting from behind; a costly act; and a service which involves commitment and sacrifice. Such service is worth to be rewarded and honoured. However, being honoured is not the intention of *tautua.*

[118] For instance, *tautua paō* - serving with grievances; *tautua gutumulu* - serving with self-centeredness; *tautua feau/tilotilo māsae* - serving with a negative attitude; *tautua musuā* - serving without integrity; *tautua faatuāupua* - serving with muttering; *tautua matape'ape'a*/*fia fai mea* - serving with greed/covetousness).

Motivation behind *Tautua*

Despite the fact that any *tautua* would be rewarded and honoured by granting of a *matai* title, and having authority over Sāmoan customary land, the act of *tautua* is never intended for the purpose of gaining higher status. The reason is because Samoan people are born and raised with the idea of service. They are born into an environment where serving others (especially parents) is a part of cultural respect particularly for the elders. Therefore serving others is naturally intertwined within the aspects of the Sāmoan culture.

Within that respectful context, Sāmoan children are said to be seen but not heard. As part of teenagers' primary service (through obedience and respect) in the family setting, they are to be the last ones to have a meal during family dinners or during any formal gatherings. Here, a Sāmoan adolescent's social identity does not reveal him/her as an individual but a communal being whose existence is shaped by the whole *aiga* (family) setting. This service by adolescents in their families would prepare them to serve as *taulealea* (untitled males) to a *matai* – a role where a *taulealea* mainly supports and provides for the *matai.* However, a reward that he/she might get afterwards should never be the motive during their lifetime service.

A *taulealea* who serves only for the sake of *tautua* to be rewarded is embarrassing and this has potentially dangerous ramifications in Sāmoan society. It is called *"o le tautua fia matai"* – service driven with bad motives of wanting to succeed the *matai* title, especially if *tautua* was done within a short period of time. So the right motivation behind the practice of *tautua* can be a caveat against complacency and dereliction. That is, being a *tautua* is neither seeing oneself as someone that will receive rewards nor as a slave or a foreigner. Rather, it is being one

with integrity, where an individual defines himself/herself as the rightful *suli* (heir/seed) to the family's *matai* title.

Tautua as a Collective Identity

Tautua is also a collective identity. It is a communal practice motivated by the need to benefit the community at large. As mentioned above, the family unit is the starting point for *tautua*- from children serving parents and *taulealea* (young man/men) serving a *matai*- to the village setting where *aumaga (*group of untitled men*)* serving the *fono a matai* (village council). *Matai* however can also *tautua* (serve) the village as well as the whole country via a related terminology called *monotaga*.

Monotaga - A Form of *Tautua*

Like *tautua*, *monotaga* is another Sāmoan term attributed to cultural and traditional practices of rendering services by *matai* to the village and to the community at large. Again, it is a practice that is naturally followed by every *matai* within each village whether a *matai* resides locally or in another country. This is done by contributing to the family in Samoa in form of cash (for those residing overseas) or cultural items and foods rendered for customary, traditional, or religious events. According to the Government Electoral Act, this rendering of service or *monotaga* is a must for *matai* not only for their recognition within village affairs, but also in order for them to be eligible as an election candidate (candidacy criteria).[119]

In short, *tautua/monotaga* is a crucial and natural part of Sāmoan *faasinomaga* (identity). One Sāmoan expression goes: *tautua ole puna ole atamai; ma le vaisū ole au taumafai* – translated as "*tautua* is the source of wisdom and is seen as a beauty for

[119] Telei'ai Lalotoa Mulitalo, "Samoa's Constitution- the Limited References to Samoan Custom," *Pacific Constitutions Research Network Conference* (2016).

passionate ones." *Tautua* therefore is socially inspired and its meaning is socially driven. It is a cultural practice that is performed with respect, and is strengthened by the Sāmoan fundamental principle of *va-tapuia* (sacred social space) or *va-fealoai* (harmonious space).

One's place of residence or location is irrelevant to this understanding of *tautua*. Even people who live in a foreign country may render service to families and communities in Sāmoa by sending food, clothing or remittances (or in any other form of material support). Here, a *matai* title may be bestowed on that "distant service" basis. However the actual bestowal ceremony (or *saofa'i)* to officially confer the *matai* title is only done in Sāmoa. Vaai states that this conferring of *matai* titles to migrants in New Zealand, Australia and the United States "is also an adaptation which acknowledges the inevitability of migration and enables Sāmoans overseas to maintain and keep links with home."[120]

But how does this concept of *tautua/monotaga* mean when applied to Jabez? How might it connect to the discussion of honourable Jabez and the issue of landholding and identity? Before answering these questions, I would first briefly acknowledge some analogical works that have been published between *tautua* and some biblical texts by a few Sāmoan scholars.

Tautua Analogies

Recent biblical research by Sāmoan scholars has discussed different aspects of *tautua*. Frank Smith, for example, draws an analogy between *tautua* and Jesus' action of washing his disciples' feet in John 31:1-5. He also compares the theme of Jesus' death

[120] Vaai, *Producing the Text of Culture*, 27.

to other nuances of *tautua* like *tautua toto* (blood service). Although Smith avoids the political side of *tautua* and the negative connotations it sometimes carries, his whole contention seems to be confined to the underlying meaning of *tautua* embedded in the Sāmoan understanding from the start. What is relevant to our purpose from Smith's analogies is his elaboration of *tautua* as an act of "collective good" for the benefit of the community rather than for individual interests.[121]

Like Smith, Vaitusi Nofoaiga identifies *tautua* as a communal and family-based act which is closely related to the Sāmoan notion of *fatuaiga tausi* (family development). Nofoaiga argues that the concept of *tautua* often starts from within the family setting where a *taulealea* (untitled man) *tautua* (serves) his *matai*; and also functions as a valuable part of the sacred *feagaiga* (covenant) between a brother and a sister. Nofoaiga describes this dynamic aspect of *tautua* as *"tautua-le-va"* (service in between spaces), in light of the theme "discipleship" in the New Testament.[122]

This allusion of *tautua* to Jesus' life in service has been considered in the prior work of Ama'amalele Tofaeono. Building on his understanding that Jesus is the *tautua aiga* (family servant), Tofaeono seems to signify the effectiveness and the vitality of the service of Jesus "rather than the ethnicity of the person itself." Such life in service enables Jesus to become a *tautua poto* and a *tautua upu* ("Christ as Word and Wisdom"), according to the Sāmoan perspective.[123]

Exploring analogies between *tautua* and family land tenure, Peniamina Leota mentions three ways of how family land functions in Sāmoa: "status, services

[121] Frank Smith, "The Johannine Jesus from a Samoan Perspective: Toward an Intercultural Reading of the Fourth Gospel" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2010), 216-20.
[122] Vaitusi Nofoaiga, "Towards a Samoan Postcolonial Reading of Discipleship in the Matthean Gospel" (PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2014), chapter 3.
[123] Amaama Tofaeono, "Eco-Theology: Aiga – the Household of Life: A Perspective from Living Myths and Traditions of Samoa" (PhD Thesis, Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 2000), 251-53.

