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Sing for Covenantal Stability:
The Worldwide Significance of the Service of Levitical Singers in the Book of Chronicles

Submitted for the degree of PhD

Department of Theology and Religion

Durham University

2014

Ming Him Ko

Abstract

This study focuses on the Chronicler's special interest in Levitical singers. It takes into consideration the socio-ideological milieu of the Jerusalem temple community in the Persian period and the circumstantial Mesopotamian elite professional norms and practices that nourished the prominence of singers and music. It also explores the temple as realised template and the way in which it shaped the Chronicler's theological frame of reference for understanding the service of Levitical singers in Chronicles. The main thesis is that the service of Levitical singers involved a profound theological significance in their threefold service (educational, scribal, and liturgical) for promoting the conditions necessary for worldwide stability.

Chapter One sets the discussion in scholarly context and considers how my concerns have been previously under-explored. The research will be divided into two parts. Part I explains the flourishing of music in Chronicles through a circumstantial examination on the Mesopotamian scribal-musical background with two chapters. Chapter Two surveys the norms and practices of the Mesopotamian scholars and singers. Chapter Three explains the way in which Jewish elite professionals socially engaged with Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture during the Babylonian exile; this influenced the ongoing intra-Jewish reflections of the temple as realised template and music in the temple community during the process of its identity making. Part II explains the Chronicler's ideological perspective with four chapters. Chapter Four examines the language of the temple as realised template in Chronicles. In Chapters Five to Seven, each chapter will be devoted respectively to the educational, scribal, and liturgical services of Levitical singers. Each considers how they sought to foster worldwide stability in the conditional terms of the Davidic covenant by focusing on the characterisation of the Levitical singers in light of the Mesopotamian counterparts.

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List of Abbreviations

1Chr	First Chronicles
1Kgs	First Kings
1Sam	First Samuel
2Chr	Second Chronicles
2Kgs	Second Kings
2Sam	Second Samuel
4QSam[a]	Qumran Samuel Scroll in cave 4
11QPs[a]	Qumran Psalm Scroll in cave 11
AAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*
AB	The Anchor Bible
ABD	*The Anchor Bible Dictionary*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AH	von Soden, Wolfram, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965-81.
ANE	Ancient Near East
ANET	James B. Pritchard ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
AP	A. Cowley ed. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1923.
APS	American Philosophical Society
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BCE	Before Common Era
BDB	*The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers Inc., 1906.
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
BIOSOS	*Bullentin of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BIW	The Bible in Its World
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BO	Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry

BS	The Biblical Seminar
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	Gelb, Ignage J., Benno Landsberger, A. Leo Oppenheim, and Erica Reiner eds. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 21 Vols. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1971.
CANE	Jack M. Sasson ed. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Vols. 1-4. New York: Scribner, 1995.
CBC	The Cambridge Bible Commentary: New English Bible
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series
CBQ	*The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CE	Common Era
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CR-BS	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CTM	*Currents in Theology and Mission*
CUP	Cambridge University Press
D	Deuteronomy or Deuteronomistic writer(s)
DJDJ	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
E	The Elohist
EBH	Early Biblical Hebrew
FAS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
FTS	Freiburger theologische Studien
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion and Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
G	The Septuagint
G^{L}	The Lucianic recension or the majority of the Lucianic manuscripts of the Septuagint
G^{A}	Codex Alexandrinus of the Septuagint
G^{B}	Codex Vaticanus of the Septuagint
GC	Allen, Leslie G. *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text*. 2 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974.

GKC	Gesenius, Wilhelm. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2006.
HALOT	Köhler, Ludwing. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1994-2000.
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HB	Hebrew Bible
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
HUP	Harvard University Press
ICC	The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
ITC	International Theological Commentary
J	The Yahwist
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCP	Jews' College Publications
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JM	Joüon, Paul. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Translated by T. Muraoka. 2 vols. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991.
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*The Journal of Theological Studies*
LAI	Library of Ancient Israel
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LHB/OTS	Library of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
MT	The Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible
Ms(s)	Medieval Hebrew Manuscript(s)
NCB	The New Century Bible Commentary
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament

NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
OUP	Oxford University Press
P	The Priestly Writer(s)
PIBA	*Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly*
RQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RNBC	Readings: A New Biblical Commentary
RSMS	The Religious Studies Monograph Series
S	The Peshitta
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and its Literature
SBLBE	Society of Biblical Literature Biblical Encyclopedia
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSBL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
STAR	Studies in Theology and Religion
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series
SR	*Studies in Religion*
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TBC	Torch Bible Commentaries
TDOT	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren eds. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmas, 1974-.
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*
V_g	The Vulgate
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
T_g	The Targum
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries

WBC	The Word Biblical Commentary
WBc	Westminster Bible companion
WO'C	Waltke, Bruce K. and M. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YUP	Yale University Press
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Declaration

I declare that this thesis does not contain work that has been presented for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree. This thesis is the result of my own work. Other sources are acknowledged in the main text or by footnotes. A bibliography is appended.

Ming Him Ko

“The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published in any format, including electronic and the Internet, without the author’s prior written consent. All information derived from this thesis must be acknowledged appropriately.”

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1. General Introduction

1.1. Purpose and Terminology

This study discusses and attempts to explain a simple observation: there is a special emphasis on Levitical singers[1] in Chronicles,[2] which is in contrast to the complete silence regarding any musical[3] guild in the older synoptic history of Samuel-Kings.[4]

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[1] The term "singer" designates those who practised both vocal singing and the playing of instruments, and is used as a synonym of "musician" and "chanter".

[2] Thanks to H.G.M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: CUP, 1977), 5–82; Sara Japhet, "Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 (1968): 330–371, scholars have reached a general consensus that Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are of different authorship. While the "doublet" in 2Chr 36:22-23 and Ezra 1:1-3 and the Greek witness of 1 Esdras provide inconclusive statements on their common authorship, the linguistic differences and, most decisively, the theological differences between the two works establish a firm case for Chronicles' independence from Ezra-Nehemiah. See also Roddy L. Braun, "Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah: Theology and Literary History," in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament*, ed. J.A. Emerton, SVT 30 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979), 52–64; Brian E. Kelly, *Retribution and Eschatology in Chronicles*, JSOTSS 211 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1996), 14–26; Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2005); Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, AB 12 (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 72–89; Kyung-Jin Min, *The Levitical Authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah*, JSOTSS 409 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 6–22. Furthermore, there has been also a general tendency to maintain the unity of Chronicles and to ascribe most portions of the text to the Chronicler's hand rather than secondary additions: Rodney K. Duke, "Recent Research in Chronicles," *CR-BS* 8 (2009): 14–15. I assume that 1Chr 1-9 belongs to the Chronicler's hand based on sound reasoning offered by various scholars: Williamson, *Israel*, 71–82; Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, SNTSMS 8 (Cambridge: CUP, 1969), 47–55; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 245–265; James T. Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1-9* (Altanta: SBL, 2008). I also assume the unity of Chronicles in 1 Chr 23-27 and 2Chr 36:22-23 (see appendix A). Therefore, there is little doubt about the unity of Chronicles and the separate authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. These standpoints have become my basic assumptions in this study. Furthermore, I believe that Chronicles is dated at around the late fifth century BCE. For my reasoning on the dating in relation to the second temple community, see the introduction of Part II.

[3] The definition of "music" or "musical" is culturally conditioned. The adjective "musical" denotes the musical aspect or element of any language, and therefore rhythm and melody include its musical element: Jean Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 46, 60. Gillingham convincingly argues that the concept of "music" is closer to "rhythm" as a flexible discernible pattern, instead of "metre" as an imposed mechanical counting technique: S.E. Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 44–68.

[4] Auld thinks that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles rely on a non-Deuteronomistic common source and supplement it in their own way: A.G. Auld, *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story Of the Bible's Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994). Recently, Person reformulates Auld's theory of a common *Vorlage* within the setting of scribal works in an oral world of multiformity. He contends that the Deuteronomistic History was first composed in the exilic period, and the Deuteronomistic school continued its scribal activity in the post-exilic period. This school became a competing scribal school with the Chronistic School that produced Chronicles: R.F. Person, *The Deuteronomic History and the Book of Chronicles : Scribal works in an Oral World*, SBLAIL 6 (Atlanta: SBL, 2010); R.F. Person, *The*

I ask: (1) Why was there a sudden flourishing of music and singers in post-exilic texts such as Chronicles? (2) What are the Chronicler's[5] purposes in depicting the service of the Levitical singers? This study takes into consideration the social and cultural milieus of Mesopotamian literati, in their professional context, and that of the temple community in the Jerusalem of Yehud. The particular contribution of this study is an attempt to understand the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers in relation

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Deuteronomic School: History, Social Setting, and Literature, SBLSBL 2 (Altanta: SBL, 2002). Auld's (and Person's) hypothesis of a common *Vorlage* has not been accepted by most scholars. For cogent criticisms on Auld's theory, see Steven L. McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," in *The Chronicler as Author*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 263 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 80–87; John Van Seters, "The 'Shared Text' of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles Re-examined," in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*, ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and W. Brian Aucker, SVT 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 503–515; H.G.M. Williamson, "A Response to A.G. Auld," *JSOT* 27 (1983): 33–39, esp. 36–37; Zipora Talshir, "The Reign of Solomon in the Making: Pseudo-Connections Between 3 Kingdoms and Chronicles," *VT* 50 (2000): 233–248. For cogent critiques of the over-emphasis on oral dimension: Joachim Schaper, "A Theology of Writing: The Oral and the Written, God as Scribe, and the Book of Deuteronomy," in *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach*, ed. Louise Joy Lawrence and Mario I. Aguilar (Leiden: Deo, 2004), 115; Joachim Schaper, "Exilic and Post-exilic Prophecy and the Orality/Literacy Problem," *VT* 55 (2005): 324–342. Lemke reminds us that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* should be closer to 4QSam[a] instead of MT-Sam: Werner E. Lemke, "The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History," *HTR* 58 (1965): 349–363. McKenzie convincingly argues that the Chronicler's Kings-*Vorlage* belongs to a proto-Rabbinic text-type closer to MT-Kings: Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, HSM 33 (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1985), 119–155. Scholars have reached a general consensus that the Chronicler relies on a version of Samuel-Kings as its *Vorlage*, though this version might not be reflected in MT. In tracing the tendentious move of the Chronicler, we can contend that he is more faithful to his *Vorlage* than had originally been conceived. We must take the witness of 4QSam[a] into considerations with caution, on a case-by-case basis, though we can have more confidence in locating the difference in the synoptic portion of Chronicles and Kings. This has become my assumption in this study.

[5] "The Chronicler" is the author of Chronicles. For clarity, I use a masculine singular pronoun (he/his/him) to denote the Chronicler. Traditionally, Ezra has been conceived as the author of Chronicles based on *Babylonian Talmud*, *Babra Bathra*, 15a. See also William Foxwell Albright, "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler," *JBL* 40 (1921): 104–123. The problem of the pro-Levitical and/or pro-priestly authorship of Chronicles is very complicated. This involves an examination of the redactional layers of Chronicles. Scholars have reached no consensus on this matter. This study, however, does not approach the problem of authorship. It simply assumes the widely accepted view that there is a Levitical influence in Chronicles: H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 17; R.J. Coggins, *The First and Second Books of the Chronicles*, CBC (Cambridge: CUP, 1976), 3–4; Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (London: SPCK, 1998), 131; Gary N. Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118 (1999): 49–72; Roddy L. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, WBC 14 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1986), xxxi–xxxii; Min, *Levitical Authorship*, 65–70; William Johnstone, *Chronicles and Exodus: An Analogy and Its Application*, JSOTSS 275 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1998), 69, 146; Gerhard von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild Des Chronistischen Werkes*, BWANT 54 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1930); A. Labahn, "Antitheocratic Tendencies in Chronicles," in *Yahwism After the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking, STAR 5 (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 115–135.

to comparable elite professionals in ancient Mesopotamia.

This study also focuses on the articulation of the notion of the temple as realised template (Akkadian *uṣurtum*,[6] Hebrew תבנית, usually translated as "template" or "blueprint"). This understanding of the temple represents three basic premises. First, the earthly temple was understood as an earthly representation (or counterpart) of the heavenly temple. Second, this established a link between the heavenly temple and its equivalent on earth, aiming at the coherence of heaven and earth.[7] Third, the heavenly God was understood as the government for the whole world. Many ideas associated with these premises have been used fluidly and selectively to articulate the coherence of heaven and earth: the mountain top as the connection point between the two; the temple site as the navel (or centre) of the earth; the temple as the divine source of life; the temple as the place governing battles; and the temple as the place through which the *axis mundi* passes.[8]

The Hebrew תבנית, discussed above, is a key term in Chronicles (1Chr 28:11-12, 18-19), denoting a heavenly template that was to be realised in the construction of the earthly Jerusalem temple. The Chronicler's description of תבנית is found in 1Chr 22-29, depicting David's preparation for building the temple, introducing to the reader a literary expectation that תבנית characterises the Chronicler's temple as the very one that came from the heavenly template. This תבנית did not refer to detailed measurements such as the "measurement" (תכנית) for the visionary temple of Ezekiel (Ezek 43:10-12), in which the exact dimensions of length, size, height, and width of

[6] Cf. *AH*, 3:1440

[7] Cf. Robert Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996); Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (New York: OUP, 2006), 111–144.

[8] Some works discuss these ideas in general: A.J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth.* (Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1916); Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. Rosemary Sheed (London: Sheed & Ward, 1958), 367–385.

the temple were crucial.[9] Rather, it involved only *general* entities such as construction categories (e.g., vestibule, chambers, and room; 1Chr 28:11-12), the divisions of temple personnel (1Chr 28:13a), vessels (1Chr 28:13b-15), and temple furniture (1Chr 28:16-18). The main purpose of תבנית was earthly realisation, in order to bring coherence between heaven and earth and to establish a link between the two realms.

Therefore, when I speak of "the coherence between heaven and earth", "the heaven-and-earth dimension", "the synchronisation of heaven and earth" or "the terrestrial imitation of celestial praise", I am invoking the central theological claim of the Chronicler's תבנית, the long-existing biblical heritage of this concept, and the prevailing ideological[10] understanding of temples in the wider Mesopotamian culture. Chronicles itself does not set out to describe the temple as an earthly counterpart of the heavenly temple *in every corresponding detail*, yet we have much evidence in Chronicles to suggest *a more general correspondence* for describing the coherence between heaven and earth.

I would like to relate this theological pre-understanding of the Chronicler's temple to the service of Levitical singers and to question how this notion provides a peculiar theological context in his characterisation of Levitical singers, which is not represented in Samuel-Kings.

The ancient concept of the temple as realised template can also be seen in the comparable Canaanite worship in Ugarit (Ras Shamra), and is also attested in the Mesopotamian tradition.[11] The concept was embraced, cultivated, and reflected in

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[9] תכנית focuses on the actual measurement of a plan (*HALOT* 4:1734), while תבנית designates more on a general pattern, model or copy (*HALOT* 4:1686).

[10] The term "ideology" simply means "worldview", which is similar to the use of ideology in Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2009; original edition: 1989).

[11] See R.E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 1–16; Richard Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge Mass.: HUP, 1972), 9–25, 34–97; George Buchanan Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: Its Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925), 150–157. For this metaphor in biblical accounts, see Clements, *God and Temple*, 17–134; Jon D.

different scribal sectors among different regions, so that it became one of the dominant concepts perpetuated by Mesopotamian scholars through the generations, although the elaborations of the concept could vary in different temple settings.

One premise on which this notion is based is that an authentic temple cult promoted and fostered the conditions necessary for worldwide stability, and that this involved coherence between heaven and earth, implying the government of God in the whole world. When I speak of "worldwide stability", I am invoking the Chronicler's expression in 1Chr 16:30, אף־תכון תבל, in which "worldwide" reflects the sense of "world" (תבל), and "stability" means "be secure, be stable, establish" (כון). The term "worldwide" also attempts to conceptualise several of the Chronicler's expressions such as "among the nations" (בגוים, 1Chr 16:24, 31), "among all the peoples" (בכל־העמים, 1Chr 16:8, 24), "all the earth" (כל־הארץ, 1Chr 16:14, 23, 30), "all kingdoms of the earth(s)" (כל־ממלכות הארץ, 1Chr 29:30; 2Chr 12:8; 17:10; 20:29; 36:23), "all nations and kingdoms" (כל־גוי וממלכה 2Chr 32:15), "all kingdoms of the nations" (כל ממלכות הגוים 2Chr 20:6), "all Israel" (כל־ישראל, 1Chr 11:1,10; 12:39; 13:5; 14:8; 15:3; 18:14; 19:27; 21:5; 28:4, 8; 29:23, 25-26; 2Chr 9:30; 10:1, 16; 11:3; 18:16; 29:24; 30:1; 31:1), "all Judah" (כל־יהודה 2Chr 17:5), "all the cities of Judah" (כל־ערי יהודה 2Chr 14:5), and the Chronicler's juxtaposition of "heaven" (השמים) and "earth" (הארץ) (1Chr 16:31; 21:16; 29:11; 2Chr 2:11; 6:14, 18; 7:14; 36:23, cf. section 4.2.1).

Furthermore, the term "stability" also attempts to convey other aspects of the Chronicler's vocabulary such as "giving rest" (נוח 1Chr 22:9, 18; 23:25; 2Chr 6:41; 14:5-6; 15:15; 20:30), "rest" (מנוחה 1Chr 22:9; 28:2), "peace" (שלום 1Chr 4:40; 12:18-19; 22:9; 2Chr 15:5; 18:16, 26-27; 19:1; 34:28), and "quiet" (שקט 1Chr 4:40;

Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985), 111–137; Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 107–160; Michael A. Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), 111–120; Rachel Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 29–61.

22:9; 2Chr 13:23; 14:4-5; 20:30; 23:21), in which the expression, "joy", was described as the central emotional expression in stability (2Chr 6:41; 23:21). This stability also involved the healing (רפא, 2Chr 7:14) of the land, the forgiveness (סלח, 2Chr 7:14) of sin, and the establishment (or stability, stem = כון) of Solomon's kingdom (1Chr 28:7). In this way, the notion of worldwide stability indicates a kind of stability that involved the rest, peace, and quietness of all kingdoms, nations, peoples, including Israel and Judah, through the coherence of heaven and earth. I contend therefore that the use of "worldwide stability" is justified and appropriate for conceptualising the Chronicler's use of expressions.

In this thesis, I introduce the notion of "covenantal stability", which is defined as a kind of worldwide stability that involved the theological significance of the symbolism and liturgy of the Jerusalem temple, which was based on the Davidic covenant. I intend to show that the temple service and ministry of Levitical singers aim to promote, foster, and enable (not mechanistically maintain or achieve) the necessary conditions (1Chr 28:7-10, 20; 2Chr 7:12-22) of the Davidic covenant, so that YHWH could bestow worldwide stability according to his חסד upon the temple. Wright shows that the characterisation of God in Chronicles cannot be simply conceptualised by the notions of "transcendence" or "immanence".[12] In 1Chr 29:11, for example, YHWH is depicted as the greatness, the power, the glory, the victory, and the majesty, who owns all that is in the heavens and the earth, and is exalted above all. Yet this God also actively participates in the arena of human history in Chronicles. This suggests a complex concept of God, which probably rejects a simple mechanistic manipulation of the conditions. In this sense, the covenantal conditions, which

[12] John W. Wright, "Beyond Transcendence and Immanence: The Characterization of the Presence and Activity of God in the Book of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein*, ed. Ralph W. Klein et al., JSOTSS 371 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 240–267.

involved both attitude[13] and action,[14] can be understood as the *necessary* conditions for God to bestow worldwide stability.

Within this covenantal context, the (re)building of the temple is particularly important. We can see much evidence in the second temple traditions that the building of the temple (including the establishment of the temple cult) implied prosperity, blessing, and stability from God (e.g. Hag 1:1-12; 1Chr 28:7-10; Ezra 6:9-10; 7:23). One of the most prominent examples can be found in the book of Haggai, in which Haggai encourages the Jewish people to build the temple of YHWH, so that YHWH would give prosperity and stability (Hag 1:8-9, cf. Section 3.2.2). This probably suggests that the concept of stability was an indispensable part of the ideology of the second temple.

I therefore wish to argue in this thesis that the concepts of covenantal stability, worldwide stability, and the temple as realised template have formulated our theological understanding of the service of Levitical singers in Chronicles. As shall be shown, these concepts are culturally relevant and theologically sensible.

The concept of the temple as realised template can be found in Mesopotamian ritual texts. Mesopotamian kings invested heavily in their temple cults for their well-being and health. In so doing, they earnestly cultivated numerous groups of experts to perform professional rituals to promote stability. These elite professionals constituted a social context for the perpetuation of various ideas surrounding their temple ideologies. I name this context as the "scholar-singer context".

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[13] Positive attitudes involved "seek" (דרש, בקש, 1Chr 28:9; 2Chr 7:14), "be strong" (חזק, 1Chr 28:10), "humble" (כנע, 2Chr 7:14), "turn" (שוב, 2Chr 7:14), and "walk before me" (תלך לפני, 2Chr 7:17). Negative attitude involves "forsake" (עזב, 1Chr 28:9; 2Chr 7:19), "turn aside" (שוב, 2Chr 7:19). Positive attitudes constituted the necessary conditions.

[14] Positive actions constituted the necessary conditions, involving "to do my commandments and my ordiances" (לעשות מצותי ומשפטי, 1Chr 28:7), "keep and seek all the commandments of YHWH your God" (שמרי ודרשו כל־מצות יהוה אלהיכם, 1Chr 28:8), "to build the temple" (לבנות־בית, 1Chr 28:10), and "to do according to all that I have commanded you and you keep my statutes and my ordiances" (לעשות ככל אשר צויתיך וחקי ומשפטי תשמור, 2Chr 7:17).

The combination of "scholar" and "singer" indicates two things here. First, the term implies that music, literacy, and the mastery of traditions were important elements within the professions of the elite. I use "scholar" (Akkadian *ṭupšar*, usually translated as "scribe") to denote those professionals who undertook scribal education and enculturation, acquiring professional skills such as reading, writing, chanting, and liturgical performance in order to familiarise themselves with various scribal norms and practices. I also employ "singer" to signify an important learning and ritual technique of these scholars because music (i.e. formulaic, rhythmic, and patterned expressions) had been used as a mnemonic device and an effective "language" to ensure the stable transmission and preservation of traditions and metaphors,[15] and to stage liturgical performance. Second, the term "scholar-singer" implies that there was no sharp division of labour between scribes and musicians. A person could simultaneously be a scribe and a chanter. Within the social context of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, people could probably interact with each others with numerous scribal-musical norms, ideas, and practices. Yet such a context was esoteric in nature; only the top stratum elite of Mesopotamian societies could participate in a social context that enabled interactions of this sort.

We must understand "Levites" as a whole in order to understand the Levitical singers in Chronicles. 2Chr 34:12-13 mentions, for example, that Levites were "skilled in instruments of song" as well as being "scribes", "officials", and "gatekeepers". This reflects the broader capacity of a Levite: he was not simply confined to the profession of singing and music. As I shall show in regard to their Mesopotamian counterparts, musicians could be considered as scholar-singers who

[15] David C. Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-Out Rhymes* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 15–88; Walter J Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1988), 34–36; Edmund Ronald Leach, *Culture and Communication : the Logic by Which Symbols Are Connected : An Introduction to the Use of Structuralist Analysis in Social Anthropology* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976).

practiced a wide variety of skills and professions such as teaching, writing, reading, chanting, purifying, and prophesying. The borders between different functional roles fluctuated. The roles are also reflected in the Chronicler's description of the Levites as those who promoted worldwide stability. If we can accept the social interaction among the upper strata of Babylonians and Jews in the Neo-Babylonian royal court during the Babylonian exile as a workable hypothesis, the theological significance of Levitical singers with numerous professions in Chronicles would make good sense. My main thesis can be divided into two parts (corresponding to the two research questions posed at the outset) as follows:

Part I. The Jewish engagement in the Neo-Babylonian royal court during the Babylonian exile probably created a social condition for influencing and providing insights into the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on the temple as realised template and music. The identity making process of the temple community in Yehud, centred in Jerusalem, further deepened this ongoing reflection. This provided a theological frame of reference that affected and reaffirmed the Chronicler's choice of inner-biblical traditions in his literary depiction of the Jerusalem temple and the Levitical singers.

Part II. Levitical singers in Chronicles sought to foster and promote worldwide stability in covenantal terms by exercising a threefold role: educational, scribal, and liturgical. This literary-theological purpose probably betrays the Chronicler's attempt to characterise these singers as socially comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, in order to promote and legitimise the theological primacy and authenticity of the Jerusalem temple cult.

1.2. Previous Studies

Generally speaking, three areas have attracted scholarly contributions that are relevant

to this study. First, there has been a general discussion on whether the Chronicler's depiction of the Levitical singers purely reflects a late projection of the second temple musicians or a faithful historical presentation of activity in the first temple. Second, scholars have examined the diachronic development of the Levitical musical guilds. They have explained the textual presentation of these singers in Chronicles as reflecting different stages of development. Finally, scholars have explored the theology or ideology embedded in Chronicles in its portrayal of the Levitical singers. They have explained the Chronicler's preference for the singers as reflecting his own theological or ideological *Tendenz*. I shall survey these three trends of scholarship.

1.2.1. The Historicity of the Levitical Singers in the First Temple

I begin my survey with Wellhausen's *Prolegemena*, because his arguments have had lasting impact on the scholarship of Chronicles. He vigorously calls into question the historicity of David as the founder of the pre-exilic temple worship described in Chronicles, rendering the existence of Levitical singers in the monarchic period highly questionable. Regarding this negative judgment, he writes,

> See what Chronicles has made out of David! The founder of the kingdom has become the founder of the temple and the public worship, the king and hero at the head of his companions in arms has become the singer and master of ceremonies at the head of a swarm of priests and Levites; his clearly cut figure has become a feeble holy picture, seen through a cloud of incense. It is obviously vain to try to combine the fundamentally different portraits into one stereoscopic image; it is only the tradition of the older source that possesses historical value. In Chronicles this is clericalised in the taste of the post-exilian time, which had no feeling longer for anything but cultus and torah, which accordingly treated as alien the old history ... Just as the law framed by Ezra as the foundation of Judaism was regarded as having been the work of Moses, so what upon this basis had been developed after Moses – particularly the music of the sanctuary and the ordering of the temple *personnel* – was carried back to King David, the sweet singer of Israel, who had now to place his music at the service of the cultus, and write psalms along with

Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, the Levitical singing families.[16]

Three factors govern Wellhausen's interpretation. First, the central thesis of *Prolegomena* poses a linear chronological sequence of Israelite documents with at least three strata of redactions – J/E, D, and P – in which its orbit is assumed to move from natural and spontaneous stories, in J/E, to a more developed centralisation of cult, in D, culminating in the post-exilic and clericalised institutions of P. This evolutionary scheme, whether Hegelian[17] or not,[18] assumes that the thesis of early primitive stages is followed by the antithesis of priestly institution with deadly effect.[19]

The earlier history of Samuel-Kings and the later history of Chronicles are "plugged" into this evolutionary scheme with D corresponding to Samuel-Kings and P to Chronicles. Samuel-Kings is perceived as more natural[20] and more historical,[21] whilst Chronicles, which uses Samuel-Kings as its source, is seen as having "twisted" and "perverted" the historicity in order to fulfil its theological outlook. In Chronicles, for example, the Levitical singers are "carried back to King David" as a late projection in order to satisfy the Chronicler's tendentious motive.

Second, Wellhausen believes that David, who was originally a natural "king and hero", became "the singer and master of ceremonies at the head of a swarm of priests and Levites".[22] The post-exilic worship "had no feeling longer for anything but cultus

[16] Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies (BiblioBazaar, 2008; original edition: 1885), 223–224. Italics his

[17] Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 5–9.

[18] Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon: A Contribution to the Study of Jewish Origins* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 21.

[19] For cogent critiques of anti-ritualism and evolutionism, see Mary Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), 13–33; Klawans, *Purity*, 17–48; Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London: Routledge, 1996), 1–18; Philip Peter Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of The World*, JSOTSS 106 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 66–74.

[20] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 213.

[21] Ibid., 223.

[22] Ibid.

and torah."[23] Wellhausen's rhetoric is undoubtedly driven by the ideology of romanticism that prevailed during his time. The Chronicler "judaised" the older Israelite history by transforming its natural and instinctive religious outlook into a "clericalised" ecclesiastical organisation with sophisticated temple personnel and hierarchy. This "denaturalisation" reflects a strikingly negative assessment of ancient Judaism, as eliminating the sincerity and passion of early Israel's religion.[24] Levitical singers, a product of "dead" Judaism, are inevitably interpreted as a ritualised, dead, late projection. Furthermore, Wellhausen's liberal protestant convictions are not sympathetic to "ritual", and his remarks about the temple service and the *Torah* betray a lack of a dispassionate analysis of the primary texts.

Earlier scholars have usually concurred with Wellhausen's judgment of "late projection", if not with his anti-Jewish and romantic presuppositions. For instance, Welch writes, "what the Chronicler did was to carry back this arrangement of his own time, and place it, as he placed so much else, under the authority of David",[25] while Torrey writes, "[h]e [the Chronicler] distorts facts deliberately and habitually; invents chapter after chapter with the greatest freedom; and, what is most dangerous of all, his history is not written for its own sake, but in the interest of an extremely one-sided theory."[26] Furthermore, Pfeiffer writes, "[a]s imagined by the Chronicler, the tribe of Levi is a purely artificial concept, a word of professional significance with no genealogical or ethnological reality."[27]

These scholars have tended to state that the Levitical singers reflect the second

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[23] Ibid., 224.

[24] For Wellhausen's anti-Jewish spirit, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (London: SCM, 1992), 12; Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 19–22; Lou H. Silberman, "Wellhausen and Judaism," *Semeia* 25 (1982): 75–82; John C. Endres, "The Spiritual Vision of Chronicles: Wholehearted, Joy-filled Worship of God," *CBQ* 69 (2007): 2–4.

[25] Adam Cleghorn Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and Its Date* (London: OUP, 1939), 63.

[26] Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, BZAW 2 (Giessen: Ricker, 1896), 52.

[27] Robert Henry Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (London: A&C Black, 1948), 799.

temple worship in the Chronicler's own time and have resorted to the Chronicler's tendentious motive to legitimise the prerogative of Levites.[28] If the musical guild was simply a late projection imposed by the Chronicler, the way forward would be very simple. But the situation is not so simple, because there is always a possibility of mixing ancient traditions with contemporary elements, and this is difficult to unravel. The over-hasty generalisation of the Levitical singers purely as a late projection can lead to a reductionism that prevents any sympathetic inquiry into the Chronicler's portrayal in its own right.

Third, there is complete silence on any musical guild in Genesis-Kings. Modern scholars have to decide whether this silence implies the absence of music in early Israelite worship, or whether music was so common that nobody would think it necessary to mention such a prevailing phenomenon. Wellhausen chooses the former in asserting that the Chronicler "created, modernised, invented, twisted, distorted, harmonised" Israel's past for his theological *Tendenz*. This list of pejorative verbal expressions has been employed by subsequent scholars to emphasise the Chronicler's creativity and greatest freedom.[29]

Reacting to this, some scholars have defended the historicity of the Levitical singers. They have drawn evidence from archaeological discoveries and ANE cultural practices and then compared these findings with biblical texts. For instance, Albright compares archaeological evidence in Canaanite areas with biblical texts and states, "we have incontrovertible external evidence for the antiquity of the musical guilds themselves."[30] Mowinckel explores the *Sitz im Leben* of various psalms from the perspective of *Gattung*, with verification from ANE counterparts, and affirms the

[28] E.g., Welch, *Work*, 55–77.
[29] E.g., Torrey, *Composition*, 52.
[30] William Foxwell Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), 126.

cultic life-setting of Israelite singers (i.e. they were cultic prophets).[31] Sarna offers a comprehensive survey, stretching from the pre-exilic sources to the rabbinic literature, and affirms the antiquity of singing in numerous temple cults of ancient Israel.[32] Sarna's research can be regarded as a reaction to Kaufmann's theory of "the sanctuary of silence", in which Kaufmann anchors the distinctiveness of Israelite religion in its anti-paganism. Since music contains ecstatic elements that made the Israelites vulnerable to paganism, songs and psalms would have been handled with great caution, so that the sanctuary of P would have no knowledge of any singing activity.[33]

Scholarship since Wellhausen has wrestled with the problem of historicity. It would be tempting to see references to singers in Chronicles as either reflecting the author's late projection or presenting a trustworthy account of the pre-exilic temple cult, that is, as either a complete ideological imagination or a complete historical reality. Some scholars have proposed the concept of "historical probability",[34] which provides a reality-imagination spectrum for judging whether Levitical singers are historically probable or not. While this concept softens the extreme polarisation, I wonder whether the problem of historicity is a worthwhile pursuit, because the history of Israelite religion still contains many unbridgeable gaps that cannot be filled up easily with evidence that is available to us. As I shall show, there are many limitations

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[31] Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004; original edition: 1962), 2:79–103. For "cultic prophet", see Aubrey Rodway Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962); Aubrey Rodway Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979); Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of the Old Testament*, ed. Geoffrey Buswell (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), 101–112.

[32] Nahum M. Sarna, "The Psalm Superscriptions and the Guilds," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History*, ed. Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (Alabama: Univ of Alabama Pr, 1979), 281–300.

[33] Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. Moshe Greenberg (London: Allen&Unwin, 1961), 110, 303–304. Cf. Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 148–152.

[34] E.g., E.J. Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees: Foundations of Post-Biblical Judaism* (New York: Schoken Books, 1962), 22; Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1993), 33; William G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 70–71.

in the form-critical method for exploring a *Sitz im Leben*.[35] A claim of what is historically probable, or not, is difficult to establish, and thus I do not consider it to be a productive pursuit.

Chronicles might not envisage its readers as expecting a detailed historical referentiality. Concerning its primary readership, Ben Zvi writes,

> [T]he primary readerships most likely believed that the communicator speaking to them through the text of Chronicles, that is, the Chronicler, was relating to them the events as they truly happened. But "truly" here does not point at "truth" in the sense of "objective" truth, or history as "it actually happened". The literati who constituted these communities of readers *neither expected nor demanded* full and complete mimesis with past events. Nor did their historiographical works claim to provide it.[36]

Besides, Schweitzer contends that the Chronicler addresses social problems by presenting neither the former practices of the first temple nor the current practices of the second temple but a better, alternative reality, in a utopian manner.[37] Sparks also conceives the Chronicler's genealogies more as literary constructs than historical records, and affirms, "[G]enealogies were not created for purely historical purposes, but were created to reflect the domestic, political and religious relationships which existed within a society."[38] These studies have challenged the assumptions behind the positive (or negative) assessment of the historicity problem from literary-theoretical and sociological perspectives, and have shifted our focus to the Chronicler's ideology and purpose.[39] Therefore, I move away from the problem of historicity in articulating the case for the existence of singers in Chronicles.

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[35] W.H. Bellinger Jr., *Psalmody and Prophecy*, JSOTSS 27 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1984), 9–21. See Section 5.1.

[36] Ehud Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (London; Oakville, CT: Equinox Pub., 2006), 65–66. Italics his

[37] Steven Schweitzer, *Reading Utopia in Chronicles* (London: T&T Clark, 2009).

[38] Sparks, *Genealogies*, 21.

[39] We have undergone this shift several decades ago: John W. Kleinig, "Recent Research in Chronicles," *CR-BS* 2 (1994): 43–76; Duke, "Recent Research," 10–41; Sara Japhet, "The Historical Reliability of Chronicles: The History of the Problem and Its Place in Biblical Research," *JSOT* 33 (1985): 83–107.

1.2.2. The Diachronic Development of the Levitical Singers in the Second Temple

Scholars have examined the diachronic development of Levites, in general, and of Levitical singers, in particular. The scholarly import for the history of Israelite priesthood is too diverse and wide-ranging to survey here. I shall focus on a smaller part of this history: the diachronic development of musicians in the class of Levites.

In his classic article,[40] Gese proposes multiple stages of development for explaining the complexity of diverse name-lists in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles:

1. Stage I: At the beginning of the return (515 BCE), the singers were "sons of Asaph" (Ezra 2:41; Neh 7:44) who were not yet regarded as Levites.[41]
2. Stage II: At the time of Nehemiah (445 BCE), the singers were reckoned as Levites with a division into two groups: the groups of Asaph and Jeduthun (Neh 11:3-19; 1Chr 9:1-18).[42]
3. Stage IIIA: At the time of the Chronicler, the Levitical singers were divided into three groups: Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (1Chr 16:4-6, 38-42; 2Chr 5:12; 29:13-14; 35:15).
4. Stage IIIB: Later, Ethan replaced Jeduthun, and Heman became more prominent than Asaph (1Chr 6:16-33; 15:16-24).[43]

Gese's reconstruction is based on a textual history of related portions of Chronicles. The dominant voice of Gese's contemporary scholarship regards 1Chr 1-9 and 1Chr 15:16-24 as secondary additions to the Chronicler's original work (this is no longer a dominant view today). This leads him to consider the Ethan-stratum as stage IIIB, which is later than the Chronicler. Williamson anchors stage IIIB in the time of the

[40] Hartmut Gese, "Zur Geschichte Der Kultsänger Am Zweiten Tempel," in *Abraham Unser Vater*, ed. Otto Betz, Martin Hengel, and Peter Schmidt (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 222–234.
[41] Ibid., 223.
[42] Ibid., 223–224.
[43] Ibid., 224–227.

Chronicler and argues that the older materials of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun were sources, not additions.[44] Japhet thinks that Ethan and Jeduthun refer to the same person using two different names.[45] Recent commentators show a sceptical view of Gese's reconstruction. Klein calls our attention to the depictions of the Chronicler's singers, which reflect a greater complexity than the simple, discrete stages of Gese's development.[46] Furthermore, Knoppers reminds us of the textual complexity, which may not fully support Gese's reconstruction of Jeduthun and Ethan.[47] These criticisms somewhat undermine Gese's reconstruction. The relationship between the redactional history of Chronicles and the actual diachronic development of the musical guilds seems far more complex and sophisticated than Gese suspected.[48]

Schaper reformulates Gese's theory by considering the socio-economic milieu of the Persian Empire.[49] His study contributes to a long-lived interest among scholars in exploring the second temple community from socio-economic and socio-ideological perspectives on the one hand[50] and in reconstructing the diachronic development of priests and Levites on the other.[51] He contends that the lists in Ezra 2 and Neh 11 roughly reflect an amalgamation between the Levites and singers due to the increasing

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[44] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 121.

[45] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 296.

[46] Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 348–351.

[47] Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, AB 12A (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 656–659.

[48] For another proposal (the association of singers with the Levitical ark-bearers), see Von Rad, *Geschichtsbild*, 98–115.

[49] Joachim Schaper, *Priester Und Leviten Im Achämenidischen Juda*, FAT 31 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 279–302.

[50] E.g., Joel Weinberg, *The Citizen-Temple Community*, trans. Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, JSOTSS 151 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992); Charles E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study*, JSOTSS 294 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999); Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period: Volume I: Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah* (London: T&T Clark, 2004); Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Israel in the Persian Period : The Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E.*, trans. Siegfried S. Schatzmann, SBLBE 8 (Atlanta: SBL, 2011); Jon L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow : A Social and Historical Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).

[51] E.g., Risto Nurmela, *The Levites: Their Emergence as a Second-Class Priesthood*, SFSHJ 193 (Altanta: Scholars Press, 1998); John W. Miller, *The Origins of the Bible: Rethinking Canon History* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994); Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975); Haran, *Temples*, 58–111; Schaper, *Priester*.

prominence of the priestly cult-hierarchy and the social decline of the Levites. It was during the time of Nehemiah (445 BCE) that the Levites began to gain status. But the singers were not yet reckoned as the Levites until the time of Ezra (398 BCE), who reorganised the hierarchical structure of the temple community, in order to provide the Levites with a new status by merging singers in the clerical system of the Levites based on the increasing prominence of singing and music. Like Gese, Schaper maintains stages of development of the Levitical singers (with slightly different dating). Unlike Gese, Schaper takes into account the wider circumstantial factors such as the socio-economic situation of the temple community and gives a picture for the development of Levitical singers in the Persian period without overly associating it with the textual growth of Chronicles. Schaper's study not only focuses on "conflicts" (*Kampf*) between parties but also pays sufficient attention to "co-operations" (*Kooperation*) between priests and Levites (especially after Ezra's mission).[52]

While it is completely justified to reconstruct the history of the institutional development, scholars have reached no consensus on it. Some think that the picture depicted in Ezra-Nehemiah contains no historical value,[53] while others believe that it is historically reliable.[54] This is perhaps due to the inconsistent and complicated presentation of different groups in Ezra-Nehemiah. It thus seems almost impossible to reconstruct an accurate history of the development because of limited sources available to us and many unbridgeable gaps.[55] The historical knowledge seems somehow unknowable, and this is the major limitation of the diachronic approach.

As such, it is very important to clarify the cognitive difference between the Chronicler's literary description of the Levitical singers (within the text) and the

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[52] Schaper, *Priester*, 301.

[53] E.g., Torrey, *Composition*, 57–65; David J.A. Clines, *What Does Eve Do to Help?: And Other Readerly Questions to the Old Testament*, JSOTSS 94 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 124–164.

[54] E.g., H.G.M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, WBC 16 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1985), xxiv–xxxii.

[55] For an appraisal, see Min, *Levitical Authorship*, 89–91.

historical development of the second temple singers (behind the text). What is depicted in Chronicles does not necessarily reflect the historical reality in the second temple, because the text may have described an ideological ideal,[56] though I recognise that there are historical data embedded within the biblical text that are difficult to single out. Therefore, in this study, it is entirely realistic to put aside the question of historical development and to ask questions on the ideological ideas (e.g. the ideological significance of music) in Chronicles.

However, the focus on the Chronicler's ideological perspective does not mean that one reads the text in a cultural vacuum. The ideological ideas, as I shall show, probably came from a particular background of the second temple community and the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture. This wider circumstantial analysis has been ignored in approaching the prominence of music. For example, Schaper only understands the significance of music from a practical, organisational viewpoint,[57] and he does not seek to explain a probable reason for its significance. Although his attempt to solve the problem is impressive, other circumstantial factors *outside* the temple community that led to the prominence of music have not yet been thoroughly studied. Therefore, I attempt to examine these circumstantial factors from the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context in the pre-Hellenistic[58] culture of the Babylonian-Persian empires. In so doing, I do not intend to provide another description of the diachronic development of the singers. Nor do I seek to explain the circumstantial factors that gave rise to a specific group(s). Rather, I aim to explain the circumstantial ideas in the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture that gave rise to the ideological significance of music and singers in Chronicles (also Ezra-Nehemiah).

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[56] Schweitzer, *Utopia*.

[57] Schaper, *Priester*, 300. Or probably because of the pre-exilic tradition of the first temple music: Ibid., 282 n56.

[58] I borrow the term "pre-Hellenistic" from Weinberg to designate the precondition of a socio-cultural background for Hellenism to spread: Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 17–33.

1.2.3. The Theological Significance of the Levitical Singers in Chronicles

There have been some attempts to give a comprehensive synthesis of the theological significance of the Chronicler's presentation of music and singers. Using literary analysis, with attention to an inner-biblical exegesis, Kleinig explores the theological significance of music in synchronisation with the sacrificial rite. He examines the exact procedure of how and when different parts of the rite were performed during Hezekiah's reform and observes that the Levitical singing during YHWH's acceptance of a burnt-offering occupied the central position in the rite. In this way, temple musicians stood in an intermediate position between YHWH and the people. They sang ritual songs and rejoiced in YHWH, in order to motivate people to give thanks for what YHWH had done for them.[59] Kleinig also offers a comprehensive study of different ritual components such as words, places, times, instruments, and performers,[60] and gives theological insight into the Chronicler's characterisation of the singers' role of announcing God's acceptance to his people and of proclaiming God's deliverance in the time of crisis.[61]

It is a pity, however, that Kleinig's work came before that of Schniedewind,[62] Riley,[63] and Kelly,[64] and that he therefore did not benefit from the insights of these scholars on the issues of prophecy, covenant, temple, and retribution in relation to the service of Levitical singers. This may explain why Kleinig's work seems to be particularly weak in articulating the prophetic role of the singers as an inspired

[59] John W. Kleinig, *The Lord's Song: The Basis, Function and Significance Of Choral Music in Chronicles*, JSOTSS 156 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 100–131.
[60] Ibid., 64–97.
[61] Ibid., 133–181.
[62] William M. Schniedewind, *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second temple Period*, JSOTSS 197 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1995).
[63] William Riley, *King and Cultus in Chronicles: Worship and the Reinterpretation of History*, JSOTSS 160 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993).
[64] Kelly, *Retribution*.

interpretation of traditions and in exploring the way in which the proclamation of God's deliverance relates to covenant and retribution. This weakness is highlighted if we regard the Davidic covenant and the Jerusalem temple as two central entities in the Chronicler's theological convictions.[65] Indeed, it would hardly be reasonable to skip over their centrality in articulating the theological significance of Levitical singers. Furthermore, as Willi points out, Kleinig's over-emphasis on the synchronisation of song and sacrifice cannot do justice to the aspects of musical performance that are not associated with sacrifice.[66]

Nevertheless, it is fair to say that Kleinig's work is attractive and theologically founded, despite being based on the limited amount of scholarly research available to him. I myself am indebted to his helpful research on musical instruments and textual notes. In this thesis, and with a view to supplementing Kleinig's work, I wish to approach Levitical singers in a covenantal context by building on the research undertaken in the past two decades.[67]

Previous research into the Chronicler's ideology and purpose has touched only on isolated topics of the Levites and singers in Chronicles.[68] Although these studies have

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[65] Ibid., 156–185.

[66] Thomas Willi, "Evokation Und Bekenntnis : Art Und Ort Der Chronistischen Vokal- Und Instrumentalmusik," in *Sprachen, Bilder, Klänge: Dimensionen Der Theologie Im Alten Testament Und in Seinem Umfeld : Festschrift Für Rüdiger Bartelmus Zu Seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2009), 355–356.

[67] E.g., Kelly, *Retribution*; Schniedewind, *Transition*; Riley, *King and Cultus*; Jozef Tiňo, *King and Temple in Chronicles: A Contextual Approach to Their Relations*, FRLANT 234 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010); Jonathan E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, BIS 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[68] Schniedewind, *Transition*, 163–188; Welch, *Work*, 56–63; Schweitzer, *Utopia*, 149–175; John C. Endres, "Theology of Worship in Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Theologian*, JSOTSS 371 (Sheffield: JSOT, 2003), 165–188; Tamara C. Eskenazi, "A Literary Approach to Chronicles' Ark Narrative in 1 Chronicles 13-16," in *Fortunate the Eyes That See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Astrid B. Beck et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 258–274; John C. Endres, "Joyful Worship in Second Temple Judaism," in *Passion, Vitality and Foment: The Dynamics of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Lamontte M. Luker (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001), 165–188; Endres, "Spiritual Vision," 1–21; Willi, "Evokation," 351–361; Roger S. Nam, "Writing Songs, Singing Songs: The Oral and the Written in the Commission of the Levitical Singers (1Chr 25:1-6)," in *The Interface of Orality and Writing*, ed. Annette Weissenrieder and Robert B. Coote, WUNT 260 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 310–321.

not incorporated all the theological aspects of the Chronicler's view of Levitical singers, they have addressed important issues such as the relationship between the singers and the covenant, their ranking, the makeup of their institution, their prophecy, joyful worship, and musical instruments. Although the quests for the Chronicler's purposes are rich and profound, the wider circumstantial ideological factors *outside* the temple community that shaped the Chronicler's theology have not yet thoroughly explored before.

1.2.4. Summary: Position the Study

In many respects, the sudden flourishing of music and singers in the post-exilic texts such as Chronicles remains mysterious. From this survey, we know that it is difficult to explain the prominence of music through an examination of the historicity of the Levitical singers in the first temple or through an investigation of their historical development in the second temple. The internal affairs or conflicts among various parties inside the second temple community seem unable to provide a clear hint on answering the question. Rather, as I shall show, the Jewish experience of the exile probably explains how the *external* circumstantial factors in the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture nourished the institution and ideology of Levites and singers in Chronicles.

Chronicles, I believe, reflects a special interest in ritual music within the much wider matrix of temple services. This matrix arises from the cultural milieu of the professional Mesopotamian literati (circumstantial examination) and from the theological centrality of the temple and its covenantal basis (ideological examination). As I have shown, the combination of these two perspectives has not been thoroughly explored. The incorporation of these perspectives might be considered too ambitious. Of course, such research must build on studies in different disciplines and areas and

requires a clear statement of my approaches, which will be explored in the introductions of the two parts of this study.

1.3. Outline of the Study

This study will be divided into two main parts, which correspond to the two research questions set out at the beginning. Part I of this study explores the external circumstantial factors, which probably fostered the prominence of music, from a "*historical-comparative* perspective"[69] with two chapters. Chapter Two surveys the threefold professional aspect of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers – educational, scribal, and liturgical – providing a platform for the discussion of Levitical singers in Chronicles. Chapter Three provides a working hypothesis that Jehoiachin and his officials engaged with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers in the Neo-Babylonian royal court during the exile. This explains the mechanism of how the Babylonian ruling class and Jewish elite professions interacted with each other in this cultural and social context. I further argue that the returns of Jews, led by the descendants of Jehoiachin, generated three themes of continuity that reflect an ongoing intra-Jewish reflection and internalisation of the exilic experience.

Part II turns to a purely *ideological* examination on the service of the Levitical singers in Chronicles in light of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context with four chapters. Chapter Four explores the establishment of the temple community as the cultural and social background for the production of Chronicles. I further explore how the concept of the temple as realised template affects the literary production of Chronicles, particularly its depiction of the temple. This formulates a theological frame of reference by which to comprehend the theological significance of Levitical singers. Chapters Five to Seven interpret the theological significance of Levitical

[69] I shall define this term in the introduction of Part I.

singers in Chronicles according to the Chronicler's pre-understanding of the temple as realised template in light of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context. Chapter Five explores the prophecy of the singers in the context of the Davidic covenant (1Chr 25:1-8; 2Chr 20) in light of the educational aspect of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context. I argue that their prophecy under the direction of David in the father-son apprenticeship system sought to promote the worldwide stability envisaged in the conditional statements of the Davidic covenant (1Chr 28:3-8; 2Chr 7:14). Chapter Six extends the discussion to the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers as scholar-singers by reading the inset psalms (1Chr 16:8-36; 2Chr 6:41-42), alongside the Levitical shaping of the Psalter, in light of the scribal aspect of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer. I argue that the text characterises Levitical scholar-singers as the main agents in fostering covenantal stability according to YHWH's "faithfulness" (חסד). Chapter Seven examines the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in the (re)inaugurations of the Jerusalem temple cult (2Chr 5-7; 29-30), in light of the liturgical aspect of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer. I argue that the synchronisation of song and sacrifice sought to foster the coherence between heaven and earth that brought a worldwide stability. These ideological elements probably betray the Chronicler's attempt to characterise the Levitical singers as socially comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, in order to legitimise and promote the authenticity of the second temple cult.

All translations from Hebrew and Greek are my own unless otherwise stated. I indicate parallel texts by the double slash marker (e.g. 1Kgs 22//2Chr 18). All citations from the HB follow the numerical system of MT.

