

# The Formation of Biblical Texts

Chronicling the Legacy of Gary N. Knoppers

Edited by  
DEIRDRE N. FULTON,  
KENNETH A. RISTAU,  
JONATHAN S. GREER,  
and MARGARET E. COHEN

*Forschungen  
zum Alten Testament  
176*

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**Mohr Siebeck**

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Edited by

Corinna Körting (Hamburg) · Konrad Schmid (Zürich)  
Mark S. Smith (Princeton) · Andrew Teeter (Harvard)

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ISBN 978-3-16-160741-7 / eISBN 978-3-16-162756-9  
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-162756-9

ISSN 0940-4155 / eISSN 2568-8359 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.de>.

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The book was typeset by SatzWeise in Bad Wünnenberg using Minion typeface, printed on non-aging paper by Laupp & Göbel in Gomaringen, and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

## Preface

Gary was a leading scholar in many of the subfields of biblical studies and made significant contributions in discussions concerning the so-called Primary and Deuteronomistic Histories, the Book of Chronicles, the Book of Ezra-Neemiah, and Samaritan Studies. Gary was highly-regarded among his peers, a much-sought-after speaker in national and international contexts, and a devoted mentor to many students. We seek to celebrate his important career with a volume of collected essays by expert scholars that builds upon and interacts with trajectories in scholarship that he influenced.

Along with his family and personal friends, our scholarly community was greatly saddened to learn of Gary's passing. So many expressed their appreciation for his academic contributions, his friendship, and his service to the guild. Losing such a vibrant and beloved colleague, teacher, and friend too soon was a terrible thing. One expression of this appreciation came in the form of a special session at the annual meeting of the SBL in 2019 at which a number of scholars offered papers in honor and memory of Gary. As was true of Gary's scholarship, this session also was a mixture of retrospection, new questions, intellectual curiosity, and warm hospitality. At the time we could not have known that shortly thereafter we would all be forced into a different crisis, as we all faced an unprecedented global pandemic. The difficult and unexpected burdens brought on by these events have lengthened the time it has taken to see this project to fruition. Even so, as we continue to remember Gary, and look back over these years since his death, we editors, all former students of Gary's, are pleased to offer this volume, which stems from that SBL session, as a lasting memorial to him.

June 16, 2023

Deirdre N. Fulton, Kenneth A. Ristau,  
Jonathan S. Greer, and Margaret Cohen



## Acknowledgments

We are grateful to the many contributors to this volume who were eager to honor Gary's memory with their work. Our work on this project was also greatly assisted by a number of people over the course of several years. We are especially appreciative of assistance received during the COVID-19 pandemic when personal and professional challenges were numerous for so many.

For assistance with formatting and editing, we would like to thank Brent Nessler from Baylor University for all of his hard work. We would also like to thank Christina Olson, Cara Forney, and Abigail Bodeau, from Baylor University as well as Viviana Moscovich, from The Center for the Mediterranean World. We are grateful to our editor at Mohr Siebeck, Elena Müller, as well as Betina Burkhart, for their kind help and patience during this project.





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## Introduction

Questions concerning the composition and formation of specific biblical texts and how these texts interact with one another have dominated many of the current discussions in biblical studies. Such questions include explorations of the literary relationship between the Pentateuch and the (so-called) Deuteronomistic History, how these texts may have functioned as a corpus (or related corpora), as well as inquiries into the potential interconnections among these texts and those of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Further, as appreciation has grown for the significance of the history of Judah and Samaria in the Persian and Hellenistic periods as it pertains to text production, the discussion has expanded to incorporate explorations of the way that textual criticism – particularly as it relates to the relationships among the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, Qumran corpus, and the Masoretic Text – and literary criticism intersect. In this volume, a wide array of leading voices in this discussion come together to tackle questions about the composition and formation of the Hebrew Bible and the future directions of such studies.

In the past three decades, few contemporary scholars have contributed as meaningfully to such a wide range of topics in biblical studies as Gary Knoppers. His scholarship is respected and valued by scholars in North America and across the globe. Spanning the gulf between higher and lower criticism, Gary made important contributions in the areas of historical, textual, and redactional criticisms of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament across various corpora.