(*tautua*), and the need of each member."[124] Using Leota's description of the third way (the need of a family member), with the example provided, it appears that "service" becomes the most prominent way of all three. Although Leota's description of service is steered by the two local cases of land disputes/rights he discussed, service remains as "the basis of *matai* entitlement." Many of these traditions however have been adapted to accommodate Christian teachings and newer economic issues.[125]

Overall, the above discussions point to the significance of service in Jesus' life from a Samoan *tautua* perspective.

Tautua – A Way to Authority/*Matai* and Landownership

I have briefly discussed one's path to *matai* through *tautua* in the introductory part of this thesis. In extending that argument, *tautua* is seen as a strength/backbone – "a driving force behind the machinery of the *matai* system."[126] One Sāmoan saying goes: *E iloa le matai i le au tautua*, literally translated as "the status of the *matai* or chief is measured by the quality and quantity of service afforded him by those who serve."[127] The measure of *tautua* is therefore performance – "the performance of the *matai* and the performance of those who serve him/her."[128] Crucially, this understanding is maintained and carried on, even up to this date, by the following Samoan prominent proverbs:

a. *O le ala i le pule o le tautua,* translated as "the essence of Samoan leadership/authority/power is service." Here, *pule* (authority) refers to a *matai's* authority over family affairs and landholdings and it is bestowed or given only to those who earn it. Whereas Risatisone Ete contends that such

[124] Leota, "Ethnic Tensions in Persian-Period Yehud, " 14.
[125] Leota, "Ethnic Tensions in Persian-Period Yehud, " 14-16.
[126] Vaai, *Producing the Text of Culture*, 31.
[127] Mamea, "Pacific Leadership," 153-172, esp.160.
[128] Mamea, "Pacific Leadership," 160.

pule is never to be questioned or challenged,[129] Loretta Mamea argues that "*pule* is not inherited automatically." A leader or a *matai* should be selected based on performance or merit and "to be an effective leader is always to be in the service of others."[130] Thus one is honoured for what he/she may have done for the benefit of the community, family and the country. This shows the authenticity of merit (achievement) as well as heredity and natural talents as a form of *tautua,* and the title is granted for anticipated recognition of both past and future services. The realization and confirmation of such anticipated recognition is guaranteed by the next Sāmoan proverbial saying:

b. *Tatou te au uma ile tauola e au foi ile fagota*- which literally translates as "we all get to bear the fish basket, as well as become the fisherman, too." With this saying, *tauola* refers to the carrier of the fish basket; where the prefix *tau* here means "carry" (as *tau*ave or *tau*soa) and the suffix *ola* refers to the oval basket woven especially to carry fish. In reality, this saying is derived from the context of fishing. The fisherman (*fagota/tagata fagota*) often walks ahead of the basket carrier (*tauola*) along the beach during fishing. While the fisherman attends to fishing, the basket bearer is supposed to observe closely, for some time in the future he too will become a fisherman.

The above Sāmoan sayings are mostly used by Samoan orators in the context of *tautua* leading to leadership or *matai* succession. Taken together, *tauola* is equivalent to *tautua*- a service from behind (which often carries aspects of respect and patience); and *fagota* corresponds to respectful *matai* (who are laden with elegance, authority

[129] Risatisone Ete, "Ugly Duckling, Quacking Swan," in *Faith in a Hyphen: Cross-Cultural Theologies Down Under*, ed. Clive Pearson and Jione Havea (North Parramatta NSW: UTC Publications, 2004), 43-48 (46).
[130] Mamea, "Pacific Leadership," 320-21.

and superiority). From a Sāmoan view, both *taulealea tautua* (untitled Sāmoan servant)//*tauola* (basket bearer) and *matai*//*fagota*(fisherman) are presented as *tautua* (servants) serving the family and village community. Traditionally, the imperative of *tautua* highlighted in both sayings is the formal criteria for receiving a *matai* title. What is guaranteed in both sayings is the security of succession and reward for being a loyal basket bearer or for serving with integrity (*tautua faamaoni).* The reward is achieved when a *tauola* becomes a *fagota/tagata fagota;* and *taulealea* becomes a *matai*.

Hence, having discovered all these aspects of *tautua*, we may conclude that *tautua* is the key pathway to be honoured as a *matai* regardless of one's gender and ethnicity. Despite the fact that such practices of *tautua* today often conceal political and economic interests, I argue that *tautua* from the start has been an open cultural concept that allows natives and foreigners (especially those with a foreign honourable status) to serve and become *matai* with authority over customary lands. I will explain this line of argument in the following section.

Tautua – A Cultural Remodification

The Sāmoan way of life is dynamic rather than static and is always undergoing changes to cater for all Sāmoans – locals and foreigners. Likewise, *tautua* is one aspect of the Sāmoan life that is subject to modern change. This point is guided by the understanding in the famous Sāmoan saying: *e sui faiga ae tumau faavae* – which roughly translates as "practices may change but the foundations remain rooted." This saying is often quoted by Sāmoan orators when acknowledging many modern changes influencing the Sāmoan culture (Sāmoan way of life) today. Indeed, genealogy is seen as the normal avenue to receiving a *matai* title. *Tautua* as another way is also known as *faiga* (practice) defined through services including monetary donations, and help

given in many forms by both Samoans and non-Sāmoans. Although genealogy remains a fundamental factor in determining access to *matai* title and land ownership, *tautua* is an alternative that also grants one the same access. Put simply, *tautua* represents the flexibility of certain aspects of Samoan *faa-matai* system as a response to change and adaptation needed for its continuity.

For instance, with extensive international mobility among the Samoans, the honour of a *matai* title and the respect associated with it has been shared even with some *palagi.*[131] This is in recognition of their *tautua* (service) and contribution to the Sāmoan community.[132] This directly reflects the traditional understanding of the *matai* title as honour bestowed because of one's service to the community. In that regard, *tautua* qualifies even a foreigner to be a rightful heir (*suli*) to a *matai* title. Based on the subdivision of *suli* (heir) in the Sāmoan context, one is allocated to foreigners depending on their performance or *tautua* (service) or to the so-called *suli tupea or suli tagata ese* (foreign heirs).[133] By all means, the chance for foreigners to become *matai* was already in the Sāmoan system under the category of *suli-tupea*. The basis of this heir entitlement is only through service.