Part I: The Influence of Mesopotamian Scribal-Musical Culture

Introduction: Historical-Comparative Perspective

In this first part, I attempt to answer the first research question: why was there a sudden flourishing of music and singers in the clerical system of Levites in Chronicles, a literary production after the exile? I approach the question from a cultural perspective, focusing primarily on a "historical-comparative approach" to explore contextually the Jewish-Babylonian professional social interactions during the Babylonian exile, in which the influence of Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture played a crucial role for the sudden flourishing. As many agree, it is almost impossible to reconstruct an accurate history of the exile and return. I rather take a wider circumstantial examination, attempting to establish a broader Mesopotamian scribal-musical context for comprehending the probable interaction between Jews and Babylonians and to investigate the probable reaction of Jewish people to this context. For the sake of expression, this define what I mean by a "historical-comparative approach", though I think that this so-called "approach" is more an interpretive perspective, reflecting my cognitive interest, rather than suggesting a new method.

One starting point for this study was the fact that the presentation of Levitical singers in Chronicles does not come from an accidental, uncontextualised, abstracted, and culture-free vacuum, but that it is derived from a particular world, in which different cultures shared a common understanding of professional musicians.

A contextually sensitive historical-comparative approach aims to discover the similarities and differences between multiple cultures and to explore an appropriate context for the exchange of cultural ideas, conventions, and practices. Of course, when the Levitical singers in Chronicles are understood through this approach, we cannot

expect to resolve some problems, such as the historicity of Levitical singers in the first or second temple. Yet this approach may offer new angles or suggest new answers to problems that have traditionally relied on the biblical text alone. It also enriches our understanding of these singers with an appreciation of shared scholar-singers' roles and practices, and, in some difficult cases, it suggests a better choice between competing interpretations.

Scholars have examined evidence from Israel's surroundings. For instance, Hallo and others[70] propose a type of "comparative approach", which is contextually sensitive. In order to make plausible claims of comprehensiveness, Hallo not only explores the similarities of multiple cultures but also "takes into account what may be called negative comparisons or, more simply, contrasts."[71] For Hallo, every positive comparison should be tested by this threefold question: "[W]hat were the mechanics of that transmission, at what date did it take place, and in what direction did it go?"[72] Hallo also proposes "genre" as "one of the principal vehicles for the transmission of and adherence to literary norms in cuneiform."[73] This means that if a biblical episode could be considered as being in the same "genre" as literary work from Israel's surroundings, the possibility of a literary influence between two works is increased.

Carr and others[74] generally follow the lead of Hallo, reframing their comparative approaches within the scribal context of multiple cultures. In other words, their comparative approaches are sensitive to contemporaneous, shared scribal norms and

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[70] Carl D. Evans, William W. Hallo, and John B. White, eds., *Scripture in Context: Essays on the Comparative Method* (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, 1980); William W. Hallo, James C. Moyer, and Leo G. Perdue, eds., *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1983).

[71] William W. Hallo, "The Expansion of Cuneiform Literature," *AAJR* 46/47 (1980): 308.

[72] Ibid.

[73] William W. Hallo, *Origins : the Ancient Near Eastern Background of Some Modern Western Institutions* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 149.

[74] David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); K. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass: HUP, 2009); Richard A. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007).

practices. It is reasonable to make comparisons in this context, because "the Israelite scribes are sociologically comparable to the Mesopotamian and Egyptian scribes … The culture to which scribes belonged was cosmopolitan."[75] This comparative approach merits a nuanced sensitivity to different historical and scribal contexts. I maintain that it is legitimate to follow this approach. Highly problematic, however, is the over-exactness of "date", "genre", and "direction". We cannot confidently determine the exact direction and date of influence between multiple cultures, and this is the major limitation of this approach. Resorting to the concept of "genre" is also problematic, because there is a danger of imposing our modern understanding of the word to describe something that may have enjoyed literary fluidity.[76]

Nonetheless, Carr and others focus on the scribal context to explain the similarities and differences in comparison. This focus, I think, is entirely reasonable, because (1) only this upper elite class could be classified as literati, (2) international mobility was one of the working natures of this class, and (3) the cosmopolitan spirit of different regional centres, such as Jerusalem, fostered a social environment for cultural interchanges. My articulation of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context also generally aligns with this line of thinking. However, no matter how frequently these elite classes socially interacted, we still cannot determine exactly at what point, in what direction, and for what reason the exchange of their norms, practices, and ideas may have occurred. Therefore, I generally accept the comparative approach suggested by Hallo and his followers. I deliberately depart from the over-exactness of "genre", "date", and "direction", but I agree that the scholar context is a good point of departure for the exploration of cultural interaction.

In this study, I propose that the deportation of Jehoiachin and his officials

[75] Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 53.
[76] Steven Weitzman, *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative : the History of a Literary Convention in Ancient Israel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 2–3; Gillingham, *Poems*, 18–43.

(mostly elite professionals) during the Babylonian exile establishes a social context for explaining the possible mechanism of how the Jewish thinkers engaged with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, facilitating the intensification of the intra-Jewish traditions that were shared between the two cultures. This does not mean to suggest that Israelites and Mesopotamians did not experience cultural exchange in the pre-exilic period.[77] It is highly conceivable that the concept of the temple as realised template is very ancient,[78] as we have archaeological evidence, for instance, from the excavated temples in Ain Dara and Tell Tayinat that feature similar structures to those in Solomon's temple.[79] This betrays common temple ideologies that had prevailed in the ANE from the Bronze Age onward. Furthermore, some pre-exilic Israelite traditions, such as Isa 6,[80] had already presented YHWH as a global deity. I therefore do not believe that the temple as realised template was new for the Chronicler.

Rather, as I shall show, the cultural interaction that happened within the social context of the Babylonian scholar-singers suggests a new explanation for the mechanism of how the particular, indigenous elaboration of the temple as realised template and musical traditions, rooted in the Mesopotamian temple cults, influenced the Jewish deportees in their ongoing intra-Jewish reflection of Israelite traditions. The Jewish engagement with the scholar-singer context did not create the concept of the temple as realised template and music but *simply* reaffirmed or reinforced something that had been latent in the pre-exilic and exilic Israelite traditions. Sociologically speaking, Jewish deportees were inferior to the Babylonians during the

[77] For a good survey in this respect, see Carr, *Tablet*, 47–61.

[78] See a collection of essays: Truman Madsen, ed., *The Temple in Antiquity : Ancient Records and Modern Perspectives*, RSMS 9 (Salt Lake City: Religious Studies Center Brigham Young University, 1984).

[79] John M. Monson, "The Temple of Solomon: Heart of Jerusalem," in *Zion, City of Our God*, ed. Richard S. Hess and Gordon J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 12–21.

[80] H.G.M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 30.

exile. Jews lost their temple and its cult, and thus must have been questioning their identity and their belief that YHWH as king controlled the whole world. Meanwhile, they encountered a more developed ritual system that elaborated on a "successful" version of the temple as realised template in Babylon. This encounter would have deepened the reflection of their identity and adherence to YHWH.

Williamson starts his monograph with this comment:

> The author of the books of Chronicles lived during a period in which one of the major issues for the Jewish people was the precise definition of the extent of its own community. Before the exile to Babylon, this was less of a problem, because the community was co-extensive for the most part with the nations of Israel and Judah. The loss of sovereignty, however, combined with the divisions caused by the transportation of many of the leaders to Babylon and the later return to the land, created a quite new situation in which the "terms of membership" had to be redefined.[81]

The traumatic event brought a crisis of the "terms of membership". When Jewish people returned to Jerusalem to establish their temple community, the burning issue of identity created a new situation, as presented in Ezra-Nehemiah, for the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on the experience of the exile. They tended to preserve the past in historiography like that of Chronicles, which legitimised and promoted the primacy of their temple cult. There, the ideas surrounding the "successful" Babylonian version of the temple as realised template and its musical cult would have supported this legitimising purpose. This new social situation marks the essential difference between the world behind Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.[82] The Chronicler received this ongoing reflection in formulating his temple as realised template (together with the role of music in supporting the concept) and incorporated his understandings into

[81] Williamson, *Israel*, 1.

[82] A version of the Deuteronomistic History was probably written during the exile either in Palestine as suggested, for example, by Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSS 15 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1981), or in Babylon as supported, for instance, by Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.*, trans. David Green (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 273–302. This represents a milieu that is different from that of Chronicles.

Chronicles. I wish to advance this picture in this study.

The social interaction between Babylonians and Jews does not mean that Jewish scribes produced their literary creations through direct literary dependence on, or borrowing (e.g. visual copying) from Mesopotamian traditions. As I shall show, the share of ideas and practices remains general in nature. No matter how strongly and directly the Jewish-Babylonian intellectual interaction happened in the exile, we still cannot be sure if Jews were able to borrow directly from Mesopotamian literature. The similarities of norms and practices between the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and the Chronicler's Levitical singers may thus be explained by a more general resemblance in terms of their institutional (e.g. functional roles, professional practices) and ideological (e.g. temple as realised template, worldwide stability) aspects.

I do not pin down a specific direction of influence, because we cannot trace the "origin" of the temple as realised template. Yet we can speak of a social reason for Jewish scholars to reaffirm some intra-Jewish traditions, because of the influence of the Babylonian musical culture. Neither do I attempt to identify a particular date of influence, because the temple as realised template and its associated music had been prevalent long before the exile; it is not possible to find a discrete time which this influence began and ended. I do not exclude exchanges with other cultures such as the Egyptians, Canaanites, and Greeks; many agree that Chronicles was produced within the Persian period, and since the Persian Empire succeeded the existing administrative and cultural framework of the former Neo-Babylonian Empire,[83] the norms and practices of the wider Mesopotamian culture still dominated the ANE. This explains why I choose "Mesopotamia" as the comparative counterpart.

A historical-comparative approach classified as "contextual" means that it takes

[83] Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 46; Amélie Kuhrt, "Babylonia From Cyrus to Xerxes," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. John Boardman et al., vol. 4 (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 119; Hans Heinrich Schaeder, *Esra Der Schreiber*, BHT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1930), 48; Berquist, *Judaism*, 23–24.

into consideration a cluster of parameters – history, sociology, politics, and literary texts – in order to comprehend the historical dynamics. Some might think that there is a gap between history and sociology, but I am inclined to agree with Schaper that "Geschichte und Soziologie unterscheiden sich also nicht hinsichtlich ihrer *Methoden*, sondern vielmehr hinsichtlich ihrer Erkenntnisinteressen."[84] Although I regard my "cognitive interest" (*Erkenntnisinteresse*) as an "approach", this definition expresses more an angle of approaching a circumstantial context than a "method" (*Methode*).

This interpretive angle can also be concluded using Schaper's exposition:

> Ein *traditionelles* Element der Forschung aber, das unbedingt erhalten bleiben und weitergeführt warden muβ, geht Hand in Hand mit der sozialgeschichtlichen Analyse: der Religionsvergleich. Wie schon von den Mitgliedern der ,,Religionsgeschichtlichen Schul'' überzeugend demonstriert, ist der komparatistische Ansatz bei der Erforschung antiker Religionen unerläβlich, muβ aber mit größerer Vorsicht verfolgt warden, als dies oftmals, im Überschwang der Entdeckungen der damaligen Zeit, geschah.[85]

My *Erkenntnisinteresse* is to understand the historical dynamics between Babylonians and Jews with a cluster of parameters that characterise a "contextual" reading of Chronicles. My particular concern of the historical-comparative approach generally agrees with Schaper's assertion that the comparison of religions should go hand-in-hand with socio-historical analysis. But I make a deliberate effort to nuance the historical-comparative approach with particular caution by not ascribing direct literary borrowing to the Chronicler and by situating the inter-cultural elements within the socio-ideological environment of the Chronicler.

Before we examine the Jewish engagement of the social setting of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers (Chapter Three), we first have to explore their roles in its own right (Chapter Two), to which I now turn.

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[84] Schaper, *Priester*, 11. Italics his
[85] Ibid., 16. Italics his

2. Scholar-Singers in Mesopotamia

This chapter attempts to understand the Mesopotamian scholar-singers in their own right and surveys their threefold role – educational, scribal, and liturgical – in the first millennium BCE. There were many kinds of singers in this region.[86] I shall focus on a kind of singer called a "lamenter"[87] (Akkadian *kalû*, Sumerian *gala*) as an instructive example of scholar-singers. These singers were mostly restricted to a special kind of lamentation-text that was composed and chanted for the ritual purpose of appeasing the anger of the gods in the demolition and restoration of temples.[88] Their lament-songs contain a Sumerian dialect called *emesal*, which was connected to their own liturgies.[89] Since *kalû*-priests had transmitted lament-traditions as part of their scholarly activities and were heavily involved in cults (in mostly musical activities), and their scribal-musical activities were well-documented in the first millennium, it would be instructive to explore this particular kind of scholar-singer in this chapter.

The activities of *kalû*-priests belonged to the wider spectrum of the Mesopotamian intellectual life that can learn about in a significant number of cuneiform texts unearthed in palace libraries, private houses and temples, dated between the Neo-Assyrian period and the Seleucid period. Sources from the Neo-Assyrian period come mainly from Assyria, from the libraries of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, and primarily include administrative letters depicting the threefold role of *kalû*-priests. These Assyrian sources were written in the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian, documenting various traditional Babylonian traditions, epics and myths,

[86] Such as "incomer" (*urigallu*), "incantator" (*mashmashu*), "lamenter" (*kalû*), "chanter" (*nâru*), and "lamenter-in-chief" (*kalamaḫḫu*). For an introduction, see E. Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie,* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1945), 205–211.

[87] I use *kalû*-priest to describe lamenters in the first millennium and *gala*-priest to describe them in the Old Babylonian/Ur III period.

[88] For brief introductions, see Dhorme, *Les Religions*, 207–209; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1921), 1–2.

[89] For *emesal*, see Joachim Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 12–14.

and they can thus be understood as an extension of the mainstream Babylonian cuneiform traditions. Sources from the Seleucid period contain many of the *kalû*-priests' ritual texts, which come mainly from Babylon and Uruk, and sources from the Neo-Babylonian period consist of myths and epics, liturgical poems, lament-texts, discarded exercise tablets and educational texts, ration-texts, and royal historical documents with various colophons, which give us information about the educational and social life of *kalû*-priests. This rich variety of data is the basis of the search for the scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests in first millennium Mesopotamia.

Of course, our particular interest is the social conditions of the royal court and elite professionals in the Neo-Babylonian period, when Jews were exiled to Babylonia, and I shall therefore draw evidence from this period, especially in relation to the educational and scribal roles of *kalû*-priests. There is, however, a gap in the Neo-Babylonian period with regard to the liturgical activity of *kalû*-priests, because none of their ritual texts from this period survive (most of the available evidence of their liturgical activities comes from the Assyrian administrative texts and the Seleucid ritual texts). As I shall argue in Section 2.4, however, this gap is not unbridgeable, because their liturgical work was closely related to their educational and scribal duties during the period in question, and thus we can deduce information from the texts available relating to these aspects of their role. Regarding the continuity of traditions and customs after the Neo-Babylonian period, Beaulieu writes,

> More important, after the political demise of Babylon with the Persian conquest of 539 BC, traditional education in cuneiform became a badge of cultural identity for the Babylonians, now threatened by the imposition of foreign rule and the rise of new official vernaculars such as Aramaic. Such factors even increased the symbolic importance of cuneiform writing as the civilization that had supported it for three thousand years entered its twilight.[90]

[90] Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian Intellectual Life," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (New York: Routledge, 2007), 474.

The Hellenistic cultural assimilation that the Babylonians encountered would have increased their desire to preserve their ancient traditions.[91] Beaulieu gives some examples in this regard and writes,

> This tradition [cuneiform learning in the third century BCE] is nothing but a projection back into mythical time of the conservative and incremental nature of late Babylonian scholarship. The role of the learned was essentially to preserve, explain, and transmit an immutable body of knowledge revealed once and for all in primeval time. Such refusal to entertain the possibility of progress is very typical not only of the Babylonian world view, but pervades the thinking of all ancient civilizations.[92]

Although Beaulieu's notions of "nothing but" and "all" cannot do justice to the changing character of the transmission of the Babylonian traditions down the ages, he indeed provides evidence to show that the first millennium is probably the period of standardisation and of interpretations of authoritative traditions, as is commonly assumed and accepted.[93] This continuing character of cuneiform culture should not be underestimated when we survey the Neo-Babylonian activities of *kalû*-priests.

Although I survey the first-millennium scholar-singers between the eighth and first centuries BCE, I do not attempt to force the evidence from different periods into a preconceived and compressed, unified framework, as if everything remains constant over time, and nor do I seek to advance any scheme of diachronic development. Rather, I intend to indicate the dating of different documents and highlight their nuanced differences. In so doing, I aim to give the reader a diachronic and synchronic

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[91] Gilbert J.P. McEwan, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia*, FAS 4 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981), 189.

[92] Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian," 476.

[93] E.g., Niek Veldhuis, "Mesopotamian Canon," in *Homer, the Bible, and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World*, ed. Margalit Finkelberg and Guy G. Stroumsa (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 18–28; Petra D. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien: Im Ersten Jahrtausend V. Chr.*, AOAT 275 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 56; Eckart Frahm, *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries : Origins of Interpretation* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2011); Uri Gabbay, "Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia and Their Relation to Early Hebrew Exegesis," *DSD* 19 (2012): 267–312; Dominique Charpin, *Reading and Writing in Babylon*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, Mass.: HUP, 2010), 51–53.

overview of the scribal-musical culture in the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

A fuller version of some quoted texts can be found in Appendix C. A chronological chart in modern notation can be found in Appendix D, and some Mesopotamian terminologies can be found in Appendix B.

2.1. The Manifold Aspects of the Mesopotamian Scholar-singers

I begin this survey using a letter from Marduk-šāpik-zēri to the great Assyrian king Assurbanipal, which describes his education and abilities; the information given in this letter can be regarded as representative of scholar-singers in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. It states (using Parpola's translation, lines 36-50),

> I fully master my father's profession, the discipline of lamentation; I have studied and chanted the Series. I am competent in […], "mouth-washing," and purification of the palace […]. I have examined healthy and sick flesh.
> I have read the (astrological omen series) *Enūma Anu Enlil* […] and made astronomical observations. I have read the (anomaly series) *Šumma izbu*, the (physiognomical works) …
> [*All this* I lear]ned [*in my youth*]. Under the aegis of the king, my lord, … I am competent in the profession of my father; …
> Among the […… apprentices] who studied with me [*in* ……], there are [……] who [have *returned*] from Elam, [scribes, chanters], exorcists, haruspices, and physicians; [I shall gather them] and give them [to the king], my lord.[94]

Marduk-šāpik-zēri seems to be an expert in numerous fields. He experienced specific professional education with his father and could interpret celestial events and signs with hermeneutical dynamics, using compendiums such as *Šumma izbu*. He could also chant the Series and perform appropriate liturgies. Furthermore, he could master the discipline of lamentations (*kalûtu*), suggesting that he was one of the *kalû*-priests. This attests to the expertise of this diviner not only in the field of astrology but also in omen sciences, incantations, music, liturgy, scribal knowledge, and sacrifice.

[94] Simo Parpola, ed., *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, SAA 10 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993), 122.

As Rochberg points out in his helpful survey of the colophon "*ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*", the term *ṭupšar*, usually translated as "scribe", does not mean that a person was only a scribe (in the Neo-Assyrian period), but signifies a broader intellectual discipline that included the singing and incantation of various Assyrian literatures.[95] Thus the professional titles of *ṭupšar* and *kalû* could be assigned to one person.[96] A *kalû*-priest could even be the editor of the Akkadian version of the Gilgamesh epic and, at the same time, a cultic performer, until the Hellenistic period.[97] The colophon of some ritual texts from the Seleucid period also indicates that the writer of these tablets (which presupposes the profession of *ṭupšar*) also held the title of *kalû*. For example:

> The ritual of *kalû*. The tablet of Anu-aḫ-iddin, son of Riḫat-Ani, the *kalû*-in-chief of Anu and Antu, Uruk. Written, reviewed and collated according to an old tablet.[98]

At Assur, in the Neo-Assyrian period, there was a private house containing a library for chief singers, who were probably literate singers who sang epics in their library during their scribal education.[99] Therefore, we can consider that a Mesopotamian scribe in the first millennium would have been a scholar with a rich variety of disciplines,[100] in which a *kalû*-priest can be regarded as a kind of scholar-singer.[101] However, in order not to compress the Neo-Babylonian picture of *kalû*-priests by

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[95] Francesca Rochberg, "Scribes and Scholars: The Ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil," in *Assyriologica Et Semitica : Festschrift Für Joachim Oelsner Anlässlich Seines 65. Geburtstages Am 18. Februar 1997*, ed. Joachim Oelsner, Joachim Marzahn, and Hans Neumann, AOAT 252 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000), 359–375.

[96] "[W]e had assigned to Nabû-apla-uṣur, *kalû*-priest and *Enūma Anu Enlil* scribe, son of Nabû-mušētiq-uddî": Ibid., 374.

[97] McEwan, *Priest and Temple*, 13. Hellenistic Babylonia tended to follow the old patterns of the structure (e.g. Neo-Assyria): Ibid., 189.

[98] This is my translation. For the Akkadian normalisation, see AO. 6479, part IV: Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 20.

[99] Joan Goodnick Westenholz, "The Study of Oral Poetry: Reflections of a Neophyte," in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, ed. Marianna E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 152–153.

[100] A. Leo Oppenheim, "The Position of the Intellectual in Mesopotamian Society," *Daedalus* 104 (1975): 37–46; Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian," 478.

[101] The *kalû*-priest was able to exercise various roles such as singing, scribe, ritual performance, offering, and purification, as illustrated in "*kalû* A," *CAD*, VIII:91-94.

using the Neo-Assyrian and Seleucid sources, perhaps we should see further evidence regarding their educational role from the Neo-Babylonian sources.

2.2. The Educational Role of *kalû*-priests: The Training of the Neo-Babylonian Scholar-Singers

A picture of *kalû*-priests and education in the Neo-Babylonian period can be reconstructed from thousands of discarded exercise tablets and from the colophons of many cuneiform texts. From these we can reconstruct the scribal curriculum and the teaching mode. First, I shall introduce the Neo-Babylonian scribal education curriculum that led to the specialised profession of *kalû*-priests. Second, I shall further explore their training in the mode of father-son apprenticeship. Finally, I shall briefly illustruate the ideological purpose of their education.

2.2.1. The Neo-Babylonian Scribal Education and the Specialised Training of *kalû*

The Neo-Babylonian scribal education curriculum has been thoroughly reconstructed by Gesche,[102] whose lucid study has been frequently cited and is generally accepted.[103] She examines several hundred fragmentary school tablets, including the typology of numerous tablets, the contents of the exercises, and colophons in different regions,[104] and reconstructs the curriculum, which she divides into two stages of learning.

In the "first grade" (Type 1), students began their initial schooling by mastering the basic principles of using a set of large rectangular tablets for writing lexical lists in

[102] Gesche, *Schulunterricht*.

[103] E.g., Michael Jursa, "Cuneiform Writing in Neo-Babylonian Temple Communities," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 190–191; Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian," 474–475; Eleanor Robson, *Mathematics in Ancient Iraq: A Social History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 193–195; Niek Veldhuis, "On the Curriculum of the Neo-Babylonian School," *JAOS* 123 (2003): 627–633; Charpin, *Reading*, 48–49.

[104] For Gesche's scope of the text corpus, see Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 36–42.

two sub-types, type 1a and type 1b. Type 1a contains "canonical"[105] lexical lists with colophons, while Type 1b consists of "non-canonical" lists along with some literary and administrative texts.[106] From these we know that the main aim of the first stage of education was to familiarise students with lexical lists and vocabularies. In the "second grade" (Type 2), students used a set of longer tablets for learning literary texts, such as the Epic of Creation (*Enūma eliš*), various prayers, the topographical list *Tintir*, and some lexical lists.[107] The second stage thus aimed at a general mastery of the basic texts of the wider Babylonian culture, which had been handed down in standardised versions.[108] From the list of the literary texts taught in the second grade, "[o]ne cannot fail to be struck by the significant place occupied by the city of Babylon and its god Marduk in that corpus."[109]

The Neo-Babylonian two-staged curriculum can be traced back to earlier periods. Van der Toorn, who also posits a two-staged curriculum for the Neo-Assyrian scribal training, describes a very similar elementary (first-grade) education and shows that learning the Sumerian language was a basic prerequisite of the scribal art throughout the ages.[110] In the second stage, students could choose to specify one or more disciplines for their future endeavours, whether they wanted to be an astrologer, exorcist, diviner, medical practitioner, or *kalû*-singer.[111] The Neo-Assyrian curriculum can be reconstructed by a text known as "Examination Text A", which includes many questions that reflect what students learned in the school. Interestingly,

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[105] For Gesche, "kanonischen" simply means "standardised". Cf. Veldhuis, "Curriculum," 627–628.
[106] Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 44–49.
[107] Ibid., 49–57.
[108] Ibid., 197–198.
[109] Charpin, *Reading*, 48.
[110] Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 56–57.
[111] "In the first millennium, students could train as an astrologer (*ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*, literally, "scribe [specializing in the astrological compendium] *Enūma Anu Enlil*"), an exorcist (*āšipu* or *mašmaššu*), a diviner (*bārû*), a medical practitioner (*asû*), or a cult singer (*kalû*). For each of these disciplines, there existed a textual corpus (called *ṭupšarrūtu*, *āšipūtu*, *bārûtu*, *asûtu*, and *kalûtu*, respectively) that served as the basis of the curriculum": Ibid., 57.

this includes a question on music (using Sjöberg's translation, line 24):

> Kennst du [den namnar(?)-Gesang, den nam-…-Gesang], den namgala-Gesang, den nam'ena-Gesang, den nam'uruna-Gesang, den namgina-[Gesang], das Aufteilen (eines Gesanges) in seine (verschiedenen) Teile, […], den Gegengesang, die Rezitation, das Finale?[112]

As can be seen, a pupil had to know technical musical directions such as antiphon, recitation, and stop (*den Gegengesang, die Rezitation, das Finale*). This supports the view that music was a crucial element in the Neo-Assyrian scribal curriculum. This same evidence leads Kilmer to believe that a student needed to master musical theory such that he could differentiate breaks, refrains, and endings, and to master the concept of "changing" (Akkadian *enû*), which means "*when* to change the musical progressions in a given piece of music, and *how* to change from one mode to another."[113]

The mastery of musical theory probably constituted an important part of the Neo-Assyrian scribal curriculum, and this musical approach would have continued in the Neo-Babylonian scribal school because of the general continuity of practices in the first millennium. However, there is no indication of examination in the Neo-Babylonian scribal school.[114] It seems probable that there was no such thing as graduation or obtaining a certificate in the Neo-Babylonian scribal education, and musical education probably featured later in specialised training (especially in the *kalûtu* "profession of the lamentation singer") after the two-staged curriculum, or in learning the musical (or rhythmic) features of literary texts such as *Enūma eliš* in the second grade. This testifies to a nuanced difference between the two periods, though

[112] Å.W. Sjöberg, "Der Examenstext A," *ZA* 64 (1976): 143.
[113] Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, "Musical Practice in Nippur," in *Nippur at the Centennial*, ed. Maria de Jong Ellis (Philadelphia: S.N. Kramer Fund, Babylonian Section, University Museum, 1992), 102. Italics his
[114] Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 198; Ann Löhnert, "Manipulating the Gods: Lamenting in Context," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 408.

the musical approach and the career path of *kalû* remained constantly important.

Dumbrill offers a recent systematic treatment of the musical theory education based on his examination of various musical tablets.[115] His main hypothesis is that different musical ratios (or notes), reflected in the first-millennium tablets, correspond to different "god numbers" (An=60; Enlil=50; Ea=40; Sin=30), because the musical sounds generated by certain wooden objects were usually perceived as supernatural voices of the gods.[116] These god numbers became the standard tunings for musical instruments,[117] with specific gods matched with specific strings.[118] Since Dumbrill draws evidence from musical tablets produced in scribal schools, musical direction must have featured in the syllabuses in the first millennium. Therefore, when students completed the two-staged curriculum, they were probably regarded as "scholar-singers", who could write and chant the traditional Babylonian traditions.

With regard to specialised training in the Neo-Babylonian period, it is unclear whether this took place during or after the two-staged schooling.[119] It seems probable that students did not undertake specialised training while at the scribal schools, but that after completing the two-staged curriculum, they sought their employment in various administrative, cultic and government sectors.[120] For those students seeking higher intellectual specialisations, they could choose at least three kinds of profession, namely the *āšipūtu*, "profession of the exorcist," the *kalûtu* "profession of the lamentation singer," and the *bārûtu*, "profession of the diviner."[121] I now turn to explore the profession of *kalûtu*, which probably took the form of a father-son

[115] Richard J. Dumbrill, *The Archaeomusicology of the Ancient Near East* (Victoria, B.C: Trafford, 2005).
[116] Ibid., 35.
[117] Ibid., 61–62.
[118] Ibid., 92.
[119] Löhnert, "Manipulating," 408.
[120] Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 213.
[121] Ibid., 213–216.

apprenticeship.[122]

2.2.2. The Father-Son Apprenticeship of *kalûtu*

Our main evidence of the specialised training of *kalû*-priests comes from various colophons of tablets from the Neo-Babylonian to the Parthian period (600-80 BCE), which mention the scribes or owners of the texts. From these colophons, we can trace the clans and families of *kalû*-priests, and can thus trace the father-son apprenticeship through generations, reflecting the stages of the career of *kalû*-priests.

In Hunger and Cavigneaux's studies of Babylonian colophons, we can find expressions like "novice lamentation apprentice" (*šamalli*[123] *kalê agašgû*),[124] "lamentation apprentice" (*šamalli kalê*),[125] and "young lamentation priest" (*galaturru kalû*).[126] It thus seems likely that young *kalû*-priests (sons) acted as apprentices who followed the lamentation professions of the senior master scholars or older members (fathers) of their family, learning through on-the-job training across the generations.[127] This father-son apprenticeship probably stemmed from the Old Babylonian period, in which *gala*-priests, who were high ranking officials and highly respected in royal courts and temples,[128] were frequently regarded as "the head family member normally handing down his profession to his own sons."[129] Most scholars have agreed that their

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[122] Supported by Charpin, *Reading*, 49–50; Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian," 474–475.

[123] *Šamalli* means "apprentice" in various professions such as "novice exorcist apprentice" (*šamalli āšipu agašgû*): "šamallû", *CAD*, XVII, Part 1:294. It seems that the concept of "apprentice" prevailed in different specialised professions.

[124] A. Cavigneaux, "Mesopotamian Lamentations," *JAOS* 113 (1993): 254.

[125] Hermann Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone.* (Kevelaer; Neukirchen-Vloyn: Butzon u. Bercker; Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1968), 164.

[126] Ibid., 10.

[127] Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 213; W.G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," *JCS* 11 (1957): 1–14.

[128] Johannes Renger, "Untersuchungen Zum Priestertum Der Altbabylonischen Zeit," *ZA* 59 (1969): 198–199.

[129] Dahlia Shehata, "On the Mythological Background of the Lamentation Priest," in *Herausforderungen und Ziele der Musikarchäologie* (presented at the Vorträge des 5. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Ethnologischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 19.-23. September 2006, Rahden/Westfalen: M. Leidorf, 2008), 123.

associated Sumerian city-laments were transferred from liturgies to the Sumero-Akkadian scribal curriculum, being learnt and copied until the first millennium (cf. Section 2.3.2).[130] The *emesal* dialect was probably taught in the specialised training of lamentation in the second millennium BCE.[131] This unbroken transmission of lament-traditions presupposed an organic system of training and handling traditions for generations, in which the father-son apprenticeship system best served the purpose.[132]

Robson offers a diachronic trace of various families, which were related to Anu's temple Reš (the so-called Reš B tablet group), from the Neo-Babylonian to Seleucid Uruk.[133] He summarises the overall picture as follows,

> [T]he *kalû* Anu-belšsunu of the Sin-leqe-unninni family wrote apprenticeship tablets for both his father Nidintu-Anu and one Anu-belšunu of the Ah'utu family. He in turn trained his three sons in *kalûtu*, one of whom – Anu-aba-uter – also learned mathematical astronomy from Šamaš-eṭir of the Ekur-zakir family (who as a younger man had written scholarly tablets for Anu-uballiṭ of the Hunzu family). Šamaš-eṭir was an *āšipu* and the chief priest of Reš, who also held the title *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*. After his apprenticeship with Šamaš-eṭir had concluded, Anu-aba-uter also called himself *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil* and went on to teach at least one member of his own family as well as an Ekur-zakir boy.[134]

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[130] E.g., Walter C. Bouzard, *We Have Heard with Our Ears, O God: Sources of the Communal Laments in the Psalms*, SBLDS 159 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 60; W.C. Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations in the Context of Near Eastern Lament Literature," in *Scripture in Context II: More Essays on the Comparative Method*, ed. William W. Hallo, James C. Moyer, and Leo G. Perdue (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 196; Michael Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott: eine Untersuchung der alttestamentlichen Volksklagelieder vor dem Hintergrund der mesopotamischen Literatur*, FAT 21 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 18.

[131] Ann Löhnert, "Scribes and Singers of Emesal Lamentation in Ancient Mesopotamia in the Second Millennium BCE," in *Papers on Ancient Literatures: Greece, Rome and Near East*, ed. Ettore Cingano and Lucio Milano (Padova: Sargon, 2008), 436–437.

[132] Scholars have agreed that the Old Babylonian *edubba* "tablet house" (Sumero-Akkadian scribal education) took up the mode of father-son apprenticeship: Carr, *Tablet*, 21; Eleanor Robson, "The Tablet House: A Scribal School in Old Babylonian Nippur," *RA* 93 (2001): 62; Andrew R. George, "In Search of the E.dub.ba.a: The Ancient Mesopotamian School in Literature and Reality," in *An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein*, ed. Yitschak Sefati (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2005), 130–131.

[133] Robson, *Mathematics*, 240–260. For a chart of the social network, see Ibid., 256.

[134] Eleanor Robson, "The Production and Dissemination of Scholarly Knowledge," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 565.

From this case study, we know a lot about the complex mechanism of the father-son apprenticeship system. It seems that the study of *kalûtu* was passed down the families, and students at some point took over the teaching position of their fathers.[135] They not only acquired knowledge of a particular profession (e.g. *kalûtu*) but also learned multiple disciplines such as "exorcist" (*āšipu*) and "scribe" (*ṭupšar*). This testifies to a typical familial network prevailing from the sixth century onwards in various cultic and political centres such as Babylon and Uruk.[136] The same kind of father-son apprenticeship can be traced back to the Neo-Assyrian period as well.[137]

2.2.3. Education as Building the Ideological Identity of *kalû*

What was the purpose of the apprenticeship of *kalû*? As scholars have agreed, the role and purpose of *kalûtu* was to appease the hearts of angry gods by performing appropriate musical rites and chanting various lament-songs. This helped to avert the wrath of gods and fostered stability. The ideological reasoning behind this can be seen in the description of the origin of *gala*-priest.

Shehata gives a succinct examination of a brief mythological text (BM 29616 published by Karmer), talking about the origin and special status of *gala*-priests.[138] A portion of the text writes (using Kramer's translation, II. 20-28):

> "Enki heard these words, took counsel with himself in the k i g a l
> He fashioned for her the g a l a, him of the heart-soothing laments […],
> He arranged his mournful laments of supplication…,
> He placed the *aḫulap*-uttering u b and l i l i s in his hand.
> Enki sent him who […] to holy Inana:
> 'Oh […] queen, may your heart be soothed, seat yourself on the throne,
> The g a l a has made available to you the *aḫulap*-uttering laments of supplication, a night(?) of

[135] Cf. Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 215–216.
[136] See also Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian," 475.
[137] Andrew R. George, "Gilgamesh and the Literature of Mesopotamia," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (New York: Routledge, 2007), 453–455; Rochberg, "Scribes and Scholars," 359–375.
[138] Shehata, "Mythological Background," 119–125.

supplication,
The god/goddess […], he/she of the […],
Has arranged for you the precious(?) (divine) plans and rituals.[139]

The text describes how Enki created *gala* and offers him special repertoire, lamentation songs, and musical instruments, in order to appease the heart of goddess Inanna, who wished to destroy all humans. This description characterises *gala*-priests as the class of divine origin, exercising an irreplaceable cultic function, so that their music could be played in a way that would soothe the gods' hearts and bring worldwide stability. In this way, the *gala*-priest became a mediator, who could both interact with the gods (or even engage in "an imitation of god" *imitatio dei*) and act as a priest within human society. This intermediate status demonstrates how *gala*-priests sought ideal humanity in the imitation of the gods.

In sum, the Neo-Babylonian intellectual education probably took place in two stages, in which students learned basic cuneiform writing through lexical lists (first grade) and Babylonian culture through traditional literary texts (second grade). Music probably played a crucial part during the training process, but may have featured more highly later on, in specialised training undertaken after scribal school. At this point, students sought employment in various professions, of which the profession of lamentation expert (*kalûtu*) was the most important. In this specialised lamentation training, young *kalû*-priests took up the profession of their fathers not only in chanting, but also in the mastery of lament-traditions, cuneiform writing, and ritual performance for the purpose of appeasing the hearts of angry gods in different liturgical settings. Thus generations of students learned to be "scholar-singers" within the familial network, and saw themselves as mediators between the divine and the mundane realms.

[139] Quoted in Ibid., 122.

One function of this scribal-musical approach was to ensure the faithful transmission and memorisation of traditions. It therefore seems natural here to investigate the scribal role of *kalû*-priests.

2.3. The Scribal Role of *kalû*-priests: The Oral-Written Transmission of the Babylonian Traditions

In their classic ethnographic hypothesis, Parry and Lord rely on ethnographic evidence from twentieth-century Serbia to argue that the Homeric epic was orally composed. This theory (known as the Parry-Lord theory) suggests that this method of oral composition did not necessarily generate *verbatim* copies of oral performance. Rather, different performances of a single tradition can be considered "the same" even though they might not follow exactly the same wordings.[140] Many classicists have built on this theory in their exploration of the formation of the Homeric epic. However, two factors hinder its full application to Mesopotamian epics and hymns.

First, writing was invented much earlier in Mesopotamia than it was among the Greeks. Although, for instance, Shulgi's hymns were not fixed *verbatim* and might have differed across various cultic performances, writing on cuneiform tablets was still the main means for the transmission of the hymns, alongside their oral context. We thus see a dual transmission (i.e. oral and written) of royal hymns across centuries, and this ongoing transmission was fluid in different recontextualisations. Only in the first millennium can we find a more stable transmission of authoritative texts with the emergence of the concept of "libraries". Writing in the Old Babylonian period was not primarily for preservation[141] but for scribal instruction. Therefore, the uses of writing

[140] Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I. Homer and Homeric Style," *HSCP* 41 (1930): 73–147; Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. II. The Homeric Language as Thte Language of an Oral Poetry," *HSCP* 43 (1932): 1–50; Albert Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy (Cambridge, Mass: HUP, 2000).

[141] Niek Veldhuis, *Elementary Education at Nippur: The Lists of Trees and Wooden Objects* (Groningen:

surely affected the way in which epics and hymns were composed and transmitted more than the purely oral context suggested by the Parry-Lord theory.[142]

Second, this theory proposes an absolute incompatibility of oral and written compositions.[143] The invention of writing spoiled the oral traditions and tended to freeze them into a unitary and authoritative written version. However, it is harder to apply this incompatibility to the Mesopotamian epics, because music and writing were the dominant parts of scribal curriculum. As I have shown, many hymns and epics were embedded with musical elements. Without a grasp of musical theory and some level of professional literacy, these compositions could not have been decoded. Again, this suggests a dual transmission (i.e. music and writing), and that scholar-singers were responsible for preserving the transmission by memory, with the tablets providing some control.

Nonetheless, the Parry-Lord theory is still valid insofar as it supports the view that the oral-musical settings of a given tradition should be taken into consideration. The fluidity of oral contexts did not mean that traditions were transmitted wrongly or carelessly. Even though a given tradition varied across settings, it could still be perceived as "the same" tradition. In what follows, I shall show how musical-written transmission worked in Mesopotamian literature.

2.3.1. Authorship in Ancient Mesopotamia

It is pertinent at this point to discuss the concepts of scholar-singers' authorship and innovation. Authorship in ancient Mesopotamia should not be pictured as it is in

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Styx, 1997), 135.

[142] For a similar argument, see Joseph Russo, "Oral Theory: Its Development in Homeric Studies and Applicability to Other Literatures," in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, ed. Marianna F. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 19–21.

[143] Lord, *Singer of Tales*, 129.

modern print culture, where originality and silent reading prevail.[144] Ancient scholar-singers respected the antiquity and authority of a given tradition even though there was ongoing scribal reworking and adaptation of older literary works.[145] They regularly copied compositions and reworked them for their own ideological recontextualisations, generating numerous cuneiform tablets that were read primarily within the scribes' esoteric circle and not by the exoteric public.[146]

Most of these tablets were either anonymous or ascribed to authoritative figures and divine authorship. The colophons on these tablets only show the owner or the copyist.[147] "Authorship" simply means that scholar-singers were the main perpetuators of traditions, with different recontextualisations according to different royal ideologies and cultural settings. However, certain traditions, motifs and metaphors (though they appeared in different guises) also occupied a central and authoritative place, rooted in the mind of all Mesopotamian scholar-singers. Traditions (or "stream of tradition", using Oppenheim's famous term[148]) in the Ur III and the Old Babylonian periods were transmitted in an extremely fluid way and became more stable in the first millennium.[149] This ongoing recontextualisation shows "the never-ending project of hermeneutics",[150] albeit with different degrees of creativity in the historical continuum.

2.3.2. The Musical-Written Transmission of Traditions

A dual transmission, with interplay between oral and written settings, is evident in

[144] Hallo, *Origins*, 148.
[145] William W. Hallo, "New Viewpoints on Cuneiform Litearture," *IEJ* 12 (1962): 14–18.
[146] H.L.J. Vanstiphout, "Some Remarks On Cuneiform Écritures," in *Scripta Signa Vocis*, ed. H.L.J. Vanstiphout et al. (Groningen: Forsten, 1986), 226–227.
[147] Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 27–49.
[148] A. Leo Oppenheim, "Assyriology- Why and How?," *Current Anthropology* 1 (1960): 412.
[149] Veldhuis, "Mesopotamian Canon," 11–27.
[150] Ibid., 28.

many ethnographic discoveries. Many poems were composed to be sung. For instance, a Babylonian tablet, dated in the Persian period, called "the Converse Tablet" was composed for the cult of Nabû, with a musical presentation of the text.[151] It contains three kinds of musical gloss; musical instructions at the left margin of the tablet, vowel signs as an aid for pronunciation, and musical references within the content of the tablet.[152] The Old Babylonian Atraḫasīs Epic was also composed with melodic and rhythmic patterns that signified that it was to be sung.[153] Musical instructions also appear in some Old Babylonian tablets relating to hymnody,[154] and the art of music appears in many Mesopotamian epics along with punning and wordplay.[155] Cooper also comments, "[A]ll literature throughout the Old Babylonian period, at least, was composed for performance, and the performance was musical … When we think 'literature' in ancient Mesopotamia, we must hear constant, surely strange, melody."[156]

Several examples demonstrate a diachronic expansion or reworking of texts. In the propaganda letter that promotes the interpretation of songs as an item in the scribal curriculum in the Nippur school, it is possible to trace how a short letter in eighteenth century BCE Nippur was expanded (to almost twice the size) and recontextualised over a very long time, until the Late-Babylonian period (almost 1,500 years).[157] This strikingly long-lived transmission suggests that there were scribal schools that were

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[151] W.G. Lambert, "The Converse Tablet: A Litany with Musical Instructions," in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Hans Goedicke (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 335–353.

[152] Ibid., 338–344.

[153] Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, "Fugal Features of Atraḫasīs: The Birth Theme," in *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian*, ed. Marianna E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout (Groningen: Styx, 1996), 127–139.

[154] Anne Draffkorn Kilmer and Miguel Civil, "Old Babylonian Musical Instructions Relating to Hymnody," *JCS* 38 (1986): 94–98.

[155] Stephanie Dalley, ed., *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xvii.

[156] Jerrold S. Cooper, "Babbling Orr: Recovering Mesopotamian Orality," in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural?*, ed. Marianna E. Vogelzang and H.L.J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 114–115.

[157] Miguel Civil, "From the Epistolary of the Edubba," in *Wisdom, Gods and Literature*, ed. A. Raymond George and Irving L. Finkel (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 105–118.

concerned with the promotion of the scribal curriculum and the interpretation of songs for almost 1,500 years. Moreover, we see how the design of curriculums, based on teaching sequential hymns (the Decad and the Tetrad), corresponded to the diachronic development of these hymns from simple to complex.[158] Yet this expansion followed some literary conventions, which indicate that the Old Babylonian scribes would have learnt how to recontextualise old literary texts to create something new. Since the mastery of musical theory was probably a basic prerequisite of learning these hymns, this suggests that musical instructions were employed in the process of recontextualisation and expansion.

We can demonstrate the oral-written transmission through the transmission of lament-traditions by *kalû*-priests. The Mesopotamian lamentation songs consist of three different but interrelated types: the Sumerian city-lament, *balag*, and *eršemma*.[159] These are described below.

First, the term "city-lament" usually refers to the five laments describing the destruction of Sumerian cities in the Ur III period, namely, "Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur", "Eridu Lament", "Uruk Lament", "Nippur Lament", and "Ekimar Lament".[160] These city-laments depict the destruction of specific historical cities and the theological causes for their destruction, in order to legitimate the restoration of these cities for the new dynasty.[161] In the Old Babylonian period, these city-laments were used once and then retired to the scribal school.[162]

Second, the term "*balag*-lament" refers to the literary growth of the older city-laments without reference to any specific city.[163] It was written in *emesal* (the

[158] Steve Tinney, "On the Curricular Setting of Sumerian Literature," *Iraq* 61 (1999): 159–172.
[159] For a brief introduction, see Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 194–200.
[160] Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 18–20.
[161] William S. Morrow, *Protest Against God: The Eclipse of a Biblical Tradition*, HBM 4 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 83.
[162] Cf. footnote 130.
[163] Bouzard writes, "whereas the city laments were composed for a specific occasion and then almost

city-laments use main dialect), a specific dialect closely associated with the routine liturgies of *kalû*-priests. This indicates the recurrent use of these laments in scribal schools and cult-places from the Old Babylonian period to the Seleucid era.[164] The *Sitz im Leben* of *balag* was the demolition, foundation-laying, reconstruction, and restoration of temples,[165] and was used to appease the gods' hearts in the hope of fostering the order and stability of city, land, and kingdom.[166]

Third, *eršemma* was a single compact lament unit with a single theme, also written in *emesal*, but without the part that aimed to appease the gods.[167] During the Middle Babylonian period, *balag* and *eršemma* were joined together, [168] demonstrating the transmission and reworking of lament-texts both for musical cultic performance and for the written scribal culture.

In this way, the oral-written transmission of the city-laments (the Ur III period) and *balag-eršemma* (the first millennium) shows what Emmendörffer calls, "die Wiederverwendbarkeit der Texte."[169] The *kalû*-priests were responsible for the composition, transmission, and reworking of these texts, adapting them to their routine ritual calendar down the ages. Later on, *balag-eršemma* became relatively standardised in fixed ceremonies in the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Seleucid periods.[170] In this way, the transmission of *balag-eršemma* shows how *kalû*-priests recontextualised the older patterns (e.g. themes and motifs) of the city-laments in

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immediately retired from use, the *balags* and *eršemmas* found employment in the ongoing cultic activities of the *gala* priesthood who composed them and preserved them.": Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 98.

[164] Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 20; Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 197–198; Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 83.

[165] Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 22; Claus Westermann, *Lamentations: Issues and Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 16; Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 198.

[166] Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 24–25, 36, 293.

[167] Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 196–197; Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 74.

[168] Mark E. Cohen, *Balag-Compositions: Sumerian Lamentation Liturgies of the Second and First Millennium B.C.* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1974), 9–10.

[169] Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 36.

[170] Ibid., 28.

order to create something new for their liturgies, offering a strong example of scribal-musical transmission.

2.3.3. The Concept of Divine Inspiration

The recontextualisation of Mesopotamian epics and hymns with a tendency towards standardisation was closely connected to the theological concept of divine inspiration. Texts claiming divine authorship occupied a more authoritative place, such that later scholar-singers preferred to preserve them with a lesser degree of creativity and offered renewed commentaries on them across generations.[171]

An Ishtar hymn depicts the concept of "divine inspiration" using the phrase "Ea's own words,"[172] showing the concept of "prophecy", in which "song" carried divine messages through the "mouth" of singers. The divine authorship attributed to the god Ea appears also in many Babylonian texts,[173] and, among them, the corpus of the lamenters (*alūtu*) was attributed to Ea as well.[174]

Tablet VII of *Enūma eliš* proclaims the 50 divine names of Marduk. The epilogue of this tablet claims divine revelation from the "first one" (i.e. Marduk) so that every master and pupil in subsequent years should perpetuate it and never forget it (using Foster's translation, lines 145-150):

> They must be grasped: the "first one" should reveal (them),
> The wise and knowledgeable should ponder (them) together,
> The master should repeat, and make the pupil understand.
> The "shepherd," and "herdsman" should pay attention,
> He must not neglect the Enlil of the gods, Marduk,

[171] Gabbay, "Akkadian Communtaries," 271–287.
[172] Benjamin R. Foster, ed., *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2005), 87.
[173] Gabbay, "Akkadian Communtaries," 275–276.
[174] Charpin, *Reading*, 179.

So his land may prosper and he himself be safe.[175]

This master-pupil description brings us back to the father-son educational context, in which scholar-singers were trained to perpetuate holy traditions through reciting songs. In the Neo-Assyrian myth of Erra, we can see a close connection between divine revelation and the responsibility of singers to perpetuate the song (using Foster's translation, lines 42-44):

The composer of its text was Kabti-ilani-Marduk,
of the family Dabibi.
He revealed it at night, and, just as he (the god?) had discoursed it
while he (K.) was coming awake, he (K.) omitted nothing at all,
Nor one line did he did.[176]

The poet claims that he did not omit a single line from the divine revelation, suggesting a profound attentiveness to divine speech and its faithful transmission.

In summary, the concept of divine authorship ensured that those responsible for promoting well-being (cf. worldwide stability) preserved and transmitted inspired texts through chanting. If these divine blessings were channelled from the realm of gods (the holy realm), then we can assume that scholar-singers would have acted as mediators between the public and the gods. Scholar-singers were responsible for recontextualising older traditions, and this was probably done in scribal schools according to different royal ideologies, scribal training, cultic settings, and their contemporary needs, in which music was one main device for the scribal-musical transmission. The transmission of *balag-eršemma* through *kalû*-priests gives an illustrative example regarding this. Since the transmission of holy traditions was essential to the cultic performance, it seems natural to examine next the liturgical aspect of scholar-singer.

[175] Foster, *Before the Muses*, 484–485.
[176] Ibid., 910.

