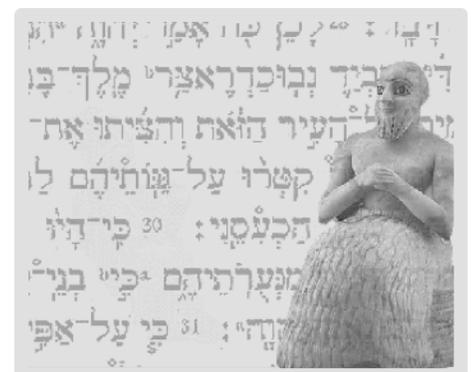


Identity Coherence in the Chronicler's Narrative: King Josiah as a Second David and a Second Saul

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INTRODUCTION*

The Book of Chronicles contains copious variations when compared to the text of the Deuteronomistic History (DH).¹ Among these variations is a subtle difference found in the Josiah narrative where the text reads that “the Passover had not been observed like this in Israel since the days of the prophet Samuel” (2 Chr 35:18) in contrast to the more generic phrase of “the judges who led Israel” (2 Kgs 23:22). While there may be debate concerning the Chronicler’s reliance (or non-reliance) on the original text of the DH, the inclusion of the specific name of Samuel is located precisely at a major transition within the Chronicler’s Josiah narrative.² Indeed,

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¹ For example, see I. Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005). For a text-critical study see S.L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler’s Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985).

² This study will be taking a final form approach based on the MT of Chronicles as well as Samuel and Kings. For text-critical studies involving the Old Greek versions of Chronicles, see the 2-volume treatment by L.C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text* (VTSup, 25, 27; Leiden: Brill, 1974); the Klein/Allen and Williamson/Begg debates: L.C. Allen, “Further Thoughts on an Old Recension of Reigns in Paralipomeni,” *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968), 483–91; R.W. Klein, “New Evidence for an Old Recension of Reigns,” *Harvard Theological Review* 60 (1967), 93–105; idem, “Supplements in the Paralipomena: A Rejoinder,” *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968), 492–95; C.T. Begg, “The Death of Josiah in Chronicles: Another View,” *VT* 37 (1987), 1–8; H.G. Williamson, “The Death of Josiah and the Continuing Development of the Deuteronomic History,” *VT* 32 (1982), 242–48; idem, “Reliving the Death of Josiah: A Reply to CT Begg,” *VT* 37 (1987), 9–15; as well as Z. Talshir’s text-critical treatment of the source formula

the mention of Samuel distinctly links Josiah literarily to not only David, but also Saul. While the literary links between Josiah and Saul (as well as David) have long been noted by scholars, the social memory associated with the mention of Samuel, accessible through “textual identities,” adds considerable rhetorical weight to the Chronicler’s narrative, thus aiding readers in a greater understanding of the self-understanding of the community of Persian Yehud.³

The rhetorical weight of the Chronicler’s Josiah narrative is heightened all the more by the notion that the highpoint of the DH can be seen in the *inclusio* contained in Josiah’s reign in 2 Kgs 23:25, which states that, “Before him there was no king like him, who turned to the LORD with *all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his might*, according to all the law of Moses; nor did any like him arise after him” (cf. Deut 6:5; emphasis mine).⁴ With such praise

contained in 1 Esdras (“The Three Deaths of Josiah and the Strata of Biblical Historiography [2 Kings xxiii 29–30; 2 Chronicles xxxv 20–25; 1 Esdras i 23–31],” *VT* 46 [1996], 213–36). For heuristic purposes, the term “the Chronicler” will be utilized throughout this work, though it is noted that the identities involved with, as well as various nuances elicited by, the diachronic composition of the Book of Chronicles remains to be settled. For studies engaging diachronic correspondences between the books of Chronicles and Samuel, see, for example, the compendium of essays in U. Becker and H. Bezzel (eds.), *Rereading the Relecture? The Question of (Post)chronistic Influence in the Latest Redactions of the Books of Samuel* (FAT, 2nd ser., 66; Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 2014). In terms of dating for the Book of Chronicles, I follow the majority of scholars placing the work in the Persian period. Cf. M.J. Boda, *1–2 Chronicles* (Cornerstone Biblical Commentary; Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House, 2010), 8, who cites a range of 425–250 BCE; also, G.N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles: 1–9* (AB; New York, NY: Doubleday, 2003), 116, who allows a range of dates from “the late fifth century through the mid-third century.”

³ L.C. Jonker (“Who Constitutes Society? Yehud’s Self-Understanding in the Late Persian Era as Reflected in the Books of Chronicles,” *JBL* 127 [2008], 703–24 [704]), for example, has made the point that analyzing *textual identities* can provide “new avenues for the description of the processes of identity formation in Second Temple Yehud as witnessed in, for example, the books of Chronicles.” Jonker has provided several treatments and explanations for his understanding and application of “textual identities.” See, for example, L.C. Jonker, “David’s Officials According to the Chronicler (1 Chronicles 23–27): A Reflection of Second Temple Self-Categorization?,” in idem (ed.), *Historiography and Identity (Re)formulation in Second Temple Historiographical Literature* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 65–92; idem, “Of Jebus, Jerusalem, and Benjamin: The Chronicler’s Sondergut in 1 Chronicles 21 against the Background of the Late Persian Era in Yehud,” in P.S. Evans and T.F. Williams (eds.), *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 81–96; idem, “Textual Identities in the Books of Chronicles: The Case of Jehoram’s History,” in G.N. Knoppers and K.A. Ristau (eds.), *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 197–218.