Hence necessary adjustments made to the *matai* system via *tautua* and the current Sāmoan perspectives towards foreigners seem to be a process of remodification. The *matai* title is not a restricted privilege reserved only for

[131] The word *palagi* literally means "bursting of sky" and is often given to the so-called "white people" who are coming into Sāmoa from afar or from nowhere. It also refers to the European way/foreign way of life to the Sāmoan culture.

[132] Among many foreign *matai* are: *Tupai* Murray McCully (NZ Minister of Foreign Affairs); *Tupua* Ban Ki-moon (Secretary General of UN); *Amomuaaletuimanua* Pascal Lamy (Director General of WTO); *Toleafoa* Joseph Blatter (President of FIFA); *Tauaaletoa* Len Brown (NZ Political Mayor); *Tupuivao* Steve Hansen (NZ All Blacks Head Rugby Coach. For more, see *www.3news.co.nz*/general/foreigners-receiving-samoan-chiefly-titles.

[133] There are different kinds of *suli* (heirs) in Samoa: *suli tupolata* or *suli moni* (heir through genealogy); *suli sa'otā* or *suli tamafai* (heir through adoption); *suli tupolo* or *suli faiava/nofotane* (heir through marriage); *suli tupea* or *suli tagata ese* (heir through service).

Sāmoans.[134] Rather, it is open to include *matai tagata ese* (foreign *matai*) in accordance with their *tautua*.

Jabez as a Sāmoanized *Matai*

The earlier part of this thesis investigated how the Chronicler may have employed available materials and ideas (Priestly/non-Priestly and Deuteronomic), and reinterpreted them to shape his message. In a similar manner, issues of identity and debates about landholdings have been subjects of serious debates in Sāmoa, as Sāmoans – both local and abroad, struggle to redefine their existence in the wake of colonisation. Kruse-Vaai states:

> Samoa has been described as a modern society and nation which asserts a dual motivational goal - a desire for modern material goods and services as well as maintaining traditional values and customary ways which have also changed with the demands of time and necessity.[135]

In welcoming the *palagi* ways, Sāmoan traditional values such as communal land holdings and customary ways such as the *matai* system have practically undergone changes over time, including accommodating Christianity. The same analysis can be applied to the respectful transition of honourable aspects of *matai* (as *atua o lalo nei*) to Sāmoan *faifeau* (ministers) as *auauna a le Atua* (servants of God).

Locating Jabez in the current Sāmoan context discussed above, he can be seen as either a native *matai* (*matai* Sāmoa) or a foreign *matai* (*matai tagata ese*) who serves with integrity for his spiritual *matai* – the God of Israel. The conceptual connection between service and honour discovered in Isaiah 56 informs my argument that Jabez can be seen as a Samoan *matai*. Perhaps Jabez's service earned him that

[134] Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel, "Land, Custom and History in Samoa," *The Journal of Samoan Studies* 5 (2015): 22-34.
[135] Vaai, *Producing the Text of Culture*, 30.

honourable status and hence became eligible to land ownership granted by God. That is, as a Sāmoanized *matai*, Jabez is honoured as a *suli tupea* (heir through service) from the standpoint of Sāmoan hermeneutics.

Conclusion

Although *tautua* remains a strong prerequisite to gaining a *matai* title today, the inclusion of God as the *matai* authority-giver is also clearly recognised in Sāmoa. Like Jabez calling on the God of Israel, a Sāmoan *matai* today may call on God to bless their role as both an honourable leader in his/her *aiga* (family) and also as someone who has been entrusted with responsibilities of oversight for the *aiga* communal landholdings. Accordingly, Sāmoans have redefined their *matai* role – not just someone honoured for his/her *tautua* and service rendered, but also as someone sanctioned by God to become a chief and a custodian over his/her family land.

CHAPTER 7

HERMENEUTICAL RELEVANCE IN SĀMOA

This thesis so far has employed a multidimensional or *soalaupule* approach where I have used various methodologies to discover my own interpretation of the Jabez narrative.[1] I have engaged in discussions of the Chronistic key themes and issues of major concern as the Israelites reformulated their identity during the postexilic period. A literary approach has been used in analysing the literary features (form/genre) found in 1 Chron 4:9-10.

In analysing the style and purpose of the text, it was necessary to reach out to other canonical texts (such as Genesis and Isaiah) for inter-textual comparison. My critical understanding of what lies behind the text has been informed by a historical-critical approach to the whole of Chronicles taking into consideration its original historical setting which provided the context for the Chronicler's audience during the Persian period. A sociological approach has been applied as well, led by social identity theory to explore how an individual (such as Jabez) may have developed his/her identity and sense of belonging in relation to other groups.

This chapter will make use of a sociological approach once again to bring forward issues of land and identity in Sāmoan hermeneutics through discovering possible analogies between the Chronicles text and contemporary Sāmoa. Aided by a multidimensional understanding of Jabez thus far, as well as my Sāmoan background, the analogies between the two will enrich both the way we read biblical texts and how those readings might relate to contemporary Sāmoan theological and/or political

[1] See the Introductory section of the thesis (especially p.6, n.19) for the definition of *soalaupule* in relation to multidimensional approach.

engagements.[2] Highlighting postcolonial readings of the two contexts, the fusion of both horizons will shed light on social changes in Sāmoa that have been introduced in the name of Christianity.

I have mainly focused my argument on the possibility that Jabez is a foreigner despite the narrative's puzzling location of him among the genealogies. Although a literary approach revealed no direct linguistic connection between the terms "honour" and "service" in Chronicles, I have investigated the proposal that service is one possible mode for one to be honoured. My hermeneutical suggestion here was that the Sāmoan notion of *tautua* (service) can illuminate the new concept of service in postexilic times, a concept which even included foreigners, as clearly outlined in Isa 56:6-8. This is also implied in Chronicles as I have shown. The inclusive message that even foreigners might "serve YHWH" is in line with my understanding of *tautua* or service in the Sāmoan culture where even a *tagata ese* (foreigner) may qualify to be a *matai* - an honourable head of the *aiga* and the trustee of all *aiga* (family) lands.[3]

In my view, *matai* as a cultural identity was reshaped during the colonial period in Sāmoa to accommodate the coming of Christianity. This gave rise to the formation of a new identity called *faifeau* (pastor) where an individual cannot be both a *matai* and a *faifeau.* As a *faifeau* myself,[4] my interpretations are confined to the experience

[2] My implication of the word "analogies" here suggests a two-way influence in both worlds (Samoan and Chronicles). That is, the treatment of Jabez in Chronicles as a whole can shed light on Samoan issues of *fasinomaga* and *fanua;* and vice versa, employing the Samoan notion of *tautua* to interpret Jabez honourable status.

[3] Aiono Fana'afi, "Western Samoa: The Sacred Covenant," in *Land Rights of Pacific Women* (Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific, 1986), 103-110 (103).