Gary's dissertation from Harvard University, *What Share Have We in David? The Division of the Kingdom in Kings and Chronicles*, was later substantially revised and became his two-volume work, *Two Nations Under God*.<sup>1</sup> While he was trained in what is known as the "Harvard School" of biblical criticism – and was greatly influenced by his *Doktorvater*, Frank Moore Cross, Jr. – Gary also thoroughly engaged the "Göttingen School" of thought and adopted aspects of this approach in his work.

Gary was a very careful reader of the biblical texts, and many of his articles and works reflect this care. He often tackled what one may classify as "discrete questions," particularly related to textual and historical issues, thoroughly reviewing the previous scholarly work on the topic as well as considering the multiple textual traditions, and ancient Near Eastern, and classical sources.

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<sup>1</sup> G. N. Knoppers, *Two Nations Under God*, vol. 1–2, HSM 52–53 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993–94).

Any article of Gary's provides a thorough literature review of the previous scholarship on the topic.

His most well-known scholarship is in the books of Chronicles, on which he published a number of very important articles as well as his two-volume commentary on 1 Chronicles for the prestigious Anchor Bible series.<sup>2</sup> In more recent years, he also published on Ezra and Nehemiah, as well as the broader questions about the history and thought of the Samaritans. His most recent (single-authored) book, *The Jews and the Samaritans*, is a synthesis of Samaritan studies from biblical and classical sources.<sup>3</sup> Drawing on his work in biblical studies as well as his broader interest in ancient Near Eastern sources and archaeology, Gary's study on the Samaritans exhibits his expertise in areas beyond the biblical texts.

Gary was also adept at bringing scholars' work together in edited volumes. He edited a number of books on topics including the Pentateuch, the Deuteronomistic History, identity and identity formation in biblical texts, covenant in the Persian Period, and Second Temple period studies, to name a few. These volumes are well-regarded by biblical scholars and also reflect Gary's unique ability to work with many scholars from different universities and perspectives.

This collection is reflective of Gary's endeavors in this regard and also brings together scholars from a number of different research areas. Specifically, this volume examines the formation of biblical texts, and the historical questions related to these processes, within these crucial subfields. This project was undertaken as a memorial for Gary, but it also now contributes to the larger scholarly discourse on the composition and formation of the Hebrew Bible. Many of the contributions identify significant, original insights and methods within Gary's work. The essays in this volume are both retrospective in some sense, reviewing and assessing Gary's scholarship, but also prospective in providing innovative and insightful directions for future research on the formation of biblical texts. Especially important in Gary's work on this subject, and so too in the essays here, are issues of community, identity, and ethnicity. He saw such issues, especially the relationship between Judeans and Samaritans, as providing vital context for understanding the composition and formation of the texts, helping guide scholars in illuminating literary and textual history.

We have arranged this work in four units modeled after several of Gary's own edited volumes and other works:<sup>4</sup> the Primary and Deuteronomistic Histories, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah and the Prophets, and Samaritan/Samaritan Stud-

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<sup>2</sup> G. N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1–9*, AB 12 (New York: Doubleday; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); idem, *1 Chronicles 10–29*, AB 12A (New York: Doubleday; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> G. N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> See, for example: G. N. Knoppers and J. McConville, eds., *Reconsidering Israel and Judah:*

ies. In the same spirit represented in Gary's collaborative efforts, our aim was to bring together different scholars in the study of one area or topic to provide a comprehensive, yet polyvocal, discussion.

The first section, "Rethinking the Relationship between Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History: The Formation of the Primary and Deuteronomistic Histories," takes its title from a 2001 article of Gary's, "Rethinking the Relationship between Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History: The Case of Kings."<sup>5</sup> This article compares attitudes towards and depictions of kingship in Deuteronomy itself and the accounts of the monarchs, particularly Solomon, in the book of Kings. In addition to laying out diverging attitudes toward the monarchy in these different bodies of work, he also points out competing attitudes toward the polity more broadly, its functionaries, structure, economic concerns, and cult needs. This careful dissection serves to complicate some of the more superficial views of indebtedness among texts and Gary ends this article by posing provocative questions about the number of times the texts of Deuteronomy and the history may have been edited. As well, he concludes with the insightful reminder that though there may be clear influence between a source and an editor, the magnitude and faithfulness of that influence is not something to be assumed.