⁴ Cf. M.A. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel*

lauded on a king of Judah it is not surprising that the reign of King Josiah, as recorded in the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible (OT/HB), has been the focus of a myriad of scholarly treatments.⁵ What is surprising, however, is the means through which the Chronicler has elaborated upon the death of Josiah, which only amounts to a brief summary in the DH (2 Chr 35:20–25 // 2 Kgs 23:29–30). As a result of the divergent narrative, Josiah is related through distinct literary parallels to previous “evil” kings. These parallels include being wounded by archers in a similar manner to the “unfaithful” King Saul (1 Chr 10:3 // 2 Chr 35:23) as well as disguising himself in the manner of the “evil” King Ahab (2 Chr 18:33 // 2 Chr 35:22). As such, Josiah is placed directly alongside the Chronicler’s exemplars of bad kings.⁶ But for what purpose? Why is the greatest king of the DH associated, via distinct literary techniques, with the worst kings in the Chronicler’s representation? To be associated with the death of “unfaithful” Saul and “evil” Ahab, whom are paradigmatically portrayed as the worst kings (cf. 1 Chr 10:13–14; 2 Chr 21:6, 13; 22:3, 4, 7, 8) rather than with a more righteous death such as Solomon (for whom the narrator entirely lacks a death narrative, cf. 2 Chr 9:31), leaves the laudable Passover celebration Josiah enacted (2 Chr 35:1–19) on negative grounds.⁷ Such a portrayal leads Mark J. Boda to comment that “with such high praise heaped upon Josiah at the close of the Chronicler’s account of the Passover (35:18), it is quite surprising that he presented this final tragic chapter of Josiah’s reign.”⁸ Indeed, as Steve Delamarter stresses, “Such an ignoble end to such a righteous reign needs an explanation.”⁹ By determining Samuel’s social identity in the Chronicler’s narrative an additional perspective is provided to

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4.

⁵ See the bibliographies, for example, of H.-S. Bae, *Vereinte Suche nach JHWH: Die Hiskianische und Josianische Reform in der Chronik* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005); A. Laato, *Josiah and David Redivivus: The Historical Josiah and the Messianic Expectations of Exilic and Postexilic Times* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1992); and Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah*.

⁶ Not only does the Chronicler assess every king as to “doing good” or “doing evil” in the ascension formulae, but through the repetition of the *leitwort* מעל (“unfaithful”) makes explicit claim to the negative features of certain kings’ reigns (cf. 1 Chr 5:25; 9:1; 10:13; 2 Chr 26:16; 28:19, 22; 29:19; 30:7; 36:14).

⁷ Cf. L.C. Jonker, *Reflections of King Josiah in Chronicles: Late Stages of the Josiah Reception in 2 Chr 34f* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003), 32, who states that “additionally, the elaborate description by the Chronicler of Josiah’s campaign against Pharaoh Necho of Egypt and the circumstances of the king’s death (2 Chr 35:20–24), provide a false note at the end of King Josiah’s reign.”

⁸ Boda, *1–2 Chronicles*, 420.

⁹ S. Delamarter, “The Death of Josiah in Scripture and Tradition: Wrestling with the Problem of Evil?”, *VT* 54 (2004), 29–60 (30).

resolve the apparent paradox of why Josiah, an otherwise righteous king, is recorded as succumbing to such an unrighteous death.

A. JOSIAH AS A SECOND DAVID AND SECOND SAUL

The Chronicler's narrative of Josiah's reign can be conveniently divided into three major sections: Josiah's Reforms (2 Chr 34:3b–33), Josiah's Passover (35:1–19), and Josiah's Death (35:20–27). For the most part, scholars agree that Josiah's Passover was positive and reflects well upon the king, whereas his death provides a more negative reflection.¹⁰ In the more positive narrative leading up to and surrounding Josiah's Passover there are several literary links tying David and Josiah together. For one, Josiah “walked in the ways of his ancestor David” (2 Chr 34:2) and in his eighth year as king, he “began to seek the God of his ancestor David” (34:3).¹¹ While it is common for the kings in the DH to be compared to David, the same is not true of the Chronicler. Rather, the only kings that are referenced to following (or not following) David's ways are Jehoshaphat, Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Josiah.¹² That Josiah is twice referred to “his ancestor David,” only serves to heighten the association.

¹⁰ Cf. R.W. Klein, *2 Chronicles: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2012), 523, who states that Josiah's Passover was “done on the right day and in precisely the right way”. C. Mitchell (“The Ironic Death of Josiah in 2 Chronicles,” *CBQ* 68 [2006], 421–35 [431]), in an attempt to portray Josiah's entire reign, including the Passover celebration, in negative terms, nonetheless admits that she is writing contrary to “the vast majority of commentators, both ancient and modern.” Arguably, the fullest treatments of Josiah's Passover, from a literary perspective, are provided by Jonker (*Reflections of King Josiah in Chronicles*) and K.A. Ristau (“Reading and Re-Reading Josiah: A Critical Study of Josiah in Chronicles,” [M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 2005]), both of whom state the positive aspects and the central place of Josiah's Passover within the Chronicler's narrative. Ristau's subsequent essay (“Reading and Re-Reading Josiah: The Chronicler's Representation of Josiah for the Postexilic Community,” in G.N. Knoppers and K.A. Ristau (eds.), *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009], 219–47), though focusing more specifically on Josiah's death than Passover, substantiates much of his prior study.

¹¹ While L.C. Jonker (*1&2 Chronicles* [Understanding the Bible Commentary Series; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2013], 288) has made the point that the variation between the phrase in 2 Chr 34:2 and the DH, which cites that Josiah followed “*all* the ways of his father David” (2 Kgs 22:2; emphasis mine), seeks to distance the association between Josiah and David (for the Chronicler does not leave David wholly unblemished), there is, nonetheless, an association maintained that continues throughout the narrative that reflects positively on Josiah, especially where the temple cultus is involved.