[4] My *faifeau* status is granted for my *tautua* to CCCS as a lecturer in Malua Theological College. I do not serve as a village minister or *fa'afeagaiga*. Although my argument throughout this chapter is regarding *faifeau* identity and their reconnection to land after their service, there is neither an aim nor an intention from me to pursue this research to personally benefit from it.

of being a *faifeau* within my own church - Congregational Christian Church Sāmoa (CCCS).[5]

The *faifeau* identity is fundamentally shaped by his *lotu* (church) constitutions and protocols, and guided by the individual's *tautua* to God. Though they are separate roles, *matai* and *faifeau* function side by side in *faaSāmoa* under the umbrella of *E va'ava'alua le aganuu ma le talalelei* (Christianity and the Sāmoan culture co-exist). Identity changes in the *matai* roles may be expected from a sociological point of view, where the notion of identity is seen as dynamic rather than static, and hence our identities are always in the process of developing and changing in the acknowledgement of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group.[6]

Thus in this chapter, I want to explore the *matai* identity reformation and how this has impacted on issues pertaining to land and wider issues of identity in Sāmoa. This task will be informed by an analogical interpretation of Chronistic themes in light of the Sāmoan context. In doing so, I will first revisit the effects of the arrival of Christianity - how it was integrated into *faaSāmoa,* before highlighting some major by-products of this integration process.

Saluting Universal אלהים as *Atua o* Sāmoa

Sāmoans, as with other Pacific countries, were polytheistic people who worshipped many local gods (*atua*) and were heavily engaged in the notion of *tapuaiga* (or silent

[5] Note that the church has been known by the name "London Missionary Society" (LMS) but the General Assembly in 1961 decided to change the name to CCCS (or in Samoan, EFKS). See *The Constitution of the Congregational Christian Church Samoa*, ed. General Assembly (Fono Tele) (Apia: Malua Printing Press, 2016), 4.

[6] Jon L. Berquist, "Constructions of Identity in Postcolonial Yehud," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Indiana: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 53-66 (63). Berquist refers to this dynamic processes as "identity formation."

worship). [7] The compound word *tapuaiga* is made up of *tapu* (sacred/boundary/limitation) and *aiga* (family/household). The act of *tapuaiga* starts within family circles. According to Ta'isi Efi, *tapuaiga* is core to Sāmoan identity and it involves prayers and meditating to their local family gods for protection and blessings. Without this, "the traditional foundations of Sāmoan culture become untenable and easily replaced."[8] Sāmoans' strong belief in and fear of their gods maintains order in the society and adds dignity to their culture. John Williams states:

> From what we could learn the Samoans have no Idols, but pay some kind of worship to some invisible spirits. Moso was said to be the chief of these spirits. It is only in case of sickness, etc., that they trouble these spirits with their prayers. Pigs, vegetables, cloth mats, etc., were the articles presented to these divinities.[9]

Although Williams's observations make sense to some degree, most Sāmoans believe that pre-Christian Sāmoans worshipped many local spirits and gods. For instance, Tu'u'u argues that there were local gods who were actually accessible in human form and that humans themselves would traverse between the heavens and earth, under the aegis of the supreme god *Tagaloalagi*.[10] The local gods acted as custodians, and held great *mana* and created sacred (*tapu*) boundaries and blessings because of their shared divinity with *Tagaloalagi*.[11]

Sāmoans believe that the official arrival of Christianity in 1830 was the fulfilment of a prophecy: *tali i lagi sou mālō* (await your share from the heavens) by the war goddess Nafanua.[12] This share or *mālō* (kingdom) implies that Malietoa's

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[7] George Turner, *Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before* (Teddington, Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2006), 13-5; Malama Meleisea, *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa* (Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific, 1987), 35-8.
[8] Efi, "Whispers and Vanities," 1-23 (4).
[9] John Williams, ed. *The Samoan Journals of John Williams*, ed. Richard M. Moyle, vol. 11 (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1984), 83.
[10] Tofaeono Tu'u'u and Misilugi Tulifau, *Supremacy and Legacy of the Malietoa (Na Fa'alogo I Ai Sa-Moa): History of the Sa-Moa Islands* (Wellington: Tuga'ula Publication, 2002).
[11] Efi, "Whispers and Vanities," 4-5.
[12] Liuaana, *Samoa Tula'i*, 1; Meleisea, "To Whom Gods and Men Crowded."

share of Sāmoa's political government (or "the authority of conquerors") would eventually come from heaven.[13] Sāmoan legends tell us that when the paramount chief Malietoa Fitisemanu asked Nafanua for a share of Sāmoa's political authority she replied that all jurisdictions had been appropriated and he would have to wait for his turn from heaven. According to Meleisea, this share was fulfilled with the arrival of the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1830 which is the beginning of the modern epoch (or the time of enlightenment) in Sāmoan history.[14] Christianity came while the paramount chiefs were at war over who was to be the next paramount *tupu* (king) who in turn would have more land acquired and attached to their title. Various interpretations from historical points of view focus on Malietoa's political motives attached to his welcoming of the missionaries.[15] For instance, Meleisea states:

> The rapid acceptance of Christianity was probably due to competition among the highest ranking chiefs for a new source of sacred power but the results of Christian teaching were that the sacred powers which had been attributed to them and which were largely the source of the political authority of these chiefs, were weakened.[16]

This political explanation is different from another approach that focuses more exclusively on religion. One Sāmoan church historian and theologian, Lalomilo Kamu argues that Samoans adopted Christianity based on their existing traditional belief system and *tapuaiga*, thus the belief in one superior Being was not foreign to the Sāmoan people.[17] Kamu also emphasises the open and dynamic nature of Sāmoan religion and the ability of the Sāmoans to identify old religious concepts with those of the new religion. He added:

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[13] Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 13, n.237; Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 57-8.
[14] Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 13.
[15] Henry C. Ide, "Our Interest in Samoa," *The North American Review* 165/489 (1897): 155-73 (169).
[16] Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, 13.
[17] Lalomilo Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel* (Apia, Samoa: Dona Lou Kamu, 1996), 8.

> The more I understand the pre-Christian concept of God as revealed by the creation myths … the firmer I am convinced that essentially we are talking about the same God in whom the Christians believed.[18]

In my view, the changeover of Sāmoan *tapuaiga* was supported by a famous Sāmoan saying: *e sui faiga ae tumau faavae* (practices may change but the foundations remain rooted) as mentioned in the previous chapter. Given the Sāmoans' commitment to *tapuaiga* and their warfare at the time, perhaps they viewed the universal God אלהים of the *palagi* as new but above the local gods based on their first impressions of the missionaries. Malietoa saw the Christian God as a new horizon for their current situation.