2.4. The Liturgical Aspect of *kalû*-priests: The Role of Music in Fostering Well-being and Security

I have already shown that most of the transmitted texts (e.g. *balag-eršemma*) were highly religious, and that they occasionally claimed to be divinely inspired. I have also shown that *kalû*-priests transmitted *balag* on the one hand and performed musical cults on the other. In this section, I shall further show that the multi-functional role of *kalû*-priests was to help Mesopotamian kings foster their well-being and the stability of city, land, and kingdom. Then I will explore the Babylonian temple ideology associated with scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests.

2.4.1. The Liturgy of *kalû*: Singing to Promote Well-being and Stability

In this section, I will focus on surveying the liturgical role of the first-millennium *kalû*-priests, and will investigate the theological implcations of the role.

Our knowledge of the rituals of *kalû*-priests is relatively comprehensive due to the availability of many well-documented texts.[177] From these written sources, we know the different roles of these singers, their social status and organisation, their ritual procedures, and their cultic ideology. It must however be noted that, despite the availability of administrative letters from the Neo-Assyrian period and ritual texts from the Seleucid period, very little survives of the *kalû* ritual text from the Neo-Babylonian period, the period in between. However, there is no evidence that the ritual activities of *kalû*-priests were radically altered in the Neo-Babylonian period, though there may have been some minor adjustments of the liturgical procedure to suit various cultic settings. The Neo-Babylonian colophons suggest that the literary activities of *kalû*-priests remained active, and the Neo-Babylonian transmission of *balag-eršemma* suggests that the scribal reworking of traditional lament-texts

[177] See the text-corpus edited by Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*.

continued and prevailed, which also indicates the active cultic performance of lamentation-songs in the period.[178] This was most clearly the case during the frequent demolition and reconstruction of temples in the times of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus.[179] Furthermore, the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical school also remained one of the active enterprises for preparing young *kalû*-priests to commence the specialised training of *kalûtu*. Many colophons of the Seleucid ritual texts claim that the Hellenistic *kalû*-priests copied the ritual procedure from older tablets (some templates can be dated to the seventh century BCE).[180] When these pieces of evidence are taken together, it seems probable that the liturgical activities of *kalû*-priests enjoyed an unbroken continuity from the Neo-Assyrian to the Seleucid periods. Although we do not have any *kalû* ritual texts from the Neo-Babylonian period, we can still gain insights from the Neo-Assyrian and the Seleucid texts, which will aid our study of the *general* functional roles of the Neo-Babylonian *kalû*-priests regardless of the exact details of the liturgical procedure.

Kalû-priests were highly respected professionals and well-educated persons in royal courts and temples. Their main job was to appease the hearts of angry gods in the cultic context of the demolition and restoration of temples, in order to foster the

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[178] For example, a library of *kalû* (dated from 137 to 86 BCE) was found in Babylon, showing that the dialect of *emesal* were preserved, and some colophons show that the texts were "to be sung" (*ana zamāri*), probably in cultic context: S.M. Maul, "Nos 2-18: Bilingual (Sumero-Akkadian) Hymns from the Seleucid-Arsacid Period," in *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Volume 2: Literary and Scholastic Texts of the First Millennium B.C.*, ed. Ira Spar and W.G. Lambert (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005), 11–116.

[179] Löhnert writes, "the lamentation experts had established standardized editions of the majority of Emesal lamentations, which they performed as routine elements of daily cultic practice": Löhnert, "Manipulating," 414. For example, Nabonidus, a Neo-Babylonian king, restored the sanctuaries of Marduk and Sin by stationing *kalû*-priests for "the appeasement of the angry gods and the resettlement of their seats to (be the pious duty of) my [i.e. Nabonidus'] rule": *ANET*, 311. Many Neo-Babylonian inscriptions frequently depict how Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus sought the old foundations of ancient temples, in order to build new temples on the same ancient sites: Richard S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, YNER 2 (New Haven: YUP, 1968), 180–183. This setting of the demolition and reconstruction of temples exactly matches the *Sitz im Leben* of the ritual of *kalû*-priests.

[180] See footnotes 185, 192 and 200.

well-being and security of their city, land, and kingdom. They belong to one of the three groups of cultic professionals[181] accompanying and assisting the "incomer" (*urigallu*).[182] They often performed hand in hand with "chanters" (*nâru*),[183] singing and playing musical instruments, and their lamentation songs were of a particular type, crafted in the dialect *emesal*. They often chaired the ceremonies in which sacrifices were offered to the twelve great gods, and performed purifications, recitations, libations, prayers, and laments. They behaved as mediators, attempting to get in touch with the divine world. They also created their own musical instrument, which was believed to have a divine origin and to be capable of appeasing the gods' hearts.[184]

In a text-corpus about the temple programme for the New Year Festival in Babylon,[185] the *urigallu*-priest performed a variety of rituals involving complex procedures. The same instruction appears at nearly every break in the procedures, reading, "the *kalû*-priests and the singers shall do likewise" ($^{l\,amil}kalê^{pl}$ *u* $^{amil}nârê^{pl}$ *šaniš*) (lines 40, 185, 275, 335) (translated by Sachs).[186] This suggests that *kalû*-priests (and *nâru*) were expected to follow the exact ritual procedure of *urigallu*-priests. From the text-corpus, we know that *kalû*-priests needed to perform duties such as recitation, gate-opening, prayer, washing, stone-carrying, working as goldsmiths, slaughtering, purification, incantation, exorcising, and the *kuppuru*-ritual. These roles are also reflected in other *kalû* rituals, such as sacrificing,[187] hand-cleaning,[188] purification,[189]

[181] That is, "incantator" (*mashmashu*), "lamenter" (*kalû*), and "chanter" (*nâru*).
[182] For "incomer", see Dhorme, *Les Religions*, 205–206.
[183] For "chanter", see Ibid., 209.
[184] Ibid., 207–209.
[185] This text-corpus is dated in the Seleucid period but the programme depicted would have followed a much earlier period (e.g. line 185 states, "their rites in the traditional manner."). For transcriptions and French translations, see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 127–154. For an English translation (by A. Sachs), see *ANET*, 331-334.
[186] *ANET*, 331-333.
[187] Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 16.
[188] Ibid., 27, 33.
[189] Ibid., 17.

and mouth-washing.[190]

In "the ritual of the *kalû*-priest"[191] in the restoration of a temple,[192] *kalû*-priests chaired the ceremony "for the purpose of demolishing and founding anew the temple" (line 1, translated by Sachs).[193] They mainly sang various lamentation songs, accompanied by the *ḫalḫallatu*-instrument (related to *eršemma*), for the gods Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. They also performed the *kuppuru*-ritual, purified, and made libation. During lamentation-singing and sacrificing, they were required to do the following procedure (Text B, reverse, lines 9-14, using Sachs' translation):

> You shall sing the lamentations (called) "*Umunšermallašu ankia*" and "*Nitug niginam*." You shall sing (the composition entitled) "*Ud Ana Enlilla Enki ankia mundimdimene*." … You shall remove the sacrificial accoutrements and shall lay the foundation until the temple is completed. You shall not interrupt making sacrifices and lamentations. Once the foundation is laid, you shall purify that place with purification rituals. (The above is) the ritual of the *kalû*-priest.[194]

In this portion, we see a synchronisation of lament-songs and sacrifices during the foundation-laying of the temple. This synchronisation was supposed not to be interrupted until the foundation was laid. Purification then followed, ensuring the purity of the cultic place. All of these jobs were entrusted to *kalû*-priests for the purpose of fostering stability and well-being.

In his study of the annals of Assyrian kings, Talon gives a plausible account of how astrology and divination helped to promote well-being and security. Assyrian professionals, including *kalû*-priests, needed to watch out for any signs of evil, in order to prevent any harm to their king, who represented a mirror image of Aššur to

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[190] Ibid., 21.

[191] This phrase is well-defined in their ritual text (e.g. line 15 in *ANET*, 339).

[192] Two texts are dated in the Seleucid time but they "are probably copies of older ones": *ANET*, 339. For transcriptions and French translations, see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 34–40. For an English translation (by Sachs), see *ANET*, 339-342.

[193] *ANET*, 339.

[194] *ANET*, 341.

guide against darkness and wrongdoing.[195] They needed to perform the right songs and ritual practices in order to foster harmony between the divine and the mundane realms. This explains why the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal invested heavily in the education of astrological and musical professions for his own health.[196]

In Assyrian burial ceremonies, burnt-offerings and hymnic performance were two indispensable parts of the rite. This collaboration of sacrificial service and singing also took place in expiatory rites for the farmer (using Parpola's translation):

> We have rites to perform ton[ight]: I shall perform one against "Loss of Flesh," and Urad-Ea another one before Enlil. We shall go to the *qirsu*. Yesterday I performed the ritual of *Bit* [*r*]*i*[*mki*]. I made a burnt-offering and we executed a purification ritual. I have appointed an exorcist for the chanter who is here, and gave him the following orders: "For six days do likewise, performing the purification ritual after this (fashion)."[197]

This rite comprised of three parts: the sacrifice of a burnt-offering (*ma-qa-lu-tú*), purification (*tak-pir-tú*), and hymnic performance before Enlil. These cultic portions were entrusted to a *kalû*-priest together with an exorcist.[198] It seems that *kalû*-priests were responsible for the performance and coordination of burnt-offerings and purification that had already been standardised in various ritual performances (the expression, "For six days do likewise," implies the standardisation). Furthermore, in Seleucid times *kalû*-singers were heavily involved in rites for the purification of a city, which they performed together with exorcists. The liturgical procedure included pouring water and sacrificing an animal.[199] Therefore, we can surmise that *kalû*-priests could purify, chant, and offer sacrifices.

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[195] Philippe Talon, "Cases of Deviation in Neo-Assyrian Annals and Foundation Documents," in *Ritual and Politics in Ancient Mesopotamia*, ed. Barbara Nevling Porter (New Haven, Conn: American Oriental Society, 2005), 99–100.
[196] Ibid., 113–114.
[197] Lines 9-r.15: Parpola, *Letters*, 169.
[198] For their co-operation, see Richard Henshaw, *Female and Male : The Cultic Personnel : The Bible and the Rest of the Ancient Near East* (Allison Park Pa.: Pickwick Publications, 1994), 94–95.
[199] Ibid., 95.

Another rite involved *kalû*-priests playing cultic kettle-drums while a bull was brought in for professional inspection; this was followed by incense and the pouring of beer, and then food offerings. A meal was then prepared for the twelve gods, with twelve garments provided for them.

During the burnt-offering, in which the bull was slain and sacrificed, the *kalû*-priests sang incantations and lamentations, again with kettle-drums. See the below translation by Thureau-Dangin:

> On (the bricks) you shall lay twelve (pieces of) linen. On them you shall ease all twelve gods. You shall lift up the *egubbū*-vessel of the deity Ningirim and with its water you shall clean the equipment prepared for the ceremony. You shall sprinkle some (aromatic?) barley seed. You shall set up the kettle-drum. You shall lay a brick for the deity Lumha. You shall set up a stand. You shall slaughter a sheep … On the bull you shall perform the rite of Washing the Mouth … Standing at its [bull's] head, you shall sing (the composition called) "*Nitugki niginna*" to the accompaniment of a bronze *ḫalḫallatu*. After that, you shall recite (the composition entitled) "*Dimmer … ankia mundimma*." Then you shall cut open that bull and start a fire with cedar. You shall burn the bull's heart with cedar, cypress, and *maṣḫatu*-flour before the kettle-drum.[200]

There is evidence here of a complex and detailed procedure of vessel-lifting, water-cleansing, barley-sprinkling, playing the kettle-drum, slaughtering the animal, mouth-washing (for a statue), singing incantations and lamentations, and sacrificing.

To summarise this section, we have seen that the multiple roles of *kalû*-priests are described in the ritual texts called "the ritual of *kalû*-priest", which depict the complex procedure of *kalû*-priests in the Near Year Festival and in the restoration of a temple. These texts show that *kalû*-priests exercised many roles such as sacrificing, lamentation-singing, instrument-playing, purification, gatekeeping, and washing. They

[200] *ANET*, 335. Though this text comes from the Seleucid period, the liturgy itself can be traced back to the seventh century BCE in Babylonia as exemplified in Text B-D: *ANET*, 334-338. The quoted text is written on a cuneiform tablet with a colophon reading: "Ritual of the *kalû*-priest. Tablet belonging to Anuahaiddin, the son of Rihatanu, the *kala-maḫḫu*-priest … It was copied from an old(er) tablet, checked, and rechecked." (*ANET*, 336.) This colophon suggests that (1) a *kalû*-priest could own a tablet; and (2) the exact procedure of the ritual was important in its every detail (checked and rechecked).

were highly important and well-respected persons involved in rituals for appeasing the gods' hearts and bringing the well-being and stability of the city, people, and kingdom.

2.4.2. The Temple as Realised Template and Holiness

As mentioned before (Section 2.2.1), students in the second grade of the Neo-Babylonian scribal education learned the wider Babylonian traditional texts such as the Epic of Creation (*Enūma eliš*). These traditional texts formed the foundation of students' eduction, before the students undertook higher specialised professions including *kalûtu*. The texts ensured that all *kalû*-priests and other scholar-singers knew the ideological background of cultic performance, especially the *akitu*-festival, when they chanted lamentation-songs and *Enūma eliš* in the Neo-Babylonian liturgical settings.

In this section, I discuss one of the main ideological formations represented in *Enūma eliš*, the concept of the temple as realised template. This idea is instrumental to our understanding of the Neo-Babylonian scholarly ideology related to the cult of Marduk and the liturgy of *kalû*.

Enūma eliš dates back to the 12th century BCE.[201] Frahm gives a study of the reception history of *Enūma eliš*, showing that the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings recontextualised the epic in their ideological formation of royal cults.[202] This presupposes the ongoing reworking of this standardised epic in various scribal workshops. I think that its popularity was mainly due to the richness and comprehensiveness of the ideas associated with the concept of the temple as realised template and the extent to which it served the theological, social, and political purposes of articulating the legitimacy of temple sites.

[201] W.G. Lambert, "Studies in Marduk," *BSOAS* 47 (1984): 4–6.
[202] Frahm, *Babylonian*, 345–364.

The promotion of a particular deity to the top of the pantheon somehow reflected the distribution of political powers in Mesopotamia. The patron god of a city would have taken the highest position when that city occupied the political and cultural centre of Mesopotamia.[203] For example, in the Neo-Assyrian version of *Enūma eliš* during the reign of Sargon II, the god Aššur ruled.[204] But Aššur no longer enjoyed such status as when the Neo-Babylonian Empire was established with Babylon as the political centre, as it was then Marduk, the patron god of Babylon, who came to occupy the top of the pantheon. Once Marduk gained superiority, the ideas surrounding the notion of the temple as realised template would have been useful to add authenticity to his cult. It would therefore be intriguing to see how the concept of the temple as realised template was used in *Enūma eliš*, and in Chapter Three I shall explore its appropriation in the city of Babylon in the Neo-Babylonian period.

Enūma eliš describes how Marduk waged battle against Tiamat ("the Sea") and defeated her, and then used her corpse to fashion the world, in which Babylon was the centre. Marduk's creation of the world has become an analogy to the ideological fashioning of the Esagila temple of Marduk in Babylon, which was built as the counterpart of various levels of the heavenly residence of gods. For example, Marduk created Babylon as the earthly counterpart to Esharra, the dwelling place of the gods in heaven (using Foster's translation, Tablet V of *Enūma eliš*, lines 119-122):

> Above Apsu, the azure dwelling,
> As a counterpart to Esharra, which I built for you,
> Below the firmament, whose grounding I made firm,
> A house I shall build, let it be the abode of my pleasure.[205]

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[203] Beate Pongratz-Leisten, "*mental map* und Weltbid in Mesopotamia," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 264.
[204] Frahm, *Babylonian*, 350–351.
[205] Foster, *Before the Muses*, 467.

The Epic further depicts that Marduk divided the gods of heaven and the underworld, regarding the Esagila temple as the counterpart of Apsu, the domain of the underworld (using Foster's translation, Tablet VI of *Enūma eliš*, lines 62-66):

> They raised the head of Esagila, the counterpart of Apsu,
> They built the upper ziggurat of Apsu,
> For Anu-Enlil-Ea they founded his … and dwelling.
> He took his seat in sublimity before them,
> Its pinnacles were facing toward the base of Esharra.[206]

Another section also speaks of similar concepts (using Foster's translation, Tablet IV of *Enūma eliš*, lines 142-146):

> He made a counterpart to Apsu, the dwelling of Nudimmud.
> The Lord measured the construction of Apsu,
> He founded the Great Sanctuary, the likeness of Esharra.
> (In) the Great Sanctuary, (in) Esharra,
> which he built, (and in) heaven,
> He made Ea, Enlil, and Anu dwell in their holy places.[207]

It thus seems that the earthly temple was understood as providing the terrestrial counterparts of the heavenly abodes, showing how the concept of the temple as realised template contributed to the ideological understanding of the Mesopotamian temples, especially the Esagila temple of Marduk in Babylon.

Janowski offers a brief diachronic overview of the Mesopotamian temple ideologies by exploring *Enūma eliš* and the older temple hymns of Gudea of Lagash.[208] He mainly articulates the Mesopotamian worldviews represented by the terms "world mountain" and "template". The former notion signifies a temple (built

[206] Ibid., 471.
[207] Ibid., 462.
[208] Bernd Janowski, "Der Himmel auf Erden: Zur kosmologischen Bedeutung des Tempels in der Umwelt Israels," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 232–242, 251–253.

on a holy hill) as the centre of creation, reaching the heavenly residence of the gods,[209] while the latter designates the earthly temple as the counterpart of the heavenly temple or underworld.[210] Regarding Marduk as a temple builder, he writes:

> Der Tempel ist das Abblid des Weltbergs/Urhügels, der als erster aus der Urflut auftauchte und von dem aus die Schöpfung der Welt erfolgte. Die Bezeichnungen „Haus, Fundament von Himmel und Erde" (é-te-men-an-ki) und „Band von Himmel und Erde" (dur-an-ki) sind dafür sprechende Beispiele.[211]

The Esagila temple was thus situated at the top of the "world mountain", which was first created as the centre of the world, acting as the foundation of heaven and earth. Furthermore, this temple was to be built according to the plan of Marduk in vertical relation to the four spatial layers of divine residence: Anu in heaven, Enlil in Ešarra, Marduk in Esagila, and Ea/Enki in Apsû, as shown in the following diagram:

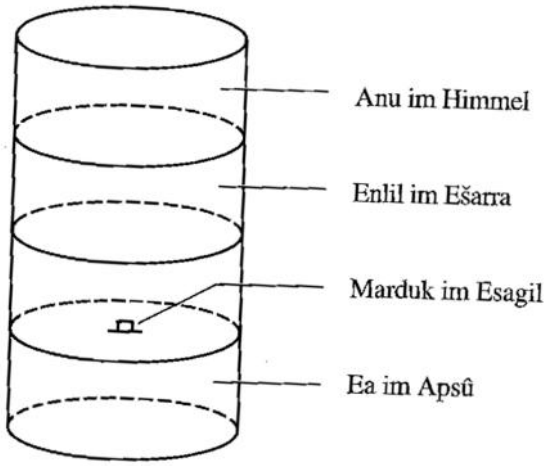

Figure 1: Janowski's Reconstruction According to *Enūma eliš*[212]

Ešarra is located between heaven and Esagila, while Apsû is located at the bottom, the

[209] Ibid., 233–236. For more examples, see Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 9–97; John M. Lundquist, "The Common Temple Ideology of the Ancient Near East," in *The Temple in Antiquity: Ancient Records and Modern Perspectives*, ed. Truman G. Madsen (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center Brigham Young University, 1984), 54–76; Eric Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion," in *The Labyrinth: Further Studies in the Religion Between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed. S.H. Hooke (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935), 43–70; Eliade, *Patterns*, 367–385.
[210] Janowski, "Der Himmel auf Erden," 240–242.
[211] Ibid., 238.
[212] Taken from Ibid., 241.

underworld. Esagila was thus regarded as the connective point in the vertical axis at the centre of Babylon, linking the three other spatial domains. This *axis mundi* was symbolically visible to all people in Babylon through the gigantic ziggurat, Etemenanki, designating the temple as the foundation of heaven and earth. With this vertical linkage, Esagila was further seen as the counterpart of Apsû and Ešarra, where the "template" was to be realised:

> Daraus ergibt sich, daβ Esagil nicht nur als ,,Gegenstük des *apsû*" errichtet wurde, sondern mit seiner Spitze auch in den unteren Himmel (=Ešarra) reichte, nach Standort und Ausmaβ also kosmische Dimensionen besaβ – genauso wie der in seinem Heiligtum residierende Marduk.[213]

We thus see how the traditional understanding of the ideology of the Esagila temple further elaborated the concept of the temple as realised template, not only as the focal point of the residences of Anu, Enlil and Ea but also as the replication of the underworld Apsû, constituting multiple layers of counterparts.

The concept of the temple as realised template can also be traced in the Old Babylonian description of the famous temple builder, Gudea of Lagash. The Nanshe Hymn depicts the importance of chanting holy hymns in the temple that was built by him at Ninâ (using Jacobsen's translation, lines 37-46):

> Gudea perfected for her all her precious sacred offices.
> Her shepherd, envisioned in the holy heart,
> Gudea, ruler of Lagash,
> stationed among the *tigi* strings the princely,
> sweet sounding, tambourines,
> stationed with them holy harps,
> and to the holy chants and the antiphons he had performed for her
> lyres were giving praise unto the house,
> whilst out from amid them a chief musician
> was sounding for her the shofar horn.

[213] Ibid., 242.

Since she had deemed fit to allot to the house sacred rites from Apsû,
he sang at its sacred princely rites the latter's holy chants
in Siratr's courtyard.[214]

This hymn expresses a profound concern for the holiness of musical instruments and singing, and tells how Gudea built the new temple Siratr for Nanshe in Ninâ. He then inaugurated the "perfect" cult for her by establishing a much-elaborated musical worship with different sorts of holy chants and instruments. The hymn speaks of Apsû, which was the domain of Enki, underlying the earth. The new cult of Nanshe was thus comparable to the famous sacred cult of Enki in the temple Eridu, such that Nanshe deserved a full provision of holy chants. Therefore, a full and perfect establishment of a musical cult was necessary to promote a deity and the legitimacy of his or her cult.

In the famous Gudea Cylinder A, it was predicted that Gudea would receive a design (or template) for building the temple of Ninĝirsu (using Jacobsen's translation, Section vii, lines 4-8):

… the heart of the lord, unfathomable as inmost heaven,
of Ninĝirsu, son of Enlil, will become appeased for you;
he will reveal to you the design of his house,
and the warrior will hail for you his offices, all great.[215]

Gudea's positive response to this prophecy invoked a response from Ninĝirsu (using Jacobsen's translation, Section ix, lines 9-10):

Gudea – for building my house let me give you the signposts
and let me tell you the pure stars above,
(the heralds) of my appointed tasks.[216]

Gudea realised the design into his temple building for Ninĝirsu in a later section of this cylinder. It indicated that the blueprint of a heavenly temple was to be realised on

[214] Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once: Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1997), 129.
[215] Ibid., 396.
[216] Ibid., 399.

earth, so that the earthly sanctuary acted as the counterpart of the heavenly one.

Moreover, in a hymn dedicated to Inanna as warrior, holy musical instruments helped Inanna to fight her heavenly battle (using Jacobsen's translation, lines 36-44):

> Algar-instruments, silver inwrought, they are beating for her,
> – before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
> The great queen of heaven, Inanna, I will hail!
> Holy tambourines and holy kettledrums they are beating for her
> – before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
> The great queen of heaven, Inanna, I will hail!
> Holy harps and holy kettledrums they are smiting for her,
> – before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
> The oldest child of the Moon, Inanna, I will hail![217]

Here, military language in association with holy musical instruments (e.g. Algar-instruments) forms the vanguard of Inanna. A profound concern for holiness ensured a victory as the musical instruments entered into the realm of holy Inanna and became her possession. Again, the musical contribution would have helped a deity to fight the battle. This military language associated with the musical dimension would have added a higher authenticity to a temple site in respect to stabilising the world and political powers.

How can we understand "holy" as describing the divine status of musical instruments in the temple as realised template? As mentioned before, each string of a musical instrument corresponded to a particular "god-number" and appears to have denoted the sound of particular gods.[218] When musicians played musical instruments, they actually imitated the divine sound in melodies bearing the holy chants that were themselves divinely inspired. They believed that this created a connection between the realm of gods and the mundane, so that divine blessings could be channelled through

[217] Ibid., 115.
[218] Dumbrill, *Archaeomusicology*, 35, 61–62, 92.

from one to the other.

In his helpful study of the "deification" of cultic objects, Selz examines various cultic statues and objects, especially musical instruments, to see how the Neo-Sumerians perceived the deification of these objects.[219] He concludes that Neo-Sumerians needed to ensure the divinity of divine statues and other cultic objects by name-giving, washing, induction, and offering. The ceremony of "mouth-washing" a divine statue prevailed over time[220] and was frequently reflected in the ritual of *kalû*. If washing was a general prerequisite for the deification of a divine statue, then mouth-washing can be described as fundamental to ensuring its holiness. This ritual purity had nothing to do with moral cleanliness but represented a foundation for the animation of a statue. Similarly, the rule could also be applied to musical instruments, as Selz has shown. Their "deification" ensured that they were appropriate for liturgical use.[221] The concepts of purity and holiness were also linked to the object's role in bringing coherence between heaven and earth.

Wilson offers a systematic treatment of the Sumerian word ku_3, "holy", and the Akkadian *ellu*, "pure" and argues that the former represents the realm of gods,[222] while the latter represents a realm free of physical impurities and demonic influence.[223] He also compares ku_3 with the Hebrew word קדש and concludes that their meaning overlaps insofar as they both denote the realm of divinity. Their meanings differ in their verbal form: ku_3 does not convey any dynamic qualities, while

[219] Gebhard J. Selz, "'The Holy Drum, the Spear, and the Harp' Towards an Understanding of the Problems of Deification in Third Millennium Mesopotamia," in *Sumerian Gods and Their Represetnations*, ed. I.L. Finkel and M.J. Geller (Groningen: Styx, 1997), 167–209.
[220] Erica Reiner and Miguel Civil, "Another Volume of Sultantape Tablets," *JNES* 26 (1967): 211. For the rite of "mouth-washing" with the purification of kettle-drums, see *ANET*, 335-336.
[221] Selz, "Holy Drum," 184.
[222] E. Jan Wilson, *"Holiness" and "Purity" in Mesopotamia* (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon&Bercker, 1994), 17.
[223] Ibid., 67, 81.

קדש does.[224] He contends that purity (*ellu*) was the foundational prerequisite for holiness in ancient Mesopotamia. Being pure did not mean that a person or an object was in the realm of divinity but simply that it was free from impurities and demonic influence, though there may be a considerable overlap of meaning between purity and holiness.[225] Ritual purity, however, had to be achieved as the prerequisite for the cultic "deification" of a person or an object for the realm of gods. As I shall show in Chapter Seven, Israel's worship upholds a similar concept of purity.

2.5. Conclusion

I have explored the threefold role – educational, scribal, and liturgical – of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers in the first millennium, using *kalû*-priests as an instructive example of the scholar-singers. From this brief survey, we know that the Neo-Babylonian *kalû*-priests were highly respected persons in the royal courts and temples, exercising multi-functional roles in perpetuating lament-traditions and in conducting liturgical performances, in order to appease the hearts of angry gods and to foster stability and well-being.

First, we have discovered that the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical school probably took the form of a two-staged curriculum in which students learned basic lexical texts, vocabularies, traditional Babylonian myths and epics, and the writing of administrative letters. Music was probably an integral part of the scribal curriculums, and musical theory and rhythmic conventions became prerequisites for the composition of hymns and epics. After completing this basic curriculum, these scholar-singers sought employment in various sectors such as the profession of *kalûtu*. In the specialised training of *kalûtu*, young *kalû*-priests acted as apprentices (or sons),

[224] Ibid., 89.
[225] Ibid., 80–83.

undertaking on-the-job training in order to work in the profession of their senior "fathers". Later on, these young *kalû*-priests then took over the teaching responsibilities and trained younger apprentices. We know via sources from different periods that this father-son apprenticeship persisted from the Neo-Assyrian period to Seleucid times.

Second, *kalû*-priests and scholar-singers in general were responsible for transmitting ancient traditions in an oral-written interface. Many epics and hymns were composed to be sung in cultic contexts or in scribal schools. The transmission and recontextualisation of *balag-eršemma* through *kalû*-priests gives an instructive example of how this particular kind of scholar-singer reworked and recontextualised their lament-traditions to make them suitable for routine cultic performances in different liturgical settings. This testifies to the reusability of the texts down the ages. Occasionally, these traditions were considered holy insofar as they were divinely inspired. Scholar-singers became the perpetuators of traditions.

Third, *kalû*-priests were also involved in cultic singing in their temples in order to appease the hearts of the gods and to promote the well-being and security of their kings, peoples and cities, and the purity and holiness of their temples, especially in the *Sitz im Leben* of the demolition and restoration of temples. They recited holy chants and played holy musical instruments, and also helped to maintain ritual purity as a foundation for ensuring the holiness of the temple.

Fourth, *Enūma eliš,* which featured the basic training curriculum of most Neo-Babylonian scholar-singers, constituted the traditional Babylonian temple ideology. It conveyed the fundamental concept of the temple as realised template, rooted in wider Mesopotamian culture and serving the social, political, and ideological agenda of the rulers and priests of different temple sites.

In order to enable well-being, there was profound dynamic between the three

aspects of scholar-singers – educational, scribal, and liturgical. We can also see *kalû*-priests as mediating between the realms of heaven and earth by imitating gods to pursue higher humanity, by transmitting divine inspirations (i.e. prophecy), and by maintaining holiness and purity. Therefore, Ziegler's statement best concludes this chapter:

> Music was undoubtedly highly esteemed in ancient Mesopotamia … Music was the preferred mode of communications with the gods and the favoured vehicle for the transmission of myths and epics: most of the compositions which we today tend to classify as literary texts were in fact meant to be sung. Music was valued by all levels of society and accompanied various aspects of the human existence. Highly specialized expert musicians were counted among the scholars [i.e. scholar-singers]. They were highly regarded members of society with privileged access to the royal courts and temples which tended to provide them with their livelihood.[226]

The evidence in this chapter has been presented in a very deliberate manner, because I do not want to impose an overarching framework on it but to let it speak for itself. I have employed the temple as realised template as a "framework", but this conceptualisation does not mean that the ideas surrounding this concept remained unchanged. On the contrary, I believe that related ideas were given different emphases in different cultic settings serving different ideological and political purposes. This shows how the cluster of ideas was fluidly contextualised in different cultic settings.

Another "framework" that I have employed is that of the threefold aspect of scholar-singers. It must be noted that I do not develop this threefold aspect as a "model" of scholar-singers, but use it as a general description of their service for easier presentation. The boundaries among the functional entities inside the triangle, educational-scribal-liturgical, were permeable, and we cannot understand one functional role without the others. I intend that the presentation of this functional triangle should effectively convey the multi-functional nature of the elite professional

[226] Nele Ziegler, "Music, the Work of Professionals," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 288.

Mesopotamian scholar-singers (and *kalû*-priests) and of Levitical singers in Part II.

Furthermore, I have deliberately departed from a compressed presentation of the first millennium Mesopotamian scholar-singers. I have made a deliberate effort to note the dating of each piece of evidence in order to allow an appreciation of the full dimensions (diachronic and synchronic) of scholar-singers in the Neo-Babylonian period. There are many examples of such small differences in the first millennium: (1) the Neo-Assyrian scribal school conducted examinations while the Neo-Babylonian did not; (2) a tendency towards the standardisation of traditions emerged together with the concept of "libraries" in the later periods; (3) the opportunity of scholar-singers in the Neo-Assyrian period to choose their own career paths (i.e. scribes, chanters, exorcists, haruspices, and physicians) in the second stage of learning, while those in the Neo-Babylonian period sought specialisation after the two-staged basic curriculum; (4) the older Sumerian city-laments show references to specific cities, while the younger *balag-eršemma* lacks the city references and thus exhibits the reusability of lament-traditions.

These differences, however, do not detract from the fact that music and scholar-singers played an indispensable part in articulating different ideas in different settings in different periods. For example, the propaganda pieces from the scribal schools in Nippur (in Old Babylonian and from the first millennium BCE) show that the interpreting of songs remained one crucial element in scribal education over 1,500 years. The *kalû*-priests behaved as the main cultic personnel in transmitting lament-songs and *balag-eršemma* for 1,500 years, in which the musical approach can be found in their cults and in their transmission of laments. I believe that this breadth of similarities and differences across centuries and locations can be used to establish a platform for understanding Jewish-Babylonian engagement during the Babylonian exile.

Any specialist in the study of the Babylonian exile would agree that the Jews offered a strong theological reaction to the exile. Scholars have generally accepted that the ideas of heaven-and-earth, the God-king figure, the heavenly temple and template, and YHWH's glory and presence, holiness, and purity (e.g. in Ezekiel, Isaiah, Psalms, and Lamentations) probably represent theological reflections on the experience of the exile. As we have seen, these ideas have strong Mesopotamian roots. Although they were widely shared in Israelite pre-exilic traditions, the adaptation of these ideas in exilic and post-exilic traditions suggests that the experience of the exile led to a strong reflection and reworking of the pre-exilic Israelite traditions, and this reaffirmed some literary traditions. It will therefore be important to examine just exactly how this exilic reaction materialised, and I suggest that the key person in respect to this is King Jehoiachin of Judah, to whom I now turn.

3. King Jehoiachin of Judah and the Influence of Mesopotamia on the Jewish Exile Community

The previous chapter established the educational, scribal, and liturgical aspects of Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests. This chapter follows on from this basis and argues that the influence of the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context increased when Jewish deportees engaged in intensive social interaction in Babylon. This interaction is regarded as a social and ideological influence to the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on and reinterpretation of Israelite traditions. We should not expect this influence to manifest as direct literary borrowing.

It must be noted that I do not intend to reconstruct the history of the exile, in the modern sense, but to retell the history from the ideological perspective of the Jewish exile community and the historical-comparative perspective of the Babylonian scribal-musical culture. I recognise that there are historical data embedded within the biblical texts that are difficult to single out, and I do not attempt this. I also use archaeological and sociological analyses to take into consideration a cluster of parameters that are ideological in nature and subject to interpretation.[227]

We can access the past only from the viewpoints of ancient writers. We cannot be neutral observers, stand outside the historical continuum, or judge which sets of data are more historical. Any interpretation of historical facts depends on our own social situation and interest. Such "facts", whether they are reflected in material remains or literature, do not prove historicity. Therefore, I aim to place the biblical texts and the archaeological-sociological findings in the wider circumstantial context of Babylonian society, in order to explore the probable interaction between Jews and Babylonians that led to some probable reactions by Jews.

[227] For a good survey, see Carter, *Yehud*, 31–74.

There has been a debate on whether we should abandon using the term "exile" to describe the events that happened in 597-538 BCE. It has been argued that the word "exile" is heavily loaded with theological (or metaphorical) overtones and is not neutral enough to designate a historical period.[228] But these dichotomies between history and theology, reality and metaphor, fact and myth, offer no help in understanding what happened in this period. The use of metaphor is systematically inescapable in human communication and the perception of any historical event.[229] It is unwise to abandon the term "exile" simply because it involves metaphorical significance. "Exile" is an experience, a theological claim, and a historical event. It should not be marginalised, because it reflects the theological interpretation of this event according to Judah's people, those who had first-hand emotions and viewpoints.

I explore the topic in two steps. First, I argue that the Babylonian exile was the crucial period in which Jewish officials engaged with the culture of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers. Jehoiachin, the king of Judah deported together with his royal officials in 597 BCE, is a key person in understanding of how such contact grew strong.[230] Second, I argue from the ideological perspectives of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah that these texts establish three themes of continuity in their portrayal of the exile and return. The concern for continuity (a hallmark of authenticity) betrays the socio-ideological concerns of the citizen-temple community[231] during the

[228] For a series on the debate, see Lester L. Grabbe, ed., *Leading Captivity Captive: "The Exile" as History and Ideology*, JSOTSS 278 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1998). See also Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, eds., *The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Contexts*, BZAW 404 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010).

[229] See footnote 391.

[230] This proposal resembles William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 149–164, but from a different angle.

[231] Weinberg defines "the citizen-temple community" (*der Bürger-Tempel-Gemeinde*) as "a unified organization of community members and the priesthood of the temple. This citizen-temple community gave its members an organizational unity and collective self-government, and provided for internal political, social and economic welfare": Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 26. For evaluations of Weinberg's model, see Grabbe, *Yehud*, 143–145; Carter, *Yehud*, 294–307; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Temple and Society in Achaemenid Judah," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, vol. 1, JSOTSS 117

restoration period. This particular social milieu would explain the motivation for the Jewish people to incorporate insights from the Mesopotamian scholar-singers into their characterisation of Levites in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah: in order to promote the authenticity and primacy of the Jerusalem temple cult.

3.1. Jehoiachin and the Influence of Mesopotamia

In this section, I examine epigraphic discoveries such as the seal impression of Jehoiachin, the Weidner tablet, and the TAYN corpus.[232] Evidence from the Weidner and the TAYN corpus represents two different Jewish classes in Babylonia. The former shows the life of Judah's royal family and elite classes, while the latter shows the daily life of lower classes. As I shall show, the Babylonian assimilation penetrated both upper and lower classes, but a very small number of the upper class received special treatment from the Babylonian ruling class and thus experienced a different kind of influence. This small number of professionals exercised a greater impact upon exilic textuality. However, this does not mean that the fate of the lower classes was isolated from that of the upper classes. Rather, their fortune depended upon the well-being of their leaders (e.g. Esth 10:3). Exploring the social situation of the lower classes can thus reflect the freedom and power of their leaders.

(Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 26–53; Peter Ross Bedford, "On Models and Texts: A Response to Blenkinsopp and Petersen," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, vol. 1, JSOTSS 117 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 155–159; Richard A. Horsley, "Empire, Temple and Community - But No Bourgeoisie! A Response to Blenkinsopp and Petersen," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, vol. 1, JSOTSS 117 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 164–165 n2, 168–172; H.G.M. Williamson, "Exile and After: Historical Study," in *Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 248–252. This model has gained some supporters. Others have criticised numerous issues such as population size, economy, and land holdings. Scholars have tended to amend and nuance the model, and they have reached no consensus in many details. Although I use the term "the citizen-temple community" to designate the temple community in Yehud, it is not necessary to look at the details of Weinberg's model here, because they do not affect the main line of argument. My particular concerns are Weinberg's articulation of "pre-Hellenism" and the creation of the identity of the community.

[232] TAYN means "Texts from āl-Yāhūdu and Našar": Laurie E. Pearce, "New Evidence for Judeans in Babylonia," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 401 n5.

According to Kings, Jehoiachin was the penultimate king of Judah (2Kgs 24:8-17). Before the first capture of Jerusalem, Jehoiakim died and left his son, Jehoiachin, to face the siege from Babylonian troops. This inexperienced king reigned only three months in Jerusalem, and he surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon together with "his mother, his servants, his captains, and his court officials" (2Kgs 24:12). Nebuchadnezzar appointed Zedekiah, Jehoiachin's uncle, as king in Jerusalem. But only Jehoiachin was considered the true, rightful king of Judah (e.g. Jer 28-29),[233] and only he had his palace scribes and officials with him in Babylon. He was probably the leader of Jewish communities in Babylon as he seems to have been well-treated.[234] This can be verified by epigraphic discoveries, as described in the following observations.

In their archaeological work at the sites of Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-shemesh in Israel, Albright and Grant discovered three stamped jar-handles bearing a seal with the words: לאליקם עבד יוכן "Eliakim steward of Joiachin (i.e. Jehoiachin)."[235] These seals were found at the stratum dated about the reign of Josiah. Closer examinations lead Albright to assign these seals to the reign of Zedekiah (though not without challenge[236]), who might not have wanted to interfere with Jehoiachin's personal property after his exile in 597 BCE.[237]

These seals may suggest three things if Albright's interpretation is correct: (1)

[233] Bustenay Oded, "Judah and the Exile," in *Israelite and Judaean History*, ed. J. Maxwell Miller and John Haralson Hayes (London: SCM, 1977), 471; David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible : A New Reconstruction* (New York: OUP, 2011), 239.

[234] John M. Berridge, "Jehoiachin," in *ABD*, III:662-663; Israel Eph'al, "On the Political and Social Organization of the Jews in Babylonian Exile," in *XXI. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Vom 24. Bis 29. März 1980in Berlin: Vorträge*, ed. Fritz Steppat, ZDMG 5 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1983), 111; Bustenay Oded, "Observations on the Israelite/Judaen Exiles in Mesopotamia During the Eighth-Sixth Centuries BCE," in *Immigration and Emigration Within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipiński*, ed. Edward Lipiński, Karel van Lerberghe, and Antoon Schoors (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1995), 210.

[235] For a discussion of the translation, see William Foxwell Albright, "The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Preexilic History of Judah, with Some Observations on Ezekiel," *JBL* 51 (1932): 79–84.

[236] David Ussishkin, "Royal Judean Storage Jars and Private Seal Impressions," *BASOR* 223 (1976): 11.

[237] Albright, "Seal," 102. Cf. D.J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon* (Oxford: OUP, 1985), 82.

Jehoiachin still owned his personal property in Palestine even though he was deported to Babylon, (2) his deportation did not affect the ownership of his property, and (3) he had stewards to take care of his property in Israel. Why do these seals still claim Jehoiachin's ownership, even though he was physically absent? One possible reason is that people in Palestine still expected their exiled king to return shortly (Jer 28:3-4). Although Hananiah's prophecy on Jehoiachin's return was condemned as a false prophecy (Jer 28:12-17), Jeremiah still showed his allegiance to Jehoiachin and his officials in Babylon (Jer 29:1-14). Thus Jehoiachin was still considered as the true king even though he had been physically absent.

Most important to my argument is an Akkadian cuneiform tablet called the Weidner tablet, which was found in an archive of 290 clay tablets excavated near the Ishtar Gate of Babylon.[238] References to "Jehoiachin, king of Judah" and his sons, mentioned as "princes of Judah", were recorded three times, and there is one reference to eight individuals referred to as "men of Judah". Here is my transcription and translation: [239]

0.5 (PI)	*ana* [*j*]*a'ukīn šarri ša jāḫudu*
2.5 *sila*	*ana* 5 *mârī šarri ša jāḫudu* […]
4 *sila*	*ana* 8 *jāḫudāja* 0.5 [*sila*]
0.5 (PI)	for [J]a'ukînu, the king of Judah
2.5 sila	for five princes of Judah […].
4 *sila*	for eight people of Judah, 0.5 [*sila*].

This tablet is tantalisingly allusive and can only provide limited information on the

[238] Ernst F. Weidner, "Jojachin, König Von Juda, in Babylonischen Keilschrifttexten," in *Mélanges Syriens Offerts À Monsieur René Dussaud: Secrétaire Perpétuel De l'Académie Des Inscriptions Et Belles-Lettres, Par Ses Amis Et Ses Élèves*, ed. René Dussaud, vol. 2, 2 vols., BAH 30 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1939), 923–935; William Foxwell Albright, "King Jehoiachin in Exile," *BA* 5 (1942): 49–55.

[239] For the cuneiform text, see Weidner, "Jojachin," 925. Weinder's transliteration is out-dated. I have re-transcribed it using the convention from Richard I. Caplice, *Introduction to Akkadian* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2002), 4–9.

actual life of the exiled people in Babylon. We must examine several biblical texts and additional epigraphic discoveries in order to reconstruct the overall picture.

3.1.1. The Babylonian Royal Court

Why did Jehoiachin and his royal court receive rations from the Babylonians? Why were they well-treated? The Babylonians probably attempted to include the royal and elite classes of their foreign captives in the Neo-Babylonian royal court, in order to display the prestige and power of Nebuchadnezzar. In this section, I shall draw on sources such as a prism called "The Court of Nebuchadnezzar"[240], some royal inscriptions, and the Weidner tablet, focusing on an articulation of a high ranking official in the Neo-Babylonian royal court called "chief singer" *rab zammārī*. These sources are particularly important because they are dated in the Neo-Babylonian period and were mostly unearthed in Babylon, showing invaluable information about the life in the Babylonian royal court.

The prism entitled "The Court of Nebuchadnezzar" writes (III:33-IV:19):

> I order the (following) court officials in exercise of (their) duties to take up position in my (official) suite: As *mašennu*-officials Nabuzeriddinam, the chief cook, Nabuzeribni, the chief armorer (Lord High Steward), [E]rib[…] in charge of the palace officials, Sinshar [ilani(?)], the major-domo, Atkal-ana-Mar-Esagila … [the …] (some names broken), Inaqibit-Bel [the …], Bel-erish, the chief […], Ardia, the *mašennu* of the "House-of-the-Palace-Women," Beluballit, the secretary of the "House-of-the-Palace-Women," Silla, the chief master-of-*ceremonies*, Nabuahusur, the chief of the engineers, Mushallim-Marduk, Nabu-ushibshi (and) Eribshu, the overseers (lit.: heads) of the slave-girls, Nabubelusur, overseer of the slave-girls, Nabuzeribni, the cupbearer, Nergalresua, the chief of the singers, Ardi-Nabu, the *sipiru* –official of the crown prince, Eaidanni, the chief of the cattle, Rimutu, the chief of the cattle, Nabumarsharriusur, the chief of the sailors, (and) Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants.[241]

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[240] This document comes from a prism in Constantinople (No. 7834) and was unearthed from Babylon, from the western part of the city castle. For transliteration, see Eckhard Unger, *Babylon; die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier,* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1931), 282–294. For an English translation of III:33-V:29, see *ANET* 307-308.

[241] *ANET* 307-308.

In this prism, we see royal court officials such as a chief cook, an armourer, a secretary, heads of provinces, an overseer, and a cupbearer. Two high-ranking positions should draw our attention: (1) "Beluballit, the secretary of the 'House-of-the-Palace-Women'" (*m Bêl-û-ba-al-li-it* ^{amēlu}*dup-šar ša Bît šigrêti ekalli*) (IV:6-7) and (2) "Nergalresua, the chief of the singers" (*m* ^{ilu}*Nergal(UGUR)-ri-zu-ú-a* ^{amēlu}*rab za-am-ma-ri*) (IV:14).[242] The transcription of ^{amēlu}*dup-šar* is *ṭupšar*, "scholar/scribe" and that of ^{amēlu}*rab za-am-ma-ri* is *rab zammārī*, "chief singers". This shows that the official titles of *ṭupšar* and *rab zammārī* were for high-ranking persons in the royal court. We have already learned a lot about the multi-functional role of *ṭupšar* in Chapter Two (esp. Section 2.1). But how can we understand *rab zammārī*?

Zammārī is probably a general term that describes all sorts of singers.[243] The *rab zammārī* is probably therefore a high-ranking person who was responsible for overseeing and organising the activities of all singers. Furthermore, several *kalû* ritual texts indicate that *zamāru* was a usual practice of *kalû*-priests, for example,

> [A *kalû*-priest] shall sing (*tazammur*) the lamentation (entitled) '*Utudim eta*' and the lamentation (entitled) '*U'uaba muḫul*.[244]
>
> one of the *kalû*-singers stands up and sings (*i-za-mu-ur*) an ersemma-song to Enlil to the accompaniment of the *ḫalḫallatu*-drum.[245]
>
> the *kalû*-singers sing (*i-za-am-mu-ru-ma*) the song.[246]
>
> the *kalû*-singers sing (*i-z*[*a-a*]*m-mu-r*[*u*]) the (specific song) at the monthly festival.[247]

We thus see that *zamāru* was a usual activity of *kalû*-priests when they sang *balag-eršemma* and other lamentation songs. This clearly suggests that the *kalû*-priest

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[242] The transliteration comes from Unger, *Babylon*, 285.
[243] In *CAD*, *rab zammārī* appears in the entry "zamāru A", showing the general meaning of "to sing" or "to have singers (and other musicians) perform": "zamāru A", *CAD*, XXI:36.
[244] This appears in two lines of the *kalû*-ritual for the repair of a temple: Text A, lines 5-6, *ANET*, 339. For transcription, see Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 34.
[245] This appears in one line of the *kalû*-ritual: "zamāru A", *CAD*, XXI:37.
[246] This appears in one line of the *kalû*-ritual: Ibid.
[247] This appears in one line of the *kalû*-ritual: Ibid.

was one of the *zammārī*, as *CAD* suggests:

> Singing [i.e. *zamāru*], especially for ritual or ceremonial purposes, was always done to the accompaniment of musical instruments, played either by the singer himself or by an accompanist. The instruments specifically mentioned are the *ḫalḫallatu* and *alû* drums, in connection with certain lamentations …., and the *balaggu* and *sammû* harps.[248]

The *ḫalḫallatu*-drums and *balaggu*-harps were closely associated with the singing (*zamāru*) of *eršemma* and *balag* respectively, and therefore the chanting of *balag-eršemma* was regarded as an activity of *zamāru*. This supports the view that the *kalû*-priest was one of the *zammārī*, who often played these instruments specifically designed for laments. And now we see that the royal court of Nebuchadnezzar consisted of *rab zammārī*, an official overseer of all singers, including *kalû*-priests. Given that the *kalû*-priest was a high-ranking person in the first millennium, we can therefore conclude that the royal court included a substantial number of *kalû*-priests, whose overseer was *rab zammārī*.

As I have shown in Chapter Two, the Neo-Babylonian *kalû*-priests were heavily involved in transmitting and composing *balag-eršemma* on the one hand, and in conducting routine liturgical performance on the other, in order to appease the hearts of the gods in the context of temple demolition and reconstruction. They were experts in traditional Babylonian myths, epics and lores, such as *Enūma eliš*, and in the Babylonian temple ideology. This scribal-musical professional knowledge constituted a scholastic social environment in the Neo-Babylonian royal court, such that the Babylonian scribal-musical culture (an institutional and ideological environment) dominated social and conceptual interactions.

Furthermore, many royal inscriptions indicate that Nebuchadnezzar (and Nabonidus[249]) frequently performed the demolition and reconstruction of various

[248] Ibid., 38.

[249] For the royal inscriptions of Nabonidus and how they indicate the demolition and reconstruction of

temples, for instance:

> I [i.e. Nebuchadnezzar] packed down clean earth on its old foundation and laid its brickwork.[250]

> I [i.e. Nebuchadnezzar] surrounded it with a thick revetment of bitumen and baked bricks; I filled its interior with clean earth.[251]

These are only the few examples among many similar occasions,[252] indicating that the temple demolition and reconstruction occupied one central concern of Nebuchadnezzar (and of Nabonidus) in his royal court. Since Babylonians traditionally saw the chanting of *balag-eršemma* indispensable during various temple-rebuilding ceremonies, this would have suggested that the ideology and practices of *kalû*-priests constituted one main social condition of the royal court.

The list of the court officials in the prism continues and records (V:23-29),

> the king of Tyre, the king of Gaza, the king of Sidon, the king of Arvad, the king of Ashdod, the king of Mir […], the king of …[253]

This is clearly evident that many foreign kings could be involved in the royal court. Unfortunately, the prism is broken at this point and cannot show further information about the involvement of other foreign kings in the royal court. Although the king of Judah is not mentioned in this broken prism, we see that a portion of the Weidner tablet does mention the king of Judah together with some foreign kings:

> (text Babylon 28122, obverse 29-33)
> … t[o?] *Ia-'-ú-kin*, king …
> to the *qîpūtu*-house of …
> … for Shalamiamu, the …
> … for 126 men from Tyre …
> … for Zabiria, the Ly[dian] …

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temples during the time of Nabonidus, see Ellis, *Foundation*, 181–183.