¹² Citations comparing kings to David are: 1 Kgs 11:4, 6; 14:8; 15:3, 11; 2 Kgs 14:3; 16:2; 18:3; 22:2; 2 Chr 17:3; 28:1; 29:2; 34:2, 3.

Among the comparisons, Josiah also “appoints” the priests to their offices and speaks to the Levites, telling them to “put the holy ark in the house . . . [for] you need no longer carry it on your shoulders” (2 Chr 35:3).¹³ This is reflective of what David had said to the Levites, “the Levites no longer need to carry the tabernacle or any of the things for its service” (1 Chr 23:26). David then continues to tell the Levites (twice) to “assist the descendants of Aaron for the service of the house of YHWH” (23:28, 32). During Josiah’s Passover, they were told to make preparations by ancestral houses “following the written directions of King David of Israel and the written directions of his son Solomon” (2 Chr 35:4). As well, the singers, the descendants of Asaph, were in their place “according to the command of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and the king’s seer Jeduthun” (35:15). Ultimately, all the service of YHWH was prepared “according to the command of King Josiah” (35:16), which is reminiscent of David’s ordering of Levites, by division, and ensuring the house would be provided for (1 Kgs 23:27).

King Josiah becomes a sort of hybrid king according to this narrative. Just as Josiah is linked to David in the first part of the narrative, so too, is Josiah linked with Saul in the narrative surrounding his death. Christine Mitchell, for one, presents explicit literary relationships between Josiah and several previous “bad” kings such as Saul, Ahab, Amaziah, and Ahaziah.¹⁴ One of the clearest linguistic connections among these relates Josiah to Ahab, whereby both kings “disguise” themselves (תחפש) as they enter into battle (2 Chr 18:29 // 2 Chr 35:22).¹⁵ As Sara Japhet suggests, King Ahab is set in a balanced position with King Jehoshaphat in the narrative including both kings.¹⁶ Any superiority between the kings suggested in the account in 2 Kings is no longer present in the Chronicler’s account. The similarities between Josiah’s death and King Ahab’s are symbolic of the equality of the kings (i.e.,

¹³ This, indeed, is an odd command, for the ark, after Solomon’s reign, is already in the house (cf. Jonker, *1&2 Chronicles*, 293). Klein (*2 Chronicles*, 509) absolves this (without further comment) by translating the passage as “Since the holy ark has been brought”. However, for the purposes of this study, the literary relationship tying this command directly to David is paramount; the location of the ark, per se, is secondary.

¹⁴ Mitchell, “The Ironic Death of Josiah,” 431–34.

¹⁵ The other explicit linguistic relationship between Josiah and Ahab is the identical החליתי (“I am wounded” Hofal Perfect first person singular), which only occurs in the Hebrew Bible in these two narratives; however, a relationship to Saul is not entirely excluded in this case either for he, too, is noted as being חל.

¹⁶ S. Japhet, *I and II Chronicles* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 758–59. Cf. also, R.J. Coggins’ (“On Kings and Disguises,” *JSTOT* 50 [1991], 55–62 [60]) assertion that the use of “disguise” is attributed to kings that are of an “unacceptable” line in the eyes of God, certainly in the DH accounts.

Josiah is not so superior to Ahab), but even more importantly further connects Josiah, literarily, to the original king of Israel, Saul.¹⁷ For even the act of Ahab disguising himself parallels that of Saul when he “disguised” himself (תחפש) in seeking the female medium at Endor in 1 Sam 28:8. This linguistic parallel directly leads to the appearance of Samuel—providing yet another literary relationship between Saul, Samuel, and Josiah, who himself heeded the prophetess Huldah. As such, the parallel with King Ahab serves to intensify the relationship between Josiah and Saul. Mitchell states as much when she says, “the patterning of Josiah’s death on the death of Ahab links Josiah’s death with the death of Saul in both 1 Samuel 31 and 1 Chronicles 10.”¹⁸ The similarities between Saul and Josiah can further be seen by the use of similar terms within both pericopae. The scene involving Saul is entirely surrounding his death at a battle (1 Chr 10:1–14). Similar references in both narratives (set within battle scenes) include “archers” (היורים) and similar Hebrew roots: ויחל and החליתי (1 Chr 10:3; 2 Chr 35:22–23). In comparing these terms, Robert Alter suggests that narrative art can be created through similar Hebrew roots apart from a strict semantic association.¹⁹ Although in this instance, the semantic association between the two uses does seem related, nonetheless.²⁰

What, perhaps, is of the most interest in the Saul narrative is the lack of מאד in the Chronicler’s account of Saul when it says

¹⁷ Further studies concerning the relationship between Josiah and Ahab, especially their “Israelite” identities, are certainly warranted (as well as other kings that Josiah’s narrative parallels such as Asa, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Amaziah, Joash, Hezekiah), however, the linguistic connections between Josiah and Ahab’s narratives seem to point most clearly, and add considerable weight to, the relationship of Josiah and Saul. This connection can be further seen in light of the Chronicler’s “missing” narratives involving Saul / Samuel, which, in many ways may be accounted for by the “silences” found within post-traumatic societies, though such analysis is beyond the scope of the current study. Cf. D. Janzen, *The Violent Gift: Trauma’s Subversion of the Deuteronomistic History’s Narrative* (New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2014).

¹⁸ Mitchell, “The Ironic Death of Josiah,” 422.

¹⁹ R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1981), 95.