Just as Chronicles utilizes the divine name אלהים as a major tool to develop the theme of inclusiveness in the postexilic context, early missionaries introduced the God of Israel as better, and superior to the local gods.[19] The foreignness of God אלהים was not an issue from the Sāmoans' perspective but their main interest was aimed at God's ability to intervene with solutions of peace. Chronicles' idea of an inclusive אלהים with Jabez calling on the God of Israel for land demonstrated a refined image of YHWH to the postexilic Israelite mixed communities – a God who values worship and service above genealogies and foreignness. Similarly, the coming of אלהים at a time of local civil wars in Sāmoa not only introduced a united *tapuaiga* to the one God and peace among the people, but also prepared them for the social changes that followed in their ways of *tapuaiga.*

[18] Kamu, *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel*.
[19] Williams, ed. *The Samoan Journals of John Williams*, 68.

A Redefined *Matai*

Discussions in the previous chapter point to the *matai* system as the backbone of the *aiga* organisation and the landholding system. *Matai* was the leader and driver of *tapuaiga* in both *aiga* (family) and *nuu* (village) settings.[20] The *aiga's matai* title is originally derived from a name of a memorable founding ancestor(s) of the *aiga* who left the memory of specific genealogies and history of family events. Everyone belongs to an *aiga* and everyone has links to at least one *matai* name. The *nuu* community is shaped by the *matai* system, which revolves around the notion of belonging where no one is left out; everyone knows their position in the *nuu*, and their function therein is defined by where they belong both in the *aiga* and *nuu* as a whole. Knowing your position in the *aiga* and *nuu* settings is the integral part of Sāmoan *faasinomaga* (identity); it indicates "identity which enables the placing of the person within his or her genealogical context and associated villages and land sites."[21]

The collaborative functioning of the *aiga* and *nuu* are very much guided by *fa'aaloalo* (respect) and *va-fealoa'i* (harmonious space). These Sāmoan virtues maintain good relationships between individuals and groups in families and villages. This is also crucial in a Sāmoan perception of *matai*, not only because of their connection to the god *Tagaloalagi*[22] but because *matai* were also classed as *atua o lalo nei* or earthly gods – a power given to them by *Tagaloalagi* as they were the prime rulers of Sāmoan customary lands and leaders in Sāmoan societies, supported

[20] Raeburn Lange, *Island Ministers: Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2005), 79.
[21] Vaai, *Producing the Text of Culture*, 25.
[22] Serge Tcherkézoff, "Culture, Nation, Society Secondary Change and Fundamental Transformations in Western Samoa: Towards a Model for the Study for Cultural Dynamics," in *The Changing South Pacific Identities and Transformation*, ed. Serge Tcherkézoff and Françoise Douaire-Marsaudon (Canberra: ANY Press, 2008), 245-301 (254). Here, Tcherkézoff refers to *Tagaloalagi* as "both the pinnacle and the origin of the *matai*."

by their ancestral and genealogical links.[23] So the *matai* were viewed as highly *sacred* representatives of the ancestors whose names became the title passed down in the family.

One paramount role of the *matai* in both his/her *aiga* and *nuu* was to be in charge of *tapuaiga* (worship). In fact all *matai* were also believed to be sacred as they were regarded as priests and prophets of local gods. Lange states:

> The *matai*, led household worship, ensured that the family gods were honored, and could express their will: he was thus not only a chief but also a priest and a prophet. Beyond the household, village gods, too, were served by the *matai*, but sometimes also by an identifiable class of practitioners known as *taula aitu* (literally, "anchors of the gods"), who were not necessarily male or of chiefly rank.[24]

Sāmoans worshipped their gods in small houses or "the founding houses of the *matai* names" in each village or "village *malae.*" George Turner states that:

> There was a small house or temple consecrated to the deity of the place... Some settlements had a sacred grove as well as a temple where prayers and offerings were presented.[25]

For most Sāmoans, every house was a potential temple and sacred place for offerings and prayers to their deity.[26]

With the advent of Christian beliefs, this pre-Christian perception of *matai as* earthly gods was reformatted to include God, giving birth to the interpretation of *matai* as "*Na tofia e le Atua Sāmoa ina ia pulea e matai"* (God chose Sāmoa to be sanctioned by *matai*). The insertion of God as the approving power behind the *matai* marks a new way forward for Sāmoa's *matai* system – rather than under the guidance of *Tagaloalagi* and local gods, it is now under the authority of God. Though the *matai*

[23] Aiono, *O Le Faasinomaga*, 23.
[24] Lange, *Island Ministers*, 79.
[25] Also quoted by Lowell D. Holmes, "Cults, Cargo and Christianity: Samoan Responses to Western Religion," *Missiology: An International Review* VIII, no. 4 (1980): 471-87 (474).
[26] Tcherkézoff, "Culture, Nation, Society," 245-301 (267, 270).

system remains functioning as the core of *faaSāmoa* (Sāmoan way), the universal God has now penetrated the *faaSāmoa,* slowly but surely reshaping its course.

With the redefinition of the *matai* being subject to God's authority, the family *tapuaiga* today is now focused on God, and the *matai* may still conduct it in the *aiga* circles. However, the act of worship in the *nuu* has been removed from the *matai's* responsibility and a new role of the *faifeau* has emerged as a more qualified person to perform this duty.

The Emergence of *Faifeau*: A Reformulated *Matai*

The word *faifeau* itself is made from two words: *fai*, "to do" and *feau*, "a task, or occupation." *Faifeau* [27] were originally *palagi* missionaries who worked for evangelization in Sāmoan villages. Latai mentions that when Malietoa Vainuupo (Malietoa Fitisemanu's son) died in 1841, "he gave his honorific title of *susuga* as well as *ao o faalupega* to the pastor. These titles were high honours which led to the increasingly high status of the pastor in Sāmoan society."[28]

Not long after, native Sāmoan men soon joined and trained as *faifeau* who modelled the *palagi* missionaries and their service to God. As they worked alongside their *palagi* supervisors, they soon became honoured in village settings as they were seen as the more educated natives equipped with the new knowledge of the *palagi* teachings.[29] *Faifeau* were identified by the London Missionary Society (LMS) as

[27] According to the dictionary compiled by the missionary Pratt, the LMS word for teacher is translated as *faifeau* in the Samoan language. The meaning of *faifeau* relates to the verbal meaning of the word "apostle" as in the New Testament as "to go on a message" or as in "being sent." While Pratt also translates the word *faifeau* as *auauna* ("servant or minister"), John Williams refers to *faifeau* as *tama failotu* or "worker of religion" which refers to "teacher of religion" from the LMS views, see Pratt, *Grammar Dictionary*, 127; Williams, *The Samoan Journals of John Williams*, 140.
[28] Latu Latai, "Covenant Keepers: A History of Samoan (LMS) Missionary Wives in the Western Pacific from 1839 to 1979" (PhD thesis, Australian National University, 2016), 50 n.57.
[29] Lange, *Island Ministers*, 91.