Like its namesake, this section, too, explores the relationship between interconnected bodies of text and considers the reach of source material in shaping coherent, edited narratives. In this section, we also find the contributors searching to extrapolate sources out of the emended final products, both from the biblical texts and also as they remember and review Gary's own finished works. As Gary pointed out in "Rethinking," the relationship between authors and

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*The Deuteronomistic History in Recent Thought*, SBTS 8 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000); G. N. Knoppers and A. Hirsch, eds., *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*, PÅ 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); G. N. Knoppers and B. M. Levinson, eds., *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007); O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and R. Albertz, eds., *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011); G. N. Knoppers, L. L. Grabbe, and D. N. Fulton, eds., *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods in Memory of Peter R. Ackroyd*, LSTS 73 (London: T&T Clark; New York: Continuum, 2009); G. N. Knoppers and K. A. Ristau, eds., *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009); O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and M. Oeming, eds., *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011); R. J. Bautch and G. N. Knoppers, eds., *Covenant in the Persian Period: From Genesis to Chronicles* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015); M. L. Miller, E. Ben Zvi, and G. N. Knoppers, eds., *The Economy of Ancient Judah in Its Historical Context* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015); M. Kartveit and G. N. Knoppers, eds., *The Bible, Qumran, and the Samaritans*, SJ104/StSam10 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> G. N. Knoppers, "Rethinking the Relationship between Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History: The Case of Kings," *CBQ* 63 (2001): 393–415.



their source material is not necessarily straightforward, and, even drawing on those sources, later authors use and adapt them according to their own wishes. In this way, explaining the development of what we call the Deuteronomistic History cannot be done with a singular, linear progression. Rather, “Rethinking” reminds us to consider multiple editions of both earlier and subsequent texts, redactions that represent the realities and concerns of differing and perhaps competing groups. The essays brought together here address both discrete and schematic questions concerning the literary and developmental relationship within and between texts.

This section begins with Steven McKenzie’s piece which offers an appreciation of Gary’s many works and wide array of interests, but which reviews specifically those works whose titles indicate a focus on the Deuteronomist or Deuteronomistic History. In this way, McKenzie provides a kind of scaffold on which to hang the other contributions by surveying Gary’s approach to the literary development of a coherent Deuteronomistic narrative through the use of, paradoxically, both imitation and consistency with sources, but also at times subversion and divergence from them. McKenzie carefully directs attention to the critical, but often subtle, changes or realignments in Gary’s understanding of the Deuteronomistic History. Especially relevant is the review of “Rethinking” in which McKenzie highlights a shift in Gary’s view of the complexity and multiplicity of Deuteronomistic redactions. Steadfast in Gary’s work, however, is the view that, despite multiple authors and editors, and despite varying genres and content, Deuteronomistic work is coherent and exhibits unity more than not. This tension – between acknowledging the consistencies and patterns as well as the divergences of ideology and differences of hands – continually drove Gary’s scholarship forward, as McKenzie’s discussion demonstrates.

Similarly, Bernard Levinson discusses a group of Gary’s lesser-recognized contributions focusing particularly on the issue of kingship, a topic which pervaded much of Gary’s oeuvre in large and small ways. Here he reviews, for example, an article on the Ugaritic legend of Kirta in which we find not only an example of Gary’s control over and incorporation of material from the wider ancient world, but also another case in which royal ideology is examined and indeed complicated by the creativity and design of the author. Levinson has also chosen “Rethinking” as a case which shows an important moment in the evolution of Gary’s perspective on the Deuteronomistic history and its ideology and development. He targets Gary’s complication of the traditional view of what is Deuteronomic and what is Deuteronomistic, highlights the disconnects on which Gary focuses regarding the authority and constraints of kingship and praises Gary’s restoration of independence to the Deuteronomistic historian.

