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**Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Zion: A Study in the Early
History of the Samaritans and Jews**

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In a famous passage from the Gospel of John, Jesus converses with a Samaritan woman at Sychar, near Shechem and Mt. Gerizim, about a series of topics, including the state of Jewish-Samaritan relations. Explaining the Samaritan woman's amazement that Jesus is even talking with her, the narrator (or a later scribe) comments: "Jews do not share (things) in common with Samaritans" (John 4:9).¹ Later in the dialogue the Samaritan woman tells Jesus, "Our ancestors worshiped at this mountain, but you (Jews) say that the place at which God must be worshiped is in Jerusalem" (John 4:20). The conversation between the Samaritan woman and Jesus reflects the strained relations between the Samaritans and Jews in the first centuries of the Common Era. Until the last few decades, similar things could have been said about the state of Judean-Samaritan relations during the Persian period. Many scholars in the late-nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century assumed that the rivalry between Jews and Samaritans was a dominant issue animating the religious life of postexilic Judah. Presupposing such a highly contentious atmosphere, Robert Pfeiffer opined, "In the days of the Chronicler the Samaritan community was to Judaism a more serious adversary than heathenism."²

In the latter part of the twentieth century, scholars reacted strongly against this long-established anti-Samaritan line of interpretation by attacking the central premises upon which it was based. Upon close examination, the

¹ The explanation, *ou gar sygchrōntai Ioudaioi Samaritais*, is lacking in some textual witnesses.

² R. H. Pfeiffer, *Religion in the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961) 202.

Samaritan Pentateuch turned out to be a relatively late work, not an early work dating to the beginning of the postexilic period.³ The Samaritan schism occurred neither in the Achaemenid era nor in the aftermath of Alexander's conquest, as was previously thought. Some would situate the definitive break between Judaism and Samaritanism, if there ever was such a one-time breach, in the last centuries before the Common Era or in the first centuries of the Common Era.⁴ While the older anti-Samaritan theory posited one major religious issue in Persian period Judah, more recent theories contend for a range of issues and for multiple stages in the history of North-South relations.⁵ If earlier generations of scholars thought that the Samaritan issue was the defining one for Judeans during the Persian period, some contemporary scholars do not think it was an issue at all. Texts, such as the book of Chronicles, which were once cited as espousing an anti-Samaritan point of view, are now cited as

³ F. M. Cross, "Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History in Late Persian and Hellenistic Times," *HTR* 59 (1966) 201-11; B. K. Waltke, *Prolegomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1965); J. D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origins of the Samaritan Sect* (HSM 2; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); idem, "The Samaritan Problem: A Case Study in Jewish Sectarianism in the Roman Era," in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith. Essays Presented to Frank Moore Cross, Jr.*, ed. B. Halpern and J. D. Levenson (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1981) 323-50.

⁴ H. G. Kippenberg situates the separation in the early second century BCE, *Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 30; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971) 60-93. Purvis would date the definitive break a little later, at the end of the second century BCE, "Samaritan Problem," 323-50. But A. D. Crown does not see any clear evidence for a real break until the third or fourth centuries CE, "Redating the Schism between the Judaeans and the Samaritans," *JQR* 82 (1991) 17-50. R. J. Coggins argues for a gradual separation between the two communities, but no sudden break, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1975) 163-64. Helpful reviews of scholarship may be found in R. Pummer, "The Present State of Samaritan Studies: I," *JSS* 21 (1976) 48-55; S. Noja, "The Last Decade in Samaritan Studies," in *The Samaritans*, ed. A. D. Crown (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr 1989) 802-13; I. Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism* (JSOTSup 303; Copenhagen International Seminar 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) 13-75.

⁵ Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews*, 8-100; idem, "After the Exile," in *Creating the Old Testament: The Emergence of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. S. Bigger (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989) 229-49; idem, "The Samaritans and Northern Israelite Tradition," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress of the Société d'études samaritaines* (Tel Aviv: Chaim Rosenberg School for Jewish Studies, 1991) 99-108; T. Willi, *Juda—Jehud—Israel: Studien zum Selbstverständnis des Judentums in persischer Zeit* (FAT 12; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995); Hjelm, *Samaritans*, 273-85.

espousing a very conciliatory point of view.⁶ In short, the anti-Samaritan theory has been dealt a series of serious blows.

Yet, if scholars have been guilty of retrojecting the disputes of much later times into earlier times, what should one make of Judean-Samaritan relations during the Achaemenid occupation?⁷ I view the recent scholarly developments as healthy correctives to the extreme views promoted in past generations. Nevertheless, the newer theories still leave some questions unanswered. What was the state of religious affairs in Samaria during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods? Where did Yahwistic Samaritans worship? Was this an era of Judaizing (or "Yahweh-izing") in the region of Samaria, as some have contended?⁸ At what point was a sanctuary constructed on Mt. Gerizim?⁹ What were the stances of Judeans toward their northern neighbours? Assuming that there was not any sort of definitive break between the two communities during the Persian occupation, were their ongoing relations strained, amicable, or something in between?

In this paper, I would like to touch on a recent development in the study of ancient Samaria and explore how this development may shed light on the import of two Judean texts written during the late Achaemenid era. The development to which I refer is the excavation of a large temple complex on Mt. Gerizim largely dating to the Hellenistic era, but with some material evidence stretching back to the Persian era. This discovery sheds welcome light on old questions, but it also raises new questions about Samaritan-Judean relations during the Second Commonwealth. The case studies that I have selected stem

⁶ S. Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 (1968) 330-71; eadem, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ 9; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1989); idem, *I & II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993); eadem, "L'Historiographie post-exilique: Comment et pourquoi?" in *Israël construit son histoire: L'historiographie deutéronomiste à la lumière des recherches récentes*, ed. A. de Pury, T. Römer, and J.-D. Macchi (MdB 34; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1996) 123-52; H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); idem, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982).

⁷ The issue of terminology is difficult, but I am referring to the residents of Yehud and Samaria during the Persian and early Hellenistic periods as Judeans and Samaritans to distinguish them from the later Jews and Samaritans of the Maccabean and Roman periods. In both cases, I see lines of continuity from one period to the next.

⁸ Most recently, Y. Meshorer and S. Qedar, "Samaritan Coins in the Persian Period" (Hebrew), in *The Samaritans*, ed. E. Stern and H. Eshel (Jerusalem: Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2002) 71-81.

⁹ Earlier scholarly guesses have ranged from the late fourth century to the early second century BCE. I. Kalimi provides a useful summary of opinion, "Zion or Gerizim? The Association of Abraham and the *Aqeda* with Zion/Gerizim in Jewish and Samaritan Sources," in *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon* (JSOTSup 273; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 442-57.

from Chronicles and deal with Judah's relations with northern Israel.¹⁰ One involves King Abijah's address to "Jeroboam and all Israel" at Mt. Zemaraim during the early divided monarchy (2 Chr 13:4-12), while the other involves King Hezekiah's Passover invitation sent to all quarters of Israel, including the estranged northern tribes. It may be legitimately questioned whether it is appropriate to take a work depicting the monarchy to tell us something about life in postmonarchic Judah. One of my assumptions is that scholars can learn something about the context within which Judean writers worked by looking at the larger geo-political and religious circumstances in which they lived. Another of my assumptions is that one can learn something about the Chronicler's own views of and aspirations for his time, based on his stylized depiction of the past.¹¹

I. New Evidence about Cultic Affairs in Persian Period Samaria

Discerning the nature of cultic affairs in the Persian province of Samaria is difficult. Some scholars have supposed that the Samaritans, lacking any sanctuaries of their own, occasionally journeyed to Jerusalem to worship there.¹² In one variation of this theory, the very distinction between Samaritans and Judeans was inherently political and not religious. The emergence of a distinct Samaritan community did not occur until the third century BCE or some time thereafter.¹³ According to this understanding, the Yahwistic Samaritan

¹⁰ By the Chronicler, I mean the author(s) of Chronicles. The work of Ezra-Nehemiah, which evinces variant ideological tendencies, represents the work of a different author. In the editing of the initial chapters of Ezra (especially Ezra 1-3), an attempt has been made to draw the two works (Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah) together, G. N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9* (AB 12; New York: Doubleday, 2004) 96-100.

¹¹ On the paradigmatic nature of the Chronicler's writing, see, for instance, T. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung* (FRLANT 106; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972); P. R. Ackroyd, "The Theology of the Chronicler," *TQ* 8 (1973) 101-16; idem, "The Chronicler as Exegete," *JSOT* 2 (1977) 2-32; R. Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des christlichen Geschichtswerkes* (Freiburg: Herder, 1973); A. Ruffing, *Jahwekrieg als Weltmetapher: Studien zu Jahwekriegstexten des chronistischen Sondergutes* (SBB 24; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1992); P. Abadie, "Le fonctionnement symbolique de la figure de David dans l'oeuvre du Chroniste," *Transeu* 7 (1994) 143-51; M. Z. Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London: Routledge, 1995); I. Kalimi, *Zur Geschichtsschreibung des Chronisten* (BZAW 226; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995).

¹² E.g., H. Tadmor, "Judah," *The Cambridge Ancient History VI: The Fourth Century B.C.*, ed. D. M. Lewis et al. (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 261-96. Tadmor refers to Jer 41:5, Chronicles, Ezra (4:1, 12-14), and Nehemiah (3:33-34; 4:1-2; 13:28).

¹³ See, for instance, Kippenberg, *Garizim*, 57-93. Rather than seeing the development of such a cult in the context of the history of the former northern kingdom, Kippenberg argues that the Samaritan cult was begun by Israelite priests (who understood

community was essentially a breakaway Jewish sect. Others have disagreed, contending for the development of some sort of ongoing sacrificial cult(s) in the former northern kingdom. There remains much uncertainty surrounding the status of many northern sites, but recently new evidence has emerged about the status of Mt. Gerizim during the Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods.¹⁴ The archaeological excavations of Izhaq Magen attest to the construction of an impressive city and sacred precinct on Mt. Gerizim in Hellenistic times.¹⁵ The large fortified town on Mt. Gerizim was approximately 30 dunams in size (40.5 hectares) during the time of Antiochus III (223-187 BCE). Most of the remains found in Magen's eighteen seasons of excavations at this large site date to the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Eight different areas of the site were excavated. Hellenistic finds from Mt. Gerizim include sections of a city wall, towers, large domiciles, service buildings, courtyards, oil presses, storage jars, and various lamps.¹⁶ Also found were thousands of coins and hundreds of inscriptions in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek.¹⁷

Beneath the Hellenistic sacred precinct on Mt. Gerizim, Magen discovered an older layer, which he dates to the fifth century and identifies as the Samari(t)an Temple mentioned (but misdated) by Josephus.¹⁸ The excavator suggests that the area occupied during the Persian occupation was at first relatively small, but was heavily rebuilt and expanded when it was replaced in the Hellenistic period.¹⁹ Both the Persian and the Hellenistic sacred areas were located on the mountain's summit. Excavations in the final campaigns (1995-

themselves to be sons of Eleazar). Hence, in this theory, Samaritanism began essentially as a new religious movement in the third (or second) century.

¹⁴ What follows is only a brief summary. I hope to deal with the material remains in more detail in a future publication.

¹⁵ Y. Magen, "Mount Gerizim—A Temple City," *Qadmoniot* 23/3-4 (1990) 70-96 (Hebrew); idem, "Mount Gerizim," *NEAEHL* 2 (1993) 484-92; idem, "Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans," in *Early Christianity in Context*, ed. F. Manns and E. Alliata (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior 38; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing, 1993) 91-148.

¹⁶ The city wall was found, however, only on the southern part of the site.

¹⁷ J. Naveh and Y. Magen, "Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions of the Second-Century BCE at Mount Gerizim," *'Atiqot* 32 (1997) 9*-17*; Y. Magen, L. Tsefania, and H. Misgav, "The Hebrew and Aramaic Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim," *Qadmoniot* 33/2 (2000) 125-32 (Hebrew).

¹⁸ Y. Magen, "Mt. Gerizim—A Temple City," *Qadmoniot* 33/2 (2000) 74-118 (Hebrew). Josephus dated its construction to the time of Alexander the Great, *Ant.* 11.302-347; 13.254-56; *J.W.* 1.62-65.

¹⁹ Magen, "Mt. Gerizim," 97. Of the various areas of the excavation, clear Persian period remains have only been found in one, the sacred complex. One looks forward to the publication of the full excavation report with section plans, floor plans, locus points, faunal analyses, and pottery discussions.