²⁰ Cf. BDB (297, 2b) which lists “be in severe pain” for חול as used in 2 Chr 10:3; also, DCH (3:212): חיל, “be in pain.” For text-critical alternatives, see H. Bezzel, “Kleine, feine Unterschiede: Textvarianten in der Saul-überlieferung als Zeugnisse theologisch orientierten Sprachbewusstseins?,” in J. Thon, G. Veltri, and E.-J. Waschke (eds.), *Sprachbewusstsein und Sprachkonzepte im Alten Orient, Alten Testament und Rabbinischen Judentum* (Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte, 30; Halle: Martin-Luther-Universität, 2012), 121–42 (135–36); idem, “The Numerous Deaths of Saul,” in C. Edenburg and J. Pakkala (eds.), *Is Samuel Among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 331.

that “the archers overtook him, they wounded him” where elsewhere a mostly literal reproduction from 1 Sam 31:3 is made which says that “the archers overtook him and they wounded him critically.” The “missing” מֵאֵד in Saul’s narrative in Chronicles, in fact reappears in Josiah’s narrative at the exact same moment of the narratives: in Josiah’s woundedness in 2 Chr 35:23 where the text reads, “Archers shot King Josiah, and he said to his officers, ‘Take me away for I am badly wounded.’” The association between Saul and Josiah draws a direct link to the assessment of both kings, at this moment, being “bad.” Robert Polzin, in his treatment of the DH, was not far off when he made the connection, though without further development, between “the destiny of Saul—*like that of Josiah*”²¹ For the Chronicler, Saul died because of his “unfaithfulness” (מַעַל) and subsequently Josiah succumbs to an eerily similar fate.

B. SAMUEL IN THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES

It is precisely at the transition from Josiah’s laudable Passover celebration to the more negative treatment of his death that the mention of Samuel occurs. The phrase in 2 Chr 35:18 that “no Passover like it had been kept in Israel since the days of the prophet Samuel,” precipitates the transition of the narrative (the linguistic transition occurs in v. 20 with the phrase “after all this”). But what does such a phrase refer to? Richard J. Coggins has commented that this reference is “unexpected and puzzling.”²² It may be that the Chronicler is attempting to clarify, or make more explicit, what is contained in the DH, which claims that Josiah’s Passover had not been kept “since the days of the judges” (2 Kgs 23:22).²³ This certainly remains plausible based on the DH depiction of Samuel as both a judge and as acting in a prophetic role, however, there is also the precedence of comparison of Hezekiah’s Feast to “the

²¹ R. Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History. Part Two: 1 Samuel* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1989), 146. Emphasis mine.

²² R.J. Coggins, *First and Second Books of the Chronicles* (CBC; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 300. Most commentators tend to focus entirely on the Passover Feast itself (as one of being centralized, how the Levites are elevated, as compared to the Torah legislation) without primarily focusing on the extent of comparison. Though some claim that Hezekiah’s Feast being referred to “the days of Solomon” places a greater emphasis on Hezekiah than Josiah (Cf. Boda, *1–2 Chronicles*, 419), this seems to downplay, if not dismiss, the rhetoric of Josiah’s Passover being compared to Samuel.

²³ For an example of how the Chronicler clarifies and unifies elements recorded in the DH, see P.S. Evans, “Historia or Exegesis? Assessing the Chronicler’s Hezekiah-Sennacherib Narrative,” in P.S. Evans and T.F. Williams (eds.), *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 103–20 (106).

days of Solomon” (2 Chr 30:26). By specifying Samuel, a literary connection is more emphatic: Solomon is representative of certain aspects for Hezekiah’s reign; Samuel is now representative for Josiah’s reign.²⁴ The question, however, is how?

The comparison between the Feasts of Hezekiah and Solomon are fairly clear: both feasts last two weeks (2 Chr 7:9 // 30:23); both feasts are marked by joy (2 Chr 7:10 // 30:23, 26); both kings supply offerings from their own supply (2 Chr 7:5 // 30:24). However, in comparing Josiah’s Passover to Samuel, it is less clear what the intention of such a statement is: the Chronicler does not include a narrative of “the days of Samuel.” One, therefore, must seek a relevant account of “Samuel’s days” elsewhere. The most obvious place to look for “the days of Samuel,” based on the sheer volume of material the Chronicler shares in common, is in the DH (specifically, First Samuel). However, there is no mention of a Passover celebration occurring within Samuel’s narrative in the books of Samuel. This leaves the reader of Chronicles with a limited number of options: either the reference to Samuel is meant only to refer to the references of Samuel within Chronicles itself; it refers to a cultural memory not written (i.e., the reader assumes that Samuel held a Passover); or, it is meant to refer to cultural memory as preserved in another source, such as the DH.²⁵

Looking at the Book of Chronicles, according to both James T. Sparks and Gary N. Knoppers, the Chronicler’s genealogies can be chiasmically structured with the House of David and the House of Saul on parallel strata, each flanking the center of the chiasm, which rests upon the Levites.²⁶ It is within the Levitical genealogy

²⁴ For a detailed analysis of Hezekiah’s comparison to Solomon, see M.A. Throntveit, “The Relationship of Hezekiah to David and Solomon in the Books of Chronicles,” in M.P. Graham, S.L. McKenzie, and G.N. Knoppers (eds.), *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein* (New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2003), 209–28.