[250] *VAB*, *4*, 96 ii 4-6. Extracted from Ibid., 180.

[251] *VAB*, *4*, 84, No. 6, i 15-ii 4. Extracted from Ibid.

[252] For more examples, see Ibid., 180–181.

[253] *ANET*, 308. For transcription, see Unger, *Babylon*, 286.

(text Babylon 28178, obverse ii 38-40)
10 (*sila* of oil) to … [*Ia*]-*'-kin*, king of *Ia*[…]
$2^{1}/_{2}$ *sila* (oil) to […so]ns of the king of Judah (*Ia-a-ḫu-du*)
4 *sila* to 8 men from Judah (^{amel}*Ia-a-ḫu-da-a-a*) …
(text Babylon 28186), reverse ii 13-18)
$1^{1}/_{2}$ *sila* (oil) for 3 carpenters from Arvad, $^{1}/_{2}$ *sila* each
$11^{1}/_{2}$ *sila* for 8 ditto from Byblos, 1 *sila* each …
$3^{1}/_{2}$ *sila* for 7 ditto, Greeks, $^{1}/_{2}$ *sila* each
$^{1}/_{2}$ *sila* to *Nabû-êṭir* the carpenter
10 (*sila*) to *Ia-ku-ú-ki-nu*, the son of the king of *Ia-ku-du* (i.e. Judah)
$2^{1}/_{2}$ *sila* for the 5 sons of the king of Judah (*Ia-ku-du*) through Qana'a […][254]

Since the Weidner tablet shows the distribution of oil for the survival of people who came from the upper stratum of conquered nations and were dependent upon the royal household, and since the list reflected in the tablet generally matches the list of foreign kings in the prism (e.g. Tyre and Arvad), the foreign people (including Jehoiachin) reflected in the Weidner tablet would have experienced the same royal social setting as those kings described in the prism. It therefore seems entirely likely that the king of Judah would have been involved in the royal court as well. This can be verified by the biblical description of the life of Jehoiachin in 2Kgs 25:27-30, which reports that

> King Evil-merodach of Babylon … released King Jehoiachin of Judah from prison; he … gave him a seat above the other seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon … Every day of his [i.e. Jehoiachin] life he dined regularly in the king's presence. For his allowance, a regular allowance was given him by the king, a portion every day, as long as he lived. (2Kgs 25:27-30, NRSV)

The phrases "regular allowance", "daily portion", and "seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon" exactly match what has been recorded in the prism and the Weidner tablet. It is thus historically probable that Jehoiachin participated in the social setting of the royal court during the exile.

Jehoiachin (Ja'u-kînu) was given the title "the king of Judah" (*šarri ša jāḫudu*) in

[254] *ANET*, 308.

the Weidner tablet, and was also called "king" in sources such as 2Kgs 25:27-30. Such a royal figure would necessarily require a court that included learned people, however small it may have been. The fact that he was YHWH's anointed made him a sacred figure, who could not have been regarded as an "ordinary" person. Certain rituals and formal customs surrounding him required the presence of educated professionals to uphold his dignity and status, especially because he was employed by Nebuchadnezzar as a trophy to demonstrate the power and prestige of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Therefore, Jehoiachin's scribes and officials are likely to have been involved in the Babylonian royal court.

The Weidner tablet shows that Jehoiachin and eight other people received allowances. The tablet does not mention the social status of these eight people, but we can reasonably assume that they were among the royal officials taken into captivity together with Jehoiachin (2Kgs 24:15-16).[255] These elite persons were potentially the best equipped to read and write, or even to chant texts and traditions. From this we can deduce that these exiled Judaean elites were most likely involved in the social life of the Babylonian royal court, in which the scribal-musical culture of Mesopotamian scholar-singers, such as *ṭupšar* and *kalû*-priests, dominated social interaction. Therefore there may well have been real historical contact in Babylonia between *kalû*-priests and exiled Judaean elites. As shall be shown in Section 3.1.2, this can be verified by an influence of Babylonian laments on biblical lamentation songs as well.

Although Jehoiachin and his officials were probably involved in the social conditions of the Babylonian royal court, we still cannot be sure how Mesopotamian literature affected Jewish textuality. No matter how assimilated they were or how frequently the social interaction may have occurred, we cannot determine which

[255] The Babylonians intended to "exterminate or weaken the elite of the conquered land": Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 37.

specific texts were directly known to Jewish scholars.

Frahm gives a study of the influence of *Enūma eliš* on Genesis as if both texts are related from a literary point of view.[256] He writes, "[I]t is almost certain that the deportees from Judah who were sent to Babylon in 597 and 586 BCE became in some form acquainted with it."[257] He is referring to Dan 1:3-5 and the Weidner tablet, thinking that Jehoiachin and his officials may have learnt *Enūma eliš* in the Sumero-Akkadian scribal education. But when we look at the synoptic tables (*Enūma eliš* I 1-5//Gen 1:1-2 and *Enūma eliš* VI 59-73//Gen 11:1-9) provided by Frahm,[258] we cannot find a direct borrowing of textual trunks or any precise correlation but simply some shared allusive ideas of a general and imprecise nature. His claim, "they are counter-texts",[259] is unverifiable. The textual evidence thus does not support the case for direct literary contact between the two cultures, and this suggests that Jehoiachin and his officials were unlikely to have received scribal education in Babylonia.[260]

Perhaps it would be unwise to lay great stress on the affinities between *Enūma eliš* and Genesis at the level of literary dependence, but a relationship of some kind seems clear.[261] This relationship probably came not from direct copying but from shared ideas. The Jewish engagement with the Babylonian royal court probably reaffirmed these commonly shared ideas (especially the ideas implied by the temple as realised template[262]).

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[256] Frahm, *Babylonian*, 364–368.

[257] Ibid., 365.

[258] Ibid., 365–366. See appendix E.

[259] Ibid., 366. For me, "counter-texts" should be something like Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

[260] Babylonian scribal education was esoteric in nature. Only a small number of highly regarded Babylonian elites could be involved in cuneiform learning: Beaulieu, "Late Babylonian," 476, 481.

[261] See K.L. Sparks, "Enūma Eliš and Priestly Mimesis: Elite Emulation in Nascent Judaism," *JBL* 126 (2007): 625–648; R. Hendel, "Genesis 1-11 and its Mesopotamian Problem," in *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, ed. Erich S Gruen (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2005), 23–26. See also a series of essays: Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid, and Markus Witte, eds., *Abschied vom Jahwisten: die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, BZAW 315 (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 2002).

[262] In Frahm's synoptic tables (appendix E), the shared ideas (highlighted by Frahm) are "heavens",

For Jewish thinkers, the social conditions of the Babylonian royal court threatened their self-identity, such that the court might not necessarily have produced pro-Babylonian minds, but rather strengthened the self-identity of Jews.[263] With a need to build self-identity, Jews would be more inclined to borrow from Israelite traditions than from the Mesopotamian literature. Meanwhile, the social condition would also have produced cultural appreciation; Jewish thinkers would have obtained insights that they could apply to the articulation of their own identity from the "successful" Babylonian culture. The intra-Jewish borrowing and reinterpreting would thus have been influenced strongly by the royal scribal-musical culture, so that some intra-Jewish traditions (e.g. the temple as realised template and music) were reinforced in order to strengthen Jewish sense of identity in relation to YHWH's faith in face of the challenges of Babylonians.

3.1.2. The Influence of the *kalû*-priests' Lament-Tradition

Scholars have generally agreed that the theological reflections of the Babylonian exile match the central concerns of the Book of Lamentations and some lament-psalms.[264] This would explain why the similarities between them in their motifs, imagery, and themes grew in the exilic and post-exilic traditions. For example, Emmendörffer explores one particular *balag*, UDAM KI AMUS (*u_4-dam ki àm-ús*),[265] which contains a motif describing how the divine word (Enlil's word) shakes heaven and earth (lines 1-2, 11-14, using Cohen's translation):

"earth", "sea", "spirit", "waters", "a tower with its tops in the heaven", and "Babel/Babylon": Frahm, *Babylonian*, 365–366. These shared ideas match the ideas surrounding temple as realised template.

[263] Cf. Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 105–108.

[264] Except Bouzard, who thinks that "those psalms which apparently treat the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem are not specifically dependent on the events of 587 BCE": Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 45.

[265] The name means "It Touches the Earth Like a Strom". This *balag* has been edited by Mark E. Cohen, *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Potomac, Md.: Capital Decisions, 1988), 120–151.

> It touches the earth like a strom. Its meaning is unfathomable.
> His word touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
> …
> His word, which causes the heavens to rumble above!
> His word, which causes the earth to shake below!
> His word, (at) which the Anunna-gods stumble!
> His word has no diviner. It has no interpreter.[266]

The *balag* continues and describes the destructive character of the divine word upon the country and its inhabitants, using expressions such as "it destroys the land" (line 39), "his word drifts in the heavens" (line 45), and "his word walks on the land" (line 46).[267] The wrath of Enlil upset the order of the world (i.e. heaven and earth), cities, temples, animals, and humans were destroyed (lines 79-100). This expresses the transcendence of Enlil, whose power comes down from heaven to earth with universal effect.[268] Emmendörffer then compares this idea with the biblical laments, and discovers that most exilic and post-exilic Israelite lament-psalms include an adaptation of this heaven-to-earth concept. For instance,

> How the Lord in his anger has humiliated daughter Zion! He has thrown down from heaven to earth the splendor of Israel. (Lam 2:1, NRSV)[269]

> because of Mount Zion, which lies desolate; jackals prowl over it. But you, O LORD, reign forever; your throne endures to all generations. (Lam 5:18-19, NRSV)[270]

> Let the heavens praise your wonders, O LORD, your faithfulness in the assembly of the holy ones. For who in the skies can be compared to the LORD? Who among the heavenly beings is

[266] Ibid., 136.
[267] Ibid., 137.
[268] These ideas generally match the concept of temple as realised template.
[269] "Aus den himmlischen Gefilden, den eigentlichen Wohnort Jhwhs – der Tempel auf dem Zion (vgl. 1c) stellt die Verbindung zwischen Erde und Himmel her:" Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 48. "Im Gegenteil erweist sich nun der Kultort Jerusalems, Schnittstelle zwischen himmlischer und irdischer Wohnstatt Gottes": Ibid., 51. Lam 2 thus shows a general similarity of the motif of the heaven-to-earth destruction of all temples, cities, and lands in the *balag*.
[270] "Der himmlische Gottesthron bleibt bestehen, obgleich die irdische Wohnstatt Jhwhs zerstört ist … auf die Unterscheidung zwischen irdischer und himmlischer Wohnstatt mit Nachdruck hingewiesen": Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 73–74. The idea of the distinction between heavenly and earthly abodes generally matches the transcendence of Enlil in contrast to the destruction of earthly temples in the *balag*.

> like the LORD, a God feared in the council of the holy ones, great and awesome above all that are around him? … For you are the glory of their strength; by your favour our horn is exalted … I will establish his line forever, and his throne as long as the heavens endure. (Ps 89:5-7, 16, 29, NRSV)[271]

This probably suggests that Jewish theological reflections on the exile in the biblical lament-psalms were influenced by the Mesopotamian lament-tradition, in that this influence reaffirmed the ancient Jewish lament-tradition. Furthermore, the experience of the exile probably fostered a process of identity-making among the exile-community (because of the Babylonian assimilation), which tended to view its suffering as a collective experience. This Jewish reaction is reflected in their tendency towards nationalisation and collectivistion (the notion of "we") in the exilic and post-exilic Israelite lament-traditions, articulating the suffering people as a collective ego.[272] This collective tendency has been noted by other scholars also.[273]

Dobbs-Allsopp offers a thorough comparison of themes, motifs, and images in determining the shared lament genre. This genre contains thematic and structural features such as subject and mood, structure and poetic technique, divine abandonment, assignment of responsibility, the divine agent of destruction, destruction itself, the weeping goddess, lamentation, and restoration of the city and the return of the gods.[274] Scholars have generally supported these thematic and structural similarities between the two groups of lament-traditions.[275] Other similarities include

[271] "Es geht um die alles entscheidende Bewegung von oben nach unten, vom Himmel auf die Erde, um die Durchdringung der Schöpfung mit Jhwhs Treue und Güte": Ibid., 210. "Von Jhwh, seinem himmlischen Thron und der himmlischen Ratsversammlung wird der Blick in V.16-19 auf die irdischen Gefilde und das Beziehungsgefüge beider Räume gelenkt": Ibid., 219. This shows a heaven-to-earth direction of God's power and glory that controlled the earthly kingship, and this top-down approach generally matches the motif in the *balag*.

[272] Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 44, 53, 55–56, 71, 75, 77–78, 186, 213, 223, 226, 230–231, 234, 238.

[273] E.g., Westermann, *Lamentations*, 21; Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 99–105.

[274] F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A study of the City-lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993), 30–96.

[275] See the similarities explored by Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 199; Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 208–209.

the prosecution against YHWH[276] and the personification of Lady Zion (בת־ציון, Lam 1, 2, and 4),[277] though there are differences.[278] Therefore, the adaptations of in the exilic and post-exilic literary productions of lament imagery and language, which are generally similar to their Mesopotamian counterparts, would suggest that the exilic experience fostered the reaffirmation of these lament-traditions.[279]

There is obviously a temporal gap (more than 1,000 years) between the Sumerian city-laments and the biblical Lamentations. There is also a spatial gap between Palestine and Babylonia. Although the form, imagery, and ideology of the two sets of literature show general similarities, we must not forget that an explanation is needed for the mechanism and situation (spatial and temporal) of the influence. Gwaltney responds to this challenge by offering a brief history of lament-traditions from the city-laments to the *balag-eršemma* in the first millennium. He thinks that

> [e]xiles, including priests from Babylonia familiar with long practiced Mesopotamian liturgies for rebuilding demolished shrines, jointed with their brothers who had been left behind "these 70 years" to live within sight of the ruins and to fast and mourn among the Temple's ruin. Together they bewailed the fallen sanctuary as clearing the site began in preparation for reconstruction. Such an occasion would provide a fit setting for the recitation of

[276] Westermann, *Lamentations*, 20–21; Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 81.

[277] Westermann, *Lamentations*, 14, 21.

[278] For example, the Israelite lament-traditions do not contain the themes of "appeasing God's wrath", "protests of national defeat", and "weeping God": Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 92; Bouzard, *We Have Heard*, 161, 169.

[279] Scholars have long agreed that the Mesopotamian lament-tradition (e.g. city-lament, *balag-eršemma*) influenced the biblical lament-texts. But they have disagreed on the nature of the influence. Some scholars (e.g. Kramer, Gadd, and Kraus) have given positive assessments of the similarities between Lamentations and the Mesopotamian laments. Other scholars have tended to deny any direct literary dependent relationship between the two cultures: Westermann, *Lamentations*, 11–23; Thomas F. McDaniel, "The Alleged Sumerian Influence Upon Lamentations," *VT* 18 (1968): 198–209. Some have resorted to "genre" in articulating the mutual similarities: Paul Wayne Ferris, *The Genre of Communal Lament in the Bible and the Ancient Near East*, SBLDS 127 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep*. Bouzard argues that the lament-psalms are not a reflection of the Babylonian exile (no historical reference) but an earlier (pre-exilic), cultural adoption of older Mesopotamian *balag-eršemma*: Bouzard, *We Have Heard*. Recently, a growing number of scholars have argued that the Assyrian and Babylonian exiles are most likely the periods for the Israelite elite to have experienced direct contact with *kalû*-priests who were the carriers of the Mesopotamian *balag-eršemma*: Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 294–295; Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 210; Morrow, *Protest Against God*, 84–85.

Lamentations …[280]

At this point, Gwaltney draws on the functional similarities of the two groups of laments, pointing out that the context of demolition and reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple that occurred in the exilic and post-exilic periods matches the common setting for reciting the Mesopotamian laments, especially the *Sitz im Leben* of *kalû*-priests (Nebuchadezzar was active in rebuilding various temples). This closes the temporal and spatial gaps between the two cultures and gives a probable setting and motivation for the recitation of lamentations in exiled Judaeans.

Emmendörffer further responds to the challenge of closing the temporal and spatial gaps by choosing one particular *balag*, UDAM KI AMUS (*u_4-dam ki àm-ús*), which had been transmitted and reused from the Old Babylonian period to the Seleucid era. This *balag* contains imagery and language that were borrowed from the older Sumerian city-laments,[281] and is the "missing link" with which Emmendörffer attempts to fill the gaps. He thus posits a concrete historical connection between the *balag* of the generations of *kalû*-priests and the Israelite laments:

> Das ,,missing link" zwischen den sumerischen Stadtklagen und den alttestamentlichen Threni bzw. Volksklageliedern stellen somithin die sumerischen Balag-Klagen dar, die von der Gruppe der gala/kalû-Priester über Generationen hinweg bis in die seleukidische Zeit tradiert worden sind. Die Kenntnisnahme und Beeinflussung entsprechender Priesterkreise in Israel durch diese Texte kann sowohl in neuassyrischer als auch in neubabylonischer Zeit efolgt sin.[282]

This concrete historical connection exactly matches the social conditions of the Babylonian royal court as illustrated in Section 3.1.1, in which the demolition and reconstruction of various Babylonian temples (and thus the chanting of *balag*-texts) probably occupied one main topic of conversation in the Neo-Babylonian royal court, and therefore the contact between the *kalû*-priests and the exiled Judaean elites would

[280] Gwaltney, "The Biblical Book of Lamentations," 210.
[281] Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 28–38.
[282] Ibid., 294–295.

have occurred in a regular basis.

Some may disagree, suggesting that the similarities between the two lament cultures had already existed in the pre-exilic Israelite lament-traditions,[283] or that the similarities are too general to support any direct literary dependence.[284] It must however be noted that my articulation of the exilic influence does not necessarily contradict these scholars. Although *kalû*-priests and the exilied Judaean elites probably had a social presence in the Babylonian royal court, this does not necessarily mean that these exiled Judaeans had access to any written *balag-eršemma*, because the cuneiform training culture was esoteric in nature and was inaccessible to foreign captives. This probably explains why the similarities are so general, defying any exact literary emulation. Furthermore, my thesis contends that the social conditions of the royal court only reaffirmed or reinforced, not created, the Israelite lament-traditions. This does not therefore contradict Bouzard's thesis about the pre-exilic origin of the Israelite lament-traditions.

In summary, there exists an influence of Babylonian laments (together with other Babylonian traditions) on the exilic and post-exilic biblical laments, the influence that is best regarded as a reaffirmation of shared motifs, themes, and imagery during the exile. The social context of the Babylonian royal court offers a historically probable case for historical contact between *kalû*-priests and the exiled Judaean elites. We know from Section 3.1.1 that this contact is historically verifiable by 2Kgs 25:27-30, the Weidner tablet, and the prism of the Court of Nebuchadnezzar. We also know that this finding is supported by the thematic and structural influence on biblical lament-traditions, though we should not regard this influence as direct literary borrowing. Therefore, this increases the likelihood that the functional roles and the

[283] E.g., Bouzard, *We Have Heard*.
[284] E.g., McDaniel, "Alleged," 198–209; Westermann, *Lamentations*, 11–23.

ideology of *kalû*-priests (or scholar-singers) would have affected the literary depiction of singers and Levites in post-exilic texts such as Chronicles.

3.1.3. The City of Babylon

The Weidner tablet was found near the Ishtar Gate of Babylon, suggesting that Jehoiachin and his officials probably lived in Babylon, which was an ideological city.[285] Its monumental art, royal inscriptions, fabulous temples, and palaces were built with reference to ideological principles. Nebuchadnezzar was the great builder of Babylon.[286] He built the city according to the traditional description of the Babylonian worldview and gave theological significance to the cult of Marduk, the patron god of Babylon.[287]

The beauty of Babylon reached its culmination during Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Of special importance is the monumental art in the Ishtar Gate, where numerous bulls and dragons are seen surrounding the whole city, symbolising Marduk's protection of Babylon. This city wall was built to exclude the chaos outside and was believed to bring effective worldwide protection to Babylon.[288] Another landmark building is the gigantic ziggurat, Etemenanki, a tall tower, symbolising Babylon as the centre of the universe, the meeting place between heaven and earth.[289] Located at the centre of Babylon is the Esagila temple. Its physical position suggests that the cult of Marduk

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[285] Marc van de Mieroop, "Reading Babylon," *AJA* 107 (2003): 257–275; Zainab Babrani, "The Babylonian Visual Image," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (London: Routledge, 2009), 168. Furthermore, a tablet (dated sixth century BCE) with a Babylonian map inscribed shows that Babylon was the centre of the world: Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World : Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Books of Psalms*, trans. Timothy J. Hallett (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 21–22.

[286] Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 59–60.

[287] Amélie Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East: C. 3000-330 B.C*, vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 1995), 593.

[288] Van de Mieroop, "Reading Babylon," 266–267; Babrani, "Visual Image," 166, 168; Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East*, 2:593–595.

[289] Van de Mieroop, "Reading Babylon," 264; Takayoshi Osbima, "The Babylonian God Marduk," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (London: Routledge, 2009), 355; Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East*, 2:593; Gwendolyn Leick, *The Babylonians: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2003), 63; Bill T. Arnold, *Who Were the Babylonians?*, SBLABS 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 97.

affected the everyday lives of its inhabitants.[290] All these buildings give an impression that Babylon itself was a microcosm that reflected the Mesopotamian cosmology.

As mentioned in Section 2.4.2, *Enūma eliš* demonstrates the ideological understanding of the Esagila temple of Marduk in Babylon. This ideological understanding was physically realised when Nebuchadnezzar restored the beauty of this temple during his reign. The gigantic ziggurat, Etemenanki (symbolising the *axis mundi*), was visible to all people in Babylon, designating the temple as the foundation of heaven and earth. Jehoiachin and his officials would have sensed such allusions when they were deported to Babylon, passing by the Ishtar Gate, witnessing the ziggurat. Since the Esagila temple was the main building in Babylon, and since its associated temple ideology was central for the Babylonian elite and royal court, it would be surprising if the deportees did not converse with native people about its theological significance.[291]

The circumstantial factors of the temple ideologies would have affected the reaffirmation of some intra-Jewish notions in articulating the divine sanctuary in exilic and post-exilic biblical texts. This can be verified by Hartenstein's study[292] on some biblical texts in relation to the Jewish experience of Marduk's sanctuary. For example, a comparison between Ps 18 and 2Sam 22 shows that the concept of "heaven foundation" in relation to *Weltgebäudes* (Ps 18:8//2Sam 22:8) and the spatial orientation of the heaven foundation designated by the notion "from heaven" (Ps

[290] Walther Sallaberger, "Palace and Temple in Babylonia," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (London: Routledge, 2009), 268–269.

[291] Although the chanting of *Enūma eliš* annually happened during the Near Year Festival, the *Akitu*-festival, we must not forget that the cultic performance was accessible to very few people in Babylon. Therefore, Jehoiachin and his officials seem unlikely to get access to the ritual pattern during the *Akitu*-festival: Osbima, "Marduk," 356.

[292] Friedhelm Hartenstein, "Wolkendunkel und Himmelsfeste: Zur Genese und Kosmologie der Vorstellung des himmlischen Heiligtums JHWHs," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 125–168.

18:14//2Sam 22:14) stand out prominently from the exilic period:[293]

> Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations of *the mountains* (ומוסדי הרים) trembled and quaked, because he was angry. (Ps 18:8)
>
> Then the earth reeled and rocked; the foundations of *the heavens* (מוסדות השמים) trembled and quaked, because he was angry. (2Sam 22:8)
>
> YHWH thundered *in the heaven* (בשמים), Elyon gave his voice. (Ps 18:14)
>
> YHWH thundered *from heaven* (מן־שמים); Elyon gave his voice. (2Sam 22:14)

Ezekiel's description of the divine throne (lapis lazuli), in contrast to Exod 24:10, resembles the symbolic significance of the ziggurat and the divine throne linked to the Marduk residence of Esagila:[294]

> [A]nd they saw the God of Israel. Under his feet there was something like a pavement of sapphire stone (כמעשה לבנת הספיר), like the very heaven for clearness (וכעצם השמים לטהר). (Exod 24:10, NRSV)
>
> And above the dome over their heads there was something *like a throne*, in appearance like sapphire (כמראה אבן־ספיר דמות כסא). (Ezek 1:26, NRSV)
>
> Then I looked, and above the dome that was over the heads of the cherubim there appeared above them something like a sapphire, in form *resembling a throne* (כאבן ספיר כמראה דמות כסא). (Ezek 10:1, NRSV)

The exilic editing of Amos 9:5-6 also shares the idea of "upper chambers in the heavens", which is also reflected in the Neo-Babylonian concept of the vertical connection between heaven and earth in the Esagila temple:[295]

> The Lord, GOD of hosts, he who touches the earth[296] and it melts, and all who live in it mourn, and all of it rises like the Nile, and sinks again, like the Nile of Egypt; who builds his *upper chambers in the heavens*, and founds his vault upon the earth; who calls for the waters of the sea, and pours them out upon the surface of the earth – the LORD is his name. (Amos 9:5-6,

[293] Ibid., 133–135.
[294] Ibid., 136–152.
[295] Ibid., 152–166.
[296] The concept of how the heavenly God touches (or disturbs) the earth resembles the heaven-to-earth motif in the *balag*, UDAM KI AMUS (*u_4-dam ki àm-ús*), explored by Emmendörffer, *Der ferne Gott*, 28–38.

NRSV)

All of these examples show a Babylonian influence on the Jewish reception of the temple as realised template in the biblical texts during the exilic period. This further supports the belief that the Jewish experience of the exile would have intensified such a shared temple ideology in the ongoing reflection on the exile.

3.1.4. The Jewish Exile Communities in Babylonia

The fact that Jehoiachin was called "king" in all available sources strengthens the probability that he was the leader of the communities of Judah in Babylon and enjoyed a comfortable life. Perhaps, the success of his leadership is indirectly indicated by the fact that the life of deportees in Babylon did not involve severe conditions. The book of Jeremiah shows that they could build their houses, own properties, plant gardens, establish families, freely marry and have children, and maintain their religious prayer and piety (Jer 29:5-8). The book of Ezekiel indicates that the deportees enjoyed freedom and could talk freely to their neighbours (Ezek 33:30-33), and Ezekiel himself enjoyed the same freedom even though he was deported together with Jehoiachin (Ezek 1:1).

Recently, the TAYN corpus (nearly 100 texts) has been published (dated 572-498 BCE).[297] The corpus contains tablets showing the names of Jewish deportees (with Yahwistic theophonic elements).[298] It "records economic and administrative activities of the community of Judeans in Babylonia in well-attested text types: receipts for payments, debt notes for commodities owed, sales of livestock, and leases of houses and people",[299] echoing the depiction in Jer 29:5-8. Furthermore, it records that some

[297] F. Joannès and A. Lemaire, "Trois Tablets Cunéiforms à L'onomastique Ouest-sémitique," *Transeuphratène* 17 (1999): 17–33; Pearce, "New Evidence," 401–402.
[298] Pearce, "New Evidence," 404.
[299] Ibid., 405.

Jewish officials were in charge of an administrative fiscal district called *ḫaṭru*.[300] In the Persian period, the Judean *ḫaṭru*-organisation employed several Jewish interpreter-scribes to assist economic transactions, as shown in the Murashû archive.[301] It seems that this organisation remained active from the Neo-Babylonian to the Persian period. Economic transactions of this sort show clear evidence of acculturation and the full incorporation of the Jewish people into the daily life of the Babylonians.

About one-third of the TAYN corpus comes from a place called āl-Yāhūdu in the Babylon-Borsippa region.[302] This place has been interpreted as the settlement city of deportees from Judah in Babylon and has been referred to as "Jérusalem de Babylonie."[303] This suggests

> [T]he Judean deportees and their descendants were sufficiently established in the social and economic life of Babylonia that their town could simply be called "Judah-ville" or the like. The integration of Judeans into Babylonian economic life is evidenced by their participation in very ordinary economic transactions in which they are recorded as the creditors and debtors in a variety of loan documents and receipts.[304]

The settlement would have been similar to the "China towns" that are found in various cities in England. Deportees from Judah could maintain their own culture, social network, and community in a foreign country with next in social importance to the Babylonians[305] and without experiencing ethnic or religious hostility.[306] According to Ezra-Nehemiah, many deportees chose to return to Palestine and Jerusalem. But a substantial portion of deportees chose to settle in various towns, such as āl-Yāhūdu, in

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[300] Ibid., 405–406.
[301] Ran Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Haifa: Univ. of Haifa, 1979), 70.
[302] Pearce, "New Evidence," 401–403.
[303] Joannès and Lemaire, "Trois," 26.
[304] Pearce, "New Evidence," 402.
[305] Samuel Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah According to Babylonian Inscriptions* (London: Jews' College, 1910), 30.
[306] M.A. Dandamaev, "Neo-Babylonian Society and Economy," in *The Cambridge Ancient History.*, ed. John Boardman, vol. 3.2 (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 257.

Babylonia. Some fathers with West Semitic names raised sons with Akkadian names, or hybrid Akkadian-West Semitic names.[307] This indicates that there was no obvious polemic towards the adoption of Akkadian names, and this implies a certain degree of acculturation (e.g. Zerubbabel means "Seed of Babylon").

The economic life of Babylonian inhabitants was closely associated with Babylonian temples – sophisticated economic units that tied up various financial aspects of life such as recruitment, taxation, administration, education, manufacturing, and resource management. Temples in different cities were the main employers of cultic personnel including priests, scribes, exorcists, and singers. Lower ranking workforces included craftsmen, shepherds, and menial workers.[308] They contributed to the income of temples in exchange for the redistribution of resources from the temple in the form of rations for temple dependents.[309]

The economic and autonomous structure of temples constitutes one of the main elements in Weinberg's "pre-Hellenistic" culture that fostered the emergence of the citizen-temple community in Jerusalem.[310] Since a main purpose of the temple economy was to maintain cultic operations and to satisfy gods and kings, the economic aspects of life were strongly linked to the associated religious ideology.

The Jewish settlement in Babylon and returnees in Jerusalem established two centres of Judaism, with the majority of Jews living outside the Holy Land. What tied them together? One unifying factor may have been a shared participation in the Sabbath and various festivals associated with the sanctification of time.[311] Another

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[307] Pearce, "New Evidence," 405.

[308] Michael Jursa, "The Babylonian Economy in the First Millennium BC," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (London: Routledge, 2009), 228–229.

[309] Jursa, "Cuneiform Writing," 186–187.

[310] Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 20.

[311] Robert Hayward, "The Sanctification of Time in the Second Temple Period: Case Studies in the Septuagint and Jubilees," in *Holiness Past and Present*, ed. Stephen C. Barton (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2003), 143–144. For the increasing importance of the Sabbath, the obedience to the law, and prayer during the exile, see Ernest W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles: A Study of the Prose Tradition in the*

possible point of unity was the shared concern for the Jerusalem temple. The number of West-Semitic names, with YHWH-theophonic elements, appearing in the Murashû archive would suggest that Jews in Babylonia kept their faith in one God and had their heart towards their home in Jerusalem in the Persian period.[312] The cult and the welfare of Jerusalem were regularly supported by Jews (such as Ezra and Nehemiah) in Babylonia (Ezra 7; Neh 2:10).

Furthermore, the widespread Jewish settlements in Babylonia and Palestine would have fostered the rethinking of Jewish faith, in which YHWH was reaffirmed as the God of heaven and earth in order to tie scattered Jews together. The Jerusalem temple came to be seen as the meeting place between heaven and earth, so that scattered Jews maintained their hearts towards this holy place (2Chr 6:36-40). This theological outlook, common in the Mesopotamian temple culture and some pre-exilic Israelite traditions (e.g. Isa 6:3), emphasises and reaffirms the realm of YHWH in the worldwide sphere, so that Jews in both Babylonia and Palestine worshipped the same God, even though they were physically separated. Musicians were therefore in high demand because music and prayer were the most effective ways to maintain liturgical practices in Babylonia, where they could not offer sacrifice.[313]

3.1.5. The Descendants of Jehoiachin

The Weidner tablet shows that five sons of Jehoiachin (described as the princes of Judah) received rations. This cannot be easily harmonised with the information that Jehoiachin was only eighteen years old when he was deported in 597 BCE. It would be impossible for him to have fathered five sons in such a short period.[314] It is

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Book of Jeremiah (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 122–125.

[312] Daiches, *Jews in Babylonia*, 32–33.

[313] Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 109; Nicholson, *Preaching*, 122.

[314] W.J. Martin, "The Jehoiachin Tablets," in *Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. Winton Thomas (London: Nelson, 1958), 85.

possible that he had more than one wife in his youth (2Kgs 24:15).[315] But more importantly, both Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were legitimate descendants of David.[316] Sheshbazzar was perceived as "prince of Judah" (הנשיא ליהודה) (Ezra 1:8; 5:14), which exactly matches the title (*mârī šarri ša jāḫudu*) used to describe the five sons of Jehoiachin in the Weidner tablet. According to Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were the high officials appointed by the Persian ruling class to lead the first and second waves of returnees to Jerusalem. They were the son and grandson of Jehoiachin, respectively, and they continued to exercise the political influence of their father among the communities of Judah and during the rebuilding of the second temple.[317] As I shall show, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah may reinforce three themes of continuity in relation to Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel.

3.1.6. Summary

To conclude, I submit that Jehoiachin and his royal officials experienced a thorough interaction with Mesopotamian culture. First, Jehoiachin is called "king" in all of our sources. This probably indicates his involvement in the Babylonian royal court, enabling Jewish scholars to socially interact with the Babylonian scholar-singers, especially *kalû*-priests. This outlines a probable mechanism for how these Jewish scholars were influenced by the Mesopotamian scribal-musical practices and norms, so that some intra-Jewish traditions were reaffirmed and used for building Jewish self-identity. Second, there exists an influence of Babylonian laments on the biblical

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[315] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 119.

[316] Scholars have reached no consensus on whether Shenazzar (שנאצר) (1Chr 3:18) and Sheshbazzar (ששבצר) (Ezra 1:8) are the same person or not, and on whether the father of Zerubbabel is Shealtiel (Ezra 3:2) or Pedaiah (1Chr 3:19). For the discussions, see Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1910), 103; Jacob M. Myers, *I Chronicles*, AB 12 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 18; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 99; Albright, "The Date," 108–110; P.R. Berger, "Zu Den Namen ששבצר and שנאצר(Esr. 1:8, 11; 5:14, 16 Bzw. 1 Chr. 3:18)," *ZAW* 83 (1971): 98–100; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 120; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 328.

[317] Schniedewind, *How the Bible*, 158–164.

laments during the exile, which also suggests that there was contact between *kalû*-priests and the exiled Judaeans. Third, the city of Babylon was fashioned as a microcosm of the whole world, such that Jewish deportees were probably influenced and even inspired by the Babylonian version of the temple as realised template, which would then have informed intra-Jewish reflection on this shared concept. This also indicates an influence of the description of sanctuary in some exilic and post-exilic texts. Fourth, the exiles from Judah, from the royal family downwards, were settled and at ease in Babylon. This indicates a high degree of enculturation. Fifth, the descendants of Jehoiachin continued to have an impact in leading the returns.

When this evidence is considered in its entirety, it seems highly improbable that Jews living in Babylon were untouched by the surrounding culture, since all available material examined here points unambiguously towards that conclusion. This explanation is thus at least highly probable and should be given its full weight.

3.2. The Citizen-Temple Community and the Influence of Mesopotamia

I have argued that Jews and Babylonians interacted socially on a regular basis, and that such interaction contributed vigorously to a continuing reflection among Jews about their own theological convictions, especially the temple as realised template and music. From the perspective of Jewish returnees, this would have contributed an intrinsic element to "the experience of the exile". Any discussion of "the experience of the exile" would be incomplete if this crucial comparative element were omitted, nor would it be sufficient to talk about "the experience of the return" if we neglect it.

In this section, I explore the Jewish exile community and its claim to be the authentic community, maintaining a profound awareness of continuity with pre-exilic worship and the exilic experience. I argue that the socio-ideological milieu of the newly established, Jewish return community fostered the ideological development of

the temple as realised template and the importance of music along with that template. This development of ideas shows a deepening of the community's theological understanding of the inauguration of the Jerusalem temple that was enriched by the insights from the experience of the exile. I explore three themes of continuity (temple, singers, and vessels) in order to show some preliminary examples of how the choice of ideas embedded in the Israelite traditions had been affected by the Mesopotamian influence, when the community (or those who were concerned with the community) resorted to this threefold continuity as a hallmark of authority and authenticity in its literary production.

3.2.1. The "Authentic" Community and Their Identity Making

The most compelling evidence to support an argument for the incorporation of insights from the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context is the fact that many biblical texts recognise only the returnees as the authentic community to have perpetuated pre-exilic traditions in their ongoing intra-Jewish reflections.[318] The depictions of Ezra-Nehemiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel show that there was a somewhat negative attitude towards the non-exiled people who remained in the land of Israel. Two points briefly demonstrate how this claim of authentic community works.

First, there was a tendency to preserve genealogies to ensure the purity of the returnees. Ezra 2:59 and Neh 7:61 illustrate a problem: some people could not prove whether they belonged to Israel. This means that an official document of genealogies (Neh 7:5) probably existed as a reference for the Jewish identity of each person.[319]

[318] Weinberg writes, "[T]he Jewish exiles in Mesopotamia … played an important, even decisive role in the formation of the postexilic community": Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 129. Also Juha Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe: The Development of Ezra 7-10 and Nehemia 8*, BZAW 347 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 255–256; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism, the First Phase: The Place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 32–37.

[319] Cf. Oded, "Observations," 212.

The returnees also rejected foreign wives and their children (Ezra 10:6-44) in order to maintain their national identity, boundaries, and purity.[320] This concern for national identity is also manifested in keeping the Sabbath and observing the law (e.g. Neh 10:29-32) as marks of identity.[321] Thus the exile and return created an environment that fostered the deepening of identity by means of preserving genealogies, traditions, and even national historiography.

Second, there was a general attitude of polemic towards the people who remained in the land of Israel. The returnees led by Zerubbabel did not share their temple building project with the earlier settlement of the people, described as "the adversaries of Judah", in Israel since the days of King Esarhaddon of Assyria (Ezra 4:1-2). The phrase "people of the land" became a "stereotype formula"[322] to describe those people from whom the returnees should separate (Ezra 9:1), because of their abominations that polluted the land (Ezra 9:11), in order to adhere to the law of God together with all the return family members (Neh 10:29-30).[323] These concepts of separation represented a special concern for holiness and purity as identity markers.[324]

Jeremiah also describes a vision in which the Babylonian deportees under Jehoiachin's leadership were "good figs", while those remaining in the land of Israel under Zedekiah's authority were "bad figs" (Jer 24:1-10).[325] Nicholson also plausibly argues that many prophetic traditions pose a negative attitude towards non-exiled people.[326] Ezekiel poses a negative judgment on the inhabitants of the wasteland of Israel (Ezek 33:23-29). Only those who were exiled were considered as the true

[320] David Janzen, *Witch-hunts, Purity and Social Boundaries: The Expulsion of the Foreign Women in Ezra 9-10*, JSOTSS 350 (Sheffield: JSOT, 2002).
[321] Eph'al, "Political and Social," 110.
[322] Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 67.
[323] Cf. Daniel Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 150.
[324] Carter, *Yehud*, 311–316; Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 18.
[325] Oded, "Judah," 473.
[326] Nicholson, *Preaching*, 127–131.

remnant of Israel, and this explains why the exile community produced scribal creations from its own perspective, in order to protect their own Jewish identity.

We can interpret this identity making in terms of an increasing theological awareness of YHWH's covenant in relation to the real piety of those returnees,[327] or we can understand it as a sociological stance, which was cautious to establish social boundaries in face of the challenges from their oppressors.[328] We also can see it as arising from the political and religious tensions between Samaria and Yehud.[329] The theological, political, and social dimensions were all relevant and cannot be separated into different isolated categories.

My approach aims to explain identity making from a slightly different angle: Jewish returnees tended to maintain their authentic identity while, at the same time, they had accepted insights from Mesopotamia. Some might think that these two tendencies are incompatible. However, it is likely, precisely because of the compelling evidence that the intensive interaction in the Mesopotamian social conditions forced Jewish scholars to rethink and redescribe their faith in order to maintain their uncompromised identity in the cultural background. They would probably ask, "How can we legitimise and promote the sole worship of YHWH in the citizen-temple community in the face of the challenges of our Babylonian-Persian oppressors?" and, "How can we encourage the members inside the community not to forsake the faith of YHWH as our essential identity marker in these cultural surroundings, in which everyone believes that their temples can foster well-being, security, and worldwide stability?" Since this return community had encountered the exile as a traumatic event, their close connections with the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context in their recent

[327] E.g., Fredrick Carlson Holmgren, *Israel Alive Again: A Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 136–140.
[328] E.g., Janzen, *Witch-hunts*.
[329] E.g., Peter R. Ackroyd, *The Chronicler in His Age*, JSOTSS 101 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 98–104.

past would have strongly influenced their reformulation of Jewish identity. Certain Babylonian ways of expressing the temple as realised template would probably have affected the reinterpretation of Israelite traditions in such a way as to give authenticity to the second temple cult.

We see that the Jerusalem temple in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles occupies *the* central concern,[330] and its associated priests and Levites are more elaborate and hierarchical than in Samuel-Kings. Also, the themes of "exile" and "return" consistently dominate Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles as *the* typological themes in the storyline.[331] This strong awareness of "exile-return" and "temple" is a compelling argument in support of the view that the authors saw the exile-return experience and the authenticity of the Jerusalem temple as the two interwoven theological and metaphorical self-definitions that most affected the hermeneutical situations.[332] As such, the insights from the Mesopotamian scholar-singers would have been helpful in connecting these two ideological identity markers together insofar as the ideas surrounding the temple as realised template would have fostered the fashioning of the Jerusalem temple as an effective connective place between heaven and earth in the face of the Babylonian-Persian challenges.

The claim to authentic community established a scribal context for perpetuating traditions across the exile. The returnees' thought had been shaped by their experience of the exile, so that richly developed new lines of thought emerged alongside the scribal-musical influence of Mesopotamia. Concerning the development of thought

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[330] H.G.M. Williamson, "The Temple in the Books of Chronicles," in *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, FAT 38 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 150; Williamson, *Ezra*, xlix; Coggins, *Chronicles*, 6–7.

[331] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 350. "Exile" was the identity marker for legitimising those who continued pre-exilic traditions in Ezra-Nehemiah: Williamson, *Ezra*, li.

[332] Ehud Ben Zvi, "What Is New in Yehud? Some Considerations," in *Yahwism After the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Rainer Albertz and Bob Becking, STAR 5 (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 34–38.

during the exile, Ackroyd writes,

> But it is not only the heritage of the past which comes into new focus at this period. The events, themselves necessitating rethinking, have provoked the development of new lines of thought, markedly in the great prophets of the time, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, and, echoing them and the other thought of the period, in their successors in the immediate post-exilic period, Haggai, Zechariah, Trito-Isaiah and Malachi. The richness too of the differing reactions to the events, and of the understanding of the nature of restoration, shows how deep an impression was made upon the community by the period, and how fertile were the minds which interpreted what happened and what they understood to be the outcome of the events.[333]

These "new lines of thought" are examples of a textual openness to many ideas stemming from the experience of the exile-return. I thus do not believe that the insights obtained from the Mesopotamian counterparts played no part in the emergence of new lines of thought. And now we see the large amount of exilic literature created in the HB that seems to presuppose a strong exilic consciousness. The social, political, and theological agendas of the citizen-temple community, would have provided strong motivations for incorporating, if not directly borrowing, the Mesopotamian way of articulating the temple as realised template in the inauguration of the second temple cult and in scribal works, in order to increase the authenticity and legitimacy of the Jewish temple in light of the challenges posed by their oppressors.

3.2.2. Temple and Singers in Ezra-Nehemiah and Haggai

The Weidner tablet suggests that the Babylonian patron supported foreigners according to their familial unit. The authenticity of the familial unit of a given individual came from its related genealogy. The familial unit served not only as a reflection of kinship but also as a functional group, exercising different professions from the pre-exilic monarchy to the post-exilic community. These units concentrated

[333] Peter R. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century B.C* (London: Xpress Reprints, 1994), 233.

on the development of particular skills, passed from father to son, so that the professions of scribe, singer, priest, and Levites enjoyed unbroken stability along the familial lines. This resembles the father-son apprenticeship of *kalûtu*. These familial lines legitimise a person as a rightful successor of a particular profession.

One family of Israelites – the family of the singer Asaph – should claim our attention here. In Ezra-Nehemiah, the Asaphites were among the returnees (Ezra 2:41) led by Zerubbabel. The official status of Asaphites was maintained because they were singled out to receive directly "daily provision" (דבר־יום) from the Persian king (Neh 11:22-23). They were also free from the imposition of tribute, custom, and toll (Ezra 7:24). This special favour towards musicians was widely shared in the broader Mesopotamian culture. Why were singers, such as Asaphites, highly esteemed in the literary depiction of the second temple worship?

As I have shown in Section 2.4.2, the ideas surrounding the temple as realised template had been recontextualised in different cultic contexts in Mesopotamia in order to promote the significance and authenticity of temple sites in socio-political terms. Music and singers had been a consistent, intrinsic element in the infrastructure of the concept. We also saw in Section 3.1.3 that Babylon was fashioned as a world city, at the centre of the whole world, and that music had an important role to play in this formulation. Now we see the prominence of music in Ezra 3:10-13, the liturgy for the completion of the foundation laid for the Jerusalem temple (cf. the life situation of the liturgy of *kalû*). How can these parallels be explained?

First, the phrases על־מכונו and על־אתרה which appear in Ezra 2:68; 5:15; 6:7 seem to presuppose that the temple "was to be built on the same site as the former temple."[334] Ezra 3:12 seems to link the foundation with the former temple (את־הבית הראשון), in that זה הבית emphasises the continuity between the first and second

[334] Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1989), 102.

temples.[335] Although the rebuilt temple may not have been physically comparable to the former one,[336] the theme of continuity still stands out in at least four ways: (1) a conscious appeal to David's authority (Ezra 3:10), (2) a claim to follow Moses' authority (Ezra 6:18), (3) a consistent literary pattern being used to describe the inauguration of both temples (2Chr 5:1-14; 7:1-10; Ezra 3:10-11; 6:16-18), and (4) "they centered their cult on the precise spot where God had revealed that 'the altar of burnt-offering for Israel' should be situated"[337] (Ezra 3:3; 1Chr 22:1). This theme of continuity thus constitutes one of the main theological devices for establishing the authenticity of the second temple during the process of identity making.

Second, Ezra 3:10-13 closely resembles the depiction in Job 38:6-7, in which YHWH lays the cornerstone of the whole world. The praise and thanksgiving of the Levitical singers in Ezra 3:10-11 (with "great shout/joy" תרועה גדולה) resembles the "shout for joy" (רוע, a cognate of תרועה) of the heavenly angels in Job 38:7. This correspondence between the founding of a temple and the creation of the whole world is also implied in the many hymnic descriptions which use the common verb "lay, establish" (יסד) in Pss 24:2; 89:12; 102:26; 104:5; Prov 3:19; Amos 9:6; Isa 48:13; 51:13-16; and Zech 12:1, as Blenkinsopp illustrates,[338] probably showing how the chanting of Levitical singers imitated the angelic joyful shouts. The involvement of singers in the second temple theologically supported its theological significance for promoting worldwide stability and blessing (Hag 2:18-19), as also indicated in the Mesopotamian counparts and in the life situation of the liturgy of *kalû*.

Sociologically speaking, it promoted the authenticity of the second temple compared to the surrounding Mesopotamian temples and thus deepened the process of

[335] Williamson, *Ezra*, 42.
[336] Ibid., 48; Holmgren, *Alive Again*, 27.
[337] Williamson, *Ezra*, 46.
[338] Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 103.

identity making. For instance, according to Ezra, Darius wanted the temple worship in Jerusalem to invoke the heavenly God to bless his family (Ezra 6:10). Artaxerxes also cared whether the exact details of this worship could match "the law of the God of heaven" (Ezra 7:21), in order to avoid any wrath coming upon "the realm of king and his heirs" (Ezra 7:23). This probably verifies that the rebuilt temple was seen as a place built for the purposes of promoting well-being and security, a concern that is closely similar to that of the *kalû*-ritual (cf. Section 2.4.1) The theme of continuity was thus not only a product of the reinterpretation of traditions but also was affected by the culture of Mesopotamia, so that certain intra-Jewish traditions were reaffirmed in these reinterpreting activities in order to support the authenticity of the second temple.

The purpose of rebuilding the second temple in relation to the promotion of well-being and stability is explicitly spelled out in the book of Haggai, in which the historical background of temple restoration in relation to Haggai's prophecy (in about 520 BCE) should not be doubted.[339] Most scholars agree that the prophet was familiar with biblical traditions and utilised them in conveying the oracles in relation to the second temple ideology.[340] For example, the treaty or "futility-curse" form in Hag 1:3-11 leads Kessler to state that the author narrates a theme of continuity based on the Deuteronomistic tradition (Deut 28; Judg 2:11-14) and recontextualises the theme of "rebuilding the temple" into this tradition, in order to fashion the temple

[339] Although the final form of the book of Haggai may be a product of compilations, most scholars think that Haggai's oracles contains his genuine utterances that were originally delivered by him: Pieter A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 9–13. The primary audience should be Zerubbabel (Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4, 21, 23), perhaps with (or without) Joshua (Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4): Janet E Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation in Haggai and Zechariah 1-8*, JSOTSS 150 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 21–23; Tim Meadowcroft, *Haggai*, RNBC (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 199–202. Both the date in Hag 1:1 (the second year of Darius I) and the addresse (Zerubbabel), together with the central concern of the temple, match the historical background of rebuilding the second temple in about 520 BCE. The temple ideology inside the oracles was also firmly rooted in the historical, economic, and social settings. For a survey: Mark J. Boda, *Haggai & Zechariah Research: A Bibliographic Survey* (Leiden: Deo, 2003), 7–14.

[340] E.g., Tollington, *Tradition*; Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd, eds., *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology* (New York: T&T Clark, 2008); Peter R. Ackroyd, "Studies in the Book of Haggai," *JJS* 2 (1951): 175.

reconstruction as the new condition for obtaining covenantal blessings. Kessler asserts that the temple's rebuilding can thereby be conceived as a "covenantal duty".[341] This new adaptation of older traditions in understanding the temple's rebuilding exemplifies how the intra-Jewish traditions were reaffirmed in the literary productions of the temple community.