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2000) unearthed the remains of a chambered gate, fragments of interior courtyards, chambers, enclosure walls that were approximately 2.4 metres thick, and stones that may have comprised part of an altar, all dating to the Persian period. The building construction was monumental in style. The enclosure walls were built of ashlar masonry. Dates for the Persian period pottery found in the area range from the early fifth century through the fourth century BCE. Small finds from the Achaemenid era include silver jewelry, a copper snake, and metal implements.²⁰ Of the sixty-eight Persian period coins found at the site, the earliest dates to 480 BCE.

Particularly interesting for those interested in the religious history of Mt. Gerizim was the discovery of many faunal remains. The bones discovered at the site were of principally four types: goats, sheep, cattle, and doves. The bones, scarred and burned, have been dated to the fifth century BCE.²¹ The faunal assemblage, which is probably to be associated with sacrifices carried out at the sanctuary, was concentrated in four areas of the Persian period complex.²² Based on the ceramic evidence (found on the building floors), the faunal remains, the method of building construction, and the numismatic evidence, Magen thinks that the Samaritan Temple was established in the first half of the fifth century.

If the preliminary analysis of the Mt. Gerizim remains is sustained, a number of points emerge. First, the excavations address the question of when a Yahwistic temple was constructed at Mt. Gerizim by providing multiple answers. There was a Yahwistic sanctuary at Mt. Gerizim, exhibiting monumental architecture and a sacrificial apparatus, at an earlier time than scholars previously thought. During the Hellenistic period, this sanctuary was massively rebuilt and expanded. This means that Mt. Zion was faced with a substantial rival to the north already in the fifth century. In addition to whatever Yahwistic shrines existed in the diaspora, such as the Jewish temple at Elephantine, there was more than one Yahwistic shrine within the land itself.²³

Second, the excavations at Mt. Gerizim provide some clues about the nature and history of the Yahwistic community in Samaria. Yahwism in Samaria was not a late arrival, that is, a Hellenistic development. Moreover, the Yahwistic community in Samaria of the fifth century did not arise *de novo*. It

²⁰ Magen, "Mt. Gerizim," 105-8. Note also the discovery of a silver ring with an insignia known from Deuteronomy (6:4), "Yhwh is one" (*yhwh 'hd*) (pl. 4).

²¹ Magen, "Mt. Gerizim," 111.

²² Most of the bones were determined to be less than three years old. Of these, a large group was less than one year old, Magen, "Mt. Gerizim," 111.

²³ A. Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1937); B. Porten, *Archives From Elephantine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); T. M. Bolin, "The Temple of Yahu at Elephantine and Persian Religious Policy," *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaism*, ed. D. V. Edelman (CBET 13; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995) 127-42.

must have had some history prior to the time in which the building activity occurred at Mt. Gerizim. The Samaritans undoubtedly had their own distinctive traditions and customs in addition to whatever traditions and customs they shared with the Judeans. That among the numismatic evidence from Samaria one finds coins with the legend, *yrb 'm*, "Jeroboam" suggests that at least some residents of Samaria felt an attachment to the traditions of the former northern kingdom. Five different fourth-century coin types are attested with the name of this Samaritan governor (or governors), the most for any personal name.²⁴ In this context, viewing the Samaritans as a breakaway Jewish sect is too simplistic. The Yahwistic Samaritan community must be granted its own historical integrity.²⁵

Third, the excavations at Mt. Gerizim provide new evidence for a series of cultural continuities between Samaria and Yehud in the Persian and Hellenistic eras as evinced in material remains, the scripts used, and the composition of personal names. The parallels are all the more interesting, because other material evidence from the province of Samaria, limited though it is, also points to an overlap in cultural tradition with Yehud during the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods. Such evidence consists of a similar use of bilingualism among the literati (Aramaic for day-to-day business, diplomacy, and correspondence, Hebrew for certain official or religious purposes), the use of similar scripts, the use of archaizing seal impressions in Samaria inscribed in palaeo-Hebrew,²⁶ a significant overlap in personal names, and a predominance of Yahwistic personal names.²⁷

Finally, the material evidence from the summit of Mt. Gerizim, when coupled with material and epigraphic evidence from ancient Samaria, suggest

²⁴ Y. Meshorer and S. Qedar, *The Coinage of Samaria in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (Beverly Hills: Numismatics Fine Arts International, 1991) 14-15; idem, *Samaritan Coinage* (Numismatics Studies and Researches 9; Jerusalem: Israel Numismatics Society, 1999) 24-25.

²⁵ In my view, one should reckon with a continuous, albeit developing and changing, Israelite presence in the former northern kingdom during the Iron III, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian periods. I hope to develop this point in a future study.

²⁶ The two sealings among the Samaria Papyri that bear the name of Yešua' (or Yeša'yahu) the son of Sanballat (second quarter of the fourth century BCE) belong to a centuries-old seal tradition in Israel, M. J. W. Leith, *Wadi Daliyeh I: The Seal Impressions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 16-21, 184-87. See also F. M. Cross, "The Papyri and Their Historical Implications," in *Discoveries in the Wādī ed-Dāliyeh*, ed. Paul W. Lapp and Nancy L. Lapp (AASOR 41; Cambridge: ASOR, 1974) 17-29 (pl. 61). In this respect, the two seals (WD 22, 23) differ little from those used by Judahite officials during the late monarchy. Leith observes that these seals are unusual both because of their archaizing tendencies and because they are inscribed.

²⁷ A summary may be found in my "Revisiting the Samaritan Question in the Persian Period," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. O. Lipschits and M. Oeming (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming).

that the Yahwistic Samaritans were laying claim to at least some of the same traditions as the Yahwistic Judeans were already in the Persian period.²⁸ The importance of this consideration cannot be underestimated, because it affects not only our understanding of the nature of the Samaritan cultic community, but also indirectly our understanding of the development of the Pentateuch or, if you will, the Hexateuch. However one dates the final editing of these works, it seems evident that both communities were drawing from an overlapping, albeit not entirely common, reservoir of traditions during the late Achaemenid era. Moreover, given the early periods depicted in the Pentateuch and Hexateuch, it would seem that the Samaritans, like the Judeans of Yehud, defined themselves, at least in part, by recourse to stories about and measures associated with a long bygone, ancient Israel.

II. Exploring the Chronistic Interest in Northern History in the Context of the Achaemenid Era

The finds from Samaria in general and from Mt. Gerizim in particular shed new light, I believe, on some features of late Persian period texts written in Yehud. The presence of a significant Yahwistic population to the north of Yehud, for example, illumines why the Chronicler revisits aspects of northern history. It must be emphasized that for reasons of coverage and temporal context, the writer was not compelled to include any such discussions of the northern monarchy, populace, and cult within his work. The factor of coverage is relevant, because the Chronicler does not include independent northern history in his own story of the monarchy.²⁹ The authors of Kings provide a synchronistic history of Israel and Judah, but the Chronicler's work concentrates on Judah and only mentions northern Israel when the writer wishes to depict contacts between the two realms.

The factor of temporal context is relevant, because the author lives during the late Persian/early Hellenistic period, a time in which the northern monarchy had been already extinct for some four centuries. Given the temporal distance between the exchange depicted and the occasion of the Chronicler's

²⁸ The faunal remains, a complex topic in and of themselves, need to be interpreted not only in the context of Pentateuchal stipulations about sacrifices, but also in the context of the faunal remains found at other sites in the southern Levant (e.g., Arad, Ashqelon, Dan, City of David, Tel Halif, Hazor, Tel Hesi, Tel Jemmeh, Megiddo, Tel Michal, Tel Miqne, Horvat Qitmit, Yoqneam).

²⁹ Because he regards both the kingdom and the cult of the northern tribes as inherently rebellious, he does not provide an independent history of the northern realm, G. N. Knoppers, "Rehoboam in Chronicles: Villain or Victim?" *JBL* 109 (1990) 423-40; idem, "Batling against Yahweh": Israel's War against Judah in 2 Chr 13:2-20," *RB* 100 (1993) 511-32.

own writing, the writer did not have to go out of his way to engage northern Israel's government and religious practices. That the Chronicler evidently felt the need to discuss northern kingship and cult suggests that these issues were not only historical in nature but also in some way current. Indeed, as Ben Zvi observes, the separate existence of the provinces of Yehud and Samaria may have spurred the Chronicler to reflect on the original division of Judah and Israel.³⁰ In this context, the Chronistic depiction of relations between the northern kingdom and the southern kingdom cannot be divorced from the relations between Samaria and Yehud in the author's own time. One inevitably affected the other. In what follows, I shall begin with one incident in North-South relations during the reign of an otherwise obscure Judahite monarch named Abijah (Abijam in Kings).³¹

III. Hating the Sin but not the Sinner: Abijah's Speech to Northern Israel

In the context of his extensive coverage of King Abijah, a Judahite monarch who receives only scant attention in Kings, the Chronicler presents this leader delivering a major speech to the northern Israelites under King Jeroboam I (2 Chr 13:4-12).³² The oration, unparalleled in the Deuteronomistic History, has long been recognized as exhibiting Chronistic vocabulary, style, and themes.³³ The context for the speech is a major battle at Mt. Zemaraim.³⁴ That

³⁰ E. Ben Zvi, "The Secession of the Northern Kingdom in Chronicles: Accepted Facts and New Meanings," in *The Chronicler as Theologian*, ed. M. P. Graham, S. L. McKenzie, and G. N. Knoppers (JSOTSup 371; London: T. & T. Clark, 2003) 61-88.

³¹ The distinction is somewhat arbitrary, but for the sake of clarity I am calling the monarchic inhabitants of Judah Judahites and the postmonarchic inhabitants of Yehud Judeans.

³² In comparison with the coverage devoted to Abijah in Chronicles (2 Chr 13:1-23), Abijam receives only brief attention in Kings (1 Kgs 15:1-8). In narrating the early Judahite monarchy, the Chronicler clearly wishes to present a different case from that of his *Vorlage*, even though he borrows most of the material dealing with Judah found in that source. The Chronicler's emphasis on Judah as continuing the authoritative standards ratified in the time of David and Solomon helps to explain his extensive coverage of Judah's first kings.

³³ S. R. Driver, "The Speeches in Chronicles," *The Expositor* 1 (1895) 241-56; 2 (1895) 286-308; M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1957) 161; M. A. Throntveit, *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles* (SBLDS 93; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 113-20. The commentary of E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen contains a partial list of the Chronicler's characteristic idioms, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910) 28-36. G. von Rad may go too far in describing 2 Chr 13:4-12 as "a brief compendium of the Chronicler's theology," *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Row, 1962) 1.353. Similarly, W. Rudolph calls Abijah's speech "die

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the Israelites outnumber the Judahites by a factor of two to one (800,000; 400,000) in this inner-Israelite holy war (2 Chr 13:2-20) does not deter this king from inveighing against his northern counterpart.³⁵ I speak of an inner-Israelite war as opposed to a war against another nation, because the northerners are depicted as Israelites. The terminology is itself important.³⁶ When the author of Ezra speaks of the children of Israel, the normal referent is the "children of the golah."³⁷ Others, who are neither returned exiles nor their descendants, are referred to as "the people(s) of the land(s)."³⁸ In Chronicles, by comparison, one finds Israelites living in the north, Israelites living in the south, Israelites living in exile, sojourners or resident aliens (*gērīm*), as well as foreigners who may be described as "peoples of the land(s)."³⁹ Jacob's descendants are composed of many tribes, each of which has its own particular genealogical profile, but they are nevertheless all Israelites. When Abijah warns "Jeroboam and all Israel" not to fight with Yhwh, the implication is that the combatants share the same

magna charta des judäischen Heilsmonopols," *Chronikbücher* (HAT 21; Tübingen: Mohr, 1955) ix. Abijah's speech is an important declaration in the context of the Chronicler's coverage of the northern kingdom, but one should not confuse the part for the whole.

³⁴ Geographically, the location of the battle is interesting. The conflict occurs in northern Israel at Mt. Zemaraim, a site that is commonly situated in the southern hill country of Ephraim near Bethel (2 Chr 13:19-20). If so, the location of the battle would likely fall within the territory claimed by Yehud during the Persian period (Ezra 2:28/Neh 7:32; 2 Chr 13:19; 1 Macc 9:50). In this scenario, the author would be depicting a conflict at a location that was included within the Israel of the late-tenth century, but included within the Yehud of the fourth century.

³⁵ On the Chronicler's use of hyperbolic and generalized numbers, see the notes to 1 Chr 12:38 in my *I Chronicles 10-29* (AB 12A; New York: Doubleday, 2004) 569-71.