Jonathan Greer’s investigation of the sin of Jeroboam proposes a nuanced view of the monarch that is theologically neutral in its earliest form. Bringing to bear evidence from a variety of sources including textual criticism, extrabibl-

ical text traditions, archaeological data, and more, Greer probes accounts concerning Jeroboam I to show a trajectory through the texts which reflect the growth of the tradition about him. Focusing in particular on a discreet passage in 1 Kgs 12, Greer is interested in teasing apart strata that reveal evolving portraits of the monarch. In a context of close interaction between historians from the southern and northern kingdoms, an originally ambiguous account of the Jeroboam's temple building activities, as well as his commissioning of cultic icons and other religious reforms, was reworked to convey a southern, orthodox Yahwism more clearly, and to condemn cult activities outside of those parameters. The familiar condemnation of the sin of Jeroboam develops over the course of multiple reworkings of a core story, as well as influencing and being influenced by texts outside of Kings, and at each stage there is perhaps more compromise between competing traditions than is typically assumed. In offering this proposal, Greer, like Knoppers, has shown not only the growth of Jeroboam's infamy regarding his golden calves, but also demonstrates an example of the non-linear progression of history making in the biblical text, relying on multiple reworkings by changing groups, each with their own prerogatives.

The editors of this volume were all students of Gary's and we were pleased to be joined by one of our own cohort, Jeff Rop, whose contribution here concerns the Elisha cycle. Rop, reacting to a conversation with Gary concerning some oddities about the prophetic account in 2 Kgs 3, addresses the seemingly questionable behavior of Elisha in a number of passages and suggests that these reports are part of a contemporary reaction to negative press concerning the prophet. Several points harken back to Gary's questions concerning the depiction of the monarchy, as well as other functionaries within the state, in disparate texts. The Elisha cycle and Rop's investigation of numerous apologies within it provide another example of how the history's content – whatever its origin – is incorporated and reshaped. Gary's approach affirms both that the Deuteronomistic school was not a monolith and that there is not an obligation to assume every editorial moment represents a single, homogeneous guild. So too, in the example of the Elisha cycle, Rop posits a series of literary events which reflect needs and motivations of different groups of authors and editors.

The essay on Samson comes from Mark Lackowski, one of the last group of students to take courses with Gary, and this piece, like "Rethinking," addresses the shifting landscape as Deuteronomistic scribes make sense of disparate realities and traditions in order to create a coherent narrative. Lackowski demonstrates a number of parallels between the narrative of Samson and that of Zedekiah, suggesting that the two accounts emerged together to shape a larger Deuteronomistic vision of downfall and exile. As Samson's character and storyline evolve through the addition of supplements to his cycle, Lackowski argues, the story of this judge is developed by Deuteronomistic writers in order to encapsulate both Israel's deliverance at its demise. As Gary discussed in "Re-

thinking,” the Deuteronomistic writings and redactions deal heavily with the role of the king and with the nature of royal authority and must even navigate conflicting views on the matter. Here as well, the position of king, or indeed the lack of a monarch, offers additional perspectives on leadership in Israel and Judah, and Samson’s fully supplemented account serves as both a cautionary tale and a postexilic beacon of hope.

In Konrad Schmid’s essay, he addresses the question of an “Enneateuch,” and reviews three specific problems with the theory of an overarching history extending from Genesis to Kings. For the first of these concerns, whether there is redactional unity, Schmid points out the chronological coherence evidenced in the entirety of Genesis through Kings and brings attention to the “hinge” of Josh 24, joining together Genesis through Joshua with Judges through 2 Kings. Regarding the critique of the material feasibility of an “Enneateuch,” he looks to both rabbinic discussions as well as references concerning ancient libraries to demonstrate that very lengthy scrolls were a possibility, and regardless of the technical concerns, such a serial work is possible on one or more scrolls. Finally, he asks if the content of Genesis through 2 Kings, while a coherent complex, is a self-sufficient one, and he concludes that the “Enneateuch” was never a “self-contained entity.” Rather, it relies on the prophetic corpus to provide the view of the future. Having considered these questions, Schmid reaches the conclusion that both combination and separation are powerful forces which shape the biblical text. It is not possible to use simple yesses and nos to discuss the existence of various forms, but instead, Schmid sees a progression from the connecting of Genesis and the following books to the combination of Genesis–2 Kings with the prophetic corpus to the separation of the Torah from the books which follow it.