One example can be seen in Hag 1:10-11:

1:10	עַל־כֵּן עֲלֵיכֶם כָּלְאוּ שָׁמַיִם מִטָּל	Therefore, the heavens above you[342] withheld
	וְהָאָרֶץ כָּלְאָה יְבוּלָהּ׃	the dew, and the earth withheld its produce.
1:11	וָאֶקְרָא חֹרֶב עַל־הָאָרֶץ	And I have called for a drought upon the earth
	וְעַל־הֶהָרִים וְעַל־הַדָּגָן	and upon the mountains and upon the grain and
	וְעַל־הַתִּירוֹשׁ וְעַל־הַיִּצְהָר וְעַל	upon[343] the new wine and upon the oil and upon
	אֲשֶׁר תּוֹצִיא הָאֲדָמָה וְעַל־הָאָדָם	what the ground will bring out and upon the
	וְעַל־הַבְּהֵמָה וְעַל כָּל־יְגִיעַ כַּפָּיִם׃	mankind and upon the animals and upon all
	ס	products of toil.[344]

The temple was rebuilt in the hope of obtaining God's acceptance[345] (Hag 1:8) and peace[346] (שלום, Hag 2:9). Lack of fertility was understood as the direct consequence of neglecting the rebuilding of the temple (Hag 1:9). The word "therefore" (עַל־כֵּן) in Hag 1:10 expresses a "cause-and-effect" connection between negligence (Hag 1:9) and infertility (Hag 1:10).[347] This infertility was also seen as the resulting from the

[341] John Kessler, "Tradition, Continuity and Covenant in the Book of Haggai: An Alternative Voice from Early Persian Yehud," in *Tradition in Transition: Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 in the Trajectory of Hebrew Theology*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Michael H. Floyd (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 14–19.

[342] G misses "above you". MT is to be preferred.

[343] Mss reads עַל־כָּל־הַיְצָהָר. MT is to be preferred.

[344] Literally, "of human palms".

[345] This "acceptance" usually relates to the acceptance of offerings and gifts: David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1-8: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), 51; Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 67–68.

[346] The concept of "peace, well-being" in relation to the function of the temple resembles the temple ideology of fostering stability in Mesopotamia.

[347] Petersen, *Haggai*, 53–54; Meadowcroft, *Haggai*, 129; Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8*, AB 25B (Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 43.

action of the heaven and earth (Hag 1:10), a bipolar expression of the entire universe. It seems that a connection was made between temple, fertility (or stability), and the whole world. This connection resembles the Mesopotamian temple ideologies, probably influencing the reaffirmation of these intra-Jewish notions.

Another example can be found in Hag 2:6-7, 21-22:

2:6	כִּי־ כֹ֤ה אָמַר֙ יְהוָ֣ה צְבָאוֹת֒ עוֹד֙ אַחַ֣ת מְעַ֔ט הִ֖יא וַאֲנִ֣י מַרְעִ֑ישׁ אֶת־ הַשָּׁמַ֥יִם וְאֶת־ הָאָ֖רֶץ וְאֶת־ הַיָּ֥ם וְאֶת־ הֶחָרָבָֽה׃	For thus says YHWH of hosts, “Once again, in a little while, I will shake the heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry ground,
2:7	וְהִרְעַשְׁתִּי֙ אֶת־ כָּל־ הַגּוֹיִ֔ם וּבָ֕אוּ חֶמְדַּ֖ת כָּל־ הַגּוֹיִ֑ם וּמִלֵּאתִ֤י אֶת־ הַבַּ֙יִת֙ הַזֶּ֔ה כָּבֹ֖וד אָמַ֥ר יְהוָ֖ה צְבָאֽוֹת׃	and I will shake all the nations, and the treasure of all nations shall come, and I will fill this temple with glory.” Says YHWH of hosts.
2:21	אֱמֹ֤ר אֶל־ זְרֻבָּבֶל֙ פַּחַ֣ת־ יְהוּדָ֔ה לֵאמֹ֕ר אֲנִ֖י מַרְעִ֣ישׁ אֶת־ הַשָּׁמַ֑יִם וְאֶת־ הָאָֽרֶץ׃	Speak to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, saying, “I will shake the heavens and the earth,
2:22	וְהָפַכְתִּי֙ כִּסֵּ֣א מַמְלָכ֔וֹת וְהִשְׁמַדְתִּ֖י חֹ֣זֶק מַמְלְכ֣וֹת הַגּוֹיִ֑ם וְהָפַכְתִּ֞י מֶרְכָּבָ֣ה וְרֹכְבֶ֗יהָ וְיָרְד֤וּ סוּסִים֙ וְרֹכְבֵיהֶ֔ם אִ֖ישׁ בְּחֶ֥רֶב אָחִֽיו׃	and I will overturn the throne of kingdoms, and I will exterminate the strength of the kingdoms of the nations, and I will overturn chariot and its rider, and the horses and their riders will fall, every one by the sword of a fellow.

These oracles contain two keywords, “shake” (רעש) and “overturn” (הפך). “Shake” could be used as a term of theophany (Isa 24:18; Ezek 38:20; Joel 2:10; 3:16),[348] expressing the glory and judgment of YHWH (Ezek 3:12; 38:19; Jer 10:10, 23; 47:3).[349] “Overturn” probably denotes YHWH’s power to intervene in human

[348] Andrew E. Hill, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 28 (Downers Grove: IVP, 2012), 79.
[349] Meadowcroft, *Haggai*, 164.

affairs,[350] just as YHWH "overturn" Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:21-29).[351] The scope of these divine actions involves "the throne of kingdoms", "heaven and earth", and "the kingdoms of the nations". These notions testify to the universality of God's rule, which controls and governs the world.[352] In this way, rebuilding the temple was seen as having an impact on all of the kingdoms surrounding Judah.[353] Furthermore, the theme, "I am with you" (אני אתכם), appears in Hag 1:13; 2:4, encouraging Zerubbabel to build the temple. If we assume that divine presence relates to divine blessing, then building the temple could be seen as having an impact on fostering worldwide stability. Therefore, the rebuilding of the second temple was seen as fostering stability and fertility worldwide under the universality of God's rule. This resembles the Babylonian temple ideologies and the heaven-to-earth motif in the *balag* traditions, probably influencing the reaffirmation of intra-Jewish notions, when Jews attempted to increase the authenticity of the temple.

Third, that insights were carried from Mesopotamia can be verified by a similar practice shown in some Neo-Babylonian temple building inscriptions depicting how Nebuchadezzar and Nabonidus rebuilt temples, probably performing *kalû*-liturgy:

> The usual function of the *kalû* was to placate the gods; in this case the essential part of the ritual was the removal of a brick from the old temple. The brick was set aside; offerings were made and lamentations sung before it, while the old temple was being demolished, until the foundations of the new temple were laid. The purpose of this ritual was apparently to bridge the

[350] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 67.
[351] Hill, *Haggai*, 95.
[352] Cf. Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC 32 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1984), 158; Petersen, *Haggai*, 67; Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 102–103. Tollington writes, "there would seem to be some grounds for suggesting that hopes for Yahweh's universal rule were turned into firm belief during the postexilic era and that Haggai and Zechariah may have contributed to the development of this idea": Tollington, *Tradition*, 218.
[353] Most scholars think that Hag 2:6-7, 21-22 express a kind of eschatological concern: Tollington, *Tradition*, 216–244; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai*, 52–53; Meadowcroft, *Haggai*, 164–165; Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 37–39. But the future action could probably be rooted in present events and the theological significance of the temple.

gap between the existence of the old and new temples.[354]

Babylonians were particularly concerned with continuity in rebuilding their earlier temples, in which the foundations represented the blueprint and determined the world balance.[355] This practice may have provided insight to Jewish thinkers during the exile-return experience. It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that the significance of singers widely recognised in Mesopotamia would have been helpful in strengthening the identity making of a community and the perpetuation of pre-exilic worship in their post-exilic literary productions.

Ezra the scribe (עזרא הסופר) is of particular importance to this discussion. According to Ezra 7, he was sponsored by King Artaxerxes of Persia (7:6, 17-20) to establish the temple worship in Jerusalem. He was described as "a scribe skilled in the law of Moses" (7:6), as a person who "fixed his heart to seek the law of YHWH, and to do it, and to teach in Israel the statutes and ordinances" (7:10), as "the priest" (7:12), and as "the scribe of the law of the God of heaven" (7:12, 21).[356] The expression "a scribe skilled" (ספר מהיר) in Ezra 7:6 is exactly the same as that in Ps 45:2, which describes the psalmist's tongue as "the pen of a skilful scribe" (עט סופר מהיר). Ps 45 should be regarded as a pre-exilic psalm,[357] in which סופר מהיר (Ps 45:2) probably reflects the meaning of Ugaritic *mhr* that "encapsulates both aspects, that of 'quickness' and that of buying and being in someone's pay [i.e. commercial scribes]."[358] Therefore, סופר מהיר is probably a technical term to designate rapid

[354] Ellis, *Foundation*, 13. Cf. David L. Petersen, "Zerubbabel and Jerusalem Temple Reconstruction," *CBQ* 36 (1974): 368–370.
[355] Leick, *Babylonians*, 106–107.
[356] Cf. Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 36–37, 83–84.
[357] Carr, *Formation*, 390–391.
[358] Joachim Schaper, "Hebrew and Its Study in the Persian Period," in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*, ed. William Horbury (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 20. Cf. Hugo Gressmann, "Die Neugefundene Lehre Des Amen-em-ope Und Die Vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels," *ZAW* 42 (1924): 295.

scribes in ancient Israel who were able to record the oral composition of a poet.[359] This resembles the collaboration of scribe and singer as reflected in Shulgi's hymns.

In Ezra 7:6, סופר מהיר is further qualified by adding "in the law of Moses" (בתורת משה), confining the designation of "skilful" to those who had mastery of the *Torah*. This may show a development of Israelite scribal profession from that of commercial or royal scribes to that of *Torah*-scholars.[360] However, there is no clear evidence to suggest that the later use of סופר מהיר (describing Ezra as a *Torah*-scholar) completely superseded its earlier technical use (describing a commercial or royal, scribal psalmist). The wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture saw no dichotomy between hymnic composition and the transmission of legal traditions; a *kalû*-father could be proficient in both areas.

Schaeder's comparative study on the Babylonian-Persian administrative milieu argues that Ezra obtained the official state of secretary in Babylonia (i.e. Persian Secretariat), so סופר מהיר could be a Jewish paraphrase of Ezra's official state.[361] While it is doubtful whether Ezra historically obtained the high-level function that would have allowed him to exercise the law in the satrapy,[362] it at least increases the likelihood that Jews viewed Ezra as comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers;[363] as Myers says, "If Ezra was originally [viewed as] a Persian court officer he must have been skilled in the scribal art."[364] This wider cultural consideration probably suggests that the author of Ezra-Nehemiah wished to characterise Ezra as סופר מהיר, which includes the meaning of *Torah*-proficiency

[359] Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, WBC 19 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1983), 339.
[360] Schaper, "Hebrew," 19–22.
[361] Schaeder, *Esra*, 39–59.
[362] Blenkinsopp, *Judaism*, 73; Pakkala, *Ezra*, 75–76, 240–241.
[363] The title ספר applied to Ezra could have double senses: Persian Secretary (*Schreiber*) and the legalistic reprenentative of Babylonian Jewry (*Schriftgelehrter*): William McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men*, SBT 44 (London: SCM, 1965), 35; Schaeder, *Esra*, 39.
[364] Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, AB 14 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 61.

(scholar) together with its earlier meaning as "scribal-psalmist" (singer). Therefore, Ezra was probably characterised as a scholar-singer with a good knowledge of teaching the *Torah* and composing hymnic traditions (irrespective of historicity).

According to Nehemiah, Ezra brought "the scroll of the law of Moses, which YHWH had given to Israel" (Neh 8:1), and together with the Levites "read aloud from (at) the scroll, from (at) the law of God, with interpretation (פרש).[365] They gave the sense, so that *the people* understood the reading" (Neh 8:8). He also stood before (ועזרא הסופר לפניהם) the Levitical musicians (or led them) to sing praise during the dedication of the Jerusalem city wall (Neh 12:35-36).[366] These portrayals of Ezra as both *Torah*-teacher (Neh 8:1-8) and chief singer (Neh 12:35-36) further verify that he was portrayed as a scholar-singer with roles such as scribe, priest, teacher, interpreter, *Torah*-scholar, and chief singer comparable to *rab zammārī* in the Babylonian royal court. Ezra the scribe can therefore be perceived as a literary example of a Jewish scholar-singer, who brought his law of Moses, a symbol of continuity, with him.[367]

Ezra 8:15-20 states that Ezra could order the captive descendants of Levi for the service of the temple. This particular depiction of Levitical communities in Babylonia probably supports that the Babylonian-Persian culture was essential to nourish these communities. Some Levites were recognised as "wise men" (מבינים) (8:16). They had their "leader/head" (ראש) (8:17). Some were "temple servants" (הנתינים) (8:17, 20), "ministers" (משרתים) (8:17), and "man of discretion" (איש שכל) (8:18). Since the word "discretion" (שכל) is closely associated with the observance of the Mosaic Law (Deut 29:8; 32:29; 1Chr 22:12), the *Torah*-teaching Levites probably intended to increase

[365] פרש means "make clear" with a sense of waiting for a decision (Lev 24:12; Num 15:34). It might be that the law of Moses was written in Hebrew that needed a further translation or interpretation into Aramaic before the people could understand: Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 15–16. Then the people somehow "waited" for the interpretative decisions to be made by the teaching Levites. Cf. Schaeder, *Esra*, 51–57.
[366] Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 20.
[367] Cf. Ibid., 12–23; Grabbe, *Yehud*, 332–337.

the discretion of the people (Neh 8:8, 13). Some Levites were described as possessing "discretion" in their gatekeeping (1Chr 26:14), and some were recognised by the phrase "all the Levites who showed good discretion for YHWH" (כל־הלוים המשכילים שכל־טוב ליהוה) (2Chr 30:22). This "all" must have included Levitical singers (2Chr 30:21).[368] We can then see that the multi-functional Levitical communities in captivity formed a base from which the Levitical singers emerged as teachers, sages, servants, and ministers. Again, we can detect no division of labour; the boundaries between different offices fluctuated, as it did among the *kalû*-priests.

The reformulation of the Jewish professional profile that was comparable to the institution of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests would have increased the social status of Ezra and his Levitical communities because the Mesopotamian scholar-singers belonged to the upper stratum of their societies. In the response to the challenges posed by their enemies, it would have been reasonable for the author(s) to refashion priests and Levites as belonging to such an elite in order to strengthen their social roles as authorative experts in temple organisation.

3.2.3. Temple Vessels in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah

The repeated references to temple vessels provide another theme of continuity, and several scholars have examined the purpose of the Chronicler in its development.[369] Kalimi and Purvis offer two observations. First, in the abbreviated depiction of Jehoiachin's deportation (2Chr 36:10), when compared to 2Kgs 24:10-16, "the deportees were reduced to the person of the king, the booty was reduced to the

[368] המשכילים שכל־טוב probably refers also to musical activity as attested in Ps 47:8: Von Rad, *Geschichtsbild*, 103.

[369] Peter R. Ackroyd, "The Temple Vessels - A Continuity Theme," in *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel*, SVT 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 166–181; Isaac Kalimi and James D. Purvis, "King Jehoiachin and the Vessels of the Lord's House in Biblical Literature," *CBQ* 56 (1994): 449–457.

precious vessels of the temple."[370] Second, the Chronicler describes the removal of these precious vessels, while 2Kgs 24:13 describes the destruction of golden vessels.[371] According to 2Chr 36:18, "all the vessels of the house of God, large and small … all these he brought to Babylon" (וכל כלי בית האלהים הגדלים והקטנים ... הכל הביא בבל) (NRSV). The repetition of כל suggests that no vessel was destroyed, but "all" were removed to Babylonia. If Ezra-Nehemiah is an earlier document than Chronicles, then the Chronicler actually constructs this continuity with Ezra-Nehemiah. Ezra 1:7 (NRSV) describes that "King Cyrus himself brought out the vessels of the house of the LORD *that Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem* (אשר הוציא נבוכדנצר מירושלם) and placed in the house of his gods." These vessels were the very ones that had been carried by Nebuchadnezzar during the exile. Now, they were handed over to Sheshbazzar to carry back to Jerusalem (Ezra 1:8). An inventory of these vessels had been kept (Ezra 1:9-10) to ensure that they were of pre-exilic origin.

In Chronicles and P, temple vessels are divided into "holy vessels" and "vessels of service."[372] Other than the trumpet, musical instruments (כלי־שיר) are considered vessels of service.[373] Since the Chronicler decribes a complete removal of *all* temple vessels in the Babylonian exile (2Chr 36:18), musical instruments would have been included in the deportation.

Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah show a strong concern for the continuity of temple personnel and temple vessels, probably because it was impossible to practice an authentic temple worship bearing worldwide significance, without the complete set of personnel and vessels. 1Chr 28:11-19 describes David directly receiving תבנית for the temple and instructing Solomon to build the earthly temple according this template.

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370 Kalimi and Purvis, "Jehoiachin," 452.
371 Ibid.
372 Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 77–78.
373 Ibid., 78.

Within the content of this template, "the divisions of priests and the Levites" (למחלקות הכהנים והלוים), and "all the vessels of service" (כל־כלי עבודת) (1Chr 28:13) constitute two main components. 1Chr 28:14-17 describes an inventory of temple vessels, and this inventory generally matches that of the vessels carried by Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:9-10). All these personnel and temple vessels had to return to Jerusalem, in order for earthly temple worship to match the heavenly template (cf. Section 4.3.2),[374] and Levitical singers and their corresponding musical instruments had to perform in both the first and second temples. These three themes of continuity – temple, singers, and vessels – were the hallmarks of the authority (thus authenticity) of the citizen-temple community in respect to promoting the social, theological, and political significance of the Jerusalem temple.

3.3. Conclusion

I have presented possible mechanisms and motivations for Jewish-Babylonian social and scribal interaction that probably occurred during the Babylonian exile. Evidence shows that there may well have real historical contacts between the exiled Judaean elites and the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests, constituting a mechanism for closing the temporal and spatial gaps for arguing the Mesopotamian influence, though this influence should not manifest as direct literary dependence. The chief social and theological motivation for the citizen-temple community to adopt insights from the Mesopotamian norms, ideas, and practices was its central concern for the authenticity, legitimacy, and primacy of the second temple cult and its identity making under the Babylonian-Persian oppressors. Babylonians and Jews shared this scribal-musical nexus in the Mesopotamian societies, and Jewish elites probably interacted with Mesopotamian scholar-singers. In this way, the temple as realised

[374] Cf. Ackroyd, "Temple Vessels," 170.

template and its associated music, already latent in Israelite traditions, would have been reinforced in order to articulate the significance of the second temple.

Carr writes, "Some scholars have posited that the Babylonian exile would have been a likely time for Judean contact with Babylonian textual traditions, but that thesis is not well-supported by the evidence surveyed so far."[375] Carr arrives at this conclusion because he cannot find direct traces of Jewish contact with Mesopotamian literary texts. Although I advance a picture in which the Babylonian influence on Jewish people was strong, this does not necessarily contradict Carr's conclusion in terms of direct literary borrowing. The Jewish engagement with the Babylonian royal court did not necessarily mean that Jews could duplicate any written Babylonian traditions, and this may explain why Carr cannot find such direct traces. My picture could add nuance to our understanding of the influence of Mesopotamia insofar as the experience of the exile provided "a social, cultural and conceptual contact"[376] that "points to a common social scholastic environment."[377] This circumstantial environment nourished an institutional description of singers and the ideological articulation of the second temple that were by no means marginal.

Carr also writes, "[T]he Hebrew Bible is a 'Bible for exiles.' Though it contains traditions that probably pre-dated the exile, along with other traditions that long post-date it, the collection as a whole is oriented toward the experience of the exile."[378] Ben Zvi also writes, "Neither the Hebrew Bible nor most of its books as we know them could have been written in or for a society that lacked the mentioned, central concept of the exile."[379] These statements match the centrality of "exile" in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. The Chronicler, as Williamson affirms, gives a very

[375] Carr, *Formation*, 251.
[376] Gabbay, "Akkadian Communtaries," 311.
[377] Ibid., 312.
[378] Carr, *Formation*, 226.
[379] Ben Zvi, "What Is New," 37.

strong exilic consciousness in his storyline as the typological pattern.[380] Dyck also examines the relationship between the exile and the identity of the citizen-temple community[381] and concludes that

> [T]he "exilic" identity of the community was maintained as the main criteria of membership in the citizen-temple community in the province of Judah. That is to say, the ethnic criteria which had served the purpose of maintaining identity in a minority situation in Babylon were transformed in the post-exilic setting and adapted for the purpose of establishing the social boundaries of, and social control over, the affairs in the *post-exilic* community which ultimately came to dominate the province of Judah.[382]

This suggests that the citizen-temple community (and the Chronicler) saw "exile" as one of the indispensable elements in the theological reflection that he inherited from the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on the exile and the identity making process. This also echoes Gottwald's statement:

> If the enduring memory of events and their impact upon succeeding generations is the major criterion of historical importance, then there can be no doubt that the sequence of happenings from 597 to 538 B.C. were among the most fateful in all Hebrew-Jewish history. [383]

"Exile" bears a historical significance that was imprinted upon Jewish memory. Although we have no evidence to support the view that the Jewish engagement with the social condition of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers continued after the Persians took over the empire, the insights already obtained probably became an intrinsic element in the ongoing reflection on the exilic experience. This ongoing reflection of the exile would have affected (or "effected", using Gadamer's terminology) the hermeneutical situation of the Chronicler in historical continuum; "exile/return" and "identity making" were still the burning issues in his time.[384]

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[380] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 350.
[381] Dyck, *Theocratic*, 101–109.
[382] Ibid., 109. Italics his
[383] Norman K. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations*, SBT 14 (London: SCM, 1954), 19.
[384] For Gadamer's theoretical basis for this, see footnote 392.

As such, the Chronicler was probably not aware of the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical curriculum, the Neo-Assyrian scholar letters, the ritual texts of *kalû* and the Babylonian myths and epics, which were written between 200 and 1,500 years before his time and from which knowledge of scribal-musical professional norms and practices could be directly acquired. If the Chronicler wished to strengthen the authenticity of the second temple, he would have preferred to reinterpret the *intra-Jewish* traditions to build up the *Jewish* identity of his temple community, instead of copying the Mesopotamian literature; the production of Chronicles was probably independent from any specific Mesopotamian texts. The institutional and ideological parallels between the two cultures probably represent some shared norms and practices that were *culturally intensified* during and after the exile. This intensification did not need exact literary emulation but *simply* reaffirmed the temple as realised template and music, which were already latent in Jewish traditions.

Within the citizen-temple community, Jews frequently encountered challenges from their surroundings that would shake the authenticity of the second temple. They had to defend their identity as the true and pure descendants of Israel, in order to stabilise members inside the community and the political situation of the Jerusalem temple. As such, the ideas of the temple as realised template were probably reaffirmed in order to legitimise the significance of the temple. The temple as realised template was emphasised not only because of a reinterpretation of traditions but also because of the commonly prevailing temple-ideologies in wider Mesopotamian culture, which encouraged the Jews to rethink and reformulate their own temple in such a way as to address the challenges posed by their enemies.

Of course, in this complex environment, the citizen-temple community did not use the ideas related to the temple as realised template merely as political and social tools to legitimise their claims. Rather, they genuinely believed these ideas as

theological elements that conveyed an experience of YHWH in the midst of terror and trauma and magnified the imperial rule of YHWH in the whole world. Therefore, we can see a blending of social, political, and theological reasons for the reformulation of the temple in which the past exposure to the social condition of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers played a significant role.

The authors of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah would have favoured music and singers, because music in the Mesopotamian surroundings had been regarded as the highest level of scribal training as well as supporting the ideas of the temple as realised template. Ezra and his associated Levitical communities are the best literary examples, displaying how Jewish elites refashioned their professional profile to resemble the institutional modes of Mesopotamian scribal-musical education. As I shall show in Part II, this understanding of singers as scholars affects the characterisation of Levitical singers in Chronicles. The Jerusalem temple would have been believed to have a greater significance and enhanced effectiveness in fostering worldwide stability as an attempted result of the services of Israelite scholar-singers.

Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah also develop three themes of continuity – temple, singers, and vessels – as hallmarks of authenticity and authority. Singers (with their musical instruments) resorted to the ancient authority of David and claimed that even the exile had not harmed this continuity, which was based on the rulership of YHWH. I trust that this historical-comparative background can generate a meaningful evaluation on the characterisation of the Levitical singers in Chronicles in Part II.

Conclusion of Part I

In this part, I have explained the flourishing of music and singers in the literary depictions of the Levites from a historical-comparative perspective. Instead of reconstructing the diachronic development of the Jewish priesthood, I take seriously the wider circumstantial factors, explaining the Jewish engagement with the social condition of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and of *kalû*-priests that promoted the prominence of music and singers and the ideological reaffirmation of the temple as realised template.

In Part I, we have reached the following conclusions:

1. The Mesopotamian singers were in fact scholars who acquired a variety of professional skills such as reading, writing, prophesying, purifying, chanting, and ritual-performing. The service of *kalû*-priest, who was a kind of scholar-singer, gives the best example for understanding their educational, scribal, and liturgical roles in perpetuating lament-traditions and in ritual-performance. This multi-functional nature constituted the scribal-musical culture of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers in the Neo-Babylonian period.
2. During the Babylonian exile, Jehoiachin and his elite professionals were probably subject to strong syncretism. They likely engaged in the Neo-Babylonian royal court, experiencing a scholarly social interaction. Evidence (e.g. the Weidner tablet and the prism of the Court of Nebuchadnezzar) shows that the social contact was historically probable, and the Jews were settled and at ease in Babylonia. This experience (or social condition) of the exile probably explains why the insights obtained from the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests would have strongly influenced the intra-Jewish reinterpretation of ancient Israelite traditions,

so that ideas, such as temple, world, and music, were reaffirmed to legitimise the formation of identity in the citizen-temple community.

3. The Jewish-Babylonian interaction did not mean that Jews could produce their literary creations through direct literary dependence on specific Mesopotamian traditions. This kind of direct literary contact was not supported by any textual evidence and was contradictory to the biblical texts, with their primary purpose of identity making within the citizen-temple community, and, as a corollary to this, probably constituting borrowings and reinterpretations of intra-Jewish traditions instead of foreign traditions. Therefore the institutional and ideological similarities between the two cultures, especially the literary depiction of scholar-singers, are best explained by a more general affinity. This affinity probably betrays the Jewish attempt to portray their singers as comparable to those Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests in order to increase the authenticity of the second temple cult.

From these three points we are able to conclude that the circumstantial factors in the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture likely fostered the prominence of music and singers, affecting the hermeneutical situation of the citizen-temple community socio-ideologically, so that some intra-Jewish traditions (e.g. the temple as realised template and music) were reaffirmed in their literary productions for the purpose of legitimising the second temple cult. If we can assume this as a working hypothesis, what we read in Chronicles in Part II makes a lot of sense.

Part II: The Theological Significance of the Service of Levitical Singers in the Book of Chronicles

Introduction: Ideological Perspective

In this second part, I attempt to answer the second research question: what are the Chronicler's purposes in depicting the service of Levitical singers? I approach the question from the ideological perspective of the Chronicler in light of the Mesopotamian institutional and ideological insights (i.e. circumstantial factors) obtained from my analysis in Part I. I focus primarily on an inner-biblical exegesis that is sensitive to the Chronicler's metaphorical language.

I have already examined the ideological perspective of Ezra-Nehemiah (Section 3.2 in Part I) in characterising the Jewish professionals as socially equivalent to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers. Why have I postponed the methodological description of the ideological perspective of Chronicles to the introduction of Part II?

First, I have already clarified my interpretive perspectives (i.e. historical-comparative perspective and ideological perspective) in Chapter One (especially Section 1.2) and in the introduction of Part I. The clarification is supposed to be sufficient enough to avoid any misunderstanding when I examine Ezra-Nehemiah.

Second, I cannot explore the historical-comparative perspective without some preliminary examples of how the circumstantial influence of Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture gave rise to the ideological ideas in Ezra-Nehemiah. The examples are an indispensable part of the hypothesis, exemplifying the process of identity making, but they have yet to be independently, thoroughly developed in the discourses. It is thus sufficient and reasonable to provide some general,

well-understood assumptions, such as ideology and legitimation, in clarifying the examples. But a thorough examination of the music ideology of Chronicles, as I shall show, requires that we attempt a more complicated hermeneutical practice, and necessitates a clearer explanation of my interpretive angle.

Finally, Part II not only represents a turn of interpretive perspective but also of subject matter – the service of the Levitical singers *in Chronicles*. It is thus natural that I have postponed a detailed discussion of my interpretive angle in order to focus primarily on the second research question.

It must be noted that when we seek to uncover the Chronicler's purposes, we are indeed handling a literary production that is full of ideological notions arising from a particular culture. If we accept that the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture played a crucial role in the formation of these notions, then it would be entirely reasonable to incorporate the circumstantial factors (e.g. the prominence of scholar-singers and music) that have been examined in Part I into an examination of the Chronicler's purposes. Furthermore, it must be noted that there is a cognitive gap between the Chronicler's literary depiction of the Levitical singers (within the text) and the historical reality of the second temple singers (behind the text). What is described in Chronicles does not necessarily reflect the historical picture in Yehud. As stated earlier (Section 1.2), this study has put aside the problem of historicity in both first and second temples, and instead focuses primarily on the Chronicler's purposes from the historical-comparative (Part I) and ideological (Part II) perspectives. Therefore when I seek to advance in this direction, I undertake no attempt to bridge the gap but simply conduct an ideological-cultural examination.[385]

As many agree, the notions of the temple as realised template and music were

[385] This does not mean that the Chronicler simply creates his story from his own imagination. For his historical truth-claims, see the next part of this introduction.

highly symbolic in nature.[386] The ideological evaluation conducted here must inevitably involve an examination of the way in which the Chronicler employs the metaphor of the temple as realised template and the symbolic meaning of music. Since we are dealing with a literary production that is full of symbolic language, conveying ideas metaphorically and systematically, it is natural and proper to interpret the text symbolically. In other words, this study assumes that the Chronicler conveys one kind of thing by associating it with another symbolic referent. This symbolic referent, however, comes not from arbitrary assertion but from his cultural system of thought.

Biblical scholars have widely agreed with this metaphorical interpretation. Klawans contends, "the phenomenon of prophetic symbolic action demonstrates the *fact* that symbolic action was part of the culture of ancient Israel. This, in my view, is the most compelling argument that various aspects of the priestly cult (sacrifice included) ought to be understood as symbolic."[387] Indeed, as Jenson states, "symbols are usually not isolated or static, but form part of a complex symbol-system."[388] Gorman defines ritual as "a complex performance of symbolic acts, characterized by its formality, order, and sequence, which tends to take place in specific situations, and has one of its central goals the regulation of the social order."[389] He also provides a clear statement of the communicative aspect of ritual as a performance of symbolic acts, which enact and regulate the worldview and social order within the system of Jewish cosmology.[390] There is thus little doubt that the ritual acts in Chronicles

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[386] This must have involved an examination of "Weltbild" with a symbolic quality. For a definition of "worldview" and "symbolisation", see Bernd Janowski, "Das biblische Weltbild: Eine methodologische Skizze," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 4, 19.

[387] Jonathan Klawans, "Methodology and Ideology in the Study of Priestly Ritual," in *Perspectives on Purity and Purification in the Bible*, ed. Baruch J. Schwartz, LHB/OTS 474 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 90. Italics his

[388] Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 62.

[389] Frank H. Gorman, *The Ideology of Ritual: Space, Time and Status in the Priestly Theology*, JSOTSS 91 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990), 19.

[390] Ibid., 20–30.

should be interpreted symbolically. I regard it as my basic assumption in exploring the threefold aspect of Levitical singers (educational, scribal, liturgical), because these aspects also symbolically communicate the Jewish worldview.[391]

This metaphorical interpretation should generally be consonant with the notion of "recontextualisation": the Chronicler's reappropriation of older traditions according to his frame of reference. If the Chronicler stands in a historical continuum with the temple as realised template in his mind, we should expect him to recontextualise the concept into the storyline according to his concern (whether social, political, or theological) over the second temple community.[392] As many agree, the Chronicler reformulates Israel's past with the full spectrum of pre-Chronistic Jewish authoritative traditions available to him. Scholars thus are naturally inclined to perform an inner-biblical exegesis to uncover the Chronicler's reinterpretation or recontextualisation of earlier traditions.[393] Fishbane[394] comprehensively elaborates the reinterpretation of the older traditions (*traditum*) in the formation of the later text (*traditio*). This method allows us to discover the process of the formation of some biblical texts and the ways in which various traditions were shaped and interpreted

[391] Most anthropologists believe metaphor as something inescapable in acts of communication and discourse, especially in a worldview of thought (e.g. temple as realised template), which should be understood as a systematic, experiential, and coherent system of concepts that are rooted in the intrinsic convention of communication. For this topic, see Leach, *Culture*; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Dan R. Stiver, *The Philosophy of Religious Language: Sign, Symbol, and Story* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996); Douglas, *Natural*. Although reading the text symbolically is a commonsense, I cautiously rely on the Chronicler's speech and prayer to "decode" the symbolic meanings of rituals in order to avoid an uncontextual interpretation.

[392] Gadamer's theory of "effective historical consciousness" and his concept of *Vorurteil* provide a theoretical basis for this: Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Garret Barden and John Cumming (New York: Seabury Press, 1975), 235–274.

[393] Some inner-biblical exegetical works and the Chronicler's principles of interpretation have been succinctly summerised by H.G.M. Williamson, "History," in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF*, ed. D.A. Carson, Barnabas Lindars, and H.G.M. Williamson (Cambridge: CUP, 1988), 25–38.

[394] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*. Cf. D.A. Carson, Barnabas Lindars, and H.G.M. Williamson, eds., *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).

during the process of canonisation, though we cannot trace for certain in this topic. It also witnesses to the different strata of recontextualisation that were created by Israelite scribes, who transformed the *traditum* into a *traditio* that was relevant to their community of faith. However, the Chronicler's use of sources does not simply involve *verbatim* citation with some changes: he fluidly draws on precedent typology, analogy, metaphor, and idea.

This reinterpretation does not arise from an isolated situation; it is affected by the long-lived and systematic worldview of Jewish traditions, evidenced in both the priestly traditions and the Deuteronomistic convictions.[395] As I shall show in Chapter Four, different pre-Chronistic traditions (e.g. Isa 6, Ezek 40-48) show their particular recontextualisation in their own setting, which also affected the hermeneutical situation of the Chronicler. Of course, the Chronicler had his own particular socio-ideological milieu for his distinctive recontextualisation. This milieu probably formulates the Chronicler's frame of reference in recontextualising earlier traditions. If we accept what has been argued in Part I, the wisdom derived from the institution and ideology of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers would have affected the Chronicler's choice of ideas from the full spectrum of pre-Chronistic Jewish traditions in his recontextualised depiction of the first temple and singers in the light of his exilic consciousness. His main socio-ideological reason for writing was to address the issue of Jewish identity in the second temple community. Reading the text with inner-biblical exegesis in mind is sensitive to this symbolic system; and a comparison with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers is particularly crucial in this exegesis.

Some works have been undertaken on the inner-biblical exegesis in Chronicles. Ackroyd reads Chronicles as a theological interpretation of Samuel-Kings.[396] Shaver

[395] Knoppers, "Hierodules," 49–72.
[396] Ackroyd, *His Age*, 273–289, 311–343.

examines the Chronicler's interpretation of the Pentateuchal regulations on ritual practice.[397] Willi examines at least nine exegetical categories by which the Chronicler interprets earlier traditions.[398] Fishbane also elaborates his inner-biblical exegesis with Chronicles as one of his prime focuses in an investigation of the Chronicler's exegesis of the Pentateuchal legislation.[399] These studies help us to understand how the Chronicler reinterprets earlier texts. Yet research into a contextual reading of Levitical singers in Chronicles with the circumstantial insights obtained in Part I (i.e. the institutional and ideological influence of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers) and symbolically sensitive inner-biblical exegesis focuses attention on some contextual aspects that have been ignored. The social interaction among the Mesopotamian scholar-singers would suggest new answers for exegetical problems encountered in the inner-biblical exegesis. I therefore combine the circumstantial insights (Part I) with an inner-biblical exegesis (Part II), focusing primarily on how the temple as realised template works within the Chronicler's conceptual logic, in order to comprehend the Chronicler's presentation of the Levitical singers.

The Chronicler's Historical Truth-Claims

While the practice of culturally sensitive inner-biblical exegesis would have accounted for the Chronicler's reaffirmation of intra-Jewish traditions, some may question whether the Chronicler's symbolic language is confined to ideological ideas without any historical referent. The Chronicler does however use sources in constructing his historical narrative, showing a kind of historical consciousness according to his own standard (albeit not according to modern academic standards). This suggests that his

[397] Judson R. Shaver, *Torah and the Chronicler's History: An Inquiry into the Chronicler's References to Laws, Festivals and Cultic Institutions in Relation to Pentateuchal Legislation* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989).
[398] Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik Als Auslegung*, FRLANT 106 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972).
[399] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 134–143, 151–159.

language probably points to a style concerned with being faithful adaptation of sources. The following points should draw our attention here:

1. Scholars have agreed that the Chronicler employs a version of Samuel-Kings as his *Vorlage*, though the version may not be reflected in MT.[400] Lemke[401] and McKenzie[402] successfully show that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* is closer to 4QSam[a] than to MT, suggesting that the difference between MT-Chronicles and MT-Samuel may not come from any tendentious move on the Chronicler's part, but from his employing a different *Vorlage*. The Chronicler also follows the general chronological framework of Samuel-Kings.[403] Therefore, the Chronicler is more faithful to his sources than is sometimes supposed.
2. Klein[404] and Curtis and Madsen[405] give several tables, showing the biblical sources employed by the Chronicler. These sources include the Pentateuch, Psalms 105, 96, 106, the book of Joshua, Ezra-Nehemiah,[406] and other prophetic writings. Although the version of these sources may not be reflected in MT, this does show that the Chronicler prefers to write his work by drawing on sources, rather than by relying simply on his own imagination.
3. When we see how the Chronicler selects, reworks, and reframes his biblical sources, we can suggest that he probably uses similar approaches in respect of other sources which are no longer available to us. The Chronicler claims on many occasions that he uses sources such as annals (e.g. 2Chr 16:11; 20:34; 24:37; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 32:32; 33:18; 35:27; 36:8) and prophetic writings (e.g. 1Chr

[400] See footnote 4.
[401] Lemke, "Synoptic Problem," 349–363.
[402] McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 33–73.
[403] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 16–17.
[404] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 32–39.
[405] Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 17–19.
[406] E.g., The list in 1Chr 9 would have been adapted from Neh 11:11-19. The edict of Cyrus (2Chr 36:22-23) would have been adapted from Ezra 1:1-4 (cf. footnote 2). Schaper convincingly shows the authenticity of the edict: Schaper, *Priester*, 67–75. This gives an example of how the Chronicler employs a source that could refer to a historically probable event.

29:29; 2Chr 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 20:34; 26:22; 32:32; 33:19). Although scholars have not reached agreement about whether these extra-biblical sources exist or not,[407] the Chronicler obviously stands within the tradition of interpretation, shaping his hermeneutical situation. This repeated reference to sources imitates the source citation claims in Samuel-Kings on the one hand,[408] and enhances his claims of authority and continuity on the other, pointing to the significance of the written sources for the audience of Chronicles.

4. The selection, omission, rearrangement, and reworking of sources suggest that the Chronicler behaves like a historian, who "shows himself as the master, not the servant, of his sources."[409] Many scholars agree that the term "historian" can be used to describe the Chronicler,[410] though not in the modern academic sense of the word, but rather according to the standards acceptable in his own days.
5. The problems of historical reliability and of the Chronicler's source should be approached in their own rights. The existence of sources does not automatically secure reliability. Whether those sources can be reconstructed, and safely used as historical evidence, is something which needs to be cautiously and criticially assessed on a case-by-case basis.[411] The use of sources, however, provides a

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[407] One extreme view is from Noth, who thinks that the citation formulae is simply a literary convention: Martin Noth, *The Chronicler's History*, trans. H.G.M. Williamson, JSOTSS 50 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 53. Another extreme view is from Rainey, who reconstructs the source called "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah": A.F. Rainey, "The Chronicler and His Sources - Historical and Geographical," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 238 (Sheffield, Eng: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 30–72. In between the two polar views, scholars have differed in many details such as the issues of *midrash* (2Chr 13:22; 24:27), and the prophetic references: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 40–43; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 17–19; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 19–23. For a recent survey: Katherine M. Stott, *Why Did They Write This Way? Reflections on References to Written Documents in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Literature*, LHB 492 (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 60–64.

[408] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 18. Cf. John Van Seters, "Creative Imitation in the Hebrew Bible," *SR* 29 (2000): 395–408.

[409] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 23.

[410] See the collection of essys: Matt Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, eds., *The Chronicler as Historian*, JSOTSS 238 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1997).

[411] The problem of historical reality of Chronicles has been an unsettled issue since the 19th century, and is likely to remain so. See further Kai Peltonen, *History Debated : The Historical Reliability of*

kind of "historical referent", pointing at the very least to the Chronicler's own understanding that the events he refers to are real, and occurred in real time in actual places.

Based on the above considerations, we can suggest that the inner-biblical exegesis conducted here should not give us an impression that the Chronicler configures his ideological ideas without historical referent through the use of sources. Writing a work based only on ideological invention is not typical of his time.[412] Although his choices of intra-Jewish traditions were influenced by the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture and the second temple community, this does not necessarily mean that the characterisation of singers and temple in Chronicles contain no historical value. This further coincides with the overall argument that the Chronicler "reaffirms", rather than "creates", the language of temple as realised template and the place of music in the temple service. Furthermore, these things he describes were written according to the standards of narrative history accepted in his day.

The Citizen-Temple Community and the Dating of Chronicles

In this section, I further clarify why the citizen-temple community and Chronicles are virtually related. It involves the dating of Chronicles and the relationship between Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.

Chronicles in Pre-critical and Critical Research (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996); Matt Patrick Graham, *The Utilization of 1 and 2 Chronicles in the Reconstruction of Israelite History in the Nineteenth Century* (Atlanta Ga.: Scholars Press, 1990); Japhet, "Historical Reliability," 83–107. Especially, Japhet writes, "although the interest in Chronicles has certainly broadened and become much more varied, with the question of the historical reliability no longer occupying the centre of discussion, yet the feeling of many scholars that a certain consensus has been reached, albeit with slight variations, is far from justified": Ibid., 99.

[412] Recently, scholars have compared the source-referencing practice of the Chronicler with that of classical historians, and have confirmed that the Chronicler writes history according to the accepted norms of his time: Kenneth G. Hoglund, "The Chronicler as Historian: A Comparativist Perspective," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 238 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1997), 19–29; Stott, *Why*, 60–67. They "could quote from, rephrase, elaborate upon, abridge, and imitate older texts": Ibid., 67.

Although scholars have generally reached a consensus on the separate authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles,[413] Knoppers addresses some neglected thematic similarities between them:

> [O]ne should not lose sight of the fundamental postulates all three books share about matters such as the primacy of Jerusalem, the exclusive status of the Jerusalem Temple, the importance of supporting the priests and Levites, and the critical role that Judah, Levi, and Benjamin have in upholding the legacy of ancient Israel.[414]

Knoppers locates several parallels between the Chronicler's history of monarchic Israel and the early history of the return in Ezra, in which the first temple in Chronicles is presented in a similar literary pattern to the depiction of the second temple in Ezra. These include the provisions to Hiram of Tyre and the Tyrians and the Sidonians (2Chr 2:7-15; Ezra 3:7), David's authority in organising Levitical singers, the common descriptions of Levitical singers and priestly trumpeters, and the similarity between the inaugurations of the first and second temples.[415] De Vries contends that these similarities stem from "the jointly shared literary and cultural complex of the early postexilic period".[416] But they cannot, I think, be explained simply by resorting to a "shared literary and cultural complex", especially in the case of the thematic similarities regarding the temple and singers. Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah share the central theological heritages of the Jerusalem temple (the temple as realised template) and its associated musical cult, though their separate authorship has to be taken into account.

The inauguration of the temple is *the* central theme of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah; there is, therefore, likely to be more "lying behind" the text than merely a reinterpretation of biblical traditions. It is thus understandable that these

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413 See footnote 2.
414 Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 89.
415 Ibid., 77–80.
416 Simon J. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, FOTL 11 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 8.

literary productions are related to the great interest of the citizen-temple community when they reinaugurated an "authentic" second temple cult. Therefore, the notion "the citizen-temple community" is probably useful for articulating at least the primary readership of the Chronicler.[417] The primary readership was supposed to be aware of the language and could sense the intention of the Chronicler, who skilfully conveyed meanings by his special choices of words and expressions. The question remains on whether Chronicles can be dated in this period.

There has been a growing tendency to date Chronicles between 350 and 300 BCE or even to the third century BCE. The absolute *terminus a quo* is Cyrus' decree in 538 BCE represented in 2Chr 36:22-23. The *terminus ante quem* is the recitation of Chronicles in some Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic works (e.g. Ben Sira) in the second century BCE. Some scholars give an early date (e.g. 515 BCE) of Chronicles,[418] but this requires a substantial portion of Chronicles (e.g. 1Chr 1-9) to be assigned to secondary additions, which seems improbable to me.

As for internal evidence, 1Chr 29:7 refers to "darics", a Persian coin that was first issued in the reign of Darius I (522-486 BCE), and this probably reflects a date in the latter half of the fifth century BCE, if we allow a time for this coin to circulate. 2Chr 8:3-4 indicates the association of Tadmor and Hamat-Zobah, which probably reflects the provincial administration of the Babylonian-Persian system. 2Chr 16:9 seems to cite Zech 4:10, reflecting the ministry of Zechariah at the end of the sixth century BCE. 1Chr 3:17-24 shows a genealogy of Jehoiachin, which may give a dating around 350 BCE.

As for external evidence, many references to "the law of Moses" or "the command of Moses" (e.g. 1Chr 6:34; 15:15; 22:13; 2Chr 8:13; 25:4; 30:16) in

[417] Cf. footnote 231.
[418] D.N. Freedman, "The Chronicler's Purpose," *CBQ* 23 (1961): 441.

Chronicles probably indicates that an authorised written version of the Pentateuch took shape during the Chronicler's time after Ezra's teaching of the *Torah* (Neh 8:1-8).[419] We also need to allow for many allusions to prophetic literature (e.g. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah) in Chronicles, which probably indicate that these works had an authoritative status of these works during the Chronicler's time. Scholars have generally agreed that there is no Hellenistic influence in Chronicles, suggesting a date no later than 333 BCE.[420] Taken together, the above criteria provide a preliminary dating in the mid-fourth century BCE.

In his excellent survey on the dating of Chronicles, Peltonen draws our attention to the significance of socio-ideological approaches.[421] He reviews the sociological reconstructions of Albertz and Weinberg. Albertz advances the idea of the Samaritan conflict as the ideological background behind Chronicles in the Jerusalem community and dates Chronicles in the late Persian or early Hellenistic period.[422] Weinberg situates Chronicles in the social setting of the citizen-temple community in the pre-Hellenistic culture.[423] He sees that the real *Sitz im Leben* of Chronicles belongs to a non-exiled group of scribes (the Judean descendants of Jabez specifically) within the citizen-temple community.[424] This gives an earlier date (440-430 BCE[425]) for

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[419] Scholars have reached no consensus on the chronological order of Ezra and Nehemiah, probably because of many historical gaps, the complex textual growth of Ezra-Nehemiah, and the unsettled issue of how the date of Ezra fits to the general development of priests and Levites. For this topic, see Lester L. Grabbe, "What Was Ezra's Mission?," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, Tamara C. Eskenazi, and Kent Harold Richards, vol. 2, JSOTSS 175 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 286–299; Lester L. Grabbe, "Reconstructing History from the Book of Ezra," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, vol. 1, JSOTSS 117 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 98–106; Pakkala, *Ezra*; David Janzen, "The 'Mission' of Ezra and the Persian-Period Temple Community," *JBL* 119 (2000): 619–643.

[420] Kai Peltonen, "A Jigsaw Without a Model? The Date of Chronicles," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSS 317 (Sheffield: JSOT, 2001), 238; Williamson, *Israel*, 83.

[421] Peltonen, "Jigsaw," 239–261.

[422] Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period*, trans. John Bowden, vol. 2 (London: SCM, 1994), 544–556.

[423] Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*.

[424] Joel Weinberg, *Der Chronist in seiner Mitwelt* (New York; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 277–290.

[425] Ibid., 282.

Chronicles. Since Williamson has convincingly argued that the anti-Samaritan spirit of the Chronicler is flawed,[426] Weinberg's proposal of the citizen-temple community, if not his *Sitz im Leben* of Chronicles as Jabez's descendants, seems more attractive.

I have shown, and will continue to show, that the experience of the exile and the socio-ideological milieu of the citizen-temple community affect the depiction of Levitical singers in Chronicles. If my thesis is correct, this may demand a dating just after (or alongside) Ezra-Nehemiah, in which the reinauguration of an authentic temple cult and the experience of the exile still dominated the central concerns of the Jerusalem community. Grabbe, in rejecting the HB as a "Hellenistic book", writes,

> The Judaean deportations in the early sixth century and the destruction of Jerusalem about 587 BCE were traumatic events. People often become aware of their traditions when there are major disruptions, when their heritage and even their identity might be lost. It seems unlikely, prima facie, that no attempt to gather the traditions or create a national or ethnic 'history' would have been made. Given the fact that such a literature was created and we therefore need to find a context for it, the Persian period is a better candidate on the face of it than the Hellenistic.[427]

Therefore, a dating of Chronicles that reflects a social context in which the burning issues were those of "exile" and "return" seems reasonable. The only obstacle is Jehoiachin's genealogy (1Chr 3:17-24), which displays at least six generations after Zerubbabel. Wright observes that David's reign and the exile (Jehoiachin the captive in 1Chr 3:17) are the two events anchored in the relative chronology of Chronicles. The subsequent names (1Chr 3:18-24) seem to provide no absolute point for ending the chronological sequence.[428] MT provides a division marker ס at the end of 1Chr 3:21, which may indicate an earlier ending. It may thus reflect that the list of names

[426] Williamson, "Temple," 150–161.

[427] Lester L. Grabbe, "Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSS 317 (Sheffield: JSOT, 2001), 152–153.

[428] John W. Wright, "The Fabula of the Book of Chronicles," in *The Chronicler as Author*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 263 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 146–147.

was updated during the transmission of Chronicles by scribes, because updating the list of David's descendants may be of great interest to these Jewish scribes, given that the figure of David is central in Chronicles. With such a possibility in view, we have a *prima facie* justification for a possible dating of Chronicles at around the late fifth century BCE.[429]

After considering some methodological issues, we now refocus our attention on the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers in educational (Chapter Five), scribal (Chapter Six), and liturgical (Chapter Seven) contexts, and read them in light of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers' norms and practices. I take the Chronicler's temple as the point of departure (Chapter Four) to approach the subject matter, to which I now turn.

[429] Or the early fourth century if the mission of Ezra is dated in 398 BCE.

4. Temple as Realised Template as a Pre-understanding of the Chronicler

Williamson writes, "One of the few points about which all commentators on Chronicles are agreed is that the temple was of central significance to its author."[430] Since the service of musicians was undoubtedly an integral part of the Chronicler's temple, a reading of his portrayal of the temple will furnish a context in which to discuss their role.

Jewish people did not view the temple merely as a physical entity but related it to a wider metaphorical frame of reference of the temple as realised template. This concept arose among the returnees, who organised themselves into the citizen-temple community, and it is reflected in their theological convictions, literary activities, and use of language. I argue in this chapter that the temple as realised template was one of the integral pre-understandings of this community of readership in respect to the creation of Chronicles.