³⁶ The northern kingdom is not composed of pagans. See S. Japhet, "People and Land in the Restoration Period," in *Das Land Israel in biblischer Zeit*, ed. G. Strecker (GTA 25; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983) 103-25; eadem, *Ideology*, 308-24; Williamson, *Israel*, 87-140; E. Ben Zvi, "Inclusion and Exclusion from Israel as Conveyed by the Use of the Term Israel in Post-Monarchic Biblical Texts," in *The Pitcher is Broken: Memorial Essays for Gösta W. Ahlström*, ed. S. W. Holloway and L. K. Handy (JSOTSup 190; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 142-43.

³⁷ Referred to as the *bēnē ha-gōlā* in Ezra 4:1; 6:19-20; 8:35; 10:7, 16 (*bēnē gālūtā*' in Ezra 6:16), *hā'ōlīm miššēbī ha-gōlā*, "the ones who came up from the captivity of the exile," in Ezra 2:1 (//Neh 7:6), or more succinctly as *ha-gōlā*, "the exile(s)," in Ezra 1:11; 9:4; 10:6; Neh 7:6. Note also the "assembly of the golah" (*qēhāl ha-gōlā*) in Ezra 10:8, 12-16 and the "assembly of God" (*qēhāl hā'ēlōhīm*) in Neh 13:1. On the association of the "children of the golah" with Israel, see Ezra 9:1, 4; 10:6, 8.

³⁸ E.g., Ezra 3:3; 4:4; 9:1, 2, 11, 14; 10:2, 11; Neh 9:24, 30; 10:29, 31, 32. Cf. *gōyē-hā'āreš/kol-ha-gōyīm* in Ezra 6:21; Neh 6:16. Interestingly, the writers of Ezra-Nehemiah never refer to sojourners or resident aliens (*gērīm*).

³⁹ E.g., 1 Chr 5:25; 2 Chr 6:33; 13:9; 32:13, 19. For the *gērīm*, see 1 Chr 22:2; 2 Chr 2:16; 30:25. In 1 Chr 29:15 the term is used figuratively to apply to Israelites.

bloodlines. Indeed, the punitive action undertaken against the northern Israelites paradoxically reaffirms their special status (2 Chr 13:13-20). Writing in postmonarchic Judah, the Chronicler embraces a large view of Israel.⁴⁰

In the context of this discussion, only the second part of the oration (2 Chr 13:8-12), addressing cultic matters, will be pertinent. For those familiar with the Deuteronomistic History, it is readily apparent that the author has borrowed from the depiction and denunciations of Jeroboam's investiture of the sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan in composing this speech.⁴¹ In speaking, for example, of "the golden calves which Jeroboam made for you as gods" (2 Chr 13:8), Abijah alludes to northern Israel's infamous religious iconography (cf. 1 Kgs 12:28-30; 14:9). But the speech is more than a midrash on Kings. The criticisms of Israelite worship, as well as the portrayal of southern worship, bear their own distinctive features. To begin with, the Chronicler, unlike the Deuteronomist, never broaches the issue of specific shrines. He never mentions any specific houses of worship in the northern kingdom, either at Dan or at Bethel. Nor does he ever mention, for that matter, any sanctuary at Samaria. The very ambiguity generalizes the king's claims.⁴² That the same vagueness characterizes the references to Judah's cult is unusual.⁴³ The monarch never specifically mentions either Jerusalem or the Solomonic temple. Elsewhere the Chronicler's descriptions of cultic personnel and rites almost always refer to the temple or to both the temple and the tent of meeting.⁴⁴ I wish to return to this matter later.

Second, Abijah makes allegations about the northern cultus that have no parallel in Kings, or for that matter, anywhere else in the Hebrew scriptures. He speaks of the process of priestly ordination in Israel as employing a young bull and seven rams (2 Chr 13:9), but the Deuteronomistic work never mentions

⁴⁰ The "exilic" version of Kings might have been read in the Persian period as promoting a similarly large (rather than a highly restrictive) understanding of Israel, J. R. Linville, *Israel in the Book of Kings* (JSOTSup 272; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1998).

⁴¹ The relevant passages caricaturing Jeroboam's cultic innovations (1 Kgs 12:25-33; 13:1-3, 31-34; 14:7-16) all occur in the context of the Deuteronomist's larger treatment of Jeroboam's reign (1 Kgs 12:25-14:20).

⁴² For a different interpretation to the effect that the Chronicler did not want to offend northern sensibilities, see Williamson, *Israel*, 113-14; Throntveit, *When Kings Speak*, 36-38.

⁴³ The declarations about Judah's daily and nightly presentation of burnt offerings, fragrant incense, and so forth resonate with the declarations made by the Chronicler's Solomon about the Jerusalem temple (2 Chr 2:3; 4:7-8). In the words of Solomon, such ritual actions constitute "Israel's perpetual obligation" (*l'ōlām zō't 'al-yiśrā'ēl*; 2 Chr 2:3). But in the case of 2 Chr 13, the religious claims are blanket in nature.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, 1 Chr 9:11, 13, 23 [both], 26-32; 15:1, 3, 29; 22:1; 23:24-25, 28-32 [both]; 28:12-13; 29:2-8, 16; 2 Chr 2:1, 3-6, 11; 4:7, 8, 11, 16, 19-22; 8:12; 29:3-7, 16-36; 31:10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 21.

such a process.⁴⁵ To give another example, Abijah speaks of the northerners as having banished the priests and Levites from their kingdom, but the authors of Kings never make such a claim, only that Jeroboam allowed non-Levites to become priests.⁴⁶ In Kings Jeroboam contaminates the priesthood by allowing non-Levites to receive priestly ordination, but the claim made here is a stronger one. Democratizing Jeroboam's state cult, Abijah rhetorically asks Jeroboam and the northern Israelites, "Have you not driven out (*hālō' hiddaḥtem*) Yhwh's priests, the sons of Aaron and the Levites, and made for yourselves priests like the peoples of the lands?" (2 Chr 13:9).⁴⁷ Abijah's rhetorical question may not resonate with the presentation of Kings, but it does resonate with the Chronicler's earlier testimony as he depicts priests and Levites throughout northern Israel taking their stand against Jeroboam, abandoning their open lands and estates, and migrating south to Judah and Jerusalem during the reign of Abijah's father Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:13-17). According to the writer, Jeroboam prevented them and their male offspring from serving as priests to Yhwh (2 Chr 11:16).⁴⁸ Stories about the father illumine stories about the son. When Abijah addresses Jeroboam one generation after the time of his father, the North is completely bereft of priests and Levites.

Third, the Chronicler makes claims about Judahite cultic practices that have no counterpart in Kings. In fact, the whole commentary on Judahite orthopraxis finds no parallel in the Deuteronomistic work. The royal address

⁴⁵ The wording in v. 9 (*kol-habbā' lēmallē' yādō . . . wēhāyā kōhēn*) alludes to Jeroboam's appointment of priests for the high places from all sectors of the people who were not of Levitical descent: *heḥāpēs yēmallē' 'et-yādō wiḥi kōhānē bāmōt* (1 Kgs 13:33; cf. 1 Kgs 12:31). The phrase *ml' yd(w)* designates priestly ordination (Exod 28:41; 29:9, 29, 33, 35; Lev 4:5 [LXX]; 8:33; 16:32; 21:10; Num 3:3; Judg 17:5,12; 1 Kgs 13:33; Ezek 43:26 [LXX]; 2 Chr 13:9; 29:31). But the authors of Kings never specify what animals were used in the ordination ritual.

⁴⁶ The relationship between priests and Levites in Chronicles continues to generate much discussion. See, for example, G. von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930) 81-119; A. Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1935) 216-41; P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Social Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979) 269-79; J. Wright, "The Legacy of David in Chronicles: The Narrative Function of 1 Chronicles 23-27," *JBL* 110 (1991) 229-42; J. Schaper, *Priester und Leviten in achämenidischen Juda* (FAT 31; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 267-308. I see these relations as basically complementary, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118 (1999) 49-72.

⁴⁷ Reading with the MT and cursives be₂ in 2 Chr 13:9, *k'my h'ršwt* (cf. 2 Chr 32:9, 17; Ezra 3:3; 10:2, 11). The LXX reads, *ek tou laou tēs gēs (LXX^A pas) pasēs (= m'm h'rš kl)*, "from the people of all the land."

⁴⁸ One result of their defection is to strengthen the kingdom of Judah for three years (2 Chr 11:17).

compares the good state of affairs maintained in southern Israel with the corrupt state of affairs in northern Israel. Repeatedly, the Judahite monarch declares that the Israelites have abandoned Yhwh (vv. 6, 8, 12), while the Judahites continue to serve him faithfully (vv. 10, 11, 12). In effect, the southern king accuses his northern counterparts of deserting their own heritage. His speech therefore amounts to a plea to Israel to desist from war.⁴⁹ To do battle against Judah with Yhwh at its head is tantamount to doing battle against Yhwh himself (v. 8). As some periods in Rehoboam's reign and the entirety of Abijah's reign demonstrate, the cultic traditions of old are carried on in Judah. The authors of Kings portray things somewhat differently. In their work, both North and South degenerate cultically at the beginning of the divided monarchy, albeit in different ways.⁵⁰

There is another distinctive feature of Abijah's speech that warrants close attention. I mentioned earlier the king's blanket assertions about cultic heteropraxis in northern Israel and orthopraxis in southern Israel. The king's enumeration of Judahite orthopraxis, about how the Aaronides and Levites fulfill their proper duties, finds its greatest affinities in prescriptions for sacerdotal duties at the tent of meeting. That Abijah's address is written with a view to Pentateuchal legislation is evident in a number of ways. The priests both here and at the tent of meeting present burnt offerings morning and evening.⁵¹ The priests in Abijah's time, like their tabernacle counterparts, offer aromatic incense (2 Chr 13:11; Exod 25:6; 30:7-10; cf. 2 Chr 2:3) and arrange the row bread (*lḥm hm'rkt*) on the pure table.⁵² Moreover, the unnamed sanctuary, like the tabernacle, has one menorah (Exod 25:31-40; 29:38-42; 31:8; 37:17-24; Lev 24:1-4; Num 8:2-4). Elsewhere Chronicles, in conformity with Kings, always mentions ten temple lampstands (1 Chr 28:15; 2 Chr 4:7; 4:7, 20/1 Kgs 7:49).⁵³ Given that some of the references to the ten temple

⁴⁹ A point also made by Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 251.

⁵⁰ 1 Kgs 12:25-33; 13:1-3, 33-34; 14:9-16, 22-24; 15:1-6. The decline begins, in fact, with Solomon (1 Kgs 11:1-13, 31-39), G. N. Knoppers, *Two Nations Under God: The Deuteronomistic History of Solomon and the Dual Monarchies* (2 vols.; HSM 52-53; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993-94), 1.135-206.

⁵¹ 2 Chr 13:11; Exod 29:38-42; Num 28:3-8; cf. 1 Chr 16:40; 2 Chr 2:3; 31:3). According to the divine decree given through Moses, such a regular burnt offering should characterize Israel's cult "throughout your generations" (Exod 29:42).

⁵² 1 Chr 9:32; 23:29; 28:16; 2 Chr 2:3; 13:11; 29:18; cf. Exod 40:23; Lev 24:5-9; Neh 10:34). Some texts employ the variant locution, "bread of the presence" (*lḥm pnyim*; Exod 25:30; 1 Sam 21:6; 1 Kgs 7:48; 2 Chr 4:19). The instruction to (re)place the display bread weekly is, according to Lev 24:8, "a covenant forever" (*bērit 'ōlām*).

⁵³ In accordance with the "perpetual statute throughout your generations" (Lev 24:3), the candlebraum's lamps burn every evening (2 Chr 13:11; Exod 25:37; 30:7-8; Lev 24:3; Num 8:2). The reference to one lampstand may be historically accurate for the

lampstands found in the narratives about David (1 Chr 28:15) and Solomon (2 Chr 4:7) are unparalleled in Kings, the departure from normal practice would seem to be deliberate.⁵⁴ In short, the organization and membership of the priesthood (Aaronide priests and Levites), the offerings, the schedule of sacrifices, and the sacred furnishings described all find direct parallels in Priestly-style legislation.⁵⁵ In Abijah's oration the temple merges with the tabernacle. The parallels become all the more interesting, when one sees the work doing the same thing with Solomon's temple. As Van Seters points out, the account of Solomon's temple construction in Chronicles contains numerous instances in which the writer conflates this shrine with the tabernacle.⁵⁶

Given that the Chronicler lived in an age that valued things antiquarian, his presentation of the past would have present ramifications. If tabernacle rituals were still being properly followed in the southern cultus of the late tenth century, in spite of political upheaval, this reflected well on Judah. If tabernacle rituals were abandoned in the northern cultus of the late tenth century, this reflected poorly on Israel and any claims that the Samaritans might have of cultic continuity with the time of Israel's national beginnings. If the priesthood across Israel had not become simply contaminated at the start of the Israelite monarchy but was expelled altogether, the implications were not good for Samaria centuries later. Unless the Levites and priests had later been somehow miraculously restored to this region from Judah, a claim the Chronicler never

Second Temple. The authors of Zech 4:2, 11 and 1 Macc 1:21; 4:49 mention only one menorah in the Jerusalem sanctuary.