²⁵ Of course, there is also the option of the reference being an arbitrary or otherwise meaningless ascription; however, to borrow a concept from M.M. Bakhtin, there are no “neutral” words. Indeed, “no living word relates to its object in a *singular* way. . . . The word, directed toward its object enters a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgments and accents, weaves in and out of complex inter-relationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group: and all this may crucially shape discourse, may leave a trace in all its semantic layers, may complicate its expression and influence its entire stylistic profile,” cf. M.M. Bakhtin “Discourse in the Novel,” in C. Emerson and M. Holquist (eds.), *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin, TX: Texas University Press, 1981), 259–401 (272).

²⁶ This is not to suggest full agreement with all aspects of either J.T. Sparks’ or Knoppers’ entire chiasmatic structure, but rather to highlight the explicit prominence of these three tribal entities. Cf. J.T. Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1–9* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 29; Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, 260–65.

that Samuel is listed, not once, but twice (1 Chr 6:13, 18).²⁷ As Knoppers points out, there is no mention in the books of Samuel as to the lineage of Samuel being Levitical; if anything, Samuel's father is mentioned to be "from the hill country of Ephraim" (1 Sam 1:1). However, Sparks has made the observation that it is nonetheless a possibility for Elkanah, Samuel's father, to have been a "Levite living among Ephraimites."²⁸ As the narrative of Samuel unfolds, Samuel's ministry encompasses the territory of Benjamin, which would conceivably make Samuel a Levite living among Benjaminites. In essence, Samuel's very identity provides a bridge between tribes.²⁹

The relationship between Samuel and Saul is explicitly and inseparably recorded in the books of Samuel. The relationship between Samuel and David is, on the other hand, less developed as Samuel perishes before David ascends to the throne of Israel. However, the Chronicler maintains, even in its subtlety, a distinct bond between the two. Of the ten occurrences of the name, Samuel, outside the books bearing the same name, eight of these are to be found in Chronicles.³⁰ As previously mentioned, two of these mentions are within the Levitical (specifically, Kohathite) genealogies. Furthermore, Samuel is listed along with David as having assigned the gatekeepers to their positions (1 Chr 9:22) and as a referent of fulfilled prophecy in the anointing of David as king (1 Chr 11:3). But Samuel is also listed alongside Saul (his close companion from the Books of Samuel) in 1 Chr 26:28 in regards to dedicating gifts to the temple, which also, interestingly enough, lists both Abner and Joab, ardent enemies, working together in service of the temple.

From the list of Samuel's appearances, there are several aspects that appear prominently: Samuel is listed among the Levites, but he is also listed, literarily, alongside not only David, but Saul. These associations are precisely the tribes most prominently portrayed throughout the genealogies. That Samuel, in essence, provides a unifying element to these otherwise disparate entities is intriguing. That Samuel, in his final appearance in Chronicles, appears precisely at the transition between Josiah's likeness to David and his death akin to Saul is perfectly in accordance with his appearance throughout Chronicles.³¹

²⁷ English versions: 1 Chr 6:28, 33. The Old Greek contains an additional reference to Samuel in 1 Chr 6:27.

²⁸ Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 98.

²⁹ In regards to the Chronicler's pro-priestly versus pro-Levite rhetoric, see G.N. Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118 (1999), 49–72.

³⁰ 1 Chr 6:13, 18 (MT; English versions: 6:28, 33); 7:2; 9:22; 11:3; 26:28; 29:29; 2 Chr 35:18. The only other appearances are found in Ps 99:6 and Jer 15:1.

³¹ Cf. Mark Leuchter's treatment ("The Prophets' and 'The Levites' in

The appearance of Samuel within Josiah's narrative, based on the usage throughout Chronicles, reveals a rhetorically weighted presentation of the final chapter of Judah's monarchy. The affirmation of the Levites, especially the singers and, specifically, the descendants of Heman, is undeniable; however, also integral to the role of Samuel at this point is the notion of unification. That Samuel was a Levite ministering in Benjaminite territory, appearing alongside both David and Saul, and now providing the transition not only between the establishment of the temple cultus but the death and exile of the Davidic monarchy is revealing. There is considerable debate within scholarship concerning the status of the Davidic kingship during the Persian era, however, several studies have argued for the centrality of the temple cultus to be the enduring visage of YHWH's rule.³² Boda has provided a survey of recent scholarship addressing the role of the Davidides as portrayed in Chronicles, and in so doing, seeks to draw upon the commonalities between the various perspectives offered.³³ In light of these, and other excellent studies, from a literary perspective, Josiah's narrative provides grounds to believe the Chronicler was issuing a call to the community of Persian Yehud to gather together in worship at the centralized temple in Jerusalem.³⁴ This is, in large

Josiah's Covenant Ceremony," *ZFAW* 121 [2009], 31–47) in regards to the Chronicler's shift from "prophets" to "Levites" as highlighted by the Jeremiah tradition. While Samuel's identity as a prophet and a Levite, according to the Chronicler, is overlooked in Leuchter's study, the appearance of Samuel in tandem with the Levites in the Josiah narrative, nonetheless, should further substantiate much of Leuchter's findings, though such a task remains outside the bounds of the current study.

³² See, for example, S.J. Schweitzer's ("Exile, Empire, and Prophecy: Reframing Utopian Concerns in Chronicles," in S.J. Schweitzer and F. Uhlenbruch [eds.], *Worlds that Could Not Be: Constructing Utopia in Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah* [London: T&T Clark, 2016], 88, 95) utopian treatment portraying the temple cultus as a major facet to the *better alternative reality* being presented in Chronicles.

³³ M.J. Boda, "Gazing Through the Cloud of Incense: Davidic Dynasty and Temple Community as Seen in the Chronicler's Perspective," in P.S. Evans and T.F. Williams (eds.), *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 217–47. The chart on p. 220 provides an easily accessible categorization of the various scholars providing argumentation in regards to the cult and monarchy as recorded by the Chronicler.