"Sāmoan teachers" and were assigned by the LMS to their stations in villages up until 1875 when the first ordination of *faifeau* Sāmoa took place.[30] Since then, the *tofi* (status and identity) *faifeau* was afforded a highly dignified position in Sāmoan society. This was not only due to the Sāmoan society's high regard for one's *tautua* to God, but also by the bestowal of the titles *susuga* and *ao o faalupega* to *faifeau* by Malietoa. Meleisea stated:

> The sacred power of the old chiefs was transferred to the pastor who was given the chiefly form of address 'Susuga'. (Catholic priests are addressed as 'Afioga'.)[31]

Though the title *susuga* was bestowed on *faifeau,* the title is still used for many *matai* titles even today. This supposedly equates the *faifeau* hierarchical social level to that of a *matai* but in reality, *faifeau* is often upheld to be higher than *matai* in most formal Sāmoan settings.[32] An example of this is the *ava* ceremony where the *faifeau* are served first before *matai*. Whilst engaged in missionary work, two major conditions for the *faifeau* roles were defined by the Church protocols and Lange states:

> Early in the history of the mission, it was established that teachers would not be appointed to their home villages: they came to their new stations as strangers and were given the hospitality that Samoan custom prescribed for that status. The mission's desire to keep the teachers free from customary requirements for involvement in their own community similarly lay behind the early recommendation, made compulsory in the LMS after Malua training began, that *faifeau* should not hold *matai* titles. Without land, kin, a chiefly title or even the rights of an ordinary villager, the *faifeau* nevertheless acquired status in his adoptive village.[33]

Not only did *faifeau* work as *tagata ese* (strangers) in their new stations away from their village of origin, but they were also required not to hold *matai* titles. Meleisea also provides another reason behind the removal of the *matai* titles from *faifeau* - to

[30] Lange, *Island Ministers*, 91.
[31] Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 69.
[32] Meleisea, "To Whom Gods and Men Crowded," 19-36 (33).
[33] Lange, *Island Ministers*, 98.

avoid a conflict of interest and also to keep them sacred from being involved with village political issues:

> Most missionaries made a determined effort to avoid direct involvement of their church. They sought a peacemaking role when possible. This often placed chiefs in a terrible dilemma, because their traditional obligation was to go to war, and their Christian duty was to promote peace. This was one reason why pastors and catechists were asked not to take matai titles; they had to remain neutral in political and military conflicts.[34]

By the 1880s, the LMS adopted the "call system," after the first ordination of Samoan *faifeau* in 1875.[35] The system works in such a manner that after ordination from Malua Theological College, a *faifeau* awaits a calling to the ministry from a *aulotu* (village/congregation). The calling was often seen as a divine call to elect a *faifeau* whom the local congregation believed would best serve the village's spiritual needs. With this understanding, the Sāmoans saw their church as a village-based community institution with local representatives dispersed throughout the land. [36]

The entry of the *faifeau* into that institution through his adopted congregation/village was seen as a lifelong commitment. An official *feagaiga* (covenant) between the *faifeau* and the congregation is initiated during a special service called "*osiga feagaiga"* (ritual of initiation). From this ritual, the initiation of the *faifeau* involves the bestowal of another status *fa'afeagaiga* (to become covenant). As part of the social cultural obligations, each of the *faifeau's* family and the new *aulotu* provides one good and finest quality *ie toga* (fine mats).[37] These two *ie toga* are called *ie ole feagaiga* (covenant fine mats) symbolizing the life-long covenant (*feagaiga*) between the *faifeau* (and his immediate family) and the *aulotu*. The *aulotu*

[34] Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 69.
[35] Lange, *Island Ministers*, 97-8. For the call system, see Ronald James Crawford, "The Lotu and the Fa'asamoa: Church and Society in Samoa, 1830-1880" (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1977).
[36] Lange, *Island Ministers*, 82-83,91.
[37] Note that the qualities of *ie toga* in Samoa resemble the idea of respect, prestige, gratitude, obligation, recognition and the like. Meleisea describes *ie toga* as a "material symbol of chiefly attributes and were prized accordingly," See Meleisea, "To Whom Gods and Men Crowded," 28.

(congregation) is now obligated to serve and protect the *faifeau* and his family as part of their covenantal responsibilities.

Meleisea pointed out that the term *feagaiga* is granted because of the *faifeau's* covenant with the village, and in recognition of the covenant between God and man.[38] Taking a more traditional interpretation, Aiono Fanaafi contends that the Sāmoan notion of the *feagaiga* between the *tuafafine* (sister) and *tuagane* (brother) relationship has been used as a model for the *feagaiga* between the *faifeau* and *aulotu.*[39] Here, the *faifeau* is equivalent to the sister and the *aulotu* is translated as the brother, hence the *faifeau* becomes the *fa'afeagaiga* and is now gifted with *ie toga* (fine mats) and foodstuff. The *tuafafine-tuagane* covenant expects the brother to serve, respect and honour his sister in his lifetime. As a brother, the *aulotu* is now responsible for the *faifeau* and his family's welfare in most aspects of their living in their adopted village.

Despite the above comparison seeming to be an anomaly, the *fa'afeagaiga* status comes with the *faifeau's* expected religious responsibilities among his *aulotu.* His main role is conducting *tapuaiga* services in his adopted village, as well as *tapuaiga* in his congregation family on special occasions such as weddings and funerals. The role as leader in *tapuaiga* was previously part of *matai* responsibilities in his *aiga/nuu* but now becomes a duty of the *faifeau.* Ideally, the *faifeau-aulotu* relationship poses an *aiga* setting with the *faifeau* as the *matai* and leader. His

[38] Meleisea, *Lagaga*, 69.

[39] Fana'afi, "Western Samoa: The Sacred Covenant," 104-05; Also see Latai. "Covenant Keepers;" and Aiono, *O Le Faasinomaga*. In Samoan culture especially in its moral ethos, the concept *feagaiga* (covenant) is used mainly in two contexts: (1) in a brother and sister relationship; and (2) a village and pastor relationship. In the first one, the brother calls his sister a *feagaiga* within a defined respectful and honourable protector and guardian relationship. Such an image can be summed up with the expression: *o le tuafafine o le mea uliuli i le mata ole tuagane* (translated as "the sister is the pupil in her brother's eye"). Likewise in the second one, the villagers refer to their pastor as a *feagaiga* or *faafeagaiga*. The villagers ought to serve and protect the pastor and his family. Both *feagaiga* are honourable and sacred at the core.

adopted *aulotu* now becomes his new *aiga,* his new *nuu* and his new land – an arrangement held in place by the *feagaiga.*

Since the 1990s, the *feagaiga* was revised and lost its lifetime duration but becomes void once the *fa'afeagaiga* reaches the pension age of 70.[40] Though the *feagaiga* status terminates at this point, the *faifeau* once again changes title from *fa'afeagaiga* to *faifeau malolo* (retired pastor). His *tautua* as a servant of God in the adopted village ends but his *tofi faifeau* remains attached as part of his identity.