⁵⁴ Given the literary context, I find this explanation more compelling than recourse to a theory of different redactional layers. For the latter, see Adolph Büchler, "Zur Geschichte der Tempelmusik und der Tempelsalmen," ZAW 19 (1899) 99; K. Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia* (ATD 12; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972) 14-17, 84-87, 108-110; Willi, *Auslegung*, 197.

⁵⁵ Similarly, the king's declaration that his priests possess "the signal trumpets to sound the battlecry against you" finds its closest parallels in the Torah. Such an action invokes divine assistance against the enemy. In Num 10:9, the sacerdotal sounding of trumpets (*hip 'il of rw' with ḥṣṣrwṭ*) is intended to remind (*nip 'al of zkr*) Yhwh of Israel's plight so that the people might be delivered from their enemies. Other instances of the use of the *hip 'il of rw' with trw'h* (in the context of conflict) may be found in Josh 6:5, 20; Jer 1/4:19; 49:2; cf. 2 Chr 15:14). The expression *ḥṣṣrwṭ htrw'h* in a martial context is elsewhere found only in Num 31:6.

⁵⁶ J. Van Seters, "The Chronicler's Account of Solomon's Temple-Building: A Continuity Theme," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. M. P. Graham, K. G. Hoglund, and S. L. McKenzie (JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1997) 283-300. The Chronicler, in fact, sees the temple as the fulfillment of all previous Israelite cultic institutions, P. Welten, "Lade-Tempel-Jerusalem: zur Theologie der Chronikbücher," in *Textgemäss: Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des alten Testaments*, ed. A. Gunneweg and O. Kaiser (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979) 169-83; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 28-31.

makes, the sanctuaries of Samaria would lack the appropriate divinely sanctioned personnel to administer their own sacred affairs.

One also wonders whether the Chronicler's work may be implicitly associating aspects of the Samaritan cult(s) of his own time with the renegade cult of Jeroboam I. When Abijah speaks of northern ordinands employing a young bull and seven rams to become priests of "no gods" (2 Chr 13:9), the claim is unprecedented.⁵⁷ There is, as we have seen, no source text in Kings for such an assertion. Nor do texts in the Pentateuch match the description. Exodus 29:1-46, which lays out an agenda for the ordination of Aaronide priests, mentions a young bull, but two rams instead of the seven rams mentioned here.⁵⁸ Similarly, Lev 8:1-36, which addresses the ordination of Aaronide priests, refers to the use of a "bull of sin-offering" (*par ḥāḥaṭṭā't*) and two rams. Numbers 8:5-19, which lays out a ritual for the purification of the Levites, mentions the use of two young bulls, but no rams.⁵⁹ Is the Chronicler heaping ridicule on the northern cult(s) of his own day by associating its ritual practices with those of the state cult of Jeroboam I? In this scenario of guilt by association, the Samaritan cult(s) would perpetuate a long tradition of heteropraxis. Or is the writer caricaturing northern affairs by asserting that, according to the standards of Pentateuchal legislation, the northern Israelites do not even have the process of priestly ordination right? Or, are elements of both these theories possibly true?

When Abijah proudly announces, "Indeed, we are observing the charge of Yhwh our God" (*ki-šōmērīm 'ānaḥnū 'et-mišmeret yhwh 'ēlōhēnū*; 2 Chr 13:11), is it not possible that his claim would have a certain resonance in the Persian period?⁶⁰ In Samaritan tradition, the name *šōmērōn* (cf. *ḥaššōmērōnīm* in 2 Kgs 17:29) is not linked with Samaria and Shemer, the original owner of the

⁵⁷ The Chronicler is alluding to Hos 8:5-6, which uses the expression *lō' 'ēlōhīm* to refer to the calf of Samaria (*'eglēk šōmērōn*). Jeremiah uses the expression *lō' 'ēlōhīm* to denote foreign deities (2:11; 5:7; 16:20).

⁵⁸ This is the only mention in Chronicles of a *ben-bāqār*. Cf. Lev 4:3, 14; 9:2; 16:13; 23:18; Num 15:24; Ezek 43:19, 23, 25.

⁵⁹ There are occasional biblical references to the offering of seven rams, mostly in context of public sacrifices: Balaam (Num 23:1, 29); Passover (Ezek 45:23); Job (42:8); David (1 Chr 15:26); Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:21), but never in the context of a priestly ordination. Some texts speak of seven days of priestly ordination (Exod 29:35; Lev 8:33-34).

⁶⁰ The expression "to observe the charge of Yhwh," though found in Pentateuchal texts, also appears in other texts within the Hebrew scriptures. When God is the object of *mišmeret*, the reference is to keeping divine commandments and by implication, guarding against violations (Gen 26:5; Lev 8:35; 18:30; 22:9; Num 9:19, 23; 18:7-8; Deut 11:1; Josh 22:3; 1 Kgs 2:3; Neh 12:45; Ezek 44:16; 48:11; Zech 3:7; Mal 3:14; 2 Chr 13:11; 23:6). J. Milgrom, L. Harper, H.-J. Fabry, "*mišmeret*," *TDOT* 9 (1998) 72-78. Cf. 1 Chr 9:27; 23:32 (guard duty).

site, as it is in Kings (1 Kgs 16:24), but with *sōmērīm* (or *šāmērīn*), that is, observance of Torah. In the context of Abijah's speech there may be a pun on the name of the Samaritans, for it is the Judahites who are the ones keeping (*sōmērīm*) the charge of Yhwh their God. Both northern and southern communities have links to the era of Israel's national beginnings; but, from the Chronicler's perspective, the Judean authorities are entrusted with the authority to perpetuate, interpret, and apply the mandate of old.

The question may be raised why the writer has archaized southern cultic affairs to the point that temple rituals and furnishings have become indistinguishable from those of the tabernacle. It seems to me that the writer is deliberately drawing parallels between practices at the tent of meeting and the First Temple, because he is attempting to associate as closely as possible the observance of the Judahite cult and, by implication, the Second Temple cult of his own time, with the formative era of Israel's national beginnings. The implication is that the cult practiced in Judah is the ancient Israelite cult. That the circumstances of Second Temple times are at least partially in view is clear from the speech itself. For example, Abijah asserts that the Judahites support the Levites in their courses.⁶¹ The Levitical courses are a prominent feature of the Chronicler's work. Sacerdotal rota also seem to appear in Nehemiah (10:3-9; 11:36; 12:1-7, 12-21)⁶² and are significant feature of the Qumran literature.⁶³ But they neither appear in the Pentateuch nor in the Deuteronomistic History.

⁶¹ So LXX 2 Chr 13:10, *en tais ephēmeriais autōn* (= *bmḥlqwtw* or *bmḥlqwtm*). The MT is corrupt, reading *bml'kt*, "in (the) work of." It is possible that the MT's *bml'kt* suffered a haplography of *wāw* before *wmḥrym*, **bml'ktw wmḥrym* (so BHS³), but the antecedent (*hlwym*) is plural. Hence, if one wishes to follow the MT, it might be best to read an original **bml'ktw wmḥrym*. The usage of *mēlā'kā* would not be impossible (e.g., 1 Chr 9:33; 23:4, 24; 26:30), but the Chronicler usually employs the general term *'ābōdā* to refer to Levitical work/service (1 Chr 6:17, 33; 9:19, 28; 23:24, 26, 28, 32; 25:1, 6; 26:8; 28:14, 21; 29:7; 2 Chr 29:35; 31:2, 16, 21; 34:13; 35:10, 16). In Chronicles the term *mēlā'kā* often refers to a specific cultic task or a project (e.g., temple construction and temple renovation), J. Milgrom, D. P. Wright, H.-J. Fabry, "*mēlā'kā*," *TDOT* 8 (1997) 327-28. Note also the general locutions *ml'khlt (h)'bwdhlt*, "work of (cultic) service" (1 Chr 9:13, 19; 26:30; 28:13, 20; 2 Chr 24:12) and *(h)m'kh l'bwdhlt*, "service work" (1 Chr 23:24; 25:1; 2 Chr 34:13). On the Levitical and priestly courses, see 1 Chr 23:6-24; 24:1; 25; 26:1-28; 28:1, 13, 21; 2 Chr 8:14-15; 23:8; 31:2, 15-17; 35:4, 10.

⁶² Perhaps 22 in number, I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (KHT 20; Tübingen: Mohr, 1901) 48, 72-73; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco: Word, 1985) 341-64.

⁶³ U. Glessner, *Die ideale Kultordnung: 24 Priesterordnungen in den Chronikbüchern, kalendarischen Qumrantexten und in synagogalen Inschriften* (STDJ 25; Leiden: Brill, 1998); S. Talmon, J. Ben-Tov, and U. Glessner, *Qumran Cave 4, XVI: Calendrical Texts* (DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

I would like to suggest that the issue of multiple Yahwistic sanctuaries at Mt. Zion, Mt. Gerizim, and perhaps elsewhere, each with its own pedigree and claims to tradition, helps to explain the king's distinctive assertions. In the author's time it would no longer suffice to portray the cult established by Jeroboam I in the late tenth century as simply a deviant cult that broke away from the Jerusalem cult established by Solomon a short time earlier.⁶⁴ Nor would it do to portray some links between the Second Temple and the First Temple. In the late Persian period, a more basic issue had emerged. When seen against the background of the stories about Israel's national beginnings in the Pentateuch, stories that had gained a certain cachet in the Achaemenid era, Jerusalem was a relative latecomer. Those Samaritans, for instance, who worshiped at Mt. Gerizim could claim a stronger link to Pentateuchal tradition than the Judeans who worshiped at Jerusalem. To begin with, Mt. Gerizim is explicitly mentioned in the Torah, whereas Jerusalem is not.⁶⁵ Scribes in Jerusalem undoubtedly took the mandate for centralization, as spelled out in Deuteronomy 12, to apply to Jerusalem. But the mention of "the place (*hamāqōm*) where Yhwh your God will choose to cause his name to reside" (Deut 12:11) is inherently ambiguous. Such an indefinite locution could be taken many different ways and was.⁶⁶ Second, the site of Mt. Gerizim carries prestige in some Pentateuchal texts. In Deut 11:29, a passage which closely precedes the divinely authorized mandate for centralization, Mt. Gerizim is explicitly presented as a place of blessing, "and you will pronounce the blessing upon Mt. Gerizim" (*wēnātattā 'et-habbērākā 'al-har gērizim*).⁶⁷ Accordingly, Moses later instructs the Israelites that after they cross the Jordan, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph and Benjamin are all to stand upon Mt. Gerizim to hear the blessing spoken (Deut 27:11-13).⁶⁸ Hence, in the very texts that many Judeans cherished as in some sense foundational to the life of their own community, Mt. Gerizim occupied a favoured position.

In short, the Chronicler's allusions and appeal to institutions associated with Israel's national beginnings are best understood as reflecting a time in

⁶⁴ So the Deuteronomist, Knoppers, *Two Nations*, 1.135-68.

⁶⁵ The most likely referent for Salem in Gen 14:18 may be Jerusalem, but Jerusalem is not itself explicitly named.

⁶⁶ In the SamP an attempt is made to lessen, if not eliminate, the ambiguity. There, the phrase appears in the perfect, "the place where Yhwh your God chose to cause his name to reside" (*whyh hmḥwm 'sr bhr yhwh 'lhykm bw lškn 't šmw šm*). Given the mention of Mt. Gerizim in Deut 11:29, this reinforces the position of Mt. Gerizim as the divinely promised central sanctuary.

⁶⁷ Cf. Gen 49:26; Deut 33:15. In the SamP, the 10th commandment includes a mandate to set up stones and an altar on Mt. Gerizim (SamP Exod 20:17b; Deut 5:18b). The texts are a composite of Deut 11:29a, 27:2b-3a, 4-7 and 11:30.

⁶⁸ In MT Josh 8:30-35, Joshua builds the altar on Mt. Ebal, but reference is also made to Mt. Gerizim.

which there were multiple discrepant and competing claims to the nation's past. In this age of multiple Yahwisms, one of the Chronicler's rhetorical strategies was to draw critical distinctions between the Jerusalem temple cultus and its competitors. His concerns with continuity, legitimacy, and authority lead him to distance his work from that of his *Vorlage*, even though he basically shares the Deuteronomistic judgment that the time of the dual monarchies marked a serious decline in Israelite history. His own work stresses that in spite of Israel's secession and the southern kingdom's reduced status, the proper lines of religious authority from the era of Israel's national origins were maintained in Judah. Living in an age that esteemed the past, the Chronicler stresses the conservative nature of Jerusalem's cultic rites and personnel. If Samaritans and Judeans were interested in old-time religion, that religion was to be found in Jerusalem.