³⁴ While the current study is focused predominately on the literary features associated with Samuel's identity in Chronicles, it is fair to note that of the scholars debating the role of the Davidides in Chronicles, the current study finds most convincing, and thus assumes, the arguments primarily found in these studies focusing on the enduring visage of the temple cultus: W. Riley, *King and Cultus in Chronicles Worship and the Reinterpretation of History* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993); P.C. Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); S.J. Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles* (New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2007); and Sparks, *The*

part, due to the inclusion of Samuel's very identity: Samuel's identity within Chronicles provides a coherent bridge to unify Israel; what are readers, then, to make of the social memory associated with the hyperbolic appearance of Samuel in relation to the Passover in Josiah's narrative?

C. SOCIAL MEMORY OF SAMUEL³⁵

One of several perplexities contained in Chronicles is detecting the rhetoric involved by beginning the narrative proper in 1 Chr 10 mid-action, thrusting the reader directly into the final death scene of the Benjaminite, Saul. However, most analyses of the Saul narrative constrict the rhetorical strategy to the immediate context alone—namely, the relationship to David's ascension narrative.³⁶ What is often omitted from these otherwise excellent studies, is the greater context of Chronicles. For both the genealogies, at the

Chronicler's Genealogies; though, as the primary initiators of similar views, also W. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* [HAT, 21; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1955]) and A. Caquot ("Peut-on parler de messianisme dans l'œuvre du Chroniste?", *RTP* 16 [1966], 110–20). To be fair, however, studies suggesting a "future" monarchy provide excellent evidence and the debate has by no means been exhausted—which may be part of Boda's motivation in seeking to determine a common ground (much like the reference to Samuel in Chronicles!) for all parties to come together.

³⁵ The approach to "social memory" follows Ben Zvi's reliance on P. Nora's "sites of memory." Cf. the following: "[a site of memory is] any constructed space, place, event, figure, text or the like—whether it exists 'materially' or only in the mind of members of a social group—whose presence in the relevant cultural milieu evokes or was meant to evoke core images or aspects of images of the past held by the particular social group who live in that cultural milieu . . . most of these sites act as ciphers to be activated within a particular social discourse, and as places to be visited and revisited, even if only mentally, as part of a self-supportive mechanism of socialization and social reproduction." D.V. Edelman and E. Ben Zvi, *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), xii. For Nora's treatment of sites of memory (*les lieux de mémoire*) see P. Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les lieux de mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (1989), 7–24.

³⁶ For example, see S. Zalewski, "The Purpose of the Story of the Death of Saul in 1 Chronicles 10," *VT* 39 (1989), 449–67; J. Trotter, "Reading, Readers, and Reading Readers Reading the Account of Saul's Death in 1 Chr 10," in M.P. Graham and S.L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 294–310; P.J. Sabo, "Seeking Saul in Chronicles," in P.S. Evans and T.F. Williams (eds.), *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 43–64; T. Willi, "'Den Herrn aufsuchen . . . ' Einsatz und Thema den narrativen Teils der Chronikbücher," in idem, *Israel und die Völker: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte Israels in der Perserzeit* (SBAB, 55; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2012), 123–35.

beginning of Chronicles, and the narrative of Josiah, at the end of Chronicles, contributes and parallels much that is contained in the Saul narrative. As well, rather than analysis of the Chronicler focusing solely on Saul and David, there is the conspicuous omission concerning the entire narrative of Samuel; in fact, the narrative of Chronicles begins very near where the narrative of Samuel (by being brought up by Saul's request, "out of the earth" in 1 Sam 28:13) ends. What then is representative of Samuel as portrayed in the DH? In other words, what would the name "Samuel" as it appears in Chronicles evoke in the community's mind, and how is this being appropriated by the Chronicler?³⁷

The death of Samuel is recorded twice in the DH: once in 1 Sam 25:1 and again in 1 Sam 28:3. These death notices usher in narratives involving first David, then Saul. The life of Samuel is narrated as one of establishing the kingship of Israel. For first, Saul was anointed by Samuel, then David (1 Sam 10:1; 16:13). As such, a reference to the "days of Samuel" is first and foremost a reference to the days before the monarchy for it was Samuel that anointed not only Saul but David as well.

In the second death narrative (the final appearance of Samuel in the DH), when Saul seeks a medium to raise Samuel, she reports to Saul that she sees "an elder rising . . . wrapped in a robe (מעיל)" (1 Sam 28:14). With this simple description, Saul knows it is Samuel. The significance of Samuel's robe in Saul's life is unmistakable: when Samuel had reported that YHWH had rejected Saul as king, Saul grabbed hold of Samuel's robe (מעיל) and tore it (1 Sam 15:27). But, interestingly enough, the robe of Samuel was introduced much earlier in the narrative, indeed, at the very beginning of his narrative: his mother used to make him a robe yearly (1 Sam 2:19).³⁸ In this sense, the narrative of Samuel ends where it begins. That Samuel's robe is determinate for his identification, the "days of Samuel" would therefore encapsulate his beginning in the house of Eli until his death and appearance before Saul, which is, subsequently, where the Chronicler's narrative proper begins.

That Josiah is said to have held a Passover that had not been kept since the "days of Samuel" may refer to the entirety of Samuel's priestly life (again based on the initial appearance of his robe), but at the same time, the robe appears when his mother would go

³⁷ As previously noted, this study operates under the assumption that Chronicles emerged in the Persian era with the understanding that the readership of Chronicles would have extended beyond the literati to the greater community. For a similar approach, see E. Ben Zvi, "Chronicles and Its Reshaping of Memories of Monarchic Period Prophets: Some Observations," in M.J. Boda and L.M. Wray Beal (eds.), *Prophets, Prophecy, and Ancient Israelite Historiography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 167–88 (168–72).