We close this section with Baruch Halpern’s piece in which he rather mysteriously asks, “Who lost the Book of the Torah?” In unravelling this mystery, Halpern touches on several of our repeated themes: those of the relationship between disparate source material and their coherent presentation by the Deuteronomistic historian as well as the function of the monarch, particularly as regards his responsibility to the law. Halpern parses the text of Josiah’s Reform Report in order to demonstrate how the Deuteronomist reaches for known themes in Deuteronomy and the histories in order to make Josiah’s actions Deuteronomistic. Ultimately, the discussion must wrestle with the account of Solomon. Gary posits in “Rethinking” that the details of Solomon’s reign are related against a known, prestigious Deuteronomistic source but that the Deuteronomistic author is not obliged to affirm everything about this source – in fact, the author is free to contest it! Here, Halpern also reckons with the complex of both an inherited regnal account as well as the Deuteronomist’s own original contributions, and it is from this worked narrative, along with the Reform Report, that he recovers the evidence to charge Solomon.

In section two, “Great Among His Colleagues’: Gary Knoppers’s Contributions to the Study of the Book of the Chronicles,” six scholars have explored issues that intersect with his highly influential work in this area. Although Gary’s contributions to biblical studies are wide-ranging and impact many discrete corpora within the Hebrew Bible, he is perhaps most commonly known for his extensive scholarship on the book of Chronicles. Gary would, of course, readily acknowledge that his work built upon the work of his colleagues, Hugh Williamson and Sara Japhet, both of whom must be recognized as particularly influential in reviving critical study of this once neglected text. Nevertheless, Gary’s contributions significantly advanced and expanded their work. In addition to the introduction and notes on 1 and 2 Chronicles for *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (3rd through 5th editions), five dictionary articles, and his peerless two-volume commentary on 1 Chronicles in the Anchor Bible series, he wrote forty-one articles that predominantly engaged with the books (nearly half his total output).<sup>6</sup> A posthumous collection of essays entitled *Prophets, Priests, and Promises* adds seven new and revised articles about Chronicles to complete Gary’s oeuvre.<sup>7</sup> His articles cover the reigns of important kings in the book as well as central themes and issues, and, taken as a whole, his works demonstrate the ingenuity of the Chronicler (Chr) in composing a history of Judah in light of Samuel-Kings.

With such a large oeuvre, there are many themes and contributions on which one could ruminate. We would suggest that Gary’s influence is well illustrated by the articles in this volume. The first article in the section, “What is a Discovered Book Good For? Josiah’s Reforms and the Finding of the Book in 2 Kings 22–23 and 2 Chronicles 34–35” by Thomas Römer, examines some perplexing features of the Josiah tradition in Chronicles and Kings. With recourse to archaeological finds and excavations, Römer argues that the Chr had either additional sources or a different version of Samuel-Kings than attested in the Masoretic text (MT). Römer evaluates the traditions in MT Kings and MT Chronicles of cultic reform in the seventh century BCE and finds that these traditions probably reflect historical circumstances. Römer argues, however, that the Chr recognizes that the discovery of the book of the law did not, as Kings suggests, trigger the reform. Römer also suggests that the ark only came to the Jerusalem

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<sup>6</sup> G. N. Knoppers, “Introduction” and “Notes on 1 and 2 Chronicles,” in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, ed. M. D. Coogan et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 575–665. Idem, “Chronicles,” “The Chronicler’s History,” “The Deuteronomistic History,” and “Solomon,” in *New Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. D. N. Freedman and A. C. Myers (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 241–44, 341–42, 1236–38. Idem, “First and Second Books of Chronicles,” in *The New Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible, 1 (A–C)*, ed. K. D. Sakenfeld et al. (Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 2006), 622–31. Idem, *I Chronicles*.