IV. "The Remnant Left": Israel's Survival during the Late Judahite Monarchy and Hezekiah's Passover Invitation

A second example of how recent archaeological work in the region of Samaria may illumine the world of Judean texts is Hezekiah's Passover invitation, found only in Chronicles. Like Abijah's speech, Hezekiah's message is delivered at a critical juncture in North-South history. Taking office after Israel's defeat in the Assyrian exile and the unmitigated decline that characterized the reign of his predecessor Ahaz, Hezekiah implements major cultic, administrative, and geo-political reforms.⁶⁹ After revitalizing the Jerusalem Temple cultus, the king appeals to all Israelites, including the remnant of the northern tribes, to participate in a national Passover.⁷⁰ Given that Hezekiah follows the dictates of Deuteronomy by holding a centralized Paschal feast, it is instructive that the king goes to great lengths to include all Israelites "from Beersheba to Dan" in the celebrations (2 Chr 30:5).⁷¹ Such efforts include sending around letters to Judahites and Israelites (Ephraim and Manasseh are specifically named) to journey to the Jerusalem Temple to observe the Passover for "Yhwh the God of Israel" (2 Chr 30:1). To allow sufficient time for the priests to sanctify themselves and for travelers to arrive from afar, the king, the

⁶⁹ On Ahaz's status as the worst of all the Judahite kings, see E. Ben Zvi, "A Gateway to the Chronicler's Teaching: The Account of the Reign of Ahaz in 2 Chr 28,1-27," *SJOT* 7 (1993) 216-49.

⁷⁰ See Deut 16:1-7. In earlier legislation the Passover is celebrated as a local, family affair, B. M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) 53-97.

⁷¹ The expression "from Beersheba to Dan" is a Chronicist merism for all Israel (1 Chr 21:2; 2 Chr 30:5). Compare 2 Chr 19:5, "from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim."

officials, and the entire assembly of Jerusalem agree to observe the feast in the second month, after the time of the restoration (2 Chr 30:2-4).⁷²

Even though this extraordinary message (2 Chr 30:6-9), filled with allusions to earlier biblical texts and replete with distinctive Chronicist terminology, addresses a wide audience, Hezekiah's message seems to be particularly apt for the inhabitants of Samaria. His words openly acknowledge a continuing Israelite presence in the land, "the remnant that is left to you" (*hā-pēlēṭā ha-niš'eret lākem*; 2 Chr 30:6).⁷³ In speaking of survivors residing in the land, the Chronicler's work must be carefully distinguished from that of the Deuteronomists, who posit a massive Assyrian deportation of the residents of the northern kingdom as well as a major influx of immigrants from other parts of the Assyrian empire into Samaria (2 Kgs 17:1-24).⁷⁴ Because the Assyrian exile marks the end of the northern realm, the authors of Kings do not discuss later events in the former northern kingdom.⁷⁵ One is left with the impression that the land, having been emptied of Israelites, was now exclusively populated by foreign settlers.⁷⁶

But in his narration of Hezekiah's reign, the Chronicler has the Judahite monarch address the remaining northerners as "the children of Israel" and invite them all to return to the God of their fathers, "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel."⁷⁷ The devastating experiences of the past become a call to all Israelites to reunite, rally to the Jerusalem temple, and rededicate themselves to Yhwh.⁷⁸ Life in the land has continued in spite of the Assyrian military campaigns. In

⁷² The delay in the timing of the Passover celebration may also be significant as a concession to the northern calendar, S. Talmon, "Divergencies in Calendar Reckoning in Ephraim and Judah," *VT* 8 (1958) 58-63.

⁷³ Despite the fact that Chronicles does not include an account of the Assyrian exile of 722/721 BCE, the genealogies do mention the earlier Assyrian exile (of Tiglath-pileser III) affecting the two-and-one-half Transjordanian tribes (1 Chr 5:23-26).

⁷⁴ R. Becking, *The Fall of Samaria: An Historical and Archaeological Study* (SHANE 2; Leiden: Brill, 1992). The long Deuteronomistic sermon on this series of events (2 Kgs 17:7-41) is multi-layered.

⁷⁵ Excepting Josiah's northern reforms (2 Kgs 23:15-20), which undo the damage done by a succession of northern kings from the time of Jeroboam I onward, Knoppers, *Two Nations*, 2.171-222.

⁷⁶ Aspects of this polemic are picked up in the "Apocryphon of Joseph" (4Q372) at Qumran, about which see E. M. Schuller, "4Q372 I: A Text about Joseph," *RevQ* 14/55 (1990) 349-76; eadem, "The Psalm of 4Q372 within the Context of Second Temple Prayer," *CBQ* 54 (1992) 67-79.

⁷⁷ They are described in tribal terms or more broadly in national terms as Israelites, but never as "Samaritans" (cf. 2 Kgs 17:29).

⁷⁸ As King Abijah's earlier speech (2 Chr 13:4-12) reaffirms the validity of the institutions of the united kingdom—the Davidic line and the Jerusalem cultus—for both halves of the divided kingdom, so Hezekiah's message implicitly reaffirms the ongoing validity of these institutions despite Israel's defeat.

this respect, it is amazing what all the Chronicler insists survived the Assyrian invasions. The very wording of the Hezekian invitation unambiguously reaffirms the Israelite character of those who reside in Samaria. There is no mention of foreign settlers in the land, much less a massive emigration.⁷⁹ In spite of foreign invasions, death, deportations, and international turmoil, Israel's tribal infrastructure remains intact. In the narrative that follows, the sodalities of Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, Asher, and Zebulun are all specifically mentioned (2 Chr 30:11, 12, 18). The Judahite monarch does not even allude to the fact that a new political arrangement—a system of Assyrian provinces—is in place in what used to be the northern kingdom. From the Chronicler's perspective, the various tribes continue to be tied together by a shared ancestry, heritage, land, and deity — “the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel” (2 Chr 30:6).⁸⁰

Hezekiah's invitation strategically uses the experience of defeat to argue for beginning a new chapter in his people's history.⁸¹ The Assyrian conquests are construed as a divine judgment against the rebellious and obstinate ways of “your fathers and your kinsmen” (2 Chr 30:7). The repentance Hezekiah speaks of is, therefore, not simply an act of self-protection, because the divinely-imposed penalty resulting from Yhwh's “fierce anger” is already in effect—“desolation as you see” (2 Chr 30:7-8). The repentance Hezekiah speaks of is rehabilitative in nature.⁸² He presents a most unfortunate turn of events as a new opportunity for the people to renew their relationship with God.⁸³

In a Persian period context it is surely relevant that the invitation associates returning to Yhwh with journeying to “his sanctuary, which he

⁷⁹ A point stressed by Japhet, *Ideology*, 328. See also F. M. Cross, *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998) 173-202.

⁸⁰ The situation does not essentially change for the remainder of the Judahite monarchy. In the reforms of Josiah, for example, various northern tribes are mentioned as participants (2 Chr 34:6-7, 21; 35:17-18). It seems likely that the Chronicler thought that this state of affairs continued to his own time. Certainly, there is no hint in his work of a demographic or ethnic change affecting the northern sodalities.

⁸¹ Indeed, the Chronicler acknowledges that Judah experienced its own share of setbacks. Hezekiah speaks of abandonment of the Jerusalem Temple as a reason for the exile of many Judahites during the reign of his predecessor, Ahaz (2 Chr 29:5-11).

⁸² On this kind of repentance in the literature from Qumran, see B. Nitzan, “Repentance in the Dead Sea Scrolls” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2.145-70.

⁸³ In this respect, it is instructive that Hezekiah addresses the Israelite people and not their leaders. In his depiction of the dual monarchies, the Chronicler portrays pacts between the (political) Judahite leadership in Jerusalem and their counterparts in Israel as both unnecessary and unsuccessful, G. N. Knoppers “Yhwh Is Not with Israel”: Alliances as a *Topos* in Chronicles,” *CBQ* 58 (1996) 601-26.

consecrated forever” (*lēmīqdāšō 'āšer hiqdīš lē'ōlām*; 30:8).⁸⁴ Is it not likely that the Chronicler in depicting this incident is encouraging participation by Yahwists from Samaria and other regions of the former northern kingdom in the Jerusalem cultus of his own time?⁸⁵ If so, it is important to pay attention to how the invitation is couched and what its premises, conditions, and promises are. One sees literary resonances with texts in Deuteronomy (4:25-31; 30:1-10) dealing with the prospect of exile, the wording of one of the petitions in Solomon's prayer (1 Kgs 8:46-52//2 Chr 6:36-40), the divine response to Solomon's prayer found in Chronicles (2 Chr 7:12-16), and the theophany to Moses at Mt. Sinai (Exod 34:6-7). The offer ingeniously appropriates language from these earlier texts, while creatively going beyond them.

In describing the character of Yhwh Elohim as “gracious and compassionate” (*ḥannūn wēraḥūm*), the author alludes to the foundational Sinaitic theophany of Exod 34:6 by means of the literary technique of inverted citation, “Yhwh, a God compassionate and gracious (*Yhwh 'ēl raḥūm wēḥannūn*), slow to anger, and abounding in loyalty and truth.”⁸⁶ Like Deuteronomy and Kings, Chronicles plays on the different nuances of the root *šūb* (“to turn, return, repent”). The people's positive response, their returning (*šūb*) to God, may elicit divine compassion for their relatives before their captors in exile, because Yhwh may turn (*šūb*) from his fierce anger (2 Chr 30:6-8). Being the gracious and compassionate god revealed to Moses at Mt. Sinai (Exod 34:6-7), Yhwh may respond to the people's repentance (*šūb*) by returning (*šūb*) their kin and their children to “this land” (2 Chr 30:8-9). Like Solomon, Hezekiah draws a correlation between returning to Yhwh and returning to the Jerusalem temple. Moreover, in speaking of Yhwh's consecrating (*hiqdīš*) this particular shrine (2 Chr 30:8), the king cites the second theophany to Solomon, as that theophany appears uniquely in Chronicles, “I have chosen (*bāḥartī*) and I have consecrated this temple

⁸⁴ The terminology may be significant. The author refers to Yhwh's sanctuary (*miqdāš*), not to his “temple” (*bayit*). The Priestly writers often refer to the holy place in particular or to the tent of meeting as a whole as the *miqdāš* (*HALOT* 2 625-26). The author of Amos 7:13 speaks of Bethel as the “sanctuary of the king” (*miqdāš-melek*), the “royal palace” or “royal temple” (*bēt mamlākā*), S. M. Paul, *Amos* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1991) 243. The Chronicler's Hezekiah pointedly identifies the *miqdāš* of Yhwh as situated in Jerusalem.

⁸⁵ So also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 936-54; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 360-70.

⁸⁶ Compare the elements cited in Exod 34:6, 1) *Yhwh 'ēl*; 2) *raḥūm*; and 3) *wēḥannūn* with the sequence found in 2 Chr 30:9, 1) *ḥannūn*; 2) *wēraḥūm*; and 3) *Yhwh 'ēlōhēm*. The reuse of Exodus 34 is not unique. The combinations, *ḥannūn wēraḥūm* and *raḥūm wēḥannūn*, as applied to Yhwh, are common in late texts (Joel 2:13; Jon 4:2; Ps 86:15; 103:8; 111:4; 112:4; 145:8; Neh 9:17, 31).

(*wēhiqdaštī 'et-habbayit hazzeh*) so that my name will be there forever" (2 Chr 7:16).