³⁸ Beyond Samuel's robe, other robes also factor prominently in Saul's narrative: David cut a corner of Saul's robe (1 Sam 24:4); as well, Jonathan placed his robe, bow, and shield upon David (1 Sam 18:4).

up to “the yearly sacrifice” (1 Sam 2:19). In a similar vein, the Passover (as opposed to the Feast of Succoth, for example) was a yearly *sacrifice*. It is precisely in this context that the priestly “house” is mentioned, for the “house” of Eli was wicked (1 Sam 2:27–36). Eli’s sons, the priests at Shiloh, were worthless (בליעל) and God promised, through his prophet, to raise up a “faithful priest” and “build him a sure house” that would go before his anointed forever (1 Sam 2:35). Coincidentally, the utilization of “house” in Chronicles is intentionally ambiguous (terms for “temple” and “house” are both implemented by the Chronicler throughout the narrative). It is precisely at the end of Josiah’s Passover, immediately following the reference to the “days of Samuel,” that the narrative transitions: “after all this, when Josiah established the house (הבית).” This temporal marker (i.e. “after all this” [אחריו כל-זאת]) is the transition from “good” Josiah to “bad” and in an accelerated pace, the exile proceeds from this moment: the establishment of “the house.”³⁹ The priestly house (i.e. temple) is established at the exact moment that the narrative describes the final decline and death of the Davidic line. According to Kenneth A. Ristau, “‘all of this’ [in 2 Chr 35:20] might even envelop the entire cultic history as epitomized in Josiah’s extensive preparations of the temple. In such a reading, this is the ultimate turning point in Chronicles.”⁴⁰ The Passover celebrated by Josiah being referenced to the “days of Samuel,” which, within the DH refers to a yearly sacrifice, portrays the fulfilment of the establishment of the priest’s house and it is precisely at this point that the Davidic monarchy becomes obsolete in Chronicles: the temple cult is firmly established.

However, while this connection is certainly plausible, the Chronicler’s reference to Samuel occurs as a reference to the Passover. Since Samuel is not reported as specifically keeping a Passover, the last remaining comparison rests upon where sacrifices (the closest parallel to a Passover celebration) feature within Samuel’s narrative. Indeed, there are several connections between Samuel and sacrifices that occur within the DH that may contribute to the overall social memory of Samuel, especially in connection with the Passover as explicitly found in the narrative in 2 Chr 35:1–19.

The first time Saul and Samuel meet, it is because the people have a sacrifice and Samuel goes up to the shrine to eat and bless the sacrifice (1 Sam 9:12–13). It is in this context, the morning following a sacrifice, that Saul is anointed. Furthermore, it is later in the narrative (1 Sam 15) that several elements (Samuel’s robe, Saul, and a sacrifice) coalesce together. When Saul is rejected by Samuel and tears his robe, Samuel subsequently sulks in Ramah. But before the end of the scene, the narrator makes the point that “Samuel did

³⁹ Cf. Boda who writes that “for the Chronicler, Josiah’s death signaled the end of the independent kingdom of Judah” (*1–2 Chronicles*, 423).

⁴⁰ Ristau, “Reading and Re-Reading Josiah: The Chronicler’s Representation,” 231.

not again see Saul until the day of his death” (15:35). While this can be taken as a mere referral to both men meeting in Sheol, in fact, Saul will indeed see Samuel in the day of his death (1 Sam 28:14). This sense of foreshadowing will return/recall for the reader the instances of Samuel’s “robe” as developed earlier in this study. As such, the text links Samuel and Saul with sacrifice, kingship, and lament, all of which are present in Josiah’s narrative.

Following the scene of Saul’s rejection, YHWH tells Samuel to go to Jesse and to say “I have come to sacrifice to YHWH” (1 Sam 16:2). Again, Samuel and sacrifice are linked with the anointing of a king. This sacrifice (in Bethlehem) is to be the anointing of David. At the conclusion of this narrative, the spirit of YHWH departs from Saul and a “bad” Spirit torments him (16:14). However, the sacrifice with Jesse’s son included only a heifer (16:2). In Josiah’s Passover, both lambs and cattle are provided by the king and his officials (2 Chr 35:7–9). This may be a means of allowing the reader to realize a link between the sacrifice associated with David (which contained only a heifer) with a separate, subsequent narrative involving the sacrifice of a lamb. In reference to Samuel, however, both Saul and David’s anointing are distinctly linked through sacrifice. Only, Saul’s anointing as king results in further lament, as evidenced by Samuel sulking in Ramah, as well as David’s exalted lament of Saul’s death in 2 Sam 1:19–27; on the other hand, Samuel does not live to see David’s ascension.

The narrative of Samuel judging (as opposed to the narrative of his rise and thus being raised under Eli) contains a reference to Samuel gathering “all Israel” at Mizpah (1 Sam 7:3–17). There he took a “suckling lamb” (טלה חלב) and offered it to the Lord “on behalf of Israel.” This sacrifice follows a reform initiated by Samuel. The Israelites had lost the ark to the Philistines and it remained lodged at Kiriath-Jearim for twenty years; all of the house of Israel lamented (ינהו). Samuel, sacrifice, and lamenting are intricately connected in this pericope. That Samuel is not recorded as conducting a Passover, this act is surprisingly similar to the Passover.