First, I argue from a historical-cultural viewpoint (i.e. wider circumstantial factors in the Persian period) that the pre-Hellenistic culture of the Persian Empire fostered the rethinking of YHWH as the imperial God, ruling the whole world. This acts as a bridge from Part I to Part II, in which the thesis shifts from a historical-comparative dimension to a literary dimension. Second, I argue from a viewpoint of the Chronicler's use of words that he contextualises the concept of the template as realised template within his storyline. Finally, I argue from a thematic point of view that the Chronicler's pre-understanding of the concept is reflected in his description of the temple in 1Chr 21:1-22:1; 28:11-19; 2Chr 3:1-5:1. This discussion will provide a theological frame of reference for understanding the theological

[430] Williamson, "Temple," 150.

significance of Levitical singers in subsequent chapters.

4.1. The Citizen-Temple Community in the Pre-Hellenistic Culture

Weinberg develops an influential model called "the citizen-temple community" to describe a prevailing local structure in the Persian Empire. He acknowledges the emergence of this structure in Yehud by situating the discussion in the wider culture of "pre-Hellenism",[431] in which a similar structure was a widespread phenomenon (cf. Section 3.1.4).[432] This study does not intend to amend or refute any part of the model.[433] Rather, I briefly illustrate several factors that characterise pre-Hellenism and how this cultural milieu had an impact on the citizen-temple community.

First, the development of so-called "world empires", such as the Persian Empire required local institutions under systems of satrapies to support central administration. Since it was unfeasible to maintain a highly centralised government in such a vast empire, the Persians allowed local administrative autonomy. This meant that local scribes became increasingly prominent in self-government.[434] Local languages were unaffected; royal decrees were translated into local languages alongside Old Persian, though Aramaic was widely used.[435] This multilingual mode of administration added to the role of scribes as the backbone of localised Persian administration.

In Yehud, Levites, learned persons in literacy and cultic matters, naturally took up both secular and religious scribal-administrative roles.[436] In Chronicles, they were scribes (1Chr 24:6), singers (1Chr 25), gatekeepers (1Chr 26:1-19), and administrators (1Chr 26:20-32). This multi-functional profile may reflect the scribal prominence of

[431] Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 17–33.
[432] Blenkinsopp, "Temple and Society," 26–34.
[433] See footnote 231.
[434] Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 20.
[435] Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East*, 2:649–650; Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 55.
[436] Grabbe, *Yehud*, 151–155; Davies, *Scribes and Schools*, 132–133; Labahn, "Antitheocratic," 115–135.

the Levites. This study, however, does not trace the emergence or decline of any specific Levitical group but rather explores how some circumstantial factors (e.g. Persian administration) fostered the prominence of their scribal aspect.

Second, the increase in collective migrations helped different ethnic groups to mix so that exchanges of cultural treasures and practices became common and were intensified.[437] As shown in Chapter Three, the deportation of Jehoiachin and his officials fostered intensive cultural interaction in the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture. The return(s) of their descendants probably brought contextualised wisdom and practice from Babylon to Jerusalem to contribute the citizen-temple community.

However, it must be noted that the citizen-temple community saw themselves as the only authentic community, having perpetuated pre-exilic traditions and worship. This made them more inclined to reinterpret and borrow intra-Jewish traditions in their literary works than to directly borrow traditions from Mesopotamian literature. This intra-Jewish reflection and reinterpretation of traditions was, nevertheless, also open to insights from the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context (because of a deep exilic consciousness), reaffirming what had already been latent in the intra-Jewish traditions, such as the temple as realised template and music. The chief motivation for this textual openness was to promote the primacy of the Jerusalem temple. This cultural intensification generally matches the increase in collective migrations (whether forced or voluntary) that was peculiar to this cultural environment.

Moreover, Gerstenberger writes,

> The Persian Empire did not fall out of the blue by accident. It built upon the preceding empires that existed since the third millennium B.C.E. in Mesopotamia … The concept of an empire developed interculturally in the gradually developing major societies in the ebb and flow of history. Probably since the third millennium, the empire belonged to the collective existence of

[437] Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 22.

Near Eastern concepts of the world.[438]

Weisberg also thinks that the term "Neo-Babylonian" can be used to designate a period that extended to at least the early Achaemenid kings based on an examination of legal documents.[439] As such, the Persian Empire succeeded to the existing Neo-Babylonian cultural framework, so that Jews did not experience a very different culture during the Persian period. This Babylonian-Persian continuity probably reflects the Persian policy of religious tolerance, in which the Persians did not significantly interfere with the local religions that remained from the preceding empire. For example, the Cyrus Cylinder, a tendentious document promoting Cyrus' zeal for Marduk cult in order to legitimise his replacement of Nabonidus, indicates the Persian policy of toleration for established cults (cf. Ezra 1:1-4; 6:3-12).[440] This policy of supporting, or at least not oppressing, local cults added to the autonomy of local shrines, which could elaborate their own version of the temple as realised template.[441]

In respect to the temple in Yehud, as a temple that claimed its own ideological significance, it would have been interested in reformulating YHWH as the imperial, worldwide God with a temple that bore a theological significance on a par with other temples claiming universal significance. This probably fostered and intensified the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection of the temple as realised template and characterised the theological pre-understanding of the Chronicler.

Third, the experience of Jewish diaspora in Babylonia radically changed theological thinking among Jews. By expounding some YHWH-kingship psalms (Pss 47; 93; 95-100), Gerstenberger argues that the milieu of Babylonian-Persian

[438] Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 46. Refer also to footnote 83.

[439] David B. Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Mesopotamia*, YNER 1 (New Haven: YUP, 1967), 30–31.

[440] Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 114–116. Cf. Amélie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 83–97; Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 110–115; Berquist, *Judaism*, 24–29.

[441] The Persian policy of tolerance in numerous local shrines was a widespread phenomenon: Blenkinsopp, "Temple and Society," 24–26. Also Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 59.

provenance and the experience of the diaspora fostered the development of YHWH as the universal, global, and imperial God.[442] He also demonstrates that the practice of pilgrimages towards Jerusalem would have arisen from the claim of Jerusalem to be YHWH's only dwelling place in the Persian period.[443] Part of Gerstenberger's brilliance resides in his explanation of the Persian milieu in relation to the development of the Psalter. But he also tries to locate the meaningfulness of different psalms in what he calls a "confessional community"[444] that expressed the claim of one sole God in editing and collecting various psalms. He also accepts a pre-exilic setting for some psalms but redescribes them in terms of a linear evolution in which the trajectory of thought is assumed to move from the circle of familial clans, to that of village, tribe, and monarchy, culminating in the Persian confessional community.[445]

As such, I have two difficulties with Gerstenberger's proposal. First, the notion of the confessional community is simply anachronistic. Judaism, even in the first century CE, "had no body of articulated and systematized doctrine."[446] In Gerstenberger's description of the confessional community, which stems from German Protestant scholarship, his affirmation of its "confession" of one imperial God misleads his readers into thinking that we could find systematic doctrines in the citizen-temple community.

Second, Gerstenberger places his evidence into a preconceived, linear evolutionary scheme. This also misleads his readers into thinking that we can

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[442] Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 224–225.

[443] Ibid., 221–223. See also Melody D. Knowles, *Centrality Practiced Jerusalem in the Religious Practice of Yehud and the Diaspora in the Persian Period*, SBLABS 16 (Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 77–103.

[444] Gerstenberger defines "confession" as taking "on a firm position in a clearly defined community; it denotes acknowledging the particular God as one's personal patron": Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 250.

[445] Erhard S. Gerstenberger, "The Psalms: Genres, Life Situations, and Theologies – Towards a Hermeneutics of Social Stratification," in *Diachronic and Synchronic: Reading the Psalms in Real Time: Proceedings of the Baylor Symposium on the Book of Psalms*, ed. Joel S. Burnett, W.H. Bellinger, and W. Dennis Tucker, LHB/OTS 488 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 81–92; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Theologies in the Old Testament*, trans. John Bowden (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002).

[446] George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass: HUP, 1927), 357.

confidently delineate different stages of development. For instance, Isaiah's vision of a divine, royal throne (Isa 6) has been generally accepted as part of an "Isaiah Memoir" that can be traced back to the eighth century prophet's experience.[447] The well-developed imagery of a God-king figure includes a global perspective that is latent in the proclamation of seraphim when they say, "the whole earth (כל־הארץ) is full of his glory" (Isa 6:3b). Thus the concept of the global relevance of YHWH was not a new evolution in the post-exilic community but was partly indebted to a pre-exilic concept of God, at least in some Isaianic traditions.[448] The boundaries between stages of evolution are thus uncertain. We could use the term "recontextualisation" instead of "evolution", in order to remove the biased emphasis on linear evolution.[449]

The Neo-Babylonian and Persian global empires radically affected the thinking of Jewish scribes, such that they painstakingly recontextualised earlier intra-Jewish traditions into something to suit their contemporary needs. I generally agree with Gerstenberger that the peculiar Persian socio-political environment fostered the radical recontextualisation of earlier Jewish traditions. However, this development should not be understood as an evolutionary stage but as a particular recontextualisation of earlier traditions in the particular milieu of the citizen-temple community.

Finally, this conception of an exclusive, universal God is evidenced by the generic title "God of heaven" (אלהי השמים),[450] which was used in the Persian period to

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[447] Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 30; Joseph Jensen, *The Use of Tôrâ by Isaiah: His Debate with the Wisdom Tradition*, CBQMS 3 (Washington, D.C: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1973), 107–109.

[448] Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 30–93.

[449] For cogent critiques of the evolutionary scheme, see Douglas, *Leviticus*, 13–33; Klawans, *Purity*, 4–48.

[450] Gen 24:3, 7; 2Chr 36:23; Ezra 1:2; Neh 1:4-5; 2:4, 20; Jon 1:9; Ps 136:26. Its Aramaic equivalent אלה שמיא appears in Dan 2:18, 19, 37, 44; Ezra 5:11, 12; 6:9, 10; 7:12, 21, 23. For a cogent evaluation, see D.K. Andrews, "Yahweh the God of the Heavens," in *The Seed of Wisdom: Essays in Honour of T.J. Meek*, ed. W. Stewart McCullough (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 45–57.

identify YHWH, as reflected in some Aramaic papyri in Elephantine.[451] Bolin proposes that the Jewish garrison in Elephantine may have used this title to gain support from other satrapies and the Persians.[452] There is, however, no evidence that the Persians used this title to identify their god Ahuramazda.[453] It is thus unlikely that Jews altered the title of YHWH to imitate the title of Ahuramazda.[454]

Though there is no evidence that this title was used in Persian religious circles, this does not mean that they did not use it to describe other deities. Various royal decrees from the Persian kings (e.g. 2Chr 36:23; Ezra 1:2; 7:12, 21) used this title to identify YHWH; the name "YHWH" was used together with "God of heaven" without embarrassment. It is more likely that "God of heaven" designated a more general concept of God among different peoples in the Persian Empire (e.g. Jon 1:9-10; Dan 2:18).[455] Jews had no difficulty in identifying YHWH as the God of heaven, not only because it agreed with their monotheistic belief but also because they believed their God truly was the maker of heaven and earth (e.g. 2Chr 2:11; Ps 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 146:6).[456] Therefore, the generic title "God of heaven" would have given a theological influence to Jewish scribal circles as they reformulated their understanding of YHWH as an imperial and global God. As I shall show, the Chronicler configures this understanding of YHWH at the closure of Chronicles in order to designate the Persian king, Cyrus, as the one who fostered the worldwide order through his support for the Jews in rebuilding the second temple.

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[451] *AP*, no. 30, 31, 32, 38, 40.

[452] Thomas M. Bolin, "The temple of יהו at Elephantine and Persian Religious Polcy," in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaisms*, ed. Diana Vikander Edelman (Kampen: Pharos, 1995), 127–142.

[453] The Persians identified Ahuramazda as "Lord of Wisdom": Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 48.

[454] Grabbe, *Yehud*, 242.

[455] Cf. Steven Shawn Tuell, *The Law of the Temple in Ezekiel 40-48* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1992), 98–101.

[456] Crow suggests that the term "maker of heaven and earth" stems from a post-exilic Jerusalemite redaction of "the Songs of Ascents" (Ps 120-134): Loren D. Crow, *The Songs of Ascents (Psalms 120-134): Their Place in Israelite History and Religion*, SBLDS 148 (Atlanta: SBL, 1996), 138. Cf. Japhet, *Ideology*, 20–21.

In summary, the Levitical scribal prominence, the ongoing intra-Jewish reflections on the temple as realised template, the global conception of YHWH, and the generic title, God of heaven, all affected the theological pre-understandings of the citizen-temple community and of the Chronicler in the Persian period. The temple as realised template recurs in many allusions in, for example, the Psalter, Isaiah 6, and Ezekiel 40-48. I believe that the Chronicler reaffirms the temple as realised template, because (1) it was common in the temple ideologies of the Babylonian-Persian cultures, in which everyone perceived their temples as meeting places between heaven and earth; (2) it required a global concept of a heavenly imperial God (e.g. Isa 6 and Ezek 1); (3) and the experience of the exile fostered a radical theological understanding of YHWH's presence as transcending political boundaries (e.g. Ezek 8-11). Based on these three factors and the preceding discussion, we have a *prima facie* justification from a historical-cultural viewpoint to argue that the Chronicler inherited the temple as realised template from the theological setting of the citizen-temple community.

4.2. Temple as Realised Template as the Pre-Understanding of the Chronicler

In Section 4.2, two premises in the temple as realised template are to be considered: (1) the link between heaven and earth, and (2) the global government of God in bringing worldwide significance. First, I examine the use of words and expressions related to the concept within the text of Chronicles. Second, I briefly survey Isa 6 (and 1Kgs 22:19-22) and Ezek 40-48 to show the ongoing intra-Jewish recontextualisation of the two premises in pre-Chronistic works. I shall postpone the examination of the third premise (i.e. the earthly temple as the counterpart of the heavenly temple) in Section 4.3.2.

4.2.1. The Expressions of the Temple as Realised Template in Chronicles

The temple as realised template includes a set of premises that can be generalised as being concerned with the connection between heaven and earth in the context of the origins, inauguration, and ritual function of the temple. This connection is likely to imply the basic premises that I define at Section 1.1. I shall show that this concept is evidenced by the use of words and expressions within Chronicles.

Evidence for the use of words and expressions related to the temple as realised template will be marked by a few criteria: (1) the juxtaposition of the words "heaven" (השמים) and "earth" (הארץ) in a discourse; (2) a depiction that shows traffic between heaven and earth, signified by the term "from heaven" (מן־השמים or מהשמים); and (3) the use of words and expressions must be in the context of the temple.[457] I shall also compare the use of these words in Samuel-Kings, in order to show the difference and verify the Chronicler's uniqueness.

4.2.1.1. The Juxtaposition of השמים and הארץ

The juxtaposition of השמים and הארץ in Chronicles can be found in 1Chr 16:31; 21:16; 29:11; 2Chr 2:11; 6:14, 18; 7:14; 36:23 (eight times), while that in Samuel-Kings can be found in 2Sam 18:9; 22:8; 1Kgs 8:23, 27; 2Kgs 19:15 (five times). Among the occurrences in Chronicles, one is borrowed from a psalm (1Chr 16:31), two are borrowed from Kings (2Chr 6:14, 18//1Kgs 8:23, 27), one is probably borrowed from the Chronicler's Samuel-*Vorlage* close to 4QSam[a] (1Chr 21:16),[458] and the rest are

[457] Krüger prefers to call these citeria as "kosmologische Formel": Annette Krüger, "Himmel-Erde-Unterwelt: Kosmologische Entwürfe in der poetischen Literatur Israels," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 65. But the use of the term "formula" seems too mechanical and rigid.

[458] See footnote 509.

the Chronicler's *Sondergut*.[459]

All occurrences concern a connection between the two realms. 1Chr 16:31 shows a parallelism in which both heaven and earth rejoice and proclaim the global kingship of YHWH, a central idea in the temple as realised template, which requires a worldwide divine kingship. 1Chr 21:16 shows an angel standing (or mediating) between earth and heaven, preparing a way for the origins of the temple (1Chr 22:1). 1Chr 29:11 depicts David's prayer, proclaiming YHWH's ownership of heaven and earth in preparing the temple building. 2Chr 2:11 describes Huram's praise, proclaiming YHWH who makes heaven and earth and who gives David a wise son for building the temple. 2Chr 6:14, 18 (//1Kgs 8:23, 27) belongs to a part of Solomon's prayer in inaugurating the temple. The Chronicler borrows almost the entire prayer, demonstrating a concern for the connection between the two realms. 2Chr 7:14 depicts YHWH's response to Solomon's prayer, and this verse is pivotal verse to our understanding of the Chronicler's concept of retribution in terms of the temple's role in the coherence between heaven and earth. 2Chr 36:23 shows that YHWH is "God of heaven" (אלהי השמים) who gave "all the kingdoms of the earth" (כל ממלכות הארץ) to Cyrus. The phrase "all the kingdoms of the nations" (בכל ממלכות הגוים) in 2Chr 20:6 may be emended to "all the kingdoms of the earth" (בכל ממלכות הארץ), as reflected in one medieval manuscript. Though MT is to be preferred in this case, both readings reveal the temple as realised template because "nations" can be assumed to mean "nations on earth".

All occurrences show that YHWH controlled and governed the fortune of the whole world, and this government was closely related to the temple. Some might think that the juxtaposition is too general to affirm the existence of the Chronicler's temple

[459] The term *Sondergut* focuses on the Chronicler's non-synoptic portion of his own material. For a definition, see Pancratius Comelis Beentjes, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 6–7.

as realised template. But if we understand this juxtaposition not merely in terms of their meaning in lexical entities but also in terms of their literary context, the arrangement of paragraphs and sentences that surround this juxtaposition probably show the presence of the temple as realised template in the context of the temple cult.

The occurrence in 2Chr 36:23 deserves further comment because it stands at the close of Chronicles. Concerning this closure, Ben Zvi writes,

> The main body of the book [Chronicles], and the book as whole, concludes with Cyrus, a foreign, non-Davidic king who orders the rebuilding of the temple in his first year … Thus the text moves from negatively portrayed pre-Davidic to positively portrayed post-Davidic times. The Saulide failed experiment led to the ascendance of David, and eventually to the climax of the book in David's provisions for the building of the temple (1 Chronicles 22-29); monarchic Judah led to the eventual destruction of the temple, which, in turn, led to Cyrus. As the readers read the book, they move from the process that culminated in the building of the temple to that leading to its rebuilding.[460]

The conclusion thus retells the whole narrative and directs our exploration of the Chronicler's thought. For Ben Zvi, Chronicles is a well-accepted narrative that is read and reread, such that its introductions and conclusions become the interpretative keys to an exploration of the intended readership of Chronicles,[461] if we believe that Chronicles is a purposeful and structured piece of work.

The (re)building of the temple should then occupy the focus and orientation of Chronicles as a whole. Cyrus' sponsorship of rebuilding the second temple imitated "David's foundational activities"[462] of preparing the building of the first temple and "created a pattern against which the establishment, organization and ritual of the second temple – the temple of the intended and primary readership – was to be understood and evaluated."[463] This means that the Chronicler attempts to direct his

[460] Ben Zvi, *History*, 29.
[461] Ibid., 28.
[462] Ibid., 32.
[463] Ibid. Cf. Riley, *King and Cultus*, 154–155.

readership to this pattern of Davidic temple (re)building through this ending. The question remains on whether the orientation of the conclusion reflects the concept of the temple as realised template.

2Chr 36:23 depicts the decree of Cyrus with three basic concerns. First, all kingdoms on *earth* were a gift from YHWH, the God of *heaven*, for Cyrus. This is in spoken of in terms of a vertical heaven-and-earth language. The earthly nations were contingent to YHWH in heaven, and the two realms were under YHWH's control.

Second, building YHWH's temple in Jerusalem was the fundamental concern. There seems to have a spatial orientation from "all kingdoms on earth", to "Judah", "Jerusalem", and finally "the temple". The temple was thus of central significance within the horizontal earthly realm.

Third, a remarkable difference from Ezra 1:3 is the lack of an indirect object after "let him go up" (ויעל) (the indirect object of ויעל in Ezra 1:3 is לירושלם). This opens some interpretative possibilities that the target of "going up" may not be merely confined to Jerusalem as physical place of pilgrimage.[464] 1Chr 9:3-34 illustrates a list of returnees, of which cultic personnel (1Chr 9:10-34) occupy the main portion. The building of the temple should thus not be read merely as a building project but also as a reestablishment of liturgy and cult.[465] This allows us to read "going up" liturgically and symbolically; worshippers were invited to rebuild the temple cult for seeking the God of heaven.

Therefore, the ending of 2Chr 36:23 probably shows a central concern for the Jerusalem temple with the temple as realised template. The emphasis on "going up" can be interpreted as symbolic act of seeking YHWH in heaven from earth through the temple, as an upward liturgical movement. It shows (1) the global, governing power of

[464] Cf. Knowles, *Centrality*, 79–92.
[465] Martin J. Selman, "Jerusalem in Chronicles," in *Zion, City of Our God*, ed. Richard S. Hess and Gordon J. Wenham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 44–46.

the God of heaven and (2) the earthly temple as the gateway for the symbolic orientation of "going up", seeking the coherence between heaven and earth.

We also see that Chronicles starts with Adam (1Chr 1:1) and ends with the decree of Cyrus. It thus starts with the ordered creation of humanity and ends with the Jerusalem temple, the central role of which was to foster the ordered world governed by the "God of heaven", a name reaffirmed when the Persians identified YHWH. The very existence of the Persian Empire helped to sustain such global order. We can thus suggest that the Chronicler directs his readership towards the (re)building of the temple with the temple as realised template as one of his considerations.

4.2.1.2. The Traffic Between השמים *and* הארץ

The terms מן־השמים and משמים appear in 1Chr 21:26; 2Chr 6:21, 23, 25, 30, 33, 35, 39; 7:1, 14, (ten times), while Samuel-Kings contains six occurrences: 2Sam 21:10; 2Kgs 1:10, 12, and 14.

A remarkable observation is that the Chronicler alters most occurrences of השמים reflected in 1Kgs 8:22-53 (//2Chr 6:12-42) to מן־השמים (seven times in 2Chr 6:21, 23, 25, 30, 33, 35, 39).[466] Since the preposition מן has a sense of separation or "motion away from",[467] the traffic between heaven and earth is thus emphasised. The prayer in the temple was heard "from heaven" (Chronicles) instead of "in heaven" (Kings). The latter emphasises YHWH's dwelling place in heaven, while the former emphasises the traffic between heaven and earth. In 1Chr 21:26 and 2Chr 7:1, the Chronicler's *Sondergut*, fire came down "from heaven" to consume the burnt-offering, symbolising YHWH's acceptance. A similar fire occurs in 1Kgs 18:38 (without "from heaven") and 2Kgs 1:10, 12, 14. The prime concern of 2Kgs 1 is the legitimacy of Elijah as a

[466] Except that אל־השמים in 1Kgs 8:30 is changed to מן־השמים in 2Chr 6:21, in which אל־מקום (1Kgs 8:30) is also altered to ממקום (2Chr 6:21). מכון שבתך in 1Kgs 8:43 is also changed to ממכון שבתך in 2Chr 6:33.
[467] GKC §119v-z.

man of God, not the symbolism of YHWH's acceptance *within the temple*. Since we are dealing with the concept of the *temple* as realised template, the Chronicler thus shows a distinctive conviction that affirms the temple as the meeting place between heaven and earth with a traffic of fire (YHWH's acceptance) and of prayer (YHWH's hearing), showing YHWH's governance of the whole world.

There are three occurrences (2Chr 28:9; 30:27; 32:20) that show an upward movement from below. 2Chr 28:9 and 32:20, the Chronicler's *Sondergut*, depict terror and joy reaching the heaven. 2Kgs 19:14 illustrates that Hezekiah faced the siege of King Sennacherib of Assyria and presented the letter from Sennacherib before YHWH, while 2Chr 32:20 narrates a cry to heaven by Hezekiah and Isaiah. YHWH responded immediately in 2Chr 32:21 by sending an angel to smite down all the Assyrian army, while 2Kgs 19 focuses more on the content of Hezekiah's prayer. 2Chr 30:27, the Chronicler's *Sondergut*, is the concluding statement at the end of Hezekiah's reinauguration of the temple and the Passover and clearly shows that earthly prayer could reach the heavenly dwelling place (cf. Section 7.3.3).

Chronicles thus shows a traffic between heaven and earth, while Kings does not. This concept of upward movement conveys that heaven was the place of appeal for the fortunes and misfortunes of the whole world, though only 2Chr 30:27 shows the traffic between heaven and earth in the context of the temple.

In short, the temple as realised template is probably a pre-understanding of the Chronicler. Taken together with the discussion in Section 4.1, this shows the interplay between the cultural milieu of the citizen-temple community and the Chronicler's depictions of the temple in Chronicles. A further question remains on whether the intra-Jewish reflection of the temple as realised template in pre-Chronistic works affected the Chronicler's hermeneutical situation.

4.2.2. The Temple as Realised Template in Pre-Chronistic Works

I choose Isa 6 (and 1Kgs 22:19-22) and Ezek 40-48 as pivotal texts in my exploration of the intra-Jewish recontextualisations of the two premises in the temple as realised template (i.e. the link between heaven and earth, and the global government of God) because they show a clear vision of the heavenly court and temple.[468] I shall also allude to some portions of the Psalter. The aim here is to explore briefly the ongoing theological reflections of the two premises in the pre-Chronistic texts that, through the historical continuum, affected the pre-understanding of the Chronicler.[469]

4.2.2.1. Isa 6:1-13 (and 1Kgs 22:19-22)

Isaiah's vision opens (6:1) with YHWH sitting on his throne that is "high and lofty" (רם ונשא). YHWH's robe filled "the temple" (ההיכל). The choice of ההיכל (6:1) instead of הבית (6:4) to denote the temple may strengthen the imagery of YHWH as a global king whose house is a palace.

In fact, YHWH did not live inside this palace, because he had a superhuman size symbolised by his lofty throne and robe (cf. 2Chr 2:5-6). 1Kgs 6:3, 5, 17, 33; 7:21, 50 and 2Chr 3:17; 4:7-8, 22 use ההיכל to denote Solomon's temple, and this probably suggests that ההיכל in Isa 6:1 refers to the Jerusalem temple. Hayward allows the possibility to interpret ההיכל as the heavenly temple and הבית in Isa 6:4 as the earthly temple.[470] This possibility can be confined by the observation that Solomon's temple was built with an understanding that YHWH was too big to be confined within a

[468] For their pre-Chronistic dating, see Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah*, 30–56; Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 1-24*, trans. R.E. Clements, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 9–16.

[469] Cf. Gadamer, *Truth*, 267–274.

[470] Robert Hayward, "The Chant of Seraphim and the Worship of the Second Temple," *PIBA* 20 (1997): 64–65.

temple (2Chr 2:5-6; 1Kgs 8:27). The imagery in Isa 6:1 generally echoes this, so that the building below YHWH's throne should be understood as the earthly temple in contrast with the enormity of YHWH's dwelling in the heavenly throne. The heavenly throne in Isa 6:1 was spatially atop the earthly temple, showing a vertical worldview of the temple in relation to the God-king figure.[471] This symbolised the core of the temple as realised template imagery.

Isa 6:2 depicts seraphs as YHWH's attendants flying above YHWH in heaven, a figure of angelic beings. Isa 6:3 gives the well-known Trisagion "Holy! Holy! Holy! YHWH of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory" (קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא כל־הארץ כבודו) chanted by the seraphs. This verse is theologically rich:

1. The Trisagion can be considered as an abbreviation of Ps 99, in which קדוש appears three times (Ps 99:3, 5, 9) as the structural device of the whole psalm.[472] The imagery in Ps 99 is fully compatible with shared ideas in Isa 6 such as "YHWH is king" (99:1a), "He sits enthroned" (99:1b), "let the earth quake" (99:1b; cf. Isa 6:4), "worship at his footstool" (99:5),[473] and "a forgiving God" (99:8; cf. Isa 6:7). The earthly worship envisaged in Ps 99 probably corresponds to the heavenly chanting of seraphim, because they both share the same imagery and the same Trisagion. In this way, the earthly worshippers imitated the seraphim (*imitatio angeli*).
2. It is intriguing that the chanting of seraphim shows a primary concern with the glory filling whole earth. The coherence between heaven and earth is probably the prime concern here because the content of seraphim's chanting shows that the

[471] Janowski, "Weltbild," 17, 20–21.
[472] Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 99; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, trans. Keith Crim (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 27, 41.
[473] ההיכל is below his throne (Isa 6:1). If ההיכל is the earthly temple, the exhortation in Ps 99:5 that invites worshiping at YHWH's footstool (i.e. below his throne) matches the earthly temple as a place of worship.

complete holiness in heaven represented by the Trisagion (Isa 6:3a) should match YHWH's glory on earth (Isa 6:3b).

3. A main task of seraphim was to praise YHWH. This angelic task can be traced in many allusions in the Psalter. The "sons of gods" (בני אלים) were to ascribe to YHWH's glory and strength (Ps 29:1). YHWH's angels, mighty ones, all his hosts, and all his works were to praise YHWH before his established throne in heaven (Ps 103:19-22). All YHWH's angels and his host, together with the whole world, were to praise YHWH (Ps 148). Ps 148 invites all peoples (Ps 148:11-12) and Israelites (Ps 148:14) to join angelic praise (Ps 148:2) and universal praise (Ps 148:3-10), in order to manifest YHWH's universal glory in heaven and earth (Ps 148:13).[474] This all-inclusive worship depicts "Israel's joining in the song of seraphim."[475] As the Israelites were invited to join the angelic praise in the holy temple, they would have been cautious about their state of purity, a prerequisite for true worship. For example, those who praise YHWH are called "his pious" (חסידיו) (Ps 30:5; 31:24) and "his holy ones" (קדשיו) (Ps 34:10). They worshipped in "the holy temple" (היכל־קדשך) (Ps 5:8). They had to maintain ritual and moral purity (Pss 15:2; 24:4) before they could worship "in the holy mountain" (בהר קדשך) (Ps 15:1) or "in his holy place" (במקום קדשו) (Ps 24:3). As such, the chanting of worshippers in the temple may have been understood as a part of angelic and global worship on earth and reflected in the Psalter and Isaiah.

Isa 6:4 mentions that the thresholds shook and the earthly temple was filled with smoke because of the voice of the one calling "out of one who calls" (מקול הקורא) (i.e.

[474] Cf. Kraus, *Theology*, 48–49.
[475] Hayward, "Seraphim," 80.

seraphim). One reading of מן here is causative,[476] meaning that the voice of seraphim caused (or invoked) YHWH's presence as it did in the theophany in Mount Sinai. If this is the case, the earthly chanting, as a part of angelic praise, may be being described as causing YHWH's presence in the temple (cf. 2Chr 5:12-14). Again, the earthly temple was probably perceived as the meeting place of heaven and earth and as an analogy for the heavenly temple, the global headquarters governing the world.[477]

While Isa 6:1-13 probably expresses the main premises in the temple as as realised template, 1Kgs 22:19-22 (//2Chr 18:18-21) only alludes to a general connection between heaven and earth without the temple context. "YHWH sitting on his throne" (1Kgs 22:19) pictures YHWH as a king with royal symbols, such as a throne and attendants, that resembles those in Isaiah's vision. The contrast between "sitting" (ישב) and "standing" (עמד) highlights the role of the host as one of waiting upon the one who sat, while the seraphim in Isaiah's vision were in motion. YHWH then asked who will carry out his commission (1Kgs 22:20), and "the spirit" (הרוח) responded by suggesting that he became "a spirit of deception" (רוח שקר) in the mouth of prophets to entice Ahab (1Kgs 22:22b//2Chr 18:21). As such, "the spirit" had personal qualities;[478] he could speak and offer opinions and even convert himself into a lying spirit.

Two observations should be made here. First, the symbolism used to describe the heavenly and earthly courts is basically the same, and the traffic between the two realms relied on the mediation of heavenly הרוח. This shows earthly affairs being governed by the heavenly court. Second, Micaiah did not involve himself within the heavenly court as one of the agents, unlike Isaiah. Since the Chronicler reproduces this episode almost *verbatim* and thereby suggesting that he has a high regard for this

[476] GKC §119z.
[477] Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 123.
[478] "רוח," *TDOT*, XIII:390.

narrative, he therefore demonstrates his concern for the connection between heaven and earth and the traffic between them. Although 1Kgs 22:19-22 does not actually invoke the temple as realised template, it depicts the relationship between heaven and earth in a way that would have affected the Chronicler's hermeneutical situation.[479]

4.2.2.2. Ezek 40-48

Ezek 40-48 depicts the temple in Ezekiel's vision, and these verses are important to our discussion, because this description of the temple encapsulates most of the main ideas associated with the temple as realised template.

First, the vision is described as beginning "upon a very high mountain" (אל־הר גבה מאד) (Ezek 40:2). The imagery of the highest mountain also appears in Isa 2:2, where YHWH's temple was established on it in Jerusalem (Isa 2:1). Another similarity appears in Ezek 34:14, in which YHWH is said to feed his sheep "on the mountain heights of Israel" (בהרי מרום־ישראל). The plural "mountains" in MT does not allow its meaning to be confined to Jerusalem, but a reading of Jerusalem as the type of all Israel is warranted in Ezekiel.[480] Ezek 40:2 clearly refers to Jerusalem, and the imagery in Isa 2:1-4 and Ezek 34:14 show that God gathered up his people (sheep) into a unified worship upon Mount Zion, where the temple held the liturgical services in connection with God in heaven. The idea of "going up" (to the mountain) in Isa 2:3 denotes a mass pilgrimage, symbolising a spiritual journey on God's path (Ps 15:1-2; 24:3-6; 43:3-4; 122:3-5). Many psalms describe Mount Zion as YHWH's dwelling place, where worshippers had to come.[481] The idea of "mountain" thus symbolises the meeting place between God and all Israel and between heaven and earth.

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[479] For a form-critical tradition-history of 1Kgs 22:19-22 and Isa 6:1-13, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 97–100.

[480] Jon D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48*, HSM 10 (Cambridge, Mass: Scholars Press, 1976), 8–9.

[481] Kraus, *Theology*, 73–74.

Second, the concept of a world mountain is connected with the notion of "the navel of the earth" (טבור הארץ) (Judg 9:37; Ezek 38:12), representing an ANE belief that the cultic place was the centre of the world or that "[t]he temple or sacred city, in turn, as the place through which the Axis Mundi passes, is held to be a point of junction between heaven, earth, and hell."[482] It also resembles the "world mountain" ideology in the Esagila temple of Marduk (Section 2.4.2).

Ezek 5:5 makes clear that Jerusalem was the centre of the nations, with other countries surrounding it. Israel's tribal allocation of land in Ezek 48:8-22 could have been structured according to the concept of טבור הארץ, in which an equal number of tribes were located in the north and south of the central sanctuary respectively, with Levites and priests as the mediating position between sanctuary and people.[483] Similar concepts appear in the city of Babylon, which identified itself as the centre of the whole world (Section 2.4.2).

Following an analysis of the genealogical portion (1Chr 1-9) and the Assyrian campaign during Hezekiah's time (2Chr 32:19),[484] Beentjes concludes that Chronicles presents the temple of Jerusalem as "the very centre of all kingdoms of the earth".[485] Dyck explores the Chronicler's ideology of identity in relation to the legitimacy of Jerusalem[486] and affirms that "[t]he Chronicler is asking his audience to imagine Jerusalem as the centre of a nation."[487] These provide a strong argument that the Chronicler sees Jerusalem as the centre of the earth. Such thinking can also be found in 2Chr 36:22-23, which probably depicts a gradual concentric orientation from "the kingdoms of the earth" to "Judah" to "Jerusalem" and finally to "the temple" (cf.

[482] Eliade, *Patterns*, 375.
[483] Levenson, *Ezekiel 40-48*, 117–121.
[484] Beentjes, *Tradition*, 115–127.
[485] Ibid., 125.
[486] Dyck, *Theocratic*, 127–164.
[487] Ibid., 162.

Section 4.2.1.1). Therefore, all Israel should have gathered at this centre as the rightful place of worship, in order to worship for the government of the whole world.

Third, Ezekiel 43:7 depicts the visionary temple as "the place of my throne" (מקום כסאי). The concept of a divine throne appears in Isa 6:1 as a static throne, but Ezek 10 depicts the mobile chariot-throne of cherubim as YHWH's throne (Ezek 10:1, 19; cf. Ps 18:11). The spirit in the movement of the wheels may not be described for the sake of their navigating power but for their animating ability.[488] This notion of mobility (symbolised by wheels) was probably influenced by the Jewish experience of in exile, in which they experienced the presence of YHWH in Babylon (Ezek 11:16) and learned of his global mobility as a global, imperial God – a concept similar to that of the Marduk cult in Babylon.[489] The Chronicler reframes the chariot-throne as an integral part of the divine template (1Chr 28:18) and shows a clear respect for this tradition.

Finally, Ezek 47 pictures the temple as the source of life, using themes of river, water, and plantation. The idea of sacred streams may stem from Isa 8:6-7; 33:20-24 and the Canaanite river in El's abode, being recontextualised in Ezek 47:9 as a source of healing and life (cf. Zech 14:8-11; Joel 2:3; 4:18-21).[490] This imagery also comes from the Garden of Eden;[491] some traditions view the holy mountain as Eden (Ezek

[488] James Robson, *Word and Spirit in Ezekiel* (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 88–90.

[489] The concept of divine absence in Marduk's sanctuary reflected in the poem of Erra resembles the depictions in Ezek 8-11: Daniel Bodi, *The Book of Ezekiel and the Poem of Erra* (Freiburg, Schweiz; Göttingen: Universitätsverlag ; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 183–218. Ezek 40-48 shows a parallel with the Babylonian New Year *Akitû*-festival: Kalinda Rose Stevenson, *The Vision of Transformation: The Territorial Rhetoric of Ezekiel 40-48* (Atlanta: SBL, 1996), 52–53.

[490] Levenson, *Ezekiel 40-48*, 11–12.

[491] Gordon J. Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," in *I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11*, ed. Richard S. Hess and David Toshio Tsumura (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 399–404. For the "temple garden" in the cultural setting of Babylonia, see Manfried Dietrich, "Das biblische Paradies und der babylonische Tempelgarten: Überlegungen zur Lage des Gartens Eden," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 281–320.

28:13-14; 36:35; Isa 51:1-3).[492] The pillars Jachin and Boaz within the temple (1Kgs 7:15-22, 41-42) would have symbolised divine power and blessing in Eden.[493] The garden imagery should also be detected in the cherubim inside the Holy of Holies (Ezek 41:18-20), symbolising the guarding power over the garden (Gen 3:24). We thus find a network of symbols surrounding the temple and mirroring the creation of the world and the source of life (Gen 1).[494]

4.2.3. Summary

To conclude, the two premises (i.e. the link between heaven and earth and the divine governance of the world) in the temple as realised template should be considered as the intra-Jewish traditions that affected the pre-understanding of the Chronicler in his reinterpretation of these traditions.

First, the cultural milieu of the citizen-temple community fostered the embodiment of the two premises. This was enriched by the wider Mesopotamian temple ideologies, in the scribal context of the Chronicler with a transcendent awareness of YHWH as the global, imperial God. The belief in YHWH's transcendence is evidenced by the generic term "God of heaven" being used by the Persian ruling class to identify him. These cultural elements shaped the pre-understanding of the citizen-temple community, including that of the Chronicler.

Second, the Chronicler's choice of language reveals the two premises that prevailed in the temple context, conveying YHWH as the ultimate governor of the whole world, especially at the close of Chronicles in 2Chr 36:23.

Third, the ongoing intra-Jewish recontextualisations of the two premises involve

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[492] Fishbane, *Text and Texture*, 111–120.

[493] Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "'Who Is the King of Glory?' Solomon's temple and Its Symbolism," in *Scripture and Other Artifacts* (Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox Pr, 1994), 18–26.

[494] Susan Niditch, "Ezekiel 40-48 in a Visionary Context," *CBQ* 48 (1986): 208–224.

a cluster of notions symbolising the temple as the meeting place between heaven and earth, as the place for fostering worldwide stability, as the navel of the earth, and as the source of life. The divine throne in heaven was directly atop the earthly temple, so that the angelic beings surrounding this throne acted as mediators in exercising the divine government of the whole world. We know that this stream of traditions is persistent and dominant in the HB and in the Mesopotamian temple ideologies as well as in the mind of the Chronicler. From this, we can explain the availability of the theological richness of the two premises in pre-Chronistic Israelite traditions for the use in the Chronicler's intra-Jewish reinterpretation and the socio-ideological motivation for incorporating the premises. The Mesopotamian scholar-singer context probably played a significant role in the experience of the exile and the Chronicler's reflection on it probably reinforced a choice of ideas surrounding the temple as realised template, that is already latent in texts like Isa 6, Ezek 40-48, and the Psalter, to serve the theological, social, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community.

4.3. The Temple in Chronicles

Although I have argued that the narrative emplotment of Chronicles orientates towards its closure (2Chr 36:22-23), which probably involves the temple as realised template, more exegetical work needs to be done to verify this orientation in the Chronicler's depiction of the temple. This section thus examines the Chronicler's use of the ideas surrounding the temple as realised template (1Chr 21:1-22:1; 28:11-19; 2Chr 3:1-5:1).

As I shall show, the Chronicler introduces elements, such as angelic beings, a heavenly template, and temple symbolism, to convey his theological conviction that the Jerusalem temple represented the earthly counterpart of the heavenly temple, governing the order of the whole world. I shall examine the details of how the Chronicler expresses his theological conviction by using specific expressions.

4.3.1. The Temple as the Place in which Wrath was Averted: 1Chr 21:1-22:1

In 1Chr 21:1-22:1, the Chronicler designates the temple as the place where wrath and instability could be averted. He recontextualises the story of David's census in 2Sam 24 and reformulates it in order to designate the place (מקום) for the building of YHWH's temple and to establish a link between averting wrath (קצף) and the function of the temple (cf. 1Chr 27:24; 2Chr 3:1). These two programmatic functions formulate the literary context of 1Chr21:1-22:1. In what follows, I attempt to uncover some of the ideas introduced by the Chronicler in his recontextualisation of David's census.

First, the enigmatic term שטן in 21:1 deserves examination. We have to decide whether it is a proper name,[495] or not,[496] and whether it refers to a heavenly[497] or earthly adversary.[498] This anarthrous שטן can be read as a proper noun,[499] or an indefinite being.[500] It is thus syntactically indeterminable. The proper name "Satan" as YHWH's adversary had not appeared by the Chronicler's time – the earliest evidence for it points to, at most, the second century BCE.[501] We also cannot find any dualism in Chronicles to indicate Satan as the source of evil. Understanding שטן as the proper name "Satan" is likely to be anachronistic from a traditio-historical viewpoint.

The choosing of the verbs עמד and סות (1Chr 21:1) points to Job 2:3 and Zech 3:1, in which השטן "incited" (סות) Job among "the sons of God" (בני האלהים) in the heavenly court (Job 2:1) and also "stood" (עמד) beside the high priest Joshua to be his

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[495] William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, vol. 1, JSOTSS 253 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1997), 225; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 418; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 143.
[496] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 373–375; Peggy Lynne Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: Śaṭan in the Hebrew Bible*, HSM 43 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 127–142.
[497] Day, *Adversary*, 142–144; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 418.
[498] John W. Wright, "The Innocence of David in 1 Chronicles 21," *JSOT* 60 (1993): 93; Japhet, *Ideology*, 114–116.
[499] GKC §125f.
[500] GKC §126i.
[501] Day, *Adversary*, 128–129.

adversary (לשטנו).[502] Both indicate that השטן was a specific angelic being in the heavenly court. Since the idea of the heavenly court is not alien to the Chronicler (2Chr 18), שטן in 21:1 is likely to refer to a heavenly being.[503] 21:1 states that שטן incited David to number Israel, while 2Sam 24:1 depicts the agent as YHWH. Some might speculate that the Chronicler intends to whitewash YHWH according to his ideology,[504] but it is uncertain whether he has such an overarching ideology or not (e.g. 2Chr 18:18-22; 10:15).[505] Rather, it seems that the Chronicler feels free to depict שטן as a member of the heavenly court. I thus believe that שטן here designates a heavenly agent under YHWH's rule, playing a role in choosing the temple site.

Another idea can be found in the angelological personification of the pestilence, compared with the parallel narrative in 2 Samuel. Metaphorical language is introduced in 21:12 to designate "pestilence" (דבר) as "the sword of YHWH" (חרב יהוה) and "the angel of YHWH destroying all the territory of Israel" (מלאך יהוה משחית בכל־גבול ישראל). This replaces "three days' pestilence in your land" in 2Sam 24:13.[506]

Although the pestilence as a destroying angel has been already represented in 2Sam 24:16-17, the pestilence as "the sword" is the Chronicler's new metaphorical referent. The word "sword" is repeated in 21:5 (x2), 12 (x2), 16, 27, 30 as the dominant word, and it has affinity with Josh 5:13-15, describing whether Joshua and his army were really acting with the commander of YHWH's army or not.[507] Ps 149 also orders "the assembly of the faithful" (v.1) and "the children of Zion" (v.2) to praise YHWH with "two-edged swords in their hands" (חרב פיפיות בידם) (v.6). "The

[502] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 143.
[503] Ryan E. Stokes, "The Devil Made David Do It ... Or Did He? The Nature, Identity, and Literary Origins of the Satan in 1 Chronicles 21:1," *JBL* 128 (2009): 91–106.
[504] E.g., Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 751.
[505] Day, *Adversary*, 135.
[506] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 381.
[507] Rudolf Mosis, *Untersuchungen Zur Theologie Des Chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*, FTS 92 (Freiburg: Herder, 1973), 115–116.

praise is accompanied by brandishing swords" in order to "carry out the judgment of Yahweh."[508] Both associations use military language to show that the earthly army of Israel worked in synchronisation with YHWH's heavenly host to carry out his judgment. However, David might not have seen this synchronisation as necessary, so the pestilence is described as happening as a punishment for this. The Chronicler thus reformulates the pestilence as a threat personified metaphorically as "the sword of YHWH's angel", to correct David's negligence.

The personification of the pestilence sharpens the angelic mediating role, symbolised by "the angel of YHWH standing between the earth and heaven and his drawn sword in his hand" (מלאך יהוה עמד בין הארץ ובין השמים וחרבו שלופה בידו) (21:16). Scholars have agreed that this phrase already exists in the Chronicler's Samuel-*Vorlage* close to 4QSam[a].[509] However, even if this phrase already occurs in his *Vorlage*, it does not mean that the Chronicler simply copied without thinking whether the phrase would serve his purpose or not. Rather, if we believe that his work is an intelligible whole, the adoption of this phrase could give an important clue about his angelology. This is further evidenced by the massive reworking of the angelic element in 21:12, 20, 27, and by the insertion of an interpreting angel (cf. Ezek 40:3) as a prophetic intermediary between YHWH and Gad the seer, commanding the erecting of an altar at the threshing floor of Ornan in 21:18 (cf. Ezek 8:3).[510] The Chronicler thus probably accepts the prophetic, mediating function of angelic beings; his angelology is typical of his time, though we should not understand it as having been systematically developed.

Another important idea is the Chronicler's addition of למה יהיה לאשמה לישראל in

[508] Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60-150: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 567.
[509] Lemke, "Synoptic Problem," 355–357; Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, HSM 19 (Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1978), 156–157; P.B. Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters Press, 2005), 260; McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 55–58; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 381.
[510] Schniedewind, *Transition*, 65–66, 140–142.

Joab's complaint (21:3). The choice of "retribution"[511] (אשמה) points to Lev 5:24-26, in which אשמה is to be handled carefully with an appropriate atonement. Johnstone gives a convincing argument that David's problem was his violation of performing a ransom (כפר) before he numbered the people for a military purpose (Exod 30:11-16)[512] and remarks that "military service is only legitimate within the context of fighting the LORD's battle as the LORD's host."[513] He also offers his interpretation as contributing to our understanding of David's role:

> The destiny of Israel is to realize on behalf of the nations of the world that relationship with God requires a life of holiness as defined in the Torah. C is dealing with the question of how far the monarchy at its most ideal – the sacramental Jerusalemite tradition whereby David as the representative of God on earth leads the host of Israel which is the earthly counterpart of the cosmic forces at the LORD's disposal for the direction of the life of the universe – enables Israel's attainment of that holiness.[514]

Since holiness is the very nature of YHWH, if Israel was to be considered as a "holy nation" (Exod 19:6) and a "people holy to YHWH" (Deut 14:21), David, as the earthly representative of Israel, should have ensured that Israel was holy to YHWH. אשמה was thus seen as a threat to this holiness and had to be cautiously handled by atonement in order to foster the coherence between heavenly and earthly holiness. Ezra 9:6 says, "Our guilt has multiplied toward the *heaven*" (ואשמתנו גדלה עד לשמים). אשמה arose due to their inability to keep pure in the "unclean *earth*" (ארץ נדה) (Ezra 9:11) due to intermarriage. This also shows the heaven-and-earth dimension of אשמה.

Milgrom argues that אשמה should be understood as the consequence of guilt in a cultic context, as designating the punishment due to wrongdoing. The consequential

[511] I follow Milgrom and Klein using "retribution" to denote the consequential אשמה in 21:3: Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 341; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 420.

[512] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:228–229; William Johnstone, *Chronicles and Exodus: An Analogy and Its Application*, JSOTSS 275 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1998), 128–140. The military purpose of David's census is more clearly illustrated by the phrase שלף חרב in 1Chr 21:5 than in 2Sam 24:9.

[513] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:228.

[514] Ibid., 1:224.

sense of אשמה leads to the need to seek reconciliation with YHWH by reparation.[515] The Chronicler probably applies the concept of אשמה by emphasising its consequential aspect in 21:14, where it led to unity in the community (reconciliation) in 21:16b.[516] David's confession on behalf of the whole community (21:17) was important because it probably follows the priestly traditions in which repentance through confession is believed to convert an intentional sin into inadvertence that was eligible for sacrificial reparation.[517] Thus the Chronicler puts David's confession before the reparation, which demanded the purchase of the site "at full cost" (בכסף מלא) (21:22, 24).[518] The cost, 600 shekels of gold (21:25),[519] was used for atoning אשמה according to Exod 30:12-14, in which it was a "ransom for their lives to YHWH" (כפר נפשו ליהוה).[520] The Chronicler skilfully inserts this full cost for the reparation of אשמה on the one hand and for purchasing the temple site on the other. It was intended to buy the "place" (מקום)[521] (21:25) instead of just "the threshing floor and the oxen" (2Sam 24:24): the scene is similar to Abraham's purchase of a burial cave in Gen 23:8-20.[522] Therefore, we see a cluster of ideas (retribution, reparation, and holiness) put to work in designating the function of the temple for removing אשמה and keeping holy coherence between heaven and earth.

Finally, the most prominent idea can be found in 21:26b, in which the Chronicler

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[515] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 345; Jacob Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience: The Asham and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance*, SJLA 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 4–12.

[516] Kenneth A. Ristau, "Breaking Down Unity: An Analysis of 1 Chronicles 21.1-22.1," *JSOT* 30 (2005): 218–220.