But a contrast may be drawn between Hezekiah and Solomon in addressing the plight of deportees in foreign lands. Solomon's seventh petition plays on the prospect of divine mercy toward those exiles who appeal to Yhwh in a far-off land, but it does not actually mention a return from captivity. Petitions directed toward the land, Jerusalem, and the temple are linked to divine compassion toward those who find themselves banished to another territory (1 Kgs 8:48-51//2 Chr 6:38-39). In offering addressees a clear hope of a return, Hezekiah departs from the text of Solomon's prayer and appropriates one of the promises found in Deut 30:1-10. But lest one think that the Chronicler has simply exchanged Kings and an earlier text in Chronicles for Deuteronomy, there is also a contrast to be drawn between Hezekiah's invitation and Deuteronomy in offering comfort to repentant exiles. Deuteronomy 30:1-10, which contains the strongest and clearest expression of hope for a return from exile in the Pentateuch, does not mention any particular sanctuary, much less a central sanctuary.⁸⁷ The author of Deut 30:1-10 offers expatriates full patriation, contingent upon repentance and keeping Yhwh's commandments. But Hezekiah implores native Israelites to repent and journey to Yhwh's "sanctuary." Hence, the Chronicler selectively blends particular features of Deuteronomy and Kings with his own text. Torah and temple meet in Hezekiah's invitation. He ingeniously ties a Mosaic revelation to a Solomonic revelation. The former verifies the latter. The promise of repatriation made in the Plains of Moab (Deuteronomy 30) is linked to the pronouncement of Jerusalem's centrality in Solomon's prayer. Similarly, the divine attributes revealed to Moses at Mt. Sinai (Exodus 34) are linked to the divine consecration revealed to Solomon at Mt. Zion.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Deuteronomy 4:25-31 is the other text that is sometimes cited in this connection, because it also deals with the plight of deportees. This passage speaks of Yhwh scattering Israel among the peoples with only a scant few surviving (*wēniš'artem mētē mispār*). The text offers limited hope to those exiles, who return (*šūb*) to Yhwh and obey him, namely divine remembrance of his covenant and divine compassion (*kī 'ēl raḥūm yhwh*). Unlike, Deut 30:1-10, this pericope does not raise the possibility of repatriation, should the exiles turn back (*šūb*) to Yhwh.

⁸⁸ According to the narrator, the offer meets with a mixed response—enthusiasm from the southern tribe of Judah and limited participation from the northern tribes (2 Chr 30:10-14). The national celebration that follows recalls the glory days of the united monarchy (2 Chr 30:15-27), M. A. Throntveit, "Hezekiah in the Books of Chronicles," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers*, ed. D. J. Lull (SBLSP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 302-11; idem, "The Relationship of Hezekiah to David and Solomon" in *The Chronicler as Theologian*, ed. M. P. Graham, S. L. McKenzie, and G. N. Knoppers (JSOTSup 371; London: T. & T. Clark, 2003) 105-21.

There is also one important contrast that may be drawn between all of these earlier texts and this particular text in Chronicles. Both Deuteronomy and Kings address the plight of deportees by exhorting the exiles to repent. The promises Hezekiah makes are directed to survivors in the land, not to exiles outside the land. He directly addresses and privileges Israelites residing in Israel. The authors of Ezra-Nehemiah highlight the pivotal role played by expatriate Jews in rebuilding and structuring the community in Yehud, but the Chronicler's Hezekiah highlights the pivotal role played by aboriginals.⁸⁹ The people's repentance may lead to the restitution of their banished relatives to their patrimonies.

Looking at the contents of the letter from a Persian period perspective provides another dimension to the invitation's interpretation. The literary setting of the Hezekian Passover is the end of the eighth century, but the historical setting of the Chronicler's writing is almost four centuries later. The author lives at a time, perhaps the late-fourth century BCE, in which the people of the southern Levant had already witnessed a series of returns to Judah from Babylon and other centres of the Persian empire. To at least some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the migrations from afar confirmed the validity of God's promises to his people. In this context, it is surely relevant that Hezekiah does not specify precisely where the exiles are to return except to say that they may return "to this land" (*lā'āreš hazzō't*; 2 Chr 30:9). The king does not pray that the

⁸⁹ The migrations in Ezra-Nehemiah provide one glimpse into the influential role played by Jews in the Diaspora in shaping the policies pursued by the elite in Persian period Yehud, P. Briant, Rois, *Tributs et paysans: études sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 269; Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 43; Paris: Belles lettres, 1982) 199-225; idem, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Achaemenid History 10; Paris: Fayard, 1996); idem, "Histoire impériale et histoire régionale: A propos de l'histoire de Juda dans l'empire achéménide," *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Saebø (VTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 235-45; F. Joannès and A. Lemaire, "Trois tablettes cunéiformes à onomastique ouest-sémitique (collection Sh. Moussaïeff)," *Transeu* 17 (1999) 17-34; L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* (London: Routledge, 2000); P. R. Bedford, *Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah* (JSJSup 65; Leiden: Brill, 2001); J. Kessler, "Building the Second Temple: Questions of Time, Text, and History in Haggai 1.1-15," *JSOT* 27 (2002) 243-56; idem, "Persia's Loyal Yahwists: Power, Identity, and Ethnicity in Achaemenid Yehud," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. O. Lipschits and M. Oeming (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming); P. Bedford, "Diaspora: Homeland Relations in Ezra-Nehemiah," *VT* 52 (2002) 147-65; D. S. Vanderhooft, "New Evidence Pertaining to the Transition from Neo-Babylonian to Achaemenid Administration in Palestine," in *Yahwism After the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. R. Albertz and B. Becking (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003) 219-25.

deportees might somehow all return to Judah. His broad declaration encompasses all regions of the country.

The Chronicler's audience could appreciate the tenability of the scenario sketched in Hezekiah's letter. Written in an age in which there was more than one Yahwistic sanctuary in the land, the letter offers northern Israelites the same hope as that afforded to southern Israelites. Yet it does so by associating returning to Yhwh not with any Samaritan shrine or with no shrine at all, but with journeying to the shrine that Yhwh "consecrated forever" (2 Chr 30:8), that is, the temple in Jerusalem.⁹⁰ The point of Christine Mitchell that the relationship between Chronicles and earlier texts may be better characterized as one of dialogue than one of strict dependence is well-taken.⁹¹ The writer's selection from, reworking of, and additions to earlier tradition have mutually enhancing benefits. Hezekiah's invitation draws upon the prestige of older texts, even as it redefines their terms. He promotes Jerusalem's centrality both to Yahwists throughout the land and to Yahwists scattered in other lands. The Jerusalem temple appears as an instrument of unity, rather than of division, in the life of the people.

V. Town and Temple in an Age of Globalization

At the end of this essay, I would like to return to some of the issues raised at its beginning. It seems probable that the existence of a substantial Yahwistic community to the north of Yehud in a province that was about twice the size of Yehud, demographically speaking, was one reality, among others, informing the views of this particular biblical author.⁹² To put matters somewhat differently, if Yahwistic communities could be found in both Yehud and Samaria during the Persian and Hellenistic periods and if each of these communities had its own Yahwistic sanctuary, it is likely that the religious relations between those two communities were an issue for at least some

⁹⁰ In this respect, Hezekiah's invitation is validated by association with textual tradition and (implicitly) by historical experience.

⁹¹ "The Dialogism of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture*, ed. M. P. Graham and S. L. McKenzie (JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) 311-26.

⁹² A. Zertal, "The Pahwah of Samaria (Northern Israel) during the Persian Period: Types of Settlement, Economy, History and New Discoveries," *Transeu* 3 (1990) 9-30; idem, "The Province of Samaria during the Persian and Hellenistic Periods" (Hebrew), in *Michael: Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Professor Michael Heltzer*, ed. Y. Avishur and R. Deutsch (Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Archaeological Centre Publications, 1999) 75*-98*; idem, "The Heart of the Monarchy: Patterns of Settlement and Historical Considerations of the Israelite Kingdom of Samaria," in *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan*, ed. A. Mazar (JSOTSup 331; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 38-64.

members of their elites. The very existence of literary works, such as Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, would seem to be testimony to this fact. One can go a step further and speculate about the nature of the issue for Judeans. The Yahwists in Samaria shared many traits with the Yahwists in Yehud and evidently laid claim to the same roots. They could even agree on some important matters of religious devotion. Members of both communities could conceivably achieve complete unanimity on the principles of one God, one people, and one sanctuary, but still encounter deep division about where such unity was supposed to be centred.

Living in an age in which Yahwistic communities existed in Yehud, Samaria, Babylon, Egypt, and perhaps elsewhere, the author of Chronicles pursues a dual agenda.⁹³ He inclusively acknowledges, even promotes, features shared by all Israelites over the centuries. He openly affirms a common identity for all people who see themselves as the descendants of Jacob (almost always called Israel in Chronicles). He does not stigmatize the residents of the former northern kingdom as the descendants of foreign settlers or even as a mixed race. The northern remnant addressed by Hezekiah is as Israelite as the southern remnant is.⁹⁴ In this context, one can readily understand how many Judeans in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods could justify communicating, cooperating, conducting business, and even intermarrying with Samaritans. From a Chronicist perspective both groups were Israelite.

Yet the author also defends the exclusive status of his town and temple. One of his strategies is to meld the practices of the Jerusalem cultic establishment with that of the tabernacle so closely that the two become virtually indistinguishable. In this context, the debate becomes not so much about northern Israel as opposed to southern Israel or about Mt. Gerizim as opposed to Mt. Zion as it becomes a debate about Mt. Sinai and the Plains of Moab. Debating points are scored by recourse to rituals, cultic implements, sacred furniture, priesthood, ordination, and schedules of sacrifices.⁹⁵ Another related

⁹³ The recent publication of a fourth-century Aramaic ostracism from Edom may point to the existence of some sort of Yahwistic sanctuary (*byt yhw*) in the area between Hebron and Lachish, A. Lemaire, "Les religions du sud de la Palestine au IV^e siècle av. J.-C. d'après les ostraca araméens d'Idumée," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 2001* (Avril-Juin) 1152-58. As Lemaire notes, however, the writing in this portion of the ostracism is somewhat indistinct and can be read in more than one way (e.g., *byt nbw*, "house of Nabu").

⁹⁴ Hence, there is no hint of the later Hellenistic polemic in which the story of Genesis 34 (Shechem the son of Hamor) was cited to identify the residents of the North (the Samaritans) as Sidonians/Canaanites. See further R. Pummer, "Genesis 34 in Jewish Writings of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," *HTR* 75 (1982) 177-78.

⁹⁵ In a later age, the covenanters at Qumran would take issue with the Jerusalem authorities on a number of disparate matters. Judging from the recently published MMT document (4Q394-399), it is interesting to see how many of these disputes had to do with *halakah* (e.g., sacrificial practices, offerings, and purification rites). The issue is not so

authorial strategy involves presenting the united monarchy and the Judahite monarchy as the critical links between the time of Israel's national beginnings and the present. Consistent with this aim, he portrays David and Solomon as enjoying all of Israel's unequivocal support, he revises the older Deuteronomistic polemic against the state cult in the north, and he posits a continuation of cultic orthopraxis in the south. Having made a case for unification of worship in Jerusalem and having cast aspersions on northern Israel's cult and kingdom, the author can portray some of Judah's best monarchs, such as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, reaching out to their kin among the estranged northern tribes.

Two cautions should be raised at this point. First, it would be too strong a claim to assert that the Chronicler wrote his work with special reference to northern affairs. This was one of the mistakes made in earlier scholarship. The motivations and concerns of this author are much more complex and varied than any exclusively Samaritan concern would allow. Working in the relatively small province of Yehud, the literati of Jerusalem had to deal with a variety of social, economic, political, and religious issues. In the Chronicler's time multiple Yahwisms characterized the religious landscape. The Samaritans and the Judeans had to deal not only with one another but also with the Achaemenid authorities, other peoples, and Yahwists in other territories.⁹⁶ As Talmon remarks, the "monocentricity" of the late monarchy had given way to the "multicentricity" of the postmonarchic age.⁹⁷ In this international context, neither small province could afford to focus its gaze solely upon the other.

Second, the Chronicler's nuanced point of view may not have been representative of his time. There is in any age a gap between elite opinion and actual reality. In some cases, the gap can be glaring. This was another of the mistakes made in earlier scholarship. The point of view of the Chronicler (understood to be the author of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah) was taken as emblematic of the Judean community during the postexilic period. But as the ideological differences among works such as Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Ruth, Jonah, Haggai, Malachi, and Zechariah attest, there was no unanimity in Yehud as to how to define Israelite identity, the leaders' chief priorities, and the people's relations to their neighbours. In the context of his own time, the Chronicler's voice may have been simply one among many. Moreover, because

much the authority of "the book of Moses," as it is the interpretation and application of this writing.

⁹⁶ A. Lemaire, "Populations et territoires de la Palestine à l'époque perse," *Transeu* 3 (1990) 64; I. Eph'al, "Changes in Palestine during the Persian Period in Light of Epigraphic Sources," *IEJ* 48 (1998) 114-16; C. E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period* (JSOTSup 294; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) 249-324.

⁹⁷ S. Talmon, "'Exile' and 'Restoration' in the Conceptual World of Ancient Judaism," in *Restoration: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Perspectives*, ed. J. M. Scott (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 112.

the Chronicler's case for group solidarity was partially predicated upon the argument that the rites, personnel, and sanctuary at Mt. Zion were vital to all Israelites, his work was probably more effective in shaping opinions among his compatriots in Jerusalem than it was in changing the opinions of the elite in Samaria. One of the most important things shared in common by Judeans and Samaritans would go unrecognized by many Samaritans, namely the exclusive status of Jerusalem and its temple.