Furthermore, there is in this narrative a repeated mention of “the days of” Samuel. First, the hand of YHWH is said to be against the Philistines “all the days of Samuel” (1 Sam 7:13).⁴¹ The second mention of Samuel’s “days” occurs in 7:15, when Samuel is said to have judged Israel “all the days of his life” (ימי חייו). The narrative seems to end on a positive note at this time:

At this point in the story one wonders if the Deuteronomist is painting a deliberate picture of a tranquil Israel on the eve of the request for a king. To be sure, 7.13–14 have a socio-political importance because the specific request for a king in the next chapter will surface in an atmosphere that has a dis-

⁴¹ This is the only occurrence of the specific phrase “days of Samuel” (ימי שמואל) in the DH.

tinct absence of overt hostility. In other words, it cannot be war that provides the impetus for the request for a king.⁴²

However, this is precisely the point that Israel *requests* a king: at the end of Samuel's life (1 Sam 8:1), when he is old (זקן). Following the narrative, it is because Samuel's sons were "bending" (טו from the Hebrew root נטה) justice and not following the way of Samuel (8:3). That Samuel was able to deliver Israel from danger and lead the cultic ceremonies in the absence of a ruling monarchy fits well with the end of Chronicles, where Israel's monarchy is no longer present within a properly functioning cultus (2 Chr 36:23). Diana V. Edelman suggests as much when she says, "The question asked by the men of Beth Shemesh in 1 Sam. 7:19 ('Who is able to stand before YHWH, this holy God?') reverberates strongly as a key issue, suggesting, perhaps, that the elimination of kingship in favor of YHWH's direct rule over his people is the inevitable solution to a situation being addressed by either the author of 1 Samuel or a subsequent editor."⁴³

This is clearly seen in the "renewing" of Saul's kingship (1 Sam 11:14–12:25). Samuel relates to the people that when they were in Egypt and were oppressed, they cried out to God and he raised up Moses and Aaron (this being the second mention of Moses and Aaron in Samuel's speech) for them (i.e., the priesthood); then, after they forsook the Lord, they cried out and he gave them judges (Jerubbaal et al.) to rescue them and allow them to live in safety; however, when they saw a king of the nations (Nahash of the Ammonites) come against them, they do not cry out to God, but demand a king. This is further admitted as a "sin" of the people (1 Sam 12:19). Polzin makes an argument that the statement by the people to "give up the men [that said 'Saul shall be *king* over us'] that we may put them to death" (1 Sam 11:12, italics mine) is a plea to extirpate those seeking a monarchic Israel.⁴⁴ The priesthood was an answer from God; rescuing from oppression was an answer from God; the demand for a king was sinful. And yet, the focus on Josiah's Passover is precisely on the integrity of the priesthood (with the assistance of the Levites). Only after the temple (lit. house) is established, and the cultus functioning properly, do the Davidides decline into death and exile.⁴⁵ In the end, it is the cultus that remains in Jerusalem for the people of YHWH to "go up" to.

⁴² K. Bodner, *1 Samuel: A Narrative Commentary* (Hebrew Bible Monographs; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2008), 68.

⁴³ D.V. Edelman, "Did Saulide-Davidic Rivalry Resurface in Early Persian Yehud?", in J.A. Dearman and M.P. Graham (eds.), *The Land that I Will Show You* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: T&T Clark, 2002), 69–91 (70).

⁴⁴ Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*, 114.

⁴⁵ For a perspective of how the Davidic role is conceivably replaced by Cyrus, see E. Ben Zvi "When the Foreign Monarch Speaks," in M.P. Graham and S.L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 209–28 (228); for

CONCLUSION

With the reference to Samuel occurring in relation to the Passover, a sacrificial Feast, a referent is either to a sacrifice(s) occurring within the days of Samuel or, if sacrifice is not the main referent, the remaining explanation rests on determining what the limits of “the days of Samuel” entail. In both references, the kingship as it relates to Saul and David is central. But also central is that Samuel successfully led Israel both in military battles and in worship. Only following the people’s failure to call out to YHWH is a king granted. It is only after the temple is established that the Davidic monarchy, which succeeded Saul’s reign, falls into exile.

That Josiah is identified as the epitome of kings in the DH, does not require the Chronicler to claim the same. Rather, the Chronicler portrays another rhetorical strategy. With praise lauded on a king for providing a “right” Passover, the ensuing narrative portraying such an ignoble death is startling. However, it is precisely at the point in Josiah’s narrative where a transition between a laudable king, akin to David, and a defeated king, akin to Saul, is located that two concepts cohere: the appearance of Samuel and the establishment of the temple.

That Samuel was able to deliver Israel from danger and lead the cultic ceremonies without needing to appeal to a ruling king fits well with the end of Chronicles; after the reference to “the days of Samuel” (2 Chr 35:18), Israel’s monarchy entirely falls apart. An appeal to Josiah’s death akin to Saul allows for the community to gather without competing appeals as to which tradition (Benjaminite or Davidide) should have a reigning king, both of which were originally anointed by Samuel: with Josiah (the king *par excellence* of the DH) dying an “evil” death, neither lineage of kings were ultimately “good”; what the Judaic kings provided, and Josiah “established,” was a properly functioning cultus: one which seeks unity for the community living in Persian Yehud to gather and worship as one at the central location: the temple in Jerusalem.⁴⁶

another perspective of the Davidic kingdom within the “Kingdom of God,” see T. Willi, “Das Davidische Königtum in der Chronik,” in idem, *Israel und die Völker: Studien zur Literatur und Geschichte Israels in der Perserzeit* (SBAB, 55; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2012), 136–52.

⁴⁶ Cf. H.G. Williamson’s (*Israel in the Books of Chronicles* [New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1977], 140) conception of the inclusiveness of “all” Israel.