[517] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 373–378.

[518] 2Sam 24:21 lacks this phrase.

[519] 2Sam 24:24 reads "50 shekels of silver."

[520] John Jarick, *1 Chronicles*, RNBC (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 135. Cf. Jacob Milgrom, "A Prolegomenon to Leviticus 17:11," *JBL* 90 (1971): 151. "Ransom" כפר can be expanded to the meaning of "compository payment" that aims at settling the imbalance between two parties and restores equilibrium: Herbert Chanan Brichto, "On Slaughter and Sacrifice, Blood and Atonement," *HUCA* 47 (1976): 27–28.

[521] מקום refers to the religious site that the ark of YHWH should find rest (1Chr 28:2). Cf. 1Chr 15:1-3; 16:27; 2Chr 6:40.

[522] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 387.

adds, “He [David] called upon the LORD, and he answered him with fire from the heaven upon the altar of burnt-offering” (ויקרא אל־יהוה ויענהו באש מן־השמים על מזבח התעלה). In 21:25, reparation was fulfilled by paying the full cost. This cleaned up אשמה. Why did אשמה have to be removed before David built the altar? One possible answer is in the priestly traditions that ritual purity “is the prerequisite for the performance of sacrificial ritual.”[523] Maintaining a properly purified sacrificial rite was believed somehow to attract the divine presence, but great guilt was seen as producing ritual and moral defilement that repelled the divine presence. The Chronicler shows that he is a follower of the priestly traditions by placing the need for purity before the burnt-offering in 21:26.

Many commentators have noticed the fire as signalling the divine acceptance attested in Lev 9:24; 1Kgs 18:37-38; 2Chr 7:1. I shall explore the symbolism of the fire and burnt-offering in Section 7.1.3. As for 21:26, the Chronicler puts the fire and burnt-offering together: descending fire symbolising the divine presence and ascending smoke symbolising human response, emphasising the traffic between heaven and earth. He also puts the descending fire and the burnt-offering before the ending of the divine wrath in 21:27 and before the confirmation of the temple site in 22:1 in order to convey that the earthly temple was the appointed place for maintaining a properly conducted sacrificial service for the purpose of averting wrath.

Although we cannot see a full articulation of the temple as realised template in 1Chr 21:1-22:1, because the temple had not yet been built and the template had not yet been inspired, it unambiguously prepared for the foundation of the temple as the place where heaven and earth communicate.

[523] Klawans, *Purity*, 56.

4.3.2. The Temple as the Place Built from a Divine Template: 1Chr 28:11-19

1Chr 28:11-19 describes David as receiving a divinely inspired template (תבנית) for building YHWH's temple. The word תבנית appears four times (vv.11, 12, 18, 19), and becomes an *inclusio* of the whole episode. This highlights the content in between as the details of the תבנית. Furthermore, although תבנית only appears four times in Chronicles, its occurrence in the strategic location of 1Chr 28 would have given a literary expectation that this תבנית directs our basic understanding of the Jerusalem temple, because 1Chr 28 belongs to one of the important portions for describing the preparation of the temple (1Chr 21-29). De Vries even thinks that 1Chr 23-27 belongs to the content of תבנית as well.[524] Therefore, when I use the temple as realised template to conceptualise the Chronicler's temple ideology, I am invoking the Chronicler's core understanding of the temple, which was built according to תבנית.

As we have seen (Section 2.4.2), the Marduk sanctuary was seen as the counterpart of the three layers of heavenly residences of gods, acting as the vertical connection in the centre of the world symbolised by the ziggurat, Etemenanki. Gudea of Lagash also received a heavenly template for building the temple of Ningirsu. It seems that the idea of an inspired template for legitimising the authenticity of an earthly sanctuary, as an analogous realisation of the heavenly one, had been prevalent in Mesopotamian and Israelite cultures. It is more likely, however, that the Chronicler performs a typological transfer from the tabernacle tradition of תבנית (Exod 25:9, 40) to the Davidic temple (David as the second Moses) in order to emphasise the continuity between the tabernacle and the temple,[525] rather than directly borrowing תבנית from Mesopotamian literature. Nevertheless, his reinterpretation of Israelite

[524] Simon J. De Vries, "Moses and David as Cult Founders in Chronicles," *JBL* 107 (1988): 630–631.
[525] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 931; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 524.

traditions may have been influenced by Mesopotamian temple ideologies that also invoked the idea of a divine template. As such, the tabernacle tradition of תבנית was reaffirmed in the Chronicler's reinterpretation to suit the social, political, and theological agendas of the citizen-temple community. This designation points metaphorically to the shared idea of a template, which widely prevailed in Babylonian-Persian culture, so that the primary readership could refigure its meaning and sense the Chronicler's intention to identify the Jerusalem temple as comparable to surrounding temples.

Three plans for sanctuaries are to be found outside of Chronicles: (1) the tabernacle in Exod 25, in which תבנית occurs three times (Exod 25:9, 40); (2) Solomon's temple in 1Kgs 6-7; and (3) Ezekiel's visionary temple in Ezek 40-48, in which Ezek 43:10-12 describes how a heavenly being revealed a "measurement" (תכנית) for the visionary temple. The Chronicler supplements 1Kgs 6-7 with 1Chr 28:11-19 in order to elucidate that the temple was patterned after a divine template (תבנית). He also employs the literary framework of Exod 25:8-40, in which תבנית also acts as an *inclusio* (Exod 25:9, 40), and he fills the literary content with traditions from Ezekiel such as the chariot and the golden cherubim in 28:18. We thus see an example of how the Chronicler configures his own presentation with different traditions from pre-Chronistic traditions.

Though the theme of this episode is very clear, the Hebrew text is very difficult. We encounter at least four problems: (1) whether רוח (28:12) refers to David's mind,[526] or the inspiring spirit of God;[527] (2) whether זהב (28:18) modifies template, chariot, or cherubim;[528] (3) whether the subject of השכיל (28:19) is YHWH,[529]

[526] R.N. Whybray, *The Heavenly Counsellor in Isaiah Xl 13-14: A Study of the Sources of the Theology of Deutero-Isaiah*, SOTSMS 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1971), 11–12; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 525; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 182.

[527] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 931; Schniedewind, *Transition*, 202–203.

[528] Rudolph concretises the template as "das Gebilde des Wagens" for "gold" to modify: Wilhelm

writing,[530] or David;[531] and (4) whether we should read, "YHWH's hand was upon me" (עלי) (MT) or "upon him" (עליו) (G) in 28:19, and what the relationship between this clause and the whole sentence is.[532] These four questions should be handled before we can understand the meaning of תבנית.

First, רוח in Chronicles can refer to the human mind (2Chr 21:16; 36:22)[533] and to the inspiring spirit of God (2Chr 15:1; 18:20-23; 20:14; 24:20). Knoppers argues that the Chronicler could have used another phrase (עם־לבבי in 1Chr 22:7; 28:2; 2Chr 6:7; 29:10) to denote David's mind, if he had wished to do so.[534] Furthermore, 28:19 clearly states that the תבנית was divinely inspired. It is thus not difficult to read רוח in 28:12 as an inspiring spirit, if the concluding statement in 28:19 affirms the "inspired" dimension of תבנית.[535] This also matches the Chronicler's normal practice of describing prophetic inspiration by means of an inspiring spirit (2Chr 15:1; 18:20-23; 20:14; 24:20). In 28:12, רוח is preceded by a definite article, and we can reasonably associate it with "the spirit" (הרוח) in 2Chr 18:20-23. Given that the Chronicler prefers the mediating role of an angel in 1Chr 21:16, 18, it is reasonable that רוח in 28:12 refers to an inspiring angelic spirit. But we also need to allow a possibility that the Chronicler prefers Ezekiel's רוח, which is occasionally conceived as an animating spirit from God instead of a heavenly being.[536] The Chronicler's use of רוח here

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Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, HAT 21 (Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1955), 188. Dirksen excludes "cherubim" as a possibility as it was made from "oleaster wood": P.B. Dirksen, "1 Chronicles XXVIII 11-18: Its Textual Development," *VT* 46 (1996): 431. But Klein disagrees because the cherubim were overlaid with gold (2Chr 3:10) and made of gold (Exod 25:18): Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 526–527 n.74.

529 Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 300.

530 Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 341–342.

531 Braun relies on G (reads ἔδωκεν Δαυιδ Σαλόμων) to suggest David as the subject: Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 267.

532 Klein follows G and interprets מיד יהוה עלי as "since YHWH's hand was upon him", and makes it not as David's direct speech: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 516. Knoppers retains "upon me" and makes 28:19 as David's direct speech. He further argues that עלי does not go with השכיל: Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 923.

533 Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 525 n.66.

534 Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 931.

535 Schniedewind, *Transition*, 202–203.

536 Robson, *Word*, 88–90.

seems imprecise and it is hard to make a single choice. However, both readings support the mediating role of celestial forces emanating from YHWH. Therefore, רוח in 28:12 indicates that תבנית was a heavenly template inspired by YHWH through the mediation of הרוח.

Second, the ideas of "template" (תבנית) and "chariot" (מרכבה) in 28:18 are more conceptual than physical. תבנית deals more with a *general* plan than with measurable elements such as "measurement" (תכנית) in Ezek 43:10-12 (cf. Section 1.1). מרכבה comes from Ezekiel's chariot throne of YHWH in Ezek 10. The Chronicler probably knows the tradition of the chariot-throne and its significance for the exile and understands it as a concept rather than as a concrete entity, because he uses the conceptual תבנית in construct state to modify המרכבה. Therefore, תבנית and מרכבה should not be good candidates for "gold" (זהב) to modify because of their conceptual (or abstract) nature. "Cherubim" should be the appropriate candidate,[537] because we find in 2Chr 3:10 (and in 1Kgs 6:28) that this object was overlaid with gold. "Cherubim" should be in apposition to מרכבה. זהב should be the attribute accusative of determination of "cherubim".[538] Since זהב was the purest element in the temple, the תבנית of the chariot-throne should be the most sacred part, symbolising YHWH's enthronement (or presence) in the heavenly court. Again, the Chronicler fuses different traditions (Ezekiel's chariot-throne, cherubim spreading their wings, the ark of YHWH in Exod 25:19-20 with YHWH "enthroned in cherubim") together in one verse to express his high concern for the divine presence in the earthly temple as in the heavenly court. These traditional elements should not be understood as measurable entities, but rather as general categories, which were to be realised on the earth.

Finally, the problems of (3) and (4) should be handled together. Textually

[537] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 526–527.
[538] JM §127c.

speaking, the reading of עלי in MT (28:19) is to be preferred over עליו in the G, because all other witnesses support MT. Then, 28:19 should be David's direct speech. The expression "YHWH's hand upon me" is a stereotypical formula in Ezek 1:3; 8:1; 40:1, beginning his threefold vision of God. We can reasonably think that the Chronicler may have used this idiomatic expression to express the significance of the heavenly template, in a manner similar to that in Ezekiel's vision of God. The preposition מן in מיד יהוה should be read as causative "since",[539] so that the phrase "since YHWH's hand was upon me" becomes a dependent clause, attaching the main clause with the main verb השכיל. Then the subject of השכיל is "writing" (כתב), and thus the translation is "all this in the writing, since YHWH's hand was upon me, *which* made clear all the works of the template" (הכל בכתב מיד יהוה עלי השכיל כל מלאכות התבנית).

Knoppers provides an interesting reading of השכיל, denoting a Levitical practice of interpretation (or translation) so that people could make sense out of the written *Torah* (Neh 8:8).[540] One role of the Levites in the Persian period was believed to "increase discretion" (השכיל) of the Jewish people by interpreting the *Torah*. In 28:19, the heavenly template is the object of השכיל. In a manner of speaking, it is comparable to the written *Torah*:[541] it required interpretation (offered by הרוח?) before David could understand it.

Therefore, the temple was believed to have arisen from a divinely inspired template that was to be faithfully realised by Solomon, constructing the earthly temple in synchronisation with the heavenly realm.[542] The Chronicler employs various

[539] GKC §119z. Reading מן as "from" would spoil the integrity of the idiomatic expression, because "from YHWH's hand" would then attach itself to "writing", and "upon me" is separated from that word.

[540] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 935.

[541] "The Authorisation Formula" in relation to David's authority only occurs in 1Chr 28:19, because of the reference to David's "writing": De Vries, "Moses and David," 626. David's "writing" thus holds almost the same authority as the law of Moses in cultic matters. Cf. Riley, *King and Cultus*, 63, 82.

[542] Riley, *King and Cultus*, 83–87.

traditions for this distinctive presentation, in which the chariot-throne of the cherubim occupies the centre as a symbol of the divine presence on earth as in heaven. Within his presentation, the mediating roles of an inspiring spirit and revelatory writing become prominent. We thus see how the Chronicler configures his presentation of the earthly temple with numerous ideas contained in the concept of the temple as realised template in order to upgrade the primacy of the temple.

4.3.3. The Temple as the Place Reaching the Heaven: 2Chr 3:1-5:1

2Chr 3:1-5:1 offers a distinctive description of the temple structure and furniture. First, the Chronicler makes great efforts to fuse difficult lines of tradition at the opening of the episode (3:1). We can sense at least three themes: (1) "in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah" (בירושלם בהר המוריה), (2) "where he [YHWH] appeared to David" (אשר נראה לדויד), and (3) "on the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite" (בגרן ארנן היבוסי).

Themes (1) and (2) direct us to the place where Abraham experienced a test to bind Isaac (Gen 22:2), but God provided a lamb for burnt-offering instead of Isaac, and Abraham named "the place" (המקום) as "YHWH will see/provide" (יהוה יראה) "at the mountain of YHWH" (בהר יהוה) (Gen 22:14). Moberly argues that בהר יהוה is an important clue for designating Moriah as Jerusalem, where YHWH could be seen.[543] This also matches a prominent understanding of Jerusalem as the place of burnt-offering, which "is symbolic of Abraham's self-sacrifice as a person who unreservedly fears God."[544] The Chronicler skilfully transfers these ideas into the opening of Solomon's temple by designating the temple site, where David also saw YHWH (1Chr 21:16; cf. Gen 22:14)[545] and performed authentic burnt-offerings in

[543] R.W.L. Moberly, *The Bible, Theology, and Faith: A Study of Abraham and Jesus* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), 110–112. Cf. Williamson, *Chronicles*, 204.
[544] Moberly, *The Bible*, 118.
[545] David actually saw YHWH's angel in 1Chr 21:16. The difference between "seeing YHWH" and "seeing YHWH's angel" is minimal if we accept that מלאך is an "extension" of YHWH's personality:

continuity with Abraham (1Chr 21:26; cf. Gen 22:13). Theme (3) makes clear that this temple site was on the threshing floor of Ornan (1Chr 21:18), the place where David saw YHWH's angel (1Chr 21:16) and claimed the site as YHWH's temple for regular burnt-offering (1Chr 22:1). As Williamson writes, the Chronicler

> [L]ink[s] these three episodes [i.e. Gen 22; 1Chr 21; 2Chr 3] together in such a way as to emphasize the continuity of worship at this site and so indirectly to link the temple of his own day with some of the major religious leaders of Israel's past.[546]

We thus see a cluster of topographical references that point toward the divine-human encounters of David and Abraham being used to designate the temple site as the place of burnt-offering and the vision of YHWH.[547]

Why should the temple be built on a mountain? One reasonable answer is that the mountain had a symbolic significance as the meeting place between heaven and earth, as attested in Mesopotamian temple ideologies and Israelite traditions (cf. Sections 2.4.2, 3.1.3, and 4.2.2.2). Jarick notices that Kings does not "explicitly state that the temple is on any hill at all",[548] while Chronicles does. This marked difference discloses a special interest in a mountain as the temple site in Chronicles (there is also the explicit reference in 2Chr 33:15). The prevailing concept of a "world mountain" in Mesopotamia would provide insights into the Chronicler's intra-Jewish reinterpretation of Israelite traditions, in which "mountain" was reaffirmed in the Chronicler's configuration. His depiction of mountain imagery should not be conceived as an unimportant gloss but as a symbolically powerful designation of the temple as the place reaching the heavens, the place where YHWH was seen, and the place of burnt-offering.

Aubrey Rodway Johnson, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1961), 30–33.

[546] Williamson, "Temple," 156.

[547] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:316–317.

[548] John Jarick, *2 Chronicles*, RNBC (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), 17.

Another symbolic marker is the tower-like porch, 120 cubits high (3:4):

וְהָאוּלָם אֲשֶׁר֙ עַל־פְּנֵ֣י הָאֹ֔רֶךְ עַל־פְּנֵ֖י רֹ֣חַב־הַבַּ֑יִת אַמּ֥וֹת עֶשְׂרִ֖ים וְהַגֹּ֣בַהּ מֵאָ֑ה וְעֶשְׂרִ֔ים וַיְצַפֵּ֥הוּ מִפְּנִ֖ימָה זָהָ֥ב טָהֽוֹר׃

The porch, which was before the length[549] and before the width of the temple, was twenty cubits, and the height was one hundred and twenty.[550] He overlaid it from inside with pure gold.

Almost all commentators think that it is impossible for the first or second temple to have been such a tall building, and many of them resort to explaining this as a textual corruption.[551] Textually speaking, only minor witnesses come against MT (see footnote 550). MT is undoubtedly to be preferred. The reason for the commentators to see the tower-like structure as unlikely seems to be more an issue of the huge discrepancy with the height indicated in 1Kgs 6:2 (30 cubits). Though the tower-like structure might be impossible *physically*, it may not be entirely impossible *symbolically*. Jarick contends, "[A] temple so conceived, a structure which reaches far higher than the extent of its length or breadth, expresses something that is dear to the hearts of many who conceptualize a space for divine-human encounter."[552] He also picks up the symbolic meaning of the high tower with reference to the tower of Babel (Gen 11:4),[553] a tower similar to the gigantic ziggurat, Etemenanki, in Babylon (cf. Section 2.4.2). The Jewish experience of Etemenanki during the exile would have added insights to the intra-Jewish reflection of the symbolic meaning of the Jerusalem temple, so that the Chronicler probably reaffirmed the idea in order to increase the

[549] A width might be missing according to S and Arabic, or the whole phrase היכל הבית הרחב אמות עשר על־פניו might be missing as reflected in G-1Kgs 6:3. Nevertheless, this is too weak textually to suggest an emendation. MT is to be preferred.

[550] One G-manuscript, S, and Arabic read אמות עשרים "twenty cubits".

[551] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 206; Raymond B. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, WBC 15 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1987), 26; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 553; Ralph W. Klein, *2 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 42–43, 47; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 324–325.

[552] Jarick, *2 Chronicles*, 12.

[553] Ibid., 13.

symbolic significance of the first temple, which indirectly increased the authenticity of the second temple. If we interpret this tower-like structure within this context, it is not entirely impossible for the Chronicler to exaggerate the height by four times, in order to convey the symbolic meaning of the temple as the place reaching the heaven.

Third, the Chronicler presents the temple as full of gold using a variety of adjectives such as "pure" (טהור) (3:4), "good" (טוב) (3:5, 8), and "gold of Parvaim" (זהב פרוים) (3:6).[554] Solomon lined the Holy of Holies with 600 talents of gold, a deliberate "comparable symbolism" with 1Chr 21:25,[555] which probably symbolised the complete reparation of אשמה with the finest material for all Israel (cf. p.180). The finest material seems to be an element of the symbolism of the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:11-12) designating the temple as the place of divine source of life and paradise. Two golden cherubim (3:10-12) probably represent "their role as protectors of the unapproachableness of God"[556] in Gen 3:24 and echo the chariot-throne (1Chr 28:18), symbolising the divine presence. The two pillars Jachin and Boaz (3:15-17) probably symbolised divine power and blessing.[557] The striking difference between the height of these pillars (35 cubits) in 3:15-17 and that in 1Kgs 7:15 (18 cubits) may infer a symbolic designation of the divine power from heaven. The Sea and the ten lavers (4:2-6) symbolised divine victory over the powers of chaos.[558] Dillard sees water as symbolising "threatening waters" and "cleansing and purification",[559] so that worshippers would have been reminded how God won the primeval battle with chaos and turned chaos into a source of purification for priests (Exod 30:18-19). Regarding the molten Sea, Ego writes:

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[554] For Parvaim, see Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 28–29. For the symbolism of gold related to God's presence, divinity, and holiness, see Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 102–103.
[555] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 208–209. Cf. Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 142.
[556] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:319.
[557] See footnote 493.
[558] As in Mesopotamian temples: Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 61.
[559] Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 35.

> Aber auch die Lotosform dieses Beckens ist als Bedeutungsträger aufzufassen: Da sich diese Blüte am Morgen öffnet und am Abend wieder schließt, fungierte sie als Symbol der Schöpfung und der Spendung des Lebens. Wenn dieses Becken zudem explizit mit dem Begriff ים bezeichnet wird, so ist anzunehmen, daß die dort enthaltenen Wasser das Urmeer repräsentieren, das gebändigt und von Gott in kosmische, lebensbringende Wasser verwandelt wurde.[560]

The Sea, a life-giving symbol, thus transformed the chaotic flood into stability and fertility. The surrounding bulls in Babylon (cf. Section 3.1.2) are similar to the twelve bulls (4:3-4), symbolising the fertility of the twelve tribes in twelve months.[561] We thus see how the Chronicler incorporates different ideas from the Garden of Eden in his temple architecture in order to designate the temple as the source of life.

Furthermore, the Chronicler describes some items that had also been important in the tabernacle, such as the cherubim (3:10-13; cf. Exod 25:18-20), curtain (3:14; cf. Exod 26:31), altar (4:1; cf. Exod 30:1-10), lavers (4:6; cf. Exod 30:18-21), lampstands (4:7; cf. Exod 25:31-37), and tables (4:8; cf. Exod 25:23-29).[562] These highlight a continuity between the temple and the tabernacle that promotes the authenticity of this temple. This probably served the theological, social, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community, and the insights obtained in the exilic experience probably influenced intra-Jewish reinterpretations of the Garden of Eden and the tabernacle traditions so that the ideas surrounding them were reaffirmed in Chronicles.

Finally, there is a special description of the bronze altar in the Chronicler's *Sondergut* in 4:1. Johnstone says, "As the place where the material offerings rose in smoke to the sky, it was the point where the meeting of the physical and spiritual was symbolized."[563] This altar is thus a central figure of the meeting of the heaven and

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[560] Beate Ego, "Die Wasser der Gottesstadt: Zu einem Motiv der Zionstradition und seinen kosmologischen Implikationen," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 383.
[561] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:323.
[562] Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 44; Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 143–144.
[563] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:323.

earth envisaged by 1Chr 21:26.[564] We know that the same heavenly fire came down in 2Chr 7:1 to consume the burnt-offering during the inauguration of the temple, and this bronze altar was surely the central place for experiencing a direct presence of God within the context of the temple as realised template (cf. Chapter Seven).

4.4. Conclusion

The concept of the temple as realised template should probably be seen as one of the Chronicler's central pre-understandings for his description of the temple. This claim is justified from a historical-cultural viewpoint in which the citizen-temple community was seen as nurturing the emergence of this concept.

Furthermore, the Chronicler's use of language reflects his pre-understanding of the concept. We know that this is culturally probable, sociologically reasonable, and theologically verifiable. Most importantly, the concept encapsulates a cluster of ideas that are dominant in various parts of the HB and in wider Mesopotamian temple ideologies. A wide circulation of these ideas in Jewish scribal circles, influenced by the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context, would have inevitably affected the Chronicler's pre-understanding and his hermeneutical situation. Such ideas in are common, though they are allusively incorporated and blended within the storyline.

The temple in Chronicles was believed to be the place in which wrath was averted, a place arising from a divine template, and a place that reached heaven and became the source of life. This ideal may not reflect the reality of both the first and second temples, but it conveys a utopia (e.g. in the tower-like structure).[565] Behind this utopian portrayal, we can conclude that the Chronicler, as Williamson writes, "was determined by sociological and political as much as by theological factors, each

[564] Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 117–118.
[565] Schweitzer, *Utopia*. Cf. Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 136–147.

faction presented an ideology of the temple to bolster [his] broader programme."[566]

The second temple probably looked insignificant and weak in its physical structure.[567] The citizen-temple community continually encountered challenges from their Babylonian-Persian oppressors. In such a situation, the Chronicler painstakingly incorporated the ideas from intra-Jewish traditions and reinterpreted them to address the theological, social, and political challenges. He picked up the ongoing reflection on the Jewish exilic experience, from which insights obtained in the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context would have been helpful to reinforce the ideological significance of the temple in defiance of the Babylonian-Persian surroundings. He wanted this literary temple to bring hope to the citizen-temple community in its identity making (cf. Section 3.2).

The Chronicler's presentation of the temple provides a theological frame of reference for understanding the Levitical singers within the worship system of the temple. If the Jerusalem earthly temple represented the heavenly temple, then maintaining the liturgical service in the temple can be understood as symbolically fostering the stability of the world based on the global governance of the heavenly God. But the sort of stability should be carefully defined. I shall argue in Chapter Five that this stability can be understood as "covenantal stability", in which promoting the necessary conditions of the Davidic covenant was the primary task of Levitical singers.

[566] Williamson, "Temple," 161.
[567] See footnote 579.

5. Prophecy for Covenantal Stability: Music and Prophecy in the Educational Context of Levitical Singers

The contextual reading of the Chronicler's temple in the last chapter showed the need for the service of Levitical singers to be understood within the temple as realised template. In the coming chapters, I wish to show the threefold role of Levitical singers – educational, scribal, and liturgical – in promoting the stability of Israel and the whole world within the theological frame of reference of the temple as realised template. The particular contribution of this study is an understanding of the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers in relation to the social, political, and theological agendas of the citizen-temple community and the prominence of music in the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context. Not only was the theological significance of the temple enhanced but also the social status and the professional profiles of Levites were upgraded to be comparable with those of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers.

In this chapter, I wish to show that the education of Levitical singers sought to train musicians to prophesy and play music for the purposes of fostering covenantal stability. The Chronicler has a special concept of "covenant" in mind: if Judah's kings maintained a lifestyle conformed to YHWH's covenant with David, then YHWH would probably give them rest as the sign of worldwide stability. Otherwise, they would experience God's wrath, with pestilence, famine, and war as the signs of instability. Levites had to teach the *Torah*, the code of conduct of the covenant, so that the Israelites would not incur wrath. Levitical singers had to prophesy under David's direction, in order to preach the message of repentance to the covenantal community, encouraging the Israelites to seek God. In order to make this vocation possible, Levitical singers would have experienced father-son apprenticeships that built a

continuity of succession and thereby fostered covenantal stability over generations. I demonstrate this in this chapter.

First, I briefly discuss some preliminary considerations, such as cultic prophets, prophecy and psalmody, and the concept of covenant, in order to set the discussion in context. Second, I offer a detailed exegesis of 1Chr 25:1-8 in light of the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture. I argue that the father-son apprenticeship system, inaugurated under David's direction, sought to establish stable Levitical guilds with sufficient singing, teaching, and prophetic capacities for fostering covenantal stability. Finally, I offer an exposition of 2Chr 20:1-30 to show how these capacities allowed Levitical singers to restore the well-being of Israel in practice.

5.1. Prophecy and Psalmody

Earlier research into the relationship between prophecy and psalmody focused on "cultic prophets" in explaining the roles of prophets within cultic settings, using a form-critical approach or ANE comparison as the prevailing methodology. The central issue was whether cultic prophets, which were seen as prophetic and non-priestly functionaries employed by cults in the pre-exilic period, were responsible for composing any of the psalms by following certain *Gattungen*.[568] Recent research takes a more sceptical view of cultic prophets. The form-critical method has limitations when it comes to discovering the *Sitz im Leben* through forms or genres[569] because the history of prophets in cults still contains many unbridgeable gaps, which means that their life-setting is unverifiable. Even though some prophetic psalms did

[568] For a recent survey, see John W. Hilber, *Cultic Prophecy in the Psalms*, BZAW 352 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 1–39.

[569] Walter Brueggemann, "Response to James L. Mays, 'The Question of Context'," in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, JSOTSS 159 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 31; Bellinger Jr., *Psalmody*, 9–21; Steven J.L. Croft, *The Identity of the Individual in the Psalms*, JSOTSS 44 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 152–153; Jonathan Stökl, *Prophecy in the Ancient Near East : A Philological and Sociological Comparison*, CHANE 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 209–211.

arise from cultic prophets, their transmission would have undergone several layers of recontextualisation, so that they would have been gradually freed from their original life-setting.[570] Thus the theory of cultic prophets remains notoriously hypothetical. Since our knowledge about pre-exilic cultic prophets is so incomplete, it is unwise to emphasise the continuity between cultic prophets and Levitical singers.[571]

Our research into Levitical singers in Chronicles, against the background of the citizen-temple community, allows us to ask different questions about the relationship between music and prophecy in Chronicles. The earlier approach asks whether the pre-exilic cultic setting involved any prophetic composition of psalms and whether the post-exilic Levitical singers took over the pre-exilic cultic prophets. My approach rather examines the Chronicler's reinterpretation of intra-Jewish traditions and his ideological perspective in light of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers context. Therefore, the problem of the life-setting of cultic prophets is marginal in this study.

5.2. Prophecy and Covenant in Chronicles

Prophecy and covenant are two important components in Chronicles. During the Chronicler's time, Jews had already undergone the so-called "decline of prophecy".[572] Earlier research suggested that lively and spontaneous prophecy ended with the fall of the monarchy. Recent studies have arrived at a growing consensus that prophecy did not end but experienced a radical transition. Petersen thinks that "we should perhaps

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[570] Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM, 1979), 508–517.

[571] Some scholars maintain a direct continuity: Williamson, *Chronicles*, 166; Myers, *I Chronicles*, 171; Johnson, *Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, 69–75; Sigmund Mowinckel, "Cult and Prophecy," in *Prophecy in Israel: Search for Identity*, trans. James L. Schaaf, IRT 10 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 90. Others speak of "transformation" rather than "direct continuity": Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel: From the Settlement in the Land to the Hellenistic Period* (London: SPCK, 1984), 254; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 858; David L. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy : Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles*, SBLMS 23 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 62.

[572] For a helpful survey, see Schniedewind, *Transition*, 12–22. This study does not trace the prophetic group(s) behind the text but simply affirms a general understanding of the post-exilic prophecy in the literary text.

speak of the transition from classical prophecy to an organically connected but profoundly different enterprise."[573] Blenkinsopp speaks of "a shift from direct revelation through the person of the prophet to revelation accruing from the inspired interpretation of biblical texts",[574] and "a progressive scribalization of prophecy."[575] Manson contends that "post-exilic prophecy becomes increasingly derivative and takes on more the nature of exegesis, the reinterpretation and reapplication of the earlier 'authoritative' word."[576] Schniedewind argues that Chronicles witnesses to the transformation of prophecy from pre-exilic oracular prophecy to a post-exilic, inspired interpretation of traditions.[577] Therefore, we have much refined research suggesting that inspired interpretations of traditions was a popular kind of post-exilic prophecy.

Although this consensus is well-developed, the socio-ideological motivation for the Chronicler to configure this understanding of prophecy into his storyline has been less explained. The decline of classical prophecy presented a serious problem for the citizen-temple community. They would probably ask why God's word was not at work as it had been during or before the exile. The Chronicler took up the challenge of this question and attempted to show the continuity of prophecy by describing the prophetic gift in the guilds of Levitical singers and by claiming their prophetic activities in terms of David's authority.[578]

Several sociological studies show that the second temple would have been a small temple (because of the small population of Yehud and insufficient funding for

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[573] Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 6.
[574] Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 129.
[575] Ibid., 131.
[576] Rex Mason, "The Prophets of the Restoration," in *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd*, ed. Richard Coggins, Anthony Philips, and Michael Knibb (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), 142.
[577] Schniedewind, *Transition*.
[578] Harry V. van Rooy, "Prophet and Society in the Persian Period According to Chronicles," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, Tamara C. Eskenazi, and Kent Harold Richards, vol. 2, JSOTSS 175 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 176–179.

rebuilding the temple),[579] or at least that it was not as big as the Chronicler's temple. This small temple probably became an embarrassment when compared with the huge temples in the Babylonian-Persian surroundings (e.g. the Marduk temple in Babylon mentioned in Section 3.1.3). How could Jewish leaders persuade others that YHWH was an imperial and global God, comparable to Marduk, with such a small temple in reality? The Chronicler, again, responded to this challenge by exaggerating the construction and symbolism of the first temple (cf. Section 4.3) in order to inspire a theological hope that YHWH was still in control. "Temple as realised template" then became one of the rhetorical devices for such an argument.[580] It is thus highly probable that the Chronicler's temple and its cult did not completely reflect the reality of the first and second temples but a "better alternative reality", in a utopian manner.[581] In this sense, prophecy became an indispensable literary device by which to affirm YHWH's dominion. His Levitical singers prophesied regularly and dynamically, through chanting and reinterpreting traditions, in order to proclaim YHWH's global rule and to address socio-political issues in defiance of the Babylonian-Persian surroundings.

The theme of covenant in Chronicles has constantly attracted scholarly interest. One debate has been whether the Davidic covenant involved an eschatological (or messianic) dimension[582] or not.[583] Another aspect has been whether the real Davidic promise was merely manifested in the temple[584] or if it included the Davidic dynasty

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[579] Carter, *Yehud*, 214–248; Grabbe, *Yehud*, 30; Charles E. Carter, "The Province of Yehud in the Post-Exilic Period: Soundings in Site Distribution and Demography," in *Second Temple Studies*, ed. Philip R. Davies, Tamara C. Eskenazi, and Kent Harold Richards, vol. 2, JSOTSS 175 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 139–145.

[580] Cf. Rodney K. Duke, *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler: A Rhetorical Analysis*, JSOTSS 88 (Sheffield: Almod P., 1990).

[581] Schweitzer, *Utopia*. Perhaps, there is an overlap between ideal and reality: Joachim Schaper, "Priestly Purity and Social Organisation in Persian Period Judah," *BN* 118 (2003): 54.

[582] Von Rad, *Geschichtsbild*, 119–132; Kelly, *Retribution*, 156–185.

[583] Japhet, *Ideology*, 384–393; Riley, *King and Cultus*, 174–175.

[584] Riley, *King and Cultus*, 96, 175, 182; Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 82–124.

and the *Torah* as well.[585] However, the centrality of the figure of the Jerusalem temple in relation to the Davidic covenant has been less controversial. A synoptic view of 1Chr 17:14//2Sam 7:16 allows us to see their relationship:

1Chr 17:14	2Sam 7:16
וְהַעֲמַדְתִּיהוּ בְּבֵיתִי וּבְמַלְכוּתִי עַד־הָעוֹלָם וְכִסְאֹו	וְנֶאֱמַן בֵּיתְךָ וּמַמְלַכְתְּךָ עַד־עוֹלָם לְפָנֶיךָ כִּסְאֲךָ יִהְיֶה
יִהְיֶה נָכוֹן עַד־עוֹלָם:	נָכוֹן עַד־עוֹלָם:
But I shall confirm him in *my house* and in *my kingdom* forever, and his throne will be established forever.	*Your house* and *your kingdom* will be confirmed forever before you. Your throne will be established forever.

Many commentators notice the Chronicler's preference for ascribing the Davidic covenant to the well-being of YHWH's temple ("my house" in 1Chr 17:14) instead of the Davidic dynasty ("your house" in 2Sam 7:16).[586] This emphasis of YHWH's temple, within the intrinsic terms of the Davidic covenant, forms the theological basis for understanding the Chronicler's temple. As many agree, the conditions reflected in 1Chr 28:3-10 and 2Chr 7:12-22 also constitute the intrinsic terms of the Davidic covenant.[587] If we accept that the Chronicler configures the temple according to the pre-understanding of the temple as realised template, then the conditions (1Chr 28:3-10; 2Chr 7:12-22) of the Davidic covenant can be understood as the key factor in enabling the fortune of the whole world and the stability of YHWH's temple,[588] because the symbolisam of "covenant" was intrinsic to the temple.

The temple was the "house of rest for the ark of *covenant* of YHWH" (בית מנוחה לארון ברית־יהוה) (1Chr 28:2).[589] The heavenly template reserved the golden chariot of

[585] Tiňo, *King and Temple*; Kelly, *Retribution*.
[586] Kelly, *Retribution*, 157–158; Riley, *King and Cultus*, 183; Dennis J. McCarthy, "Covenant and Law in Chronicles-Nehemiah," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 26; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 335; Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 82–124.
[587] Kelly, *Retribution*, 156–167.
[588] Cf. Riley, *King and Cultus*, 87–97, 180–185.
[589] 1Chr 28:2 explicitly characterises the temple as the resting place (i.e. the place of stability) in relation to covenant, forming a symbolic antonym to "war": Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 94–101.

the cherubim as a covering the ark of *covenant* of YHWH (1Chr 28:18). The covenant and the temple thus formed a symbolic matrix for the full realisation of the heavenly template (1Chr 28:11-19). We also see in Solomon's prayer, YHWH's faithfulness in keeping covenant; no other deities in heaven or on earth can be compared with him (2Chr 6:14-15; cf. Neh 9:32). Therefore, the Chronicler probably recontextualises the Davidic covenant within the symbolic structure of the temple as realised template so that enabling the covenantal conditions (1Chr 28:3-10; 2Chr 7:12-22) was believed to have a chance to produce rest and peace, and violating the conditions was seen to incurs guilt and wrath.

Based on the above considerations, I now turn to reading the prophecies of Levitical singers (1Chr 25:1-8; 2Chr 20:1-30) within this covenantal framework.

5.3. Music and Prophecy in 1 Chronicles 25:1-8

1Chr 23-27 illustrates David's preparation of the temple personnel (priests and Levites) for the temple service. 1Chr 25 especially describes the watch system of Levitical singers. First, I offer my translation of 1Chr 25:1-8. Second, I attempt to read 1Chr 25:1-8 in light of the Mesopotamian professional norms and practices. I argue that the prophecy of these singers, singing according to David's direction, sought to foster worldwide stability in covenantal terms in three steps: (1) David "set apart" *from* the Levites the top stratum of the singers, who were comparable to the learned scholar-singers of Mesopotamia (1Chr 25:1); (2) David "set apart" the Levites *for* prophesying under his direction (1Chr 25:1-6); and (3) David systematised them in father-son apprenticeships, which were comparable to the Mesopotamian educational system *for* the long-term and regular establishment of the watch system (1Chr 25:7-8).

5.3.1. Translation

25:1	וַיַּבְדֵּל דָּוִיד וְשָׂרֵי הַצָּבָא לַעֲבֹדָה	David set apart,[590] together with the chiefs of the
	לִבְנֵי אָסָף וְהֵימָן וְידוּתוּן	army, for the service the sons[591] of Asaph, Heman,
	הַנִּבְּיאִים בְּכִנֹּרוֹת בִּנְבָלִים	and Jeduthun,[592] who prophesied[593] with lyres,
	וּבִמְצִלְתָּיִם וַיְהִי מִסְפָּרָם אַנְשֵׁי	with harps, and with cymbals. And this was their
	מְלֶאכֶה לַעֲבֹדָתָם:	list,[594] the persons of the work for their service:
25:2	לִבְנֵי אָסָף זַכּוּר וְיוֹסֵף וּנְתַנְיָה	Of the sons of Asaph: Zaccur, Joseph, Nethaniah,
	וַאֲשַׂרְאֵלָה בְּנֵי אָסָף עַל יַד־אָסָף	and Asarelah.[595] The sons of Asaph were under the
	הַנִּבָּא עַל־יְדֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ:	direction of[596] Asaph, who prophesied[597] under
		the directions of the king.
25:3	לִידוּתוּן בְּנֵי יְדוּתוּן גְּדַלְיָהוּ	Of Jeduthun, the sons of Jeduthun: Gedaliah,
	וּצְרִי וִישַׁעְיָהוּ וְחַשַׁבְיָהוּ	Zeri, [598] Jeshaiah, Shimei, [599] Hashabiah, and
	וּמַתִּתְיָהוּ שִׁשָּׁה עַל יְדֵי אֲבִיהֶם	Mattithiah – six *persons*. They were upon the
	יְדוּתוּן בַּכִּנּוֹר הַנִּבָּא עַל־הַדּוֹת	directions of their father Jeduthun, who

[590] G reads καὶ ἔστησεν "and he stood", a haplography from καὶ διεστησεν "and he separated".
[591] ל in לבני is an indicator of the accusative: JM §125k.
[592] G reads Ιδιθων "Jedithum" (as if ידיתון). See *kethib* at Neh 11:17 and G's renderings in vv.3, 6: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473.
[593] Reading with the *qere*, הנבאים; original *kethib* might be הַנִּבְּיאִים. The first *yodh* in הַנִּבְּיאִים "probably comes from a detached stroke from *aleph*": Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 151 n2. G, V_g, T_g, and Mss support the *qere* reading. G reads τοὺς ἀποφθεγγομένους "those who give an inspired utterance", which supports a participle reading with a general meaning of "prophesy" inspired by the spirit (cf. Acts 2:4, 14).
[594] G adds κατὰ κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν "according to their heads", while G^{La1} reflects κατὰ κεφαλὴν ἀνδρῶν "according to the heads of men". G might be influenced by 1Chr 23:3: *GC*, 2:62. MT is to be preferred.
[595] Only Mss read ואשראל ארבעה אלה "Asarel these four". MT is to be preferred. *Contra* Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473; Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 302.
[596] Literally, "under the hand(s) of", as the cases in 25:3, 6.
[597] G (and Mss) reads the title τοῦ προφήτου "the prophet". MT agrees with the *qere* reading in 25:1 and is to be preferred.
[598] 25:11 reads ליצרי "to Izri".
[599] Inserted ושמעי here to coincide with 25:17 and the number "six". Ms, G, and Arabic support this reading: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473; Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 242; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 277.

וְהַלֵּל לַיהוָה׃ ס

prophesied[600] with the lyre for thanksgiving and praising to YHWH.

25:4 לְהֵימָן בְּנֵי הֵימָן בֻּקִּיָּהוּ מַתַּנְיָהוּ עֻזִּיאֵל שְׁבוּאֵל וִירִימוֹת חֲנַנְיָה חֲנָנִי אֱלִיאָתָה גִּדַּלְתִּי וְרֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר יָשְׁבְּקָשָׁה מַלּוֹתִי הוֹתִיר מַחֲזִיאוֹת׃

Of Heman, the sons of Heman: Bukkiah, Mattaniah, Uzziel,[601] Shubael,[602] Jerimonth,[603] Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah, Giddalti, Romamti-ezer, Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth.

25:5 כָּל־אֵלֶּה בָּנִים לְהֵימָן חוֹזֵה הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּדִבְרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים לְהָרִים קָרֶן וַיִּתֵּן הָאֱלֹהִים לְהֵימָן בָּנִים אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר וּבָנוֹת שָׁלוֹשׁ׃

All these were the sons belonging to Heman, the seer of the king,[604] according to the words of God[605] to raise up a horn.[606] And God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters.

25:6 כָּל־אֵלֶּה עַל־יְדֵי אֲבִיהֶם בַּשִּׁיר בֵּית יְהוָה בִּמְצִלְתַּיִם נְבָלִים וְכִנֹּרוֹת לַעֲבֹדַת בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים עַל יְדֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ ס אָסָף וִידוּתוּן וְהֵימָן׃

All these were under the directions of their father with the song in the house of YHWH with cymbals, harps, and lyres for the service of the house of God[607] under the directions of the king (Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman).[608]

25:7 וַיִּהְיֶה מִסְפָּרָם עִם־אֲחֵיהֶם מְלֻמְּדֵי־שִׁיר לַיהוָה כָּל־הַמֵּבִין

This was their number, with their brothers, who were taught of the song to YHWH, all those who

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[600] G reads ἀνακρουόμενοι “striking up music”.

[601] G reads Αζαραηλ “Azarel”, cf. 25:18: עזרא. Rudolph observes that “Ussia und Asarja als Namen desselben Königs”, so that Uzziel and Azarel can be the same person: Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 166.

[602] Reading with G “Shubael” (שובאל), supported by 1Chr 24:20; 25:10: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473.

[603] 25:22 reads לירמות “to Jeremoth”.

[604] G reads τῷ ἀνακρουομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ “the royal musician”.

[605] I translate this “the words of God” instead of “divine affairs”, see Section 5.3.3.2.

[606] No manuscript supports the reading קרנו “his horn”. *Contra* Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 473; Steven L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2004), 196.

[607] Only G lacks “for the service of the house of God”. MT is to be preferred.

[608] G puts a copula before the three names, an attempt to make the text easier. The phrase might be “ursprünglich Randglosse” to “all these”: Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 166. But “all these” should refer to Heman’s sons: Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 246; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 483; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 278; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 445.

מְאָתַיִם שְׁמוֹנִים וּשְׁמוֹנָה׃ were skilful: two hundred eighty and eight.

25:8 וַיַּפִּילוּ גוֹרָלוֹת מִשְׁמֶרֶת לְעֻמַּת כַּקָּטָן גְּדוֹל מֵבִין עִם־תַּלְמִיד׃ פ They cast the lots of[609] watch, corresponding to *watch*,[610] the small and the great alike, teacher (one who is skilful) with pupil.

5.3.2. David "Set Apart" (1Chr 25:1)

David was the key figure in the inauguration and organisation of Levitical singers. He "set apart" (ויבדל)[611] three guilds of Levitical singers from the "divisions" (מחלקת) of priests and Levites. This is remarkable, since only Aaronites and Levitical singers were "set apart" (23:13; 25:1). This verb has been used for separating Levites from other people (Num 8:14; 16:9; Deut 10:8) for the "service" (עבד).[612] Num 8:24 further qualifies that they were separated "to serve the duty in the service of the tent of meeting" (לצבא צבא בעבדת אהל מועד). The Chronicler thus uses vocabulary from Num 8 (צבא, בדל, עבד) to establish that the organisation of musicians was "parallel in every detail to that of priests and Levites, with the emphasis on the Davidic initiative for this parallel system."[613]

In the literary world (1Chr 24-25), we find a detailed and well-organised picture of priests and singers with the coordinated watch system of twenty-four courses. Why was there such a prominence of music and singers that they deserved David's "setting apart" as if Aaronites and Levitical singers were of equal significance? I suggest that

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[609] Revocalised as גּוֹרָלוֹת to make it a construct (cf. G = κλήρους ἐφημεριῶν): Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 243; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 483.

[610] T_g and Mss add משמרת after לעמת. T_g might interpret this difficult text by this insertion since the construct form of לעמת syntactically requires an absolute noun. This can be regarded "as a truncated form of the stock expression" משמר לעמת משמר (1Chr 26:16; Neh 12:24): Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 58.

[611] Cf. Carter, *Yehud*, 311–316; Schaper, "Priestly Purity," 56.

[612] For עבד in Chronicles and P, see Robert Hayward, "Priesthood, Temple(s), and Sacrifice," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. John William Rogerson and Judith Lieu (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 326; Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1970), 60–87.

[613] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 444.

the identity making process of the citizen-temple community required the Aaronites to co-operate with the Levitical singers in order to upgrade the significance of the temple cult to compete with many surrounding temples, because music was highly esteemed in the wider Babylonian-Persian temple ideologies (cf. Section 3.2.2). The "setting apart" provided a social status equivalent to that of the Mesopotamian *kalû*-priests, because only well-qualified Babylonian scholar-singers could enter into specific (or "set apart") training of *kalûtu* (Section 2.2.2). The Chronicler could then fashion these singers as elite professionals in order to legitimise the cultural and theological significance of their temple worship. This may explain the motivation for the Aaronites to co-operate with Levitical singers under David's authority.

5.3.3. Prophesying According to the Directions of David (1Chr 25:1-6)

The Chronicler not only ascribes the inauguration of the organisation of Levitical singers to David's authority but also features these singers as being "set apart" *for* prophesying under the direction of David and the three heads – Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun (1Chr 25:2-3, 6). This is remarkable, because the Chronicler only assigns prophecy, as a long-term and regular establishment, to the three guilds of Levitical singers. How do we comprehend this assignment? What is the relationship between music and prophecy? What does "to prophesy under the directions of David" mean?

5.3.3.1. An Inspired Interpretation of Traditions

The exact relationship between music and prophecy seems unclear. It is unlikely that musicians used music to induce ecstatic utterance in instances recorded in 1Sam 10:5-6 and 2Kgs 3:15-16. Nowhere does Chronicles describe prophecy as an isolated

phenomenon or as ecstasy.[614] If prophecy did not involve the musical inducement of ecstatic utterance, are there other choices?

One well-accepted view is that these musicians proclaimed traditions and teachings through the medium of music. As I have mentioned before (cf. Section 5.2), post-exilic prophecy can be generally classified as an inspired interpretation of traditions. Neh 8:7-8 illustrates the rise of *Torah*-teaching, in which Levites were seen as *Torah*-specialists, helping people to understand the Law, so that prophecy was increasingly conceived as *Torah*-teaching, preaching for repentance, or interpreting.[615] This literary picture, as Barton writes, "was certainly not controversial."[616]

According to Chronicles, Levites were *Torah*-teachers (2Chr 17:7-11). They were the composers of hymns (1Chr 16:8-36), and they were commanded to praise YHWH "with the words of David and Asaph" (2Chr 29:30) – an association that probably goes back to the inspirational hymn in 1Chr 16:8-36. Asaphites had to follow the authoritative commands of David and the three heads (2Chr 35:15). The psalm superscriptions ascribe various psalms to the three heads (Pss 39, 50, 62, 73-83, 88), and many of these psalms contain prophetic elements.[617]

Some might argue that music and prophecy should strictly be seen as separate, either because the depiction in 25:1-6 only illustrates a "preparatory background"[618] for the apprenticeship of the sons of the three heads or because G attempts "to separate music from prophecy".[619] However, if we understand 25:1-8 in light of the apprenticeship system of *kalûtu* and the Neo-Babylonian scribal education, we cannot

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[614] Beentjes, *Tradition*, 129; McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 196. Music in relation to ecstatic prophecy is not well supported by Mesopotamian evidence: Stökl, *Prophecy*, 211–215.
[615] John Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel After the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986), 154–161.
[616] Ibid., 167. Also R.E. Clements, *Prophecy and Tradition* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1975), 85.
[617] Hilber, *Cultic Prophecy*, 128–185.
[618] P.B. Dirksen, "Prophecy and Temple Music: 1Chron. 25:1-7," *Henoch* 19 (1997): 259–265.
[619] Schniedewind, *Transition*, 178.

see any dichotomy between music and the inspired interpretation of traditions. Rather, these reinterpreting activities can be classified as "prophetic". Moreover, the G-text of 25:1-3 does deviate from MT in rendering נבא (ἀποφθεγγομένους in 25:1; προφήτου in 25:2; ἀνακρουόμενοι in 25:3). The intention of G to separate music from prophecy is however overstated, because ἀποφθεγγομένους can be used to signify "those who gave an inspired utterance"[620] (cf. Acts 2:4, 14) instead of "those who uttered sounds".[621] Therefore, the prophecy in 25:1-3 should be read as the inspired interpretation of traditions through the medium of music. The Chronicler may have aimed to promote an inspired interpretation of traditions in relation to music, a professional practice comparable to that of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers (cf. Section 2.3.3) in order to legitimise the prophetic significance of Levitical singers. This provides, as Blenkinsopp says, "a hint, therefore, of the idea recurring in different cultures and at different times that prophet and poet are essentially one."[622]

5.3.3.2. An Imitation of David as the Model of Prophet and Musician

Once we affirm the close relationship between music and the inspired interpretation of traditions, we can further comprehend how the Levitical singers prophesied and sang "under the directions of the king (or David)" (על־ידי המלך) (1Chr 25:2, 6). A hint for understanding על־ידי המלך is the figure of David as both prophet and musician, which is well-attested in Samuel (1Sam 16; 2Sam 23:1-2) and Chronicles (1Chr 28:11-19). 11QPs[a] also explicitly links the prophetic gift of David to his psalm writing:

[620] See footnote 593.
[621] Schniedewind, *Transition*, 178.
[622] Blenkinsopp, *Prophecy and Canon*, 133–134.