Yet, in this case, one could raise a counter-argument that the Chronicler's nuanced stance was more representative of elite opinion throughout most phases of Judean history than Nehemiah's stance was. The archaeological evidence, limited though it is, is of some relevance to this question. The similarities in the material remains as well as the available epigraphic evidence (e.g., the Elephantine papyri) suggest that there was interaction between members of the two communities during the Persian period by means of trade, travel, and scribal communications. Both communities belonged to a much larger province "Beyond the River" that was, in turn, part of a vast empire ruled by a regime encouraging contacts, trade, travel, and commercial links among its various regions. It is quite possible that the leaders in Samaria and Jerusalem enjoyed generally good relations during much of the Achaemenid era.⁹⁸ One has to explain historically, after all, the many traits shared by Judeans and Samaritans and how the two communities came eventually to adopt a common Torah. The very campaign of Nehemiah against those who would cooperate with Sanballat and his regime presupposes that there were others in Jerusalem who took a contrary position. If Nehemiah fashioned himself as a reformer, the position he argued against must have represented the status quo.

Were one to imagine the Samaritan woman portrayed in John conversing with the Chronicler in the late fourth century BCE, she might discuss the divisions caused by the existence of different worship centres at Mt. Gerizim and Jerusalem. On this issue, the two could agree. In this respect, the fourth century BCE was not so different from the first century CE. But the Chronicler would probably dispute the assertion made by the narrator of John and declare that "Jews do share things in common with Samaritans." In fact, the writer might go further and insist that "Jews share many things in common with Samaritans." It was precisely because there was so much overlap between the two groups that an appeal could be made from one to the other. Such unity based on shared bloodlines, shared customs, shared traditions, shared prophets, shared

⁹⁸ In the view of Williamson, there is no clear evidence for tensions between Samaritans and Jews until the mid- to late-fifth century, when the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah attempt to enforce a demarcation of the members of the *golah* community from all others, "The Composition of Ezra i-vi," *JTS* 34 (1983) 1-30; idem, "The Concept of Israel in Transition," in *The World of Ancient Israel*, ed. R. E. Clements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 141-60.

beliefs, a shared past, a shared land, and a shared social structure could be cited to build hope for a common future.

Minutes of the 2004 CSBS Annual General Meeting

University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
May 30, 16h00-17h00

Present: David Hawkin, Ehud Ben Zvi, Todd Penner, Gordon Matties, Michel Desjardins, Dietmar Neufeld, Cecilia Wassen, Christianna de Groot, Edith M. Humphrey, Daniel Miller, Anders Runesson, Russell Martin, John Horman, Keith Bodner, Lissa Wray Beal, Ellen White, Roy Jeal, Michael Kolarcik, Kathleen Robbins, Jo-Ann Brant, Tim Goltz, Susan Haber, Erin Vearncombe, Tony Chartrand-Burke, Phil Harland, Steven Muir, Frank Clancy, Ian Henderson, Karen Leonhardt, J. Richard Middleton, John L. McLaughlin, V. Philips Long, Iain Provan, Daniel Smith, J-Sebastien Viard, Matthew Mitchell, Ken Penner, Derek Suderman, Ian Scott, Rene Baergen, Terry Donaldson, Bill Richards, Carl S. Ehrlich, Bill Morrow, Michael Gilmour, John Kloppenborg, Christine Mitchell, Glen Taylor, Marion Dugen, Murray Baker, Kenneth Fox, Andy Reimer, Harold Remus, Eileen Schuller, Steve Wilson, Lloyd Gaston, Glenn Wooden, Ken Ristau, Kimberly Stratton, Gary Knoppers, Michele Murray

1. Approval of the Agenda

The agenda was approved as circulated.

2. Approval of the Minutes

The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting (May 29, 2003) were approved as circulated (McLaughlin/Morrow).

3. President's Report

Gary Knoppers expressed his thanks to Michele Murray for her work on behalf of the society. Gary noted with sadness that Gerald Sheppard died this past year, and he requested participants to stand for a moment of silence to honour his memory. He announced that the 75th Anniversary Committee was established, with Michel Desjardins as Chair; 15 people volunteered to be part of this committee.

Gary reported that the Craigie lecture for next year will be given by Paula Fredriksen. He also noted that membership continues to be strong, as well as the finances. Finally, he thanked Glen Taylor for his work as Programme Coordinator, noting that it is a demanding job, which requires diplomacy. Glen did his job well, with a sense of humour that was much appreciated.

4. Executive Secretary's Report

Michele Murray announced CSBS's Congress dates for next year: Sunday, May 29 through Tuesday, May 31, at the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario. She also reviewed the list of upcoming Congresses: York University (2006); University of Saskatchewan (2007); University of British Columbia (2008); probably in Ottawa (2009) and Montreal (2010)—these two are still being negotiated.

She reminded members that our society is linked with other associations in Canada in two important ways: 1) through our participation in the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion (CCSR), and 2) through our involvement in the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences. The CCSR links us with several other societies engaged in the study of religion, and together we produce the journal *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses*, and share in the maintenance of the CCSR web site—both of which are good resources for publication and information dissemination. Michele noted that in our association with the Federation, our society is joined with over 100 societies across Canada, thus the Federation can speak with a strong voice in the defence and promotion of scholarship in the Humanities. This past year, the central focus has been on the transformation of SSHRC. Thanks to lobbying by the Federation, the Canadian government agreed to accept input from scholars in the Humanities and Social Sciences for the changes that would be made. This input was heard by Federation executive in March, and a draft report was created. In Winnipeg, Michele will attend a final meeting of representatives of associations for the fine-tuning of this report. Before the year's end, SSHRC will develop a detailed report, incorporating the Federation's response, and this will be submitted to the government.

Stephen Wilson provided an ESCJ update: Michele Murray's *Playing a Jewish Game* just came out; Scott Brown's book on Secret Gospel of Mark will soon follow, as will Richard Ascough's edited volume derived from the Religious Rivalries Seminar on Sardis and Smyrna; there is another book on Rabbinic Traditions coming out; plus two further edited volumes, one by Leif Vaage and one by Willi Braun.

5. Student Liaison Officer's Report

Mona expressed her thanks to those who helped facilitate the student and new member lunch, especially to Glen Taylor for organizing food and drink, and to Daniel Miller for hosting the lunch. The lunch was well-attended, and so was the student session, "Facing the Post-Secondary Classroom: Preparing to be a Teacher." Mona thanked André Maintenay, student representative for the CCSR, for helping to organize the session, and for hosting it. She extended a

special thank you to the four panelists, Edith Humphrey, Michele Murray, Harold Remus, and Lissa Wray Beal. Mona highlighted the fact that students are very important to CSBS, with 1 in 4 members students, and 30% of the papers delivered at the meeting this year by students. She extended her congratulations to this year's student essay prize winners, Susan Haber and Kenneth Ristau. Mona invited students to contact her with any ideas or concerns they might have.

6. Vice-President's Report and Nominations

David Hawkin thanked Gary Knoppers for his fine job as President, noting that he handled the job with grace and humour. He then submitted the following slate for Executive positions: Bill Morrow (Queen's University) as Vice-President (2004-2005), Christine Mitchell (St. Andrew's College) as Programme Coordinator (2004-2007), Mona Tokarek LaFosse (continuing) as Student Liaison Officer (2004-2005). With no other nominations coming from the floor, and following a motion that nominations close (Wilson/Humphrey), the three were elected by acclamation, then thanked for their willingness to serve and continue to serve the society.

7. Programme Coordinator's Report

Glen Taylor thanked Gordon Matties for his work as local representative on the society's behalf (confirming rooms, choosing a dinner locale, etc.). Glen thanked members for submitting paper proposals, and especially Francis Landry for organizing the Literature and Hebrew Bible session, which received more proposals than was possible to accommodate. He also drew attention to a few changes in the programme and gave instructions on where the bus would be to take us to the dinner (which was full to capacity).

8. Communications Officer's Report

John McLaughlin reported that his current email list covers 93% of our membership; he requested that members who are not on the list send him their email addresses, and also that he be informed of news (such as book publications and the completion of dissertations) as well as email address changes. E-mail communication continues to be a money-saving mechanism, and an effective way to share information. The First and Second mailings were distributed via this list, and the electronic version of the *Bulletin* will soon be available. The paper edition of the *Bulletin* should be in members' mailboxes by the time they arrive home from the Congress.

John explained that he is responsible for coordinating the 2 book prizes: he sends the nominated books to 3 judges who remain anonymous (even to one another). This year there were 4 volumes nominated for the 2004 Francis W.

Bear Award and three for the R. B. Y. Scott Award. He encouraged members to recommend outstanding books in Christian origins for consideration for the upcoming Bear Award, and outstanding books in Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and Ancient Near East, with formal notification of the awards to go out in the Fall in the First Mailing. Self-nominations are accepted, as are ongoing financial donations earmarked for these prizes.

John reported on the Poll results pertaining to the number of days and seminars of the Congress. The executive discussed the results, and decided that the goal will be to have 2 sessions but occasionally there will be 3; we don't think at this point there is an issue about quality of papers; the third day will take the full afternoon but where the conference is taking place will be taken into account (e.g., when the Congress is located on the East coast or the West coast, people will need more time to travel so efforts will be made to have the third day of the conference end earlier).

John announced that a new seminar on Travel and Antiquity headed up by Phil Harland will begin next year. The executive is working on coming up with specific guidelines regarding what is a seminar and what is a special session, and these will be distributed to members.

9. Treasurer and Membership Secretary's Report

Dietmar Neufeld, acting as both Membership Secretary and Treasurer, touched on the following points:

- The society has a remarkably stable membership base: there are currently 293 members and this year 26 new members were nominated: Laura Alary, Bruce Waltke, David James Shepherd, Catherine Jones, Anders Runesson, Marylyn Ellen White, Allan Loder, Robin Baer, Mark Boda, Paul Evans, Matthew Anderson, David A. Reed, David Robinson, Ayse Tuzlak, Wayne Baxter, Russell Martin, Caroline Vander Stichele, Karen Leonhardt, Isaac Kalimi, Erin Vearncombe, Roxana Iavoschi, John Course, Annette Y. Reed, Olutola K. Peters, Tim Goltz, Joan Campbell. A motion to accept these people as new members (Wilson/Schuller) passed unanimously. Diet asked that members let him know their new address when they move.

- SSHRC renewed its travel grant of \$4755 for this fiscal year. Diet distributed it among 33 people, using a formula of 40% percent for students and 20% for full members. He is grateful for a high membership renewal rate (85%) and that members continue to respond to his letters. A total of \$2875 was donated to support various awards. Diet noted that this amount was down from past years: the trend seems to be that fewer people are giving larger

donations, and that this is a bit worrying. He encouraged members to consider donating—for each donation, a tax receipt is given. Currently, the Wagner and Bear Awards are in deficit, as is funding for the Craigie lecture.

- Projected expenses for 2004-2005 will be fully covered by projected receipts. This is in large part thanks due to sound investment by the Endowment Committee, consisting of Harold Remus, Bill Klassen, Wayne McCready and Peter Richardson; we are moving toward the goal amount of \$270,000 (we presently have \$85,000); Harold Remus spoke highly about the financial advisor employed by the Committee.

10. Other Business

No other business was raised.

11. Adjournment

The meeting was adjourned at 5:02 PM (Martin/Hawkin).

(Minutes prepared by Michele Murray, June 11, 2004.)

Financial Statements

Fiscal year 1 Sept. 2003—31 Aug. 2004

The following amounts have been audited. The full audited report is available to any member of the CSBS/SCEB upon request to the treasurer.