<sup>7</sup> G. N. Knoppers, *Prophets, Priests, and Promises: Essays on the Deuteronomistic History, Chronicles, and Ezra-Nehemiah*, ed. C. M. Maier and H. G. M. Williamson, VTSup 186 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2021).

temple in the reign of Josiah when, as only the Chr reports, Josiah instructed the Levites to put it there (2 Chr 35:3). Römer argues that a monumental platform at Kiriath-Jearim may have been the sanctuary of the ark and under northern influence. Römer's weaving together of text-critical, literary, historical, and archaeological evidence would most certainly have intrigued Gary and reflects Gary's own interest in using such diverse evidence to investigate texts.

In "Chronicles and the Concept of 'The Twelve Tribes of Israel,'" Ehud Ben Zvi explores a topic that interested Gary a lot, namely conceptions of collective or community identity. In a variety of articles on Chronicles, as well as articles on other books, Gary frequently considered how the politics of Samaria and Judah related to one another as well as how biblical literature reflected and informed constructions of identity. Ben Zvi's study examines a particular construction of that relationship, the idea of the twelve tribes of Israel. Ben Zvi observes that the construction is especially informed by the Pentateuch and that the Chr seeks to counterbalance and temper this construction in favor of a Jerusalem and Judah/Yehudite-centered ideology.

For the Chr, questions of identity were addressed, at least, in part, through lists and genealogies. In many investigations, Gary demonstrated the importance of the genealogies in Chronicles, not as a mere prologue, but as an integral part of the overall ideological perspective of the book. James VanderKam's article, "The Priestly List in 1 Chronicles 5:27–41 (English 6:1–15)," builds on Gary's thoughtful interpretation of 1 Chr 5:27–41 as a list not of high priests but of a prominent priestly family. VanderKam shows that the list almost certainly exists to validate the credentials of Joshua in the Persian period and, therefore, legitimate the priesthood of the Second Temple. Gary very often read texts with a view to their insights on the history of the period in which they were written, especially as a reflection of the ideological debates and intellectual currents of that age.

Christine Mitchell, in "Commonalities without Equivalence," employs another of Gary's strategies for understanding difficult texts, namely the analysis of extrabiblical literature and cross-cultural comparisons. Starting with a rich discussion of scholarly developments in Comparative Literature and Comparative Religion, Mitchell argues for a nuanced approach to comparisons, an approach with "emphasis on the local, specific, attuned to difference, non-equivalent." She applies her method in two specific examples, one of which is particularly relevant to the study of Chronicles. Mitchell examines "the title or position of *lahhin* at Elephantine and the title or position of Levite in Chronicles," arguing that the former may tell us more about what a fourth-century Levite in Jerusalem looked like than the utopian/idealized presentation of Levites in Chronicles. Especially instructive in this conclusion is the challenge it presents to the common approach to the study of Chronicles, namely, the tendency to interpret its presentation of history as a reflection of its own time. Mitchell's

essay points to a need to distinguish carefully between what might be intellectual currents, utopian or dystopian fantasies, or historical echoes and reflexes when reading texts.

In “The Treatment of Psalm 132 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> (11Q5) and Chronicles: Politics and Religious Practices in the Second Temple Period,” Melody Knowles examines the Chr’s use of Ps 132 especially in light of the Qumran scrolls. In doing so, she reflects Gary’s interest in textual criticism and the Qumran material. Although Gary did not often study the Psalms from an academic perspective, it is perhaps because they meant so much to him at a personal and spiritual level. He, therefore, would have enjoyed reading about the diverse expressions of Yahwism that Knowles finds reflected in the Chr’s and Qumranic use of Ps 132, as well as the attention Knowles brings to the importance of Psalms in Chronicles. Knowles deftly illustrates how the differences point to diverse theological priorities. The Chr promotes Jerusalem and the temple in contrast to the emphasis of the Qumran community on the law, while both adopt a reserved and nuanced interpretation of the Davidic monarchy.