Faifeau as Fa'afeagaiga and Tagata ese

While *faifeau* is being actively upheld as *fa'afeagaiga,* he is at the same time also called *tagata ese* (foreigner/stranger), an outsider from the *aulotu's* perspective. This *tagata ese* identity is based on the understanding that the *faifeau* is not a local member of the village that called him (as mentioned earlier on). Despite a *feagaiga* being in place, the *tagata ese* perception of the *faifeau* and his family remains strong as an honoured status for someone that gave up his *aiga* to serve God elsewhere.

This shifts the basis of the relationship from one of *matai-aiga* to that of the *palagi* idea of an employer-employee contract and the roles are reversed: the *aulotu* is the employer with the power to terminate their contract with the *faifeau* as their employee.[41] Both frameworks of *matai-aiga* and employer-employee contract have the *aulotu* as one with power to end the *feagaiga.* This makes the *feagaiga* a misleading concept in this case. If the *feagaiga* was modelled using the sister-brother ties, the *faifeau* as *fa'afeagaiga* must be the one the *aulotu* commits to serve, respect

[40] EFKS, *The Constitution*, 2.
[41] The model of employer-employee contract has also been fully discussed by Sadat Muaiava. See Sadat Muaiava, "The Samoan parsonage family: The concepts of feagaiga and tagata'ese," *Journal of New Zealand & Pacific Studies* (2015): 73-83.

and honour for the *faifeau's* whole life. However in both models, the *feagaiga* becomes just a process to officiate the integration of the *faifeau* in the *aulotu.*

In my view, the *faifeau* pastor or minister is one with a hybrid or hanging identity – his *tagata ese* title pronounces him an outsider while *fa'afeagaiga* upholds him as a local. He is neither in nor out of the adopted village, while also being disconnected from his *aiga, fanua* and genealogical *matai* system. He is neither a *matai* nor a *palagi* missionary but one that represents the colonial fusion of the two identities, moulding *talalelei* and *aganuu* as co-existing contexts. Despite his hanging identity, he remains highly regarded in Sāmoan society, not for his titles but more for his *tautua* to God [אלהים].

Faifeau **and** ***Tofi*** **Identity**

As mentioned elsewhere, the standard measure for entitlement to a *matai* title is through *tautua.* What is crucial here is that a right to title as well as a right to land accentuates *tautua* rather than an ancestral and genealogical link. According to Ta'isi Efi, "land *tua'oi* (boundary) or land connections and inheritance (*tofi*) of Sāmoa are recognized in national, district and village honorifics. Land boundaries define the *tofi*, as the land inheritance portion of a people."[42] Together, lands and titles "are core to our Sāmoan culture; to our *faasinomaga*, and our designation as Sāmoans. They are what make us Sāmoan. Without them we lose our designation as Sāmoans."[43]

[42] Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi, "Samoan Jurisprudence and the Samoan Lands and Titles Court; the Perspective of a Litigant," in *Su'esu'e Manogi: In Search of Fragrance: Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi* ed. Iuogafa Tuagalu, Tofilau Nina Kirifi-Alai, Tamasa'ilau M. Suaalii-Sauni, and Naomi Fuamatu (Apia: National University of Samoa, 2009), 153-172 (158).
[43] Ta'isi, "Samoan Jurisprudence," 170.

As we can see, the word *tofi* refers not only to land inheritance but also to one's identity. *Tofi* tells of one's right to ritual or cultural specificity with regards to *matai* (chiefly) titles and land ownership. *Tofi* also refers to one's ranking or position in family, village, district and national settings such as *tuagane, matai, faifeau, faipule,* etc. It is also used to tell of Sāmoans' connections to Sāmoa as in the saying: *O Sāmoa o lo matou tofi mai le Atua* (Sāmoa is our God-given inheritance). The word *tofi* is often used interchangeably with *faasinomaga* (designation). Simply put, a crucial aspect of one's Sāmoan identity is his/her position or role in social settings. This identity speaks highly of his/her connection to land as *tofi* inheritance.

Two points I want to stress here: first, Sāmoans today often refer to land as their *tofi* from God. The reference to God here presents God as the landowner and *faa-matai* as the land-ownership system secondary. Second is that with the *faifeau's* hanging identity, his connection to land as *tofi* inheritance in the adopted village is not clearly defined whether by customary law or church regulations. Theologically, we may see a question arising here as whether God [אלהים] as landowner underwrites the *faifeau's* right to both lands – that of his *aiga* and his adopted village. In my opinion, *feagaiga* as defined by the *tuagane-tuafafine* model marks *faifeau* as one with access to land in his adopted village. Unfortunately this is not currently the case in Sāmoa, since a retiring *faifeau* has no land rights in his adopted village. When it comes to land, the *faifeau* reverts to his *aiga* land, or that of his wife, as his rooted *faasinomaga.* He is to return to his *aiga* to reconnect with his *aiga* land or that of his *faletua* (wife).

Viewing Jabez as *Faifeau*

The definition of *faifeau* as *tagata ese* highlights a possible parallel for Jabez in *faaSāmoa.* In Jabez's prayer, an obvious difference was noted in the application of רבה in that only the Chronicles text is concerned explicitly with land whereas רבה/multiply in Genesis refers to people. The linking of רבה to both land and people may be well understood in the Sāmoan context since an individual's identity is shaped not just by one's social setting in a community of people, but more so by one's land connection. The Sāmoan *faasinomaga* (identity) marries the two together: one's social group *aiga* and land *fanua* are inseparable components of *faasinomaga*.

As suggested earlier, Chronicles' consistent employment of אלהים presents God as universal, not bound to Israel alone but being open to all. This goes well with the universal language of blessing in Genesis (mainly in the creation story in Gen 1: 1-2:3; the flood story in Gen 6: 9-22; 7:13-16a; 9:1-17; and the post-flood genealogy in Gen 11:10-26); where P has depicted אלהים as the creator and sustainer of the universe.[44] This language of blessing bridges the gap between the past and present history where God has blessed all the families of the earth.