General Fund		
	2004	2003
Opening Balance:	2,161	1,086
Revenue:		
Membership Dues	15,040	14,177
SSHRC Travel Grant	4,755	4,755
CSBS Dinner	2,506	2,107
Congress Registration	1,818	1,281
Subscriptions	113	139
TOTAL	24,232	22,459
Expenses:		
Accounting and Auditing	1,538	1,458
Bank Charges	74	131
Congress	1,052	
CSBS Dinner	2,342	2,286
Dues and Memberships	2,162	2,162
Executive	4,672	4,044
Member Travel	4,756	5,028
Office, Printing and Postage	1,778	640
Subscriptions (SR)	6,106	6,180
TOTAL	24,480	21,929
Revenue Over Expenses	(248)	530
Interfund Transfers	2,390	545
Closing Balance	4,303	2,161

Restricted Funds:

	Capital	Income on hand
General Endowment:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2003	8,973	0
Donations	360	
Investment Income:		590
Expenditures		
Interfund Transfers		(590)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2004	9,333	0
Beare Award:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2003	12,072	6
Donations	0	
Investment Income		778
Expenditures		(500)
Interfund transfers		(200)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2004	12,072	84
Craigie Fund:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2003	15,747	30
Donations	383	
Investment Income		1,028
Expenditures		
Interfund transfers		(1,000)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2004	16,130	58
Founders Prize:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2003	6,718	75
Donations	100	
Investment Income		436
Expenditures		(250)
Interfund transfers		(200)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2004	6,818	61
Jeremias Prize:		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2003	7,468	94
Donations	287	
Investment Income		491
Expenditures		(250)
Interfund transfers		(300)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2004	7,755	35

	Capital	Income on hand
<u>Publication Fund:</u>		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2003	1,606	42
Donations	300	
Investment Income		113
Expenditures		
Interfund transfers		(100)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2004	1,906	55
<u>Scott Award:</u>		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2003	4,160	3
Donations	2,483	
Investment Income		348
Expenditures		(500)
Interfund transfers		200
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2004	6,643	51
<u>Student Research:</u>		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2003	1,283	46
Donations	0	
Investment Income		83
Expenditures		
Interfund transfers		(100)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2004	1,283	29
<u>Wagner Award:</u>		
Opening Balance 1 Sept. 2003	10,293	7
Donations	28	
Investment Income		665
Expenditures		(500)
Interfund transfers		(100)
Closing Balance 31 Aug. 2004	10,321	72
TOTALS		
Opening Balances 1 Sept. 2003	68,320	303
Donations	3,941	
Investment Income		4,533
Expenditures		(2,000)
Interfund transfers		(2,390)
Closing Balances 31 Aug. 2004	72,261	446

Membership News

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- Crook, Zeba. *Reconceptualising Conversion: Patronage, Loyalty and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean*. BZBW 130. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004.
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- Shepherd, David. *Targum and Translation: A Reconsideration of the Qumran Aramaic Version of Job*. Studia Semitica Neerlandica. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004.
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- Wilson, Stephen. *Leaving the Fold: Apostates and Defectors in Antiquity*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004.

Articles, Chapters, Published Conference Proceedings:

- Arnal, William and Willi Braun. "Social Formation and Mythmaking: Theses on Key Terms." In *Redescribing Christian Origins*. Ed. Ron Cameron and Merrill Miller, 459-69. SBL Symposium Series 18. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature Press; Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Ascough, Richard S. "A Question of Death: Paul's Community Building Language in 1 Thessalonians 4:13-18," *JBL* 123 (2004): 509-30.
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- _____. "Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000*. Ed. A. Pinnock and E. G. Chazon, 173-89. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
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Appointments, Promotions, Awards, Honors:

- Aitken, Eileen B. Associate Professor of Early Christian History and Literature, McGill University, August 2004.
- Ascough, Richard S. Aide to Scholarly Publications Programme Book Subvention for *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Sardis and Smyrna*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005.
- _____. Nominated: Frank Knox Award for Excellence in Teaching, Alma Mater Society of Queen's University at Kingston (for RELS 214 The New Testament).
- Batten, Alicia. Regency Advancement Award, Pacific Lutheran University.
- _____. Fortress Press Innovative Undergraduate Teaching Award.
- _____. Society of Biblical Literature 2005 Pacific Northwest Regional Scholar.
- Braun, Willi. Director (2004-09), Religious Studies Program, Faculty of Arts, University of Alberta
- Chartrand-Burke, Tony. Three-year Appointment in Biblical Studies at Atkinson School of Arts and Letters, York University, July 2004.

- Cousland, J. R. C. Supervising Editor of Religion and Myth in Robert Todd. *Dictionary of British Classicists*. 3 Vols. Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004.
- Crook, Zeba. New Testament Book Review Editor, *Biblical Theology Bulletin*.
- Di Giovanni, Andrea. Sisters of St. Joseph (Hamilton) Fontbonne Bursary.
- _____. ITER Fellowship.
- Eberhart, Christian A. Associate Professor of New Testament Studies, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon.
- _____. Postdoctoral Fellow (2001-2004), interdisciplinary research group of the German Research Society: "The Bible—Its Development and Its Impact." University of Tübingen.
- Feuerherm, Karljürgen G. Assistant Professor in Near Eastern Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University.
- Hegedus, Tim. Promoted to Associate Professor of New Testament, Waterloo Lutheran Seminary.
- Humphrey, Edith. Speaker for 2005 Convocation, Queen's College Faculty of Theology, St. John's, Nfld.
- Idestrom, Rebecca G. S. Mentoring Award, SBL Committee on the Status of Women.
- Irwin, Brian P. Visiting Assistant Professor of Old Testament, Knox College, Toronto (2004-2005)
- Maier, Harry O. Promoted to Full Professor, January 1, 2005.
- McLaughlin, John L. Awarded tenure and promoted to Associate Professor, Faculty of Theology, University of St. Michael's College, April, 2004.
- Miller, David. Assistant Professor of New Testament, Briercrest College, August 2004.
- Mitchell, Matthew W. Appointed Lecturer, Department of Comparative Religion, Dalhousie University September, 2004. Promoted to Assistant Professor, December, 2004.
- Murray, Michele. Granted Tenure, Bishop's University.
- _____. Three-year Grant for *The Magical Female: Women and Magic in Jewish and Christian Communities in Late Antiquity*. Fonds Québécois de la Recherche sur la Société et la Culture.
- _____. Bishop's University Faculty Evaluation Committee Award for Excellence in Teaching.
- Penner, Todd. Granted tenure and promoted to the Cloud Associate Professor of Religion.
- Schuller, Eileen. Associate Editor for *New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*.
- Segal, Alan. *After Death: A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West* (New York/Toronto: Doubleday, 2004) named one of the Associated Press' Top Four Books about Religion in 2004.

- Smith, Daniel A. Associate Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, Faculty of Theology, Huron University College.
- Webster, Jane. Associate Professor of Biblical Studies and Greek, Barton College.
- _____. Chair of the Society of Biblical Literature Committee for the Status of Women in the Profession.
- White, Ellen. Canada Study Grant for Women in Doctoral Programs.
- Wilson, Stephen. Chancellors Professor, Carleton University.
- Wray Beal, Lissa. Assistant Professor of Old Testament, Providence Theological Seminary, Otterburne, Manitoba.

Dissertations\Theses Completed:

- Bertone, John A. "Law and the Spirit: Experience of the Spirit and Displacement of the Law in Romans 8:1-16." Ph.D., University of St. Michael's College, 2004.
- Chambers, Stephen. "Paul, His Converts, and Mission in First Corinthians." Ph.D., University of St. Michael's College, 2004.
- Dion, Marie-France. "A l'origine du concept de l'élection divine. Critique des sources de Jg 10:16-11:40; IS 9:1-10:16 et IS 11:1-15." Ph.D., Faculté de l'Université de Montréal, 2003.
- Eberhart, Christian A. "Studien zur Bedeutung der Opfer im Alten Testament: Die Signifikanz von Blut- und Verbrennungsriten im kultischen Rahmen." Ph.D., University of Heidelberg, 2000.
- Feuerherm, Karljürgen. "Abum-waqar and His Circle: A Prosopographical Study." Ph.D., University of Toronto, 2004.
- Iavoschi, Roxana. "The Archangel Gabriel in History and Tradition: An Analysis of his Role and Function in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam." M.A., Concordia University, 2004.
- Leonhardt, Karen J. "'And as for Sarai. . .': First Wives and the Inheritance of Land in the Promise Narratives of Genesis." M.A., University of Alberta, 2004.
- Luna, Rodolfo Felices. "Structure littéraire et argumentation de la première épître johannique." Ph.D., Université de Montréal, 2004.
- Martin, Russell. "Towards an Understanding of Local Autonomy in Judaea between 6 and 66 CE." Ph.D., University of Toronto, 2004.
- Miller, David. "Luke's Conception of Prophets Considered in the Context of Second Temple Literature." Ph.D., McMaster University, 2004.
- Mitchell, Mary Louise. "A Reading of the Imagery of Lamentations." Ph.D., McGill University, 2004.
- Mitchell, Matthew W. "Paul's Gospel and the Rhetoric of Apostolic Rejection:

- A Study of Galatians 1:15-17, 1 Corinthians 15:8, F. C. Baur, and the Origins of Paul's Gentile Mission." Ph.D., Temple University, 2005.
- Ristau, Ken. "Reading and Re-Reading Josiah: A Critical Study of Josiah in Chronicles." M.A., University of Alberta, 2004.
- Scott, Ian. "Living the Story: Implicit Epistemology in the Letters of Paul." Ph.D., McMaster University, 2004.
- Wassen, Cecilia. "Women in the Damascus Document." Ph.D., McMaster University, 2003.
- White, Ellen. "The Purpose and Portrayal of the *sātān* in the Old Testament." Th.M., Tyndale Seminary, 2004.

Research in Progress:

- Aitken, Eileen. Epistle to the Hebrews in Flavian Rome.
- Ascough, Richard S. Recruitment, Conversion and Adherence among Voluntary Associations in Antiquity.
- _____. 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
- Batten, Alicia. Letter of James
- _____. Ideological Criticism
- Beck, Roger. The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire: The Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun. In preparation for Oxford University Press.
- _____. A Brief History of Ancient Astrology. In preparation for Blackwell Publishing.
- Boda, Mark. Penitential Prayer: Origin, Development, and Impact.
- _____. Ezra-Nehemiah: Redactional and Rhetorical Composition.
- _____. Haggai-Zechariah 1-8: Tradition History.
- _____. Zechariah, Judges, Chronicles: Commentary.
- Calvert-Koyzis, Nancy. Household codes in Ephesians and Colossians and the Greco-Roman family.
- _____. Comparison of popular portrayals of Mary Magdalene and scholarly research.
- _____. Foucauldian Interpretations of Galatians.
- Chartrand-Burke, Tony. Curses and Curse Narratives in Antiquity.
- Cousland, J. R. C. Vita of Adam and Eve.
- _____. Myth Theory.
- _____. Matthew and Antioch.
- Crook, Zeba. An English Reader's Synopsis.
- _____. Modeling Exchange in Antiquity.
- Duhaime, Jean. The Bible at Qumran.
- _____. Sectarianism in Ancient Judaism and in New Religious Movments.

- Eberhart, Christian A. *The One Who Gave His Life for Many: Studies in Traditions-geschichte and Religionsgeschichte on the Understanding of the Sacrifice of Jesus in the New Testament.*
- Feuerherm, Karljürgen. *Economic Documents from Larsa during the Reign of Rim-Sîn.*
- Gilders, William K. *Monograph on Moses: An Ancient Jewish Biography.*
- Irwin, Brian P. *The Laying on of Hands in 1 Tim 5:22: A New Proposal.*
- _____. *The Problem of the Kethib-Qere in Ruth 3:3-4*
- Keesmaat, Sylvia. *Non-Violence and Power in Paul.*
- _____. *Biblical Theology of Creation and the Land.*
- Kloppenborg, John. *The Parable of the Tenants: Ideology and Social History.*
- _____. *Letter of James.*
- _____. *Associations in the Ancient World.*
- Knowles, Michael. *Exodus 34:6-7 in Hebrew Scripture, Intertestamental and New Testament Literature, the Early Church Fathers, Rabbinic Exegesis and Islamic Thought.*
- _____. *Edited anthology of lectures on homiletics from the Gladstone Festival of Preaching.*
- MacDonald, Margaret. *Monograph on Women and House Churches.*
- Maier, Harry O. *Roman Imperial Iconography, Pauline Theologies and Counter-Imperial Communal Formations in connection with NT christologies.*
- McLaughlin, John L. *Ancient Israelite Religion.*
- _____. *Prophetic Justice*
- Murray, Michele. *Nabateans' Religious Behaviour.*
- _____. *Women and Magic in Jewish and Christian Communities in Late Antiquity.*
- Piovanelli, Peirluigi. *Studies on Jewish Pseudepigrapha (1 Enoch) and Christian Apocryphal Texts (Paralipomena of Jeremiah, Apocalypse of Paul, Book of the Cock).*
- Reinhartz, Adele. *Jesus of Hollywood. In Preparation for Oxford University Press.*
- _____. *Caiaphas in History, Historiography and Culture. SSHRC grant for book in Personalities of the New Testament Series, edited by M. Moody Smith. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.*
- Wassen, Cecilia. *Sectarianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*
- _____. *Purity and Women.*
- Wooden, Glenn. *Translations of the Greek 1 and 2 Esdras for the New English Translation of the Septuagint (Oxford).*
- _____. *Commentary on the book of Daniel for the New International Commentary on the Old Testament series (Eerdmans).*
- _____. *Commentaries on the Greek 1 and 2 Esdras.*

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