The last article in the section, “One Nation Under David: An Ideological Innovation in Chronicles,” revisits one of Gary’s earliest articles, “Rehoboam in Chronicles: Villain or Victim?”<sup>8</sup> The characterization of the kings of Judah was a recurrent topic in Gary’s articles, where he repeatedly showed how the Chr read and adapted royal traditions in Samuel-Kings to new ideological purposes. In the case of Rehoboam, Gary argued that subtle changes in the narrative support the Chr’s ideologically negative stance towards the secession of the northern kingdom. Gary’s perspective inspired several scholarly investigations, which further developed and elucidated the Chr’s purposes. In this article, Ristau provides a review of this scholarship and turns to Gary’s more recent scholarship to reinforce some key ideas about how the promotion of the Davidic kingdom functioned both to promote Jerusalem and as a cipher for the interpretation of Torah in the Persian period.

These six articles in this tribute to Gary’s work highlight important topics and methods of his work and reveal his enduring legacy and influence on students and colleagues in the study of Chronicles. For those of us who call ourselves “Chroniclers,” Gary’s academic work will continue to influence and shape our insights. We lament the inability to see his finished work on 2 Chronicles in the Anchor Bible series and, much more significantly, to continue our conversations with him in person. He was a mentor for our scholarship on this book, as well as a beloved colleague and friend. We return now and in the future to study of the book of Chronicles with many memories and with gratitude that we have so many of his thoughts available to us to imagine what some of those conversations with him might have been like.

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<sup>8</sup> G. N. Knoppers, “Rehoboam in Chronicles: Villain or Victim?” *JBL* 109 (1990): 423–40.

The third section, “Negotiating Identity in An International Context’: The Text of Ezra-Nehemiah and the Twelve,” examines the exilic and postexilic text of Ezra-Nehemiah and the Twelve. The title of this section is an homage to the Lipschits, Knoppers, and Oeming edited volume, *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*.<sup>9</sup> Gary edited and contributed to a number of edited volumes over his career. Just as the 2011 edited volume explores questions related to community boundaries in Judah, while others examined long-term compositional questions of how identity was negotiated and renegotiated, Gary’s numerous articles on Ezra-Nehemiah explore similar questions. In honor of Gary’s scholarly contributions, Tamara Cohn Eskenazi, Manfred Oeming, Louis Jonker, Deirdre Fulton, and John Kessler explore compositional and thematic questions related to Ezra-Nehemiah and the Book of the Twelve. Much of Gary’s work focused on the exilic and postexilic periods and issues related to identity and autonomy. Eskenazi, Jonker, and Fulton broadly examine themes related to identity in the postexilic period while Oeming and Kessler explore specific themes related to the texts but with historical considerations in mind.

Tamara Cohn Eskenazi’s contribution, “Conflict and Marriage and the Holy in Ezra 9–10,” explores the message and meaning of Ezra’s so-called “marriage crisis.” As Eskenazi observes, the exact contours of this crisis, the meaning of *zera’ haqqōdeš*, and the exact identity of the “peoples of the land(s)” have troubled interpreters. Eskenazi provides an analysis of Ezra 9–10, using a lens of “social memory” to understand what the narrative conveys. In her analysis, Eskenazi concludes that marriage was the “litmus test” in Ezra 9–10 and serves to move the connection between the “communal and so-called personal.” She compares this dynamic to activities in Athens which addressed tensions between the *polis* and *oikos*. Rather than focus on the historical reliability of the events, Eskenazi focuses on the rationale for why the text was composed.

In “Achaemenid Language Politics in Ezra-Nehemiah,” Louis Jonker examines the composition of Ezra-Nehemiah from the perspective of language identity. Jonker focuses on the Aramaic portions found in Ezra 4:6–6:18 and 7:12–26, as well as in Neh 8 and 13, in order to understand the synchronic and diachronic development of the text of Ezra-Nehemiah. Jonker examines the different interpretive reasons that scholars use to explain the use of Aramaic but broadens this discussion to consider the appearance of Hebrew in Ezra-Nehemiah. Jonker offers a number of explanations but views the use of Aramaic as well as Hebrew as a bilingual means of negotiating “power relationships with the imperial center” and also with the diaspora to the east. The use of Aramaic was a way to offer a “subtle polemic” against Samaria to the north and strengthen the place of Jerusalem. It strengthened ties with the Babylonian community

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<sup>9</sup> Lipschits, Knoppers, and Oeming, *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period*.

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