This universal blessing depicted in Genesis has been utilized by the Chronicler to shape an individual's identity in postexilic terms and allows space for foreigners to find *tofi* among Israelite natives – where all are equally blessed. The justification for foreigners' land claims, like those of Jabez, would most likely be based on their service to a universal אלהים rather than a national YHWH for natives alone. The existence of *faifeau* as a *tofi* among the *faaSāmoa* is translated as a God-given *tofi*

[44] Cf. "אלהים of Israel: Who are the אלהים" as in Chapter 4 above.

(inheritance) via the coming of Christianity. The *faifeau's* honour and prestige is very much owed to the *palagi* missionaries and their presentation of God.

The *faifeau's* role of *tapuaiga* leader, one he acquired from the *matai*, means people view him as a *tamā faa-le-agaga* (spiritual father) and a *sui va'aia o le Atua* (representative of God). From the village point of view, the *faifeau* is the one who mediates between the village community and the divine giver of all life's blessings. The *falesā* (temple) now becomes the centre for *tapuaiga* rather than the *fale* (house) or village *malae.* His *tofi faifeau* allows him to perform his religious duties among the *nuu* (village). Though not strictly confined to the *falesā,* he may also join in other *aiga* worship if invited. The *falesā* represents Christianity among the people with the *faifeau* serving God. In effect, the *pulega ali'i ma faipule* (village council or village land keepers) in a *nuu* is what the *faifeau* relies on for peace-keeping and running of the *nuu.* The authority of the *pulega ali'i ma faipule* is normally the driving force behind moral rules that the *faifeau* proposes be exercised in the *nuu.*

Aiono suggests that Christianity's continuation in Sāmoa has been largely due to the Sāmoan culture which centres around *matai*-ship.[45] This upholds the immense role that *pulega ali'i ma faipule* plays as the driving force behind the continuation of Christian teachings in Sāmoan village settings. Although he teaches and preaches, the *faifeau* relies on *pulega ali'i ma faipule* to support his function within the *nuu.* This again points to the mix of Sāmoan culture and biblical teachings as expressed by Toleafoa Afamasaga: *e tua le talalelei ile aganuu, e tua foi le aganuu ile talalelei* ("Samoan culture with values and practices rooted in pre-Christian Samoa is today the acknowledged partner and pillar of the Gospel)."[46] A crucial part of the co-existence of Christianity and culture is that they function for the maintenance of each other.

[45] Aiono, *O Le Faasinomaga*, 268.
[46] Afamasaga M. F. Toleafoa, "Taxes, Death and the Clergy," *Samoa Observer* 2017.

This view implicitly agrees with one of Chronicles' themes which is: the connection between kingship and temple is crucial because without the kingship's authority – native and/or foreign – the survival of the temple is not guaranteed.

The *bit ritti* land might be seen as analogous here.[47] It is understood that there is land allocated for *faifeau* residence and *falesā* in a village, however ownership of that land belongs to the *aulotu.* If viewed from the lens of God as landowner, the *faifeau* is guaranteed land via his *tautua* through the temple.

The claim that the God of Israel [אלהי ישראל] is the ultimate landowner is one major conclusion from the study of Jabez. Opposite to the story of Ahab and Naboth (1 Kgs 21:1-4) as discussed in chapter 4 above, I have argued that the Chronicler's purposes for the story of Jabez were: first to argue against D's violent methods of land acquisition; and second, to provide an alternative access to land via divine land ownership rather than just through inheritance/genealogy. The Chronicler seems to emphasize the additional border given by divine intervention through prayer as the most honoured way toward land acquisition in the postexilic context.

The postcolonial Sāmoan claim of God as landowner may appear to appropriate everyone in the *aiga's* fair portion of land as *tofi* inheritance. Even those with a "hanging" identity like the *faifeau,* the claim of God as landowner may grant the *faifeau* a right to land in both his adopted village and his *aiga.* His access to land here is supported by his *tautua* to God via his *tofi* as *faifeau.* But problems arise with covenantal access to land as soon as the *faifeau* retires.

To read Jabez from a Sāmoan perspective, his access to land via honourable *matai* is clearly defined given the reality that the right to title and hence land is made possible by one's faithful *tautua.* Viewing Jabez as a *faifeau* or a *fa'afeagaiga* would

[47] See chapter 4 above where the concept *bit ritti* refers to temple land or crown land in the Persian social context.

imply that his entitlement to honour is granted through *susuga* title, all in the name of his *tautua* to God. But his land connection and reconnection respectively during and after his *tautua* are unclear. I argue that the term *feagaiga* modelled from the European idea of employer-employee contract may have confused the understanding of where *faifeau* identity actually lies – in the village he serves or in his *aiga.* As argued, *feagaiga* as defined by the *tuagane-tuafafine* model marks *faifeau* as one with access to land. But this is not the case in Sāmoa, since the retiring *faifeau* has no land rights in his adopted village. In terms of biblical hermeneutics, the *faifeau* is usually a גר (someone from another kinship group/village) rather than a נכרי (a non-Israelite). By implication, a retired *faifeau* who ends up living on freehold land has moved his status from גר to נכרי.[48] Perhaps the model of Jabez's land granted by God in acknowledgement of his *tautua*, most likely regardless of his genealogical ties may provide an alternative solution for landless *faifeau*.

Conclusion

The *faifeau's* land links are dependent on his dual titles of *fa'afeagaiga* (or to be like a covenant) and *tagata ese* (foreigner). *Fa'afeagaiga* is supposedly his permanent connection to the village he serves but *tagata ese* marks him as a foreigner to that village at the same time. What remains unresolved is that when the *faifeaus'* service in the ministry is ended at age 70, their connection to their customary lands remains

[48] Many *faifeau* today however choose to buy freehold land as it gives them the independence away from extended families when they retire. After residing away for many years, they become alienated from their own village. Freehold land gives them ownership and a sense of belonging away from both their adopted village and their original *aiga.* If their connection to their adopted village land was clearly defined as part of their cultural *feagaiga* perhaps freehold land would have never become a solution for many *faifeau.*

detached due to the two conditions set out by the church protocols: they work as strangers in villages not their own; and they do not hold any *matai* title. When retired, they are immediately disconnected from the *bit ritti* in the adopted village since the *feagaiga* with them is voided. They are however expected to reconnect with their original *aiga* land or that of their *faletua* (wives). But the reconnection of a pensioner *faifeau* to the *aiga* lands is tied down to the conjunction of the *matai* of their extended *aiga* since the *feagaiga* that kept them linked to the adopted village is voided.

Just as one qualifies to a *matai* title through service to the extended family and in turn may have authority over land, my hermeneutical argument is that a *faifeau's tautua* to God even in a village not his own, should qualify him to acquire land in the village he serves although the *feagaiga* stands in opposition to this. In this way, he may have the option to choose to return to his *aiga*, or to reside on land set aside by his adopted village for retired *faifeau*. This would be consistent with my comprehensive reading of the Jabez narrative in Chronicles.

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