> And YHWH gave to him [David] a spirit of intelligence and understanding, and he wrote psalms: … and the total was 4,050. All these he spoke according to the spirit of prophecy which was given to him before Elyon. (11QPs[a] 27.3-4, 10-11)[623]

Chronicles does not illustrate as straightforward a prophetic figure of David as that in 11QPs[a]. We encounter a rather complex typological transfer from the figure of Moses to the figure of David, such that the Chronicler portrays David as "the second Moses" by structuring the David-Solomon succession in line with the Moses-Joshua succession.[624] David possessed the same title, "the man of God", as Moses (2Chr 8:14).[625] Their authorities went hand-in-hand in founding all temple affairs.[626] The Chronicler may have thought of David as the legitimate person to fulfil the promise of Deut 18:18, which illustrates that YHWH will raise a prophet following Moses, the prophet *par excellence*.[627]

1Chr 28:11-19 probably illustrates a clear prophetic role of David.[628] Since the Davidic covenant was the theological basis for the temple being built (1Chr 17:14), the realisation of תבנית (1Chr 28:11-19) manifested the fundamental covenantal relationship between YHWH and his people through the temple. Just as Moses received תבנית for building the tabernacle (Exod 25:9, 40), David received תבנית for building the temple. Just as Moses received the *Torah*, David received the writing from God's hand (1Chr 28:19). Just as YHWH made a covenant with Moses (Exod 19), YHWH also made a covenant with David (1Chr 17). We thus see a typological

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[623] For the Hebrew text, see James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPsa)*, DJDJ 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 48.

[624] H.G.M. Williamson, "The Accession of Solomon in the Books of Chronicles," *VT* 26 (1976): 351–361.

[625] Schniedewind, *Transition*, 49–51.

[626] De Vries, "Moses and David," 619–639.

[627] Tiňo, *King and Temple*, 152.

[628] David might not be classified as the title "prophet", but his prophetic role seems clear: Schniedewind, *Transition*, 193–208. Scholars have agreed that David acted as a prophet: Raymond Jacques Tournay, *Seeing and Hearing God with the Psalms: The Prophetic Liturgy of the Second Temple in Jerusalem*, trans. J. Edward Crowley, JSOTSS 118 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 42–45; McCarthy, "Covenant," 30; James L. Kugel, "David the Prophet," in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, ed. James L. Kugel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 45–55.

transfer from the Mosaic covenant (together with its *Torah*, the prophetic figure of Moses, and priestly trumpets) to the Davidic covenant (together with its template, the prophetic figure of David, and Levitical musical instruments).[629]

With this typological transfer in mind, we can further understand how Levitical singers "prophesied under the directions of David". Clement sees a wealth of classical prophetic traditions in the pre-Chronistic period as exhortations directing people back to the covenantal commitment of Sinai and Zion.[630] The Chronicler would have recontextualised this understanding of prophecy into the person of David by setting a paradigm in David's speech:

> If you seek him (תדרשנו), he will be found by you; but if you forsake him (תעזבנו), he will abandon you forever. Look now, for YHWH has chosen you to build a temple as the sanctuary; be strong, and act … Be strong and be brave, and act. Do not be afraid and dismayed (אל־תירא ואל־תחת); for YHWH God, my God, is with you (כי יהוה אלהים אלהי עמך). (1Chr 28:9b-10, 20a)

David instructed Solomon about the necessary actions and attitudes towards the building of the temple. 1Chr 28:9-10, 20 become the conditions and exhortation necessary for enabling the well-being of the temple according to the Davidic covenant recited in 1Chr 28:3-8.[631] This conditionality, summarised as "seeking God", was theologically central in Chronicles, because it built on the Davidic covenant on the one hand and tied in with the worldwide stability of the temple and the land (1Chr 28:8) on the other. It was thus *the* key of covenantal stability.

Subsequent prophets in Chronicles generally emphasised this paradigmatic key in delivering their inspired messages to avert wrath and foster peace. Shemaiah proclaimed, "You abandoned me, so I have abandoned you", (2Chr 12:5) but when

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[629] Kelly, *Retribution*, 106–107; Tournay, *Seeing*, 31; Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 206–209; Tiňo, *King and Temple*, 102–105.

[630] Clements, *Prophecy and Tradition*; R.E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant*, SBT 43 (London: SCM Press, 1965).

[631] Cf. Mosis, *Untersuchungen*, 103–104.

Rehoboam humbled himself, God's wrath was averted (2Chr 12:7). Azariah summoned Asa, "YHWH is with you, when you are with him. If you seek him, he will be found by you, but if you abandon him, he will abandon you" (2Chr 15:2). Zechariah warned Joash, "Because you have forsaken YHWH, he has also forsaken you" (2Chr 24:20). A man of God prophesied, "O you! Go and act; be strong in battle" (2Chr 25:8). Uzziah sought God in the instruction of Zechariah and God made him prosper (2Chr 26:5). We thus see how the prophets followed David's paradigm (1Chr 28:9-10, 20), prophesying in order to avert wrath and enable stability.

This was possible because David was described as having situated the temple firmly within a covenantal relationship between YHWH and his people and as having envisaged "seeking God" as the main paradigm in which to foster this relationship. Within this context, "prophesied under the directions of David" would have meant that Levitical singers were to summon all Israel to live a lifestyle of "seeking God", in order to promote its covenantal commitment in the temple worship and, thereby, to foster covenantal stability and to avert wrath. In this way, we can probably understand עַל־יְדֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ as an inspired interpretation of the Davidic covenantal traditions for summoning the people to trust in the divine promise. This can be verified by the content of the inserted psalms in 1Chr 16:8-36 and 2Chr 6:41-42, in which covenant is one of the main themes (see Chapter Six).

A hierarchical organisation was essential to the right practice of prophecy. First, David received a template from "the directions of YHWH" (1Chr 28:19). Second, the three Levitical chief-singers prophesied under "the directions of David" (1Chr 25:2). Third, all other musicians were taught to prophesy and make music under "the directions of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun" (1Chr 25:2, 3). We thus understand that enabling the conditions necessary for covenantal stability was a main goal of the prophecy of Levitical singers.

According to 1Chr 25:5, the sons of Heman were to lift up a horn according to God's word. Some scholars render דברי האלהים as "divine affairs" (cf. 1Chr 26:32).[632] I render it as "the words of God"[633] (or "divine promise"), because Heman's title as "royal seer" requires us to interpret דברי האלהים as prophetic words received from God. This interpretation matches the overall subject matter of 1Chr 25:1-8. Since the Chronicler prefers the prophetic words mediated by David, the phrase דברי האלהים would be a gloss for "the word (or promise) to David" (2Chr 1:8-10), which is synonymous with the "Davidic covenant". In fact, a word study on "covenant" (ברית) reveals that "word, promise" (דבר) is often a synonym of "covenant".[634] 1Chr 16:15 also shows that ברית and דבר are appositional. דברי האלהים should thus designate the prophetic words as having a close relationship with David's promise. The phrase "to lift up a horn" shows the purpose of Heman's prophetic office and symbolises success and strength (Lam 2:3; Pss 75:5-11; 89:18, 25; 92:11). Thus the purpose of prophecy was to foster the well-being or success of David and the Israelites.[635]

5.3.4. The Father-son Apprenticeship System (1Chr 25:7-8)

After designating the prophetic office of the Levitical singers (1Chr 25:1-6), the Chronicler presents a father-son apprenticeship system (1Chr 25:7-8); only the advanced singers could participate in this system as their sole prerogative among other temple clergies, as if music and prophecy were more formulaic than improvisatory. How should we interpret this special arrangement?

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[632] Schniedewind, *Transition*, 179–180; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 850; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 278.

[633] Following Williamson, *Chronicles*, 168; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 444; Johnson, *Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody*, 78; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 152.

[634] "ברית," *TDOT*, II:258-260.

[635] Johnson, *Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody*, 264. Some interpret Heman's fourteen sons and three daughters as the sign of blessing symbolised by "lift a horn": Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 278; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 444; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 168.

The main theme of 1Chr 25:7-8 is not the father-son apprenticeship system as such but the preparation for the casting of lots among the 288 skilful men for the watch of the temple. However, the Chronicler probably sees the apprenticeship system as preparing the way for the watch system.[636] The apprenticeship was the prerequisite that qualified a person for the watch. We can see how the selection and training process worked in the following diagram:

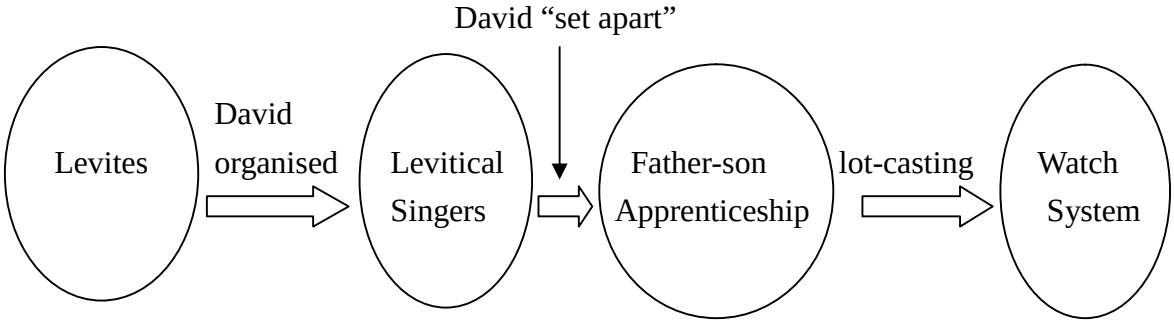

Figure 2: The Selection and Training Process of Levitical Singers

As can be seen, David's "setting apart" not only singled out the three guilds for prophecy and making music but also allowed them to enter into the apprenticeship system to be qualified for the watch. The number of persons was significantly scaled down from 4,000 to 288 (7.2%), or from 38,000 to 288 (0.76%). This obviously presents a hierarchical organisation, in which the 288 skilful men were advanced and trained for the watch, belonging to the top stratum of the class of Levitical singers and comparable to the Aaronites, based on the same arrangement of twenty-four courses (1Chr 24:7-18; 25:9-31).

According to 1Chr 25:7-8, the 288 skilful persons in stage III possessed two basic qualities. First, they were those "who were taught the song to YHWH" (מלמדי־שיר ליהוה). The root למד designates a wider educational context in the HB. Deut

[636] Dirksen, "Prophecy," 261–262.

31 illustrates that Israelites should "learn" (למד) both the *Torah* (31:12-13) and the Song of Moses (31:19, 22) for the purpose of "fearing God" and "witnessing the wickedness of the Israelites". Some scholars believe that Deut 31:19-22 reflects how Israelite traditions were transmitted via an oral-written interface that resembled the Mesopotamian oral-written transmission practice.[637] Music would also have acted as a mnemonic aid for the transmission, and Israelite scribes would have resembled their Mesopotamian counterparts in being considered as performers.[638]

While these scholars may provide a picture of the way in which the Israelite transmission of traditions generally resembled its Mesopotamian counterparts, I do not want to go into such details because this study does not trace the direction and the date of the influence. Rather, their achievements show that Israelites and Mesopotamians had already shared a general understanding of song and music in relation to the transmission of traditions before the exile. This common understanding would have been further intensified during the exile and return (see Chapter Three), so that the Chronicler would have wanted to reaffirm the concepts in Deut 31 in characterising the 288 skilful men as the tradents of "YHWH's song" on a par with the Levites in the time of Moses. This characterisation resembles how *kalû*-priest transmitted *balag-eršemma* in the musical-written mode (Section 2.3.2).

The book of Isaiah presents another educational context with the root למד, which appears in Isa 8:16 and Isa 50:4 to designate a disciple whose mission was to perpetuate the sealed teachings of Isaiah to be revealed (or reinterpreted) for later generations, such that these words could sustain the weary with a "disciple's tongue"

[637] Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word*, LAI (Louisville Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 86–87; Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, "Spanning the Generations: Aspects of Oral and Written Transmission in the Bible and Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Freedom and Responsibility : Exploring the Challenges of Jewish Continuity*, ed. Rela M. Geffen and Marsha Bryan Edelman (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Pub. House, 1998), 21–22; Carr, *Tablet*, 132–133.

[638] R.F. Person, "The Ancient Israelite Scribe as Performer," *JBL* 117 (1998): 601–609; Person, *Deuteronomic School*, 83–101; Carr, *Tablet*, 41–42.

(לשון למודים). These disciple tradents interpreted and added their understanding of their former master to produce deutero-prophetic strata for their own age.[639] Scholars have arrived at a growing consensus that this master-disciple system should not be perceived as an institutional, formal education[640] but as a familial, prophetic, father-son apprenticeship that resembled its Mesopotamian counterparts.[641]

The Chronicler would have reaffirmed the teacher-disciple system that is latent in Deuteronomy and Isaiah, characterising and legitimising the Levites as elite professionals who were socially on a par with Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests. למד appears six times in Chronicles. Twice it occurs in 1Chr 25:7-8 (מלמדי, תלמיד), three times in 2Chr 17:7-9 (ללמד, וילמדו), and once in 1Chr 5:18 (ולמודי). The content of the teaching would have included skills of war, song, and the *Torah*. Levites were involved in the teaching of song and the *Torah* and this matches the two main components in Deut 31:12-22. Moreover, the Chronicler employs the terms "teacher" and "pupil" in 1Chr 25:8, which also parallels Isaiah's master-disciple system. In this way, the Chronicler may have aimed to distinguish the professional profile of Levitical singers in the same terms as the wider Mesopotamian culture.

The term "one who was skilful" (המבין) (1Chr 25:7-8) marks the second quality of the 288 people. 2Chr 34:12 indicates that the Levites were "skilful in the instruments of song" (מבין בכלי־שיר), suggesting that one aspect of their skilfulness was musical technique. 1Chr 15:22 indicates another aspect of the designation

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639 Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 13–53.

640 For cogent criticisms on "institutional formal education" posed by scholars like Lemaire, see Stuart Weeks, *Early Israelite Wisdom* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), 137–153; G.I. Davies, "Were There Schools in Ancient Israel?," in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J.A. Emerton*, ed. John Day, Robert P. Gordon, and H.G.M. Williamson (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 204–210. Cf. John Arthur Smith, *Music in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 101–105.

641 James L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 92–93; Friedemann W. Golka, *The Leopard's Spots : Biblical and African Wisdom in Proverbs* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 7–11; R.N. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament*, BZAW 135 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 33–43; Martin Buber, *The Prophetic Faith* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 204–205; Davies, "Were There Schools"; Carr, *Tablet*, 111–173.

"skilful": Chenaniah, the leader of Levites in transferring the ark of God, "*was* in oracle" (במשא), and "he was to direct in oracle because he is skilful" (יסר במשא כי מבין הוא). משא can mean (1) "bearing or carrying", which fits with the theme of carrying the ark (cf. 2Chr 35:3);[642] (2) "uplifting the voice, song", which matches G's rendering as ἄρχων τῶν ᾠδῶν[643] and V_g's rendering as *ad praecinendam melodiam* (the second משא);[644] and (3) "oracle", which matches V_g's prophetic rendering as *prophetiae* (the first משא) and the cases in Num 11 and Jer 23:33-40.[645] Scholars have tended to choose one of these as if they were mutually exclusive, but the insights from the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context allow us to embrace all choices if we accept that a *kalû*-priest could be an expert in other fields.[646] The literary contexts of 1Chr 15 and 25 certainly allow all the three readings. If this is the case, מבין could signify those who were experts in oracle, music, carrying the ark, or even teaching the *Torah* (Neh 8:1-8).[647]

The Chronicler only uses מבין to describe "singers" (1Chr 15:22; 25:7-8; 2Chr 34:12) and "scribe" (1Chr 27:32). No other temple personnel, even priests, are given the technical term מבין. This further increases the likelihood that the Chronicler wanted to parallel these Levitical scholar-singers with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers in 1Chr 25:7-8. It also, in effect, would have improved the social status of the upper stratum of Levitical singers (i.e. the 288), because this education was their sole privilege in the same way that the *kalûtu* and the Neo-Babylonian scribal education were the sole privilege of the Mesopotamian elite professionals. We can thus further appreciate how the Chronicler addressed social, political, and theological issues in the

[642] Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 216; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 47 n1.
[643] G lacks the first במשא and interprets Chenaniah as "the leader of songs".
[644] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 125; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 304.
[645] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 304; Mowinckel, "Cult," 86–87; Tournay, *Seeing*, 37–38.
[646] Cf. Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 63–64; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 49–50.
[647] Schaper, "Hebrew," 21.

citizen-temple community by reaffirming the intra-Jewish traditions, such as Deuteronomy and Isaiah, in order to promote the interests of Levitical singers, who were seen as experts in many fields, especially prophecy and music.

However, I must qualify the insights illustrated so far. The Chronicler probably knew nothing about the exact details of the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical curriculum and *kalûtu*. The text does not indicate the content of the two-stage curriculum, nor does it mention any dialogue between teacher and pupil. We thus should avoid assuming the Chronicler's direct dependence on any specific cuneiform texts in this respect. Nevertheless, we see a general resemblance between the two cultures in the father-son apprenticeship system, in which music and prophecy played a significant functional role. The Chronicler likely knew a general outline of what a professional training should look like and how to refashion the upper stratum of the Levites as scholar-singers and *kalû*-priest within the Mesopotamian culture. This general knowledge concerning professional singers probably affected the way the Chronicler configures his reinterpretation of traditions like Deuteronomy and Isaiah. Whether the father-son apprenticeship system existed in the citizen-temple community is not our concern. I intend our understanding of 1Chr 25:7-8 to obtain greater depth from a socio-ideological viewpoint when we set it alongside the professional practices of the *kalûtu* apprenticeship system.

Another probable reason for the Chronicler to identify Levitical singers with the father-son apprenticeship system is to show an unbroken chain of succession in professional practices of prophecy and music. The father-son apprenticeship system in 1Chr 25:7-8 provides a background for establishing the abilities of prophecy and making music in the three guilds as a long-term and regular enterprise. This created a literary expectation that characterises the descendants of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun as the advanced, trained, and faithful followers of their three fathers and the directions

of David. The primary readership (or modern reader) could thus appreciate this richly associated image of their descendants as it appears in the narrative (2Chr 5:12; 29:13-14; 29:30; 35:15).

Some might think that this literary expectation is uncertain, because this system is not reflected in other parts of Chronicles, except in 1Chr 25:7-8. However, a literary expectation does not necessarily need to be established by frequent repetition. The strategic location of 1Chr 25:7-8 in the context of 1Chr 23-27, which describes the detailed, well-organised, and lengthy preparation of David for the temple personnel, would have required the reader to recall this paradigm in comprehending subsequent literary references to the Levitical singers. In fact, the Chronicler consistently claims David's authority in founding the liturgical practice of the Levitical singers (2Chr 8:14; 29:25) and the musical instruments that they used (2Chr 7:6; 29:26-27). This demands a retrospective awareness of 1Chr 25:1-8, in which "prophesy and make music according to David's direction" is the long-term guiding principle for the trained singers.

5.3.5. Summary

In 1Chr 25:1-8, we find a special prophetic-musical office of Levitical singers. First, David was the key figure in setting apart these singers for the watch of the temple, and their status was comparable to that of the Aaronites. Such co-operation between priests and Levites can be explained by the prominence of music in Mesopotamian professional practices; the Chronicler would have attempted to incorporate singers into the temple cult in order to increase the authenticity of the temple.

Second, the singers were to prophesy according to the directions of David. They prophesied in order to foster a covenantal stability envisaged in the Davidic covenant and summarised as "seeking God". Their prophecy can be explained in at least two

ways: (1) They exercised an inspired interpretation of the covenantal traditions, and (2) in prophecy, they imitated the covenantal paradigm set out by David to encourage the people to trust in the divine promise. In these ways, they were seen as helping to avert divine wrath and to enable the conditions necessary for covenantal stability.

Finally, the upper stratum of the Levitical singers (i.e. the 288) would have undergone the father-son apprenticeship in order to be qualified for the temple-watch. This special designation had two effects. First, they are characterised as socially equivalent to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers (and *kalû*-priests), so that the primary readership could identify them as elite professionals with legitimate authenticity. Second, the strategic location of 1Chr 25:1-8 creates a literary expectation that the prophetic-musical capacity of the descendants of the three heads, in subsequent references, would be the consequence of an unbroken line of succession in which "prophesy and make music according to David's directions" played a significant role, fostering the covenantal stability.

The Chronicler does not stop his emplotment here. I now discuss how, in 2Chr 20:1-30, he provides further examples of the ways in which the prophecy of Levitical singers averted wrath and promoted worldwide stability.

5.4. Music and Prophecy in 2 Chronicles 20:1-30

5.4.1. The General Context: Worldwide Stability

In depicting Jehoshaphat's reign (2Chr 17:2-21:1), the Chronicler expands 1Kgs 22 from 51 verses to 101 verses. The language of the Davidic covenant (e.g. "seek God", "God was with Jehoshaphat", "be strong", "do not be dismayed", "walk in God's commandments") recurrently appears in the storyline (2Chr 17:3-4; 19:3, 10-11; 20:3, 15-17). He also reformulates the story of Micaiah (1Kgs 22) with a different opening:

"he became son-in-law with Ahab" (2Chr 18:1) and with a different ending: "Regarding this, wrath *will come*[648] against you from the face of YHWH" (2Chr 19:2), so that the central theme shifts from the issue of true and false prophets (1Kgs 22) to the issue of making a marriage alliance (or covenant) with Ahab.[649] This alliance is depicted as incurring YHWH's wrath. The theme of "covenant" in relation to the stability of Israel thus dominates the whole episode.

The episode begins and ends with the same expression of worldwide stability:

2Chr 17:10 ויהי פחד יהוה על כל־ממלכות הארצות אשר סביבות יהודה ולא נלחמו עם־יהושפט

2Chr 20:29 ויהי פחד אלהים על כל־ממלכות הארצות בשמעם כי נלחם יהוה עם אויבי ישראל

At the close of Chronicles (2Chr 36:23), the phrase "all kingdoms of the earth(s)" (כל־ממלכות הארצות) designates the entire world given by YHWH to Cyrus (cf. Section 4.2.1.1). 2Chr 17:10 and 2Chr 20:29 share this global perspective of YHWH's government (cf. 1Chr 29:11). The well-being of Jehoshaphat and his small kingdom, Judah, could obtain a state of "no war" by the worldwide stability of "all kingdoms of the earth". "The dread of God/YHWH" (פחד אלהים/יהוה) is said to have arisen because YHWH fought a battle for Israel. This battle was "worldwide" because its effect was not only confined to Judah but also influenced all kingdoms. How could Israel gain such worldwide stability?

First, Israel could achieve this worldwide stability by heeding the itinerant *Torah*-teaching of the Levites (2Chr 17:7-9). The Levites "taught in Judah, and with them was the scroll of the *Torah* of YHWH. They went around (ויסבו) all the cities of Judah and taught among the people" (2Chr 17:9), so that "the dread of YHWH was over all the kingdoms of the earths around (סביבות) Judah" (2Chr 17:10). The occurrences of "go around" (סבב) and "around" (סביב) convey the view that if Judah

[648] I supply "will come" because I see the wrath as impending wrath: see footnote 651.
[649] Schniedewind, *Transition*, 142–143.

"surrounded" itself with the *Torah*, the dread of YHWH would "surround" Judah and bring the worldwide stability. Levites thus played a crucial role in mass education regarding the *Torah*, with the intention of fostering worldwide stability. In fact, the Chronicler probably borrows this teaching role of Levites from Deuteronomy (Deut 31:9-13; 33:8-11) and the post-exilic citizen-temple community (Neh 8:1-8), in which studying and learning the *Torah* through the teaching of Levites had increasingly occupied a central place.

Second, Jehoshaphat wished to avert divine wrath by performing a judicial reform (2Chr 19:4-11). This episode reformulates earlier juridical traditions (Exod 18:13-27; Deut 1:9-18; 16:18-20; 17:8-20)[650] and revives them for the purpose of assigning the Levites a role in fostering worldwide stability. 2Chr 19:10 states the purpose of this judicial system: "so that they will not incur retribution from YHWH, nor any wrath will be upon you and upon your fellows." (ולא יאשמו ליהוה והיה־קצף עליכם ועל־אחיכם). This "wrath" (קצף) can be interpreted as the impending wrath predicted by Jehu (2Chr 19:2), because of the alliance with Ahab.[651] Thus the central motive presented for the judicial reform was to avert an impending wrath. However, 2Chr 19 does not end with a picture of stability. The impending wrath (2Chr 19:2), generalised as the invasion of a Moabite coalition (2Chr 20:1), still came and now forms the backdrop for 2Chr 20:1-30.

[650] Gary N. Knoppers, "Jehoshaphat's Judiciary and 'The Scroll of YHWH's Torah'," *JBL* 113 (1994): 71–72; Tiňo, *King and Temple*, 76–107.

[651] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 255. Schniedewind argues that the "wrath" in 2Chr 19:2 refers to the act of enticement that incurred the wrath (2Chr 18). Jehu thus interpreted the event and did not predict an impending wrath in 2Chr 20: Schniedewind, *Transition*, 94–97. However, the verbless expression בזאת עליך קצף מלפני יהוה certainly allows a future event, and this relativises Schniedewind's interpretation.

5.4.2. Comments on 2Chr 20:1-30

The narrative starts with ויהי אחריכן, a temporal marker[652] together with "afterward", indicating an event connected with 2Chr 19, the "unfinished business" of averting the impending wrath (2Chr 19:2) by judicial reform. A Moabite coalition came against Jehoshaphat for battle (20:1-2). Jehoshaphat feared (ויירא), gave his face (ויתן יהושפט את־פניו) to seek YHWH (לדרוש ליהוה), and proclaimed a fast (ויקרא־צום) (20:3). All Judah assembled to seek YHWH (לבקש את־יהוה) (20:4) at YHWH's temple (20:5). This cluster of vocabulary resembles the language of 2Chr 7:14:

> If my people who are called by my name humble (ויכנעו) themselves, and pray (ויתפללו), and seek my face (ויבקשו פני), and turn from their evil ways (וישבו מדרכיהם הרעים), then I will hear from heaven (מן־השמים), and will forgive their sin and heal their land (את־ארצם).

McCarthy argues that דרש (a synonym of בקש) marks the covenant-makings and covenant-renewals on many occasions in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.[653] Kelly pushes the argument further, based on an examination of the chiastic insertion of 2Chr 7:12b-16a, and thinks that this cluster of vocabulary constitutes the language of repentance and restoration directed towards the chosen temple as the place where the retribution was reversed.[654] Since YHWH's answer to Solomon's prayer (2Chr 7:12b-16a) focuses primarily on the temple, which was the central promise of the Davidic covenant, the Chronicler would have used this cluster of vocabulary in a covenantal context. In fact, the Chronicler narrates these verses with heaven-and-earth elements, in which השמים and הארץ appear in 2Chr 7:13, 14b to form an *inclusio* for the central condition 2Chr 7:14a. The Chronicler thus presents the Solomonic fulfilment of David's promise by paraphrasing the conditions in 1Chr 28:9-10, 20 with

652 JM §176f.
653 McCarthy, "Covenant," 31–35.
654 Kelly, *Retribution*, 46–63.

the language of repentance and restoration (2Chr 7:14a) and the basic premises in the temple as realised template. The chosen temple (2Chr 7:12b) is thus portrayed as the place for averting wrath.

The acts of Jehoshaphat generally correspond to this line of thinking. Williamson writes, "Jehoshaphat clearly acts within the spirit of the paradigmatic 7:14", and "[t]his gathering [20:5] in the house of the Lord immediately recalls Solomon's role at the dedication of the temple. His prayer at that time envisaged just such situations as the crisis described here."[655] "Fast" (20:3) is "a symbol of earnest repentance"[656] and an external act of humility. "Seeking YHWH" (20:3, 5) is the Chronicler's favoured expression to denote conformity with the Davidic covenant. Jehoshaphat "prayed" (20:6-12) at the temple. These choices of language unambiguously point to 2Chr 7:14 within the theological context of the Davidic covenant. This theological appeal to the temple envisaged by 2Chr 7:14 will be clear from an interpretation of Jehoshaphat's prayer, to which I now turn.

5.4.2.1. Jehoshaphat's Prayer

2Chr 20:6-12 presents Jehoshaphat's prayer:

20:6 וַיֹּאמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵינוּ
הֲלֹא אַתָּה־הוּא אֱלֹהִים
בַּשָּׁמַיִם וְאַתָּה מוֹשֵׁל בְּכָל
מַמְלְכוֹת הַגּוֹיִם וּבְיָדְךָ כֹּחַ
וּגְבוּרָה וְאֵין עִמְּךָ לְהִתְיַצֵּב׃

And he said, "YHWH God of our fathers. Are you not God in the heaven? Are you ruling over all the kingdoms of the nations?[657] In your hand are power and might, and no one *is able* to stand with you.

20:7 הֲלֹא אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ הוֹרַשְׁתָּ

O our God! Did you not dispossess the

[655] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 295.
[656] Ibid.
[657] Only minor witnesses read "earth" for "nation". MT is to be preferred.

	אֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת	inhabitants of this earth from before your
	מִלִּפְנֵי עַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַתִּתְּנֶהָ	people Israel and give it to the seed of
	לְזֶרַע אַבְרָהָם אֹהַבְךָ לְעוֹלָם:	Abraham your friend[658] forever?
20:8	וַיֵּשְׁבוּ־בָהּ וַיִּבְנוּ לְךָ בָּהּ	They dwelled in it, and they built for you[659]
	מִקְדָּשׁ לְשִׁמְךָ לֵאמֹר:	in it a sanctuary for your name, saying,
20:9	אִם־תָּבוֹא עָלֵינוּ רָעָה חֶרֶב	‘If disaster came against us, sword,
	שְׁפוֹט וְדֶבֶר וְרָעָב נַעֲמֹד	judgment,[660] or pestilence, or famine, may
	לִפְנֵי הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה וּלְפָנֶיךָ כִּי	we stand before this temple, and before
	שִׁמְךָ בַּבַּיִת הַזֶּה וְנִזְעַק אֵלֶיךָ	you.[661] For your name is at this temple. We
	מִצָּרָתֵנוּ וְתִשְׁמַע וְתוֹשִׁיעַ:	cry towards you because of our distress. You
		will hear and will save!’
20:10	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן וּמוֹאָב	Now behold! The descendants of Ammon,
	וְהַר־שֵׂעִיר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נָתַתָּה	Moab, and Mount Seir, whom you did not
	לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לָבוֹא בָּהֶם בְּבֹאָם	permit Israel to come against them when
	מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם כִּי סָרוּ	they [Israel] came from the land of Egypt,
	מֵעֲלֵיהֶם וְלֹא הִשְׁמִידוּם:	because they [Israel] turned aside from
		against them and did not exterminate them.
20:11	וְהִנֵּה־הֵם גֹּמְלִים עָלֵינוּ לָבוֹא	Behold! They are rewarding us by coming to
	לְגָרְשֵׁנוּ מִיְּרֻשָּׁתְךָ אֲשֶׁר	drive us out from your possession[662] which
	הוֹרַשְׁתָּנוּ:	you have caused us to possess.
20:12	אֱלֹהֵינוּ הֲלֹא תִשְׁפֹּט־בָּם כִּי	O our God! Will you not judge upon them?

[658] G reads τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου. G might interpret אהב as “love” instead “friend”. The pointing in MT (אֹהַבְךָ) reflects a substantival participle of אהב to designate “friend”: JM §88Fb. Cf. Isa 41:8.

[659] G, S, V_g have no “for you”, probably because of the later word לשמך: *GC*, 2:145; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 407.

[660] G^L reads ἀκρίς as if ושחף, meaning “flood”. MT is to be preferred. “Judgment” can be the fourth calamity in Ezek 14:21: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 791.

[661] G^L and Mss add נקרא, “is invoked/called”. MT is to be preferred.

[662] G and T_g read “our possession”, probably influenced by “our” in הורשתנו: Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 153.

אֵין בְּנוּ כֹּחַ לִפְנֵי הֶהָמוֹן הָרַב הַזֶּה הַבָּא עָלֵינוּ וַאֲנַחְנוּ לֹא נֵדַע מַה־נַּעֲשֶׂה כִּי עָלֶיךָ עֵינֵינוּ׃

For there is no power among us before this great multitude which is coming against us. We do not know what we should do, for our eyes are upon you."

As can be seen, 20:8-9 indicates the centrality of the "temple/sanctuary" under YHWH's name. Jehoshaphat appealed to the divine promise in 2Chr 7:13-14, so that the threats of sword, pestilence, and famine could be averted if his community could promote the necessary conditions at the temple under YHWH's name. Again, we have an explicit reference to the temple as the place for averting wrath.

Jehoshaphat appealed to the temple (20:8-9) by three rhetorical questions beginning with הלא (20:6, 7, 12). This threefold הלא expresses the universal sovereignty of YHWH, who was "God in heaven", was "ruling all kingdoms of the nations", "dispossessed the inhabitants of this earth", and "will judge" the invaders. These expressions characterise YHWH as the one who controlled, ruled, and judged the whole world. The term "God in heaven" (cf. "God of heaven" in 2Chr 36:23) resembles the Persian perception of YHWH (cf. Section 4.1). The Chronicler employs this term to designate the global rule of YHWH and to give an antonym of "all kingdoms of the nations".[663] He transcends the earthly conflict to invoke YHWH's celestial government and repeats the language of David's prayer in 1Chr 29:11-12[664] in order to associate the heavenly government with the earthly temple. Thus Levine's exposition is right: "It is from heaven that God's power originates, but it is from the temple that the deity appears and gives strength to the people"[665] (cf. Ps 68:35-36).

[663] Beentjes, *Tradition*, 65.
[664] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 789.
[665] B.A. Levine, "On the Presence of God in Biblical Religion," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. Jacob Neusner, SHR 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 82.

Jehoshaphat's prayer indicates another theme: possession. The phrase "all kingdoms of the nations" creates a thematic parallel to "Ammonites and Moabites". 20:10 recalls the experience of Exodus, in which Israel was not given permission to enter into the lands of Seir, Ammon, and Moab, and was forced to turn aside their lands (Deut 2:1-22; Num 20:14-21). The concept behind this experience and the designation of Israel as "God's people" can be found in Deut 32:8-9:

> When Elyon apportioned the nations, when he divided the descendants of humanity, he established the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the sons of gods.[666] For the portion of YHWH is his people, Jacob the allotment of his possession.

In the division order of YHWH Elyon, different nations had their possessions assigned to different gods, but only Israel was YHWH's own portion (cf. Exod 19:4-6). Taking others' possessions was seen as a challenge to YHWH's division order. The Chronicler would be making use of this thinking by repeating "possession/dispossess" (ירשׁ/ירשׁה).[667] Since Israel was YHWH's possession, Jehoshaphat could appeal to this ultimate government in order to restore the original place of Israel within the world.

5.4.2.2. Jahaziel's Prophecy

As Jehoshaphat prayed in the manner of 2Chr 7:13-14, YHWH would have had to respond according to his promise. The Chronicler introduces Jahaziel by tracing his genealogy with five generations back to David's time (20:14).[668] This introduction is extraordinary since the Chronicler normally introduces prophets by tracing their fathers only one generation back (2Chr 15:1; 19:2; 24:20) or without genealogy (2Chr 12:5; 16:7; 25:7; 28:9). Regarding Jahaziel, Japhet writes,

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[666] I follow the Qumran text and G, reading, "the sons/angels of gods".

[667] This word contains a double sense, meaning "take possession" or "dispossess", especially in hiphil: *BDB*, 439.

[668] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 298; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 289.

> The figure of Jahaziel has many artificial features: his name, 'the one who sees God', his affiliation with the singers, who are conceived in Chronicles as prophets (I Chron. 25.1, 2, 3, 5), and his direct descent from Asaph, the assumed head-singer of David's time, all point to the 'literary' nature of his figure.[669]

With the "literary" nature of the figure of Jahaziel pointing towards 1Chr 25:1-8, his introduction probably has two literary implications: (1) Jahaziel was a legitimate descendant of Asaph, and (2) he would have undergone the father-son apprenticeship and learnt how to prophesy and chant.

Schniedewind believes that the possession formula "YHWH's spirit came upon Jahaziel" is "used in cases of *ad hoc* prophetic inspiration of non-professional prophets."[670] He argues that the Chronicler never uses possession formulae to preface prophetic speeches given by intermediaries with a prophetic title but to preface the speeches given by inspired messengers such as Levites, priests and soldiers.[671] However, my interpretation of 1Chr 25:7-8 in light of the professional attributes of the father-son apprenticeship of *kalûtu* would be corrective to this picture. Reading Jahaziel's prophecy with a retrospective awareness of 1Chr 25:7-8 probably primes the reader to understand this Asaphite as a learned person who knew how to prophesy according to David's directions. He probably knew how to reinterpret earlier authoritative traditions and had acquired a stable employment and education linked with the temple. These features should not be underestimated if we accept that the Chronicler may characterise Jahaziel as socially equivalent to a *kalû*-priest.

In fact, Jahaziel's prophecy reflects many features of "prophesying according to the directions of David". I now unfold these features and begin with a translaton of the prophecy:

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669 Japhet, *Chronicles*, 793.
670 Schniedewind, *Transition*, 74.
671 Ibid., 70–74.

20:15-16	וַיֹּאמֶר הַקְשִׁיבוּ כָל־יְהוּדָה וְיֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם וְהַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹשָׁפָט כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה לָכֶם אַתֶּם אַל־תִּירְאוּ וְאַל־תֵּחַתּוּ מִפְּנֵי הֶהָמוֹן הָרַב הַזֶּה כִּי לֹא לָכֶם הַמִּלְחָמָה כִּי לֵאלֹהִים: ...	He said, "Give attention! All Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem and King Jehoshaphat! Thus YHWH says to you, 'You! Do not fear and do not be dismayed before this great multitude. For the battle is not yours but God's …
20:17	לֹא לָכֶם לְהִלָּחֵם בָּזֹאת הִתְיַצְּבוּ עִמְדוּ וּרְאוּ אֶת־יְשׁוּעַת יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם יְהוּדָה וְירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם אַל־תִּירְאוּ וְאַל־תֵּחַתּוּ מָחָר צְאוּ לִפְנֵיהֶם וַיהוָה עִמָּכֶם:	It is not for you to wage war in this *battle*. Stand by yourself! Stand still! See the salvation of YHWH with you! O Judah and Jerusalem! Do not fear and do not be dismayed! Tomorrow, go out before them! YHWH will be with you!"
20:18	וַיִּקֹּד יְהוֹשָׁפָט אַפַּיִם אָרְצָה וְכָל־יְהוּדָה וְיֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם נָפְלוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לַיהוָה:	Then Jehoshaphat bowed down *with* face onto the earth and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem fell down before YHWH to bow down to YHWH.

This prophecy shows that the central themes are the proclamation of holy war and the exhortation to take courage. The introduction (20:15a) to this prophecy specifies a target audience – "all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" and "Jehoshaphat", along with a prophetic summons to "give attention". In parallel, 20:18 shows that "all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" and "Jehoshaphat" bowed down.

Some commentators have noticed a connection to holy-war ideology.[672] This study, however, does not trace the cultic setting of the holy-war tradition. Rather, I wish to concentrate on how the Chronicler employs earlier holy-war traditions in his

[672] Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 74; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 297; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 783; Gerhard von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, trans. Marva J. Dawn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 129–131.

theological structure in order to support his global outlook. 2Chr 20 contains many references to holy-war traditions such as "YHWH's people", "YHWH's war", divine terror, and "do not fear, but believe."[673] 20:15b announces that the war belonged to YHWH. This transcended the earthly conflict with reference to the heavenly flight of YHWH's hosts. This war became "holy" because it belonged to the realm of God.

20:17 indicates a double exhortation of "do not fear and do not be dismayed!" Many commentators have observed that the Chronicler borrows Exod 14:13-14 and Isa 41:10-14 for this construction. Jahaziel thus is shown exhorting and encouraging Jehoshaphat and his people with an inspired interpretation of earlier traditions[674] in order to give an impression that Jehoshaphat and his people re-experienced YHWH's salvation of leading Israelites across the Red Sea.[675] Moreover, Jahaziel's prophecy hinges on a literary turning point from lament (20:3-5) to praise (20:19), which corresponds to the prophetic elements within psalms that feature "certainty of a hearing".[676] Thus Jahaziel's prophecy somehow predicted YHWH's salvation. He could be confident in this prediction, because YHWH had already promised the well-being of Judah in the Davidic covenant in relation to the theological significance of the temple.

Jahaziel's prophecy follows the exact pattern of 1Chr 22:13-16, 28:9-10, 20 (cf. 2Chr 32:7), in which "do not fear", "do not be dismayed", and "YHWH will be with you" duplicate David's definition of the appropriate attitude towards the temple as the centre of the world.[677] We thus see how the Chronicler incorporates earlier Exodus traditions into his special concept of the Davidic covenant, which was linked to the

[673] For the features, see Von Rad, *Holy War*, 41–51.
[674] Schniedewind, *Transition*, 125, 129.
[675] Endres, "Theology of Worship," 180.
[676] Bellinger Jr., *Psalmody*.
[677] These elements show "a recurring feature of the Chronicler's conception of prophecy": Williamson, *Chronicles*, 298.

fortune of the temple. We also see how the Levitical singer, Jahaziel, prophesied "according to the directions of David" in order to exhort and encourage Jehoshaphat and his people to stand firm in trusting the Davidic promise.

5.4.2.3. Jehoshaphat's Exhortation and the Chanting of Levitical Singers

After Jahaziel's prophecy, the Kohathites and Korahites[678] stood automatically to praise YHWH as if they were prepared (or trained) to do so (20:19). A Levitical singer (Jahaziel) delivered first an oracle according to the Davidic promise. A group of singers then responded with chanting, expressing an appropriate response from the human side of the covenant. We cannot imagine that this procedure arose by improvisation. Rather, it is natural to view it as a result of planning and training.

Kohathites and Korahites stood up "to praise YHWH God of Israel with a great voice to above" (לְהַלֵּל לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּקוֹל גָּדוֹל לְמָעְלָה). לְמָעְלָה catches our imagination in a similar way to 2Chr 7:13-14, in which YHWH promised to hear earthly prayer from heaven atop the temple. The Chronicler adds "to above" (לְמָעְלָה) in 20:19 to show that the singers' chanting was a response to "God in heaven", who had delivered his oracles through Jahaziel. Singers thus controlled both upward praise and downward prophecy and established a channel of communication in which they acted as mediators, resembling the divine origin of *gala*-priest who also acted as a mediator (Section 2.2.3).

According to the passage, the next morning, Jehoshaphat and his people went out and stood, and he gave a very important exhortation (2Chr 20:20):

> Listen to me! O Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem! Believe (הַאֲמִינוּ) YHWH your God and you will be confirmed (וְתֵאָמֵנוּ)! Believe (הַאֲמִינוּ) his prophets and you will prosper (וְהַצְלִיחוּ)!

[678] Kohathites might be at one stage of development absorbed into the guild of Heman as shown in 1Chr 6:18: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 796; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 408–409.

This exhortation is stylistically significant, not only because the Chronicler constructs the parallelism using threefold occurrence of אמן but also because it involves the Chronicler's wider use of אמן in a covenantal context.[679] Of the ten occurrences of the word אמן in Chronicles,[680] five of them (except 20:20) are closely linked to the promise to David, which is depicted as "believable", "trustworthy", or "Amen-able". If we read 20:20 within this wider arrangement, it is not difficult to think that the Chronicler probably transposes the covenantal idea into 20:20 to convey a message: if you believe in the divine promise in the Davidic covenant, you will be confirmed (literally "believed").

This reading is further verified by the second half of the parallelism, in which prophets were the objects to be believed. Schniedewind thinks that Jahaziel is not the only referent, because "prophets" is plural.[681] On the literary level, "prophets" probably refers to Jahaziel and the Kohathites and Korahites, because these singers collaborated to summon the people to believe in the divine promise, "prophesying according to David's directions". In fact, many post-Davidic kings are shown to "prosper" (צלח) when they enabled the conditions of the divine promise (e.g. 1Chr 29:23; 2Chr 7:11; 31:21; 32:30). This further confirms that Levitical singers sought to promote the covenantal stability by encouraging the people to believe in God's promise.

After the exhortation, Jehoshaphat consulted with his people in order to arrange the Levitical singers as the vanguard of the army (20:21). First, when compared with Josh 6:5, we see that the Chronicler replaces the original battle cry with musical

[679] Many scholars think that 2Chr 20:20 rephrases Isa 7:9 into a positive exhortation: Schniedewind, *Transition*, 183; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 299; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 797; William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, vol. 2, JSOTSS 254 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1997), 102. Jehoshaphat acted in the role of a priest (Deut 20:1-4): Williamson, *Chronicles*, 299; von Rad, *Holy War*, 118–119.

[680] 1Chr 16:36; 17:23, 24; 2Chr 1:9; 6:17; 9:6; 20:20(x3); 32:15.

[681] Schniedewind, *Transition*, 184.

worship and a hymn of praise.[682] Josh 6:5 declares that Israelites made a long blast with a "horn" (קרן), symbolising the power and success of YHWH's battle, and we also see a link with this in 1Chr 25:5 where the Hemanites lifted up a "horn" (קרן).

Second, the Chronicler may have shared the Mesopotamian concept of musical instruments as the vanguard of a celestial battle (Section 2.4.2). Just as holiness was the necessary condition for Algar-instruments to act as the vanguard of Inanna, Levitical singers also needed to offer praises in the holy splendour (לְהַדְרַת־קֹדֶשׁ).[683] As such, the Chronicler would have related the theological significance of Levitical singers in battle to that of Mesopotamian scholar-singers in order to encourage the citizen-temple community to trust in the Davidic covenant when they encountered socio-political instability.

Finally, the singers are shown chanting a liturgical refrain: "Give thanks to YHWH, for his faithfulness (חסדו) is forever!" As I shall argue in Chapter Six, this refrain belongs to the covenantal context as well. Repeatedly, the service of Levitical singers, as described by the Chronicler, shows a profound concern for worldwide stability and holiness in the context of the Davidic covenant.

After the music and prophecy of Levitical singers, YHWH sent ambushes against the invaders and they were smitten (20:22). The Israelites plundered the booty for three days (20:25), and after that, Levitical singers led in triumphal worship back to Jerusalem (20:27-28) with "joy" (שמחה) and with their musical instruments. The Chronicler then ends with the statement of worldwide stability (20:29), a covenantal stability that could probably be achieved if Levitical singers made music and prophesied "according to the directions of David".

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[682] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 300; von Rad, *Holy War*, 131; Petersen, *Late Israelite Prophecy*, 75.

[683] This involves a sense of "holy ornament": Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 345.

5.5. Conclusion

In summary, the Chronicler reframes the Davidic covenant into his worldwide significance of the temple and extends the implication of covenantal conditionality to the metaphorical framework of the temple as realised template. In so doing, he situates Levitical singers within the worship of the temple in order to assign the crucial tasks of fostering worldwide stability to their music and prophecy.

The figure of David is used as the model of a prophet and musician, directing the music and prophecy of the singers. Since the Davidic covenant (1Chr 17) established the necessary conditions for enabling worldwide stability in the temple (1Chr 28:9-10, 20; 2Chr 7:13-14), Levitical singers had to sing and prophesy "according to the directions of David" in order to encourage all Israel to live a lifestyle in conformity to the covenantal requirements.

Furthermore, the Chronicler probably characterises the upper stratum of the Levitical singers as elite professionals, trained to promote covenantal stability over generations through their music and prophecy. These chief singers would have been socially equivalent to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests, so that people in the wider pre-Hellenistic culture could identify them as ideologically effective in averting wrath and fostering stability.

Finally, these singers are also portrayed as playing a key role in restoring covenantal stability when Judah encountered a disaster that threatened its well-being (2Chr 20). They prophesied with an inspired interpretation of traditions and reformulated these traditions with reference to the theological framework of the Davidic covenant, which itself was linked with the worldwide significance of the temple. Here, they encouraged all Israel to remember and to trust in the divine promise to avert any threat.

The Chronicler attempted to encourage the citizen-temple community that the existing second temple cultic arrangement, however small it would be, could still stabilise the future in covenantal terms. The apprenticeship of Levitical singers gave a realistic hope to the community. If they persisted in seeking God and pursuing prophecy according to David's directions, they could enjoy covenantal stability, even though they still encountered instability in reality.

Although the Davidic dynasty did not exist in the Chronicler's time, the citizen-temple community was encouraged through the Chronicler's enlivening recontextualisation of the Davidic covenant that they could still find the same covenantal stability; if Jehoshaphat and his people could pass the test, then the citizen-temple community could also pass the test. Although Yehud was a small and poor province, the Chronicler never lost his hope. He exaggerated the worldwide significance of the first temple in the golden age of David and Solomon and endorsed Levitical singers as the key people in fostering worldwide stability in order to encourage his contemporaries to trust in the Davidic covenant, which was an identity marker of Israel's very existence in the whole creation.

6. Remember YHWH's Covenantal Faithfulness: The Shaping of YHWH's Hymns in the Scribal Context of Levitical Singers

So far, this study has confirmed that the prophesying of Levitical singers sought to promote and foster covenantal stability as envisaged in the Davidic covenant. Our understanding is, however, incomplete without an exploration of the deployment of some biblical psalms in Chronicles. The Chronicler incorporates biblical psalms (Pss 96, 105, 106, 132) into his storyline (1Chr 15-16; 2Chr 6) and puts these hymns in the mouths of the Levitical singers and Solomon. He also assigns the liturgical refrain, "Give thanks to YHWH, for he is good, for his faithfulness endures forever" (1Chr 16:34, 41; 2Chr 5:13; 7:3, 6; 20:21) to the chanting of the singers.[684] This adaptation reflects the process of scribal recontextualisation, in which a given hymnic tradition was framed in different literary contexts that were meaningful to different audiences.

As in its Mesopotamian counterpart (Section 2.3), this reshaping does not mean that traditions were erroneously transmitted. Rather, they were understood as valuable and reusable for various scribal innovations, especially in the case of traditions that were perceived as divinely inspired. Evidence shows that the Mesopotamian scholar-singers were skilful in reappropriating ancient traditions to create something new, especially that *kalû*-priests were skillful in recontextualising *balag-eršemma* in different settings of temple liturgies. It would be intriguing to set these Mesopotamian professional practices and norms alongside the Chronicler's characterisation of Levites as scholar-singers in order to evaluate his purposes.

We are fortunate to be able to see that this scribal recontextualisation happened in two parallel transmissions of biblical psalms: (1) the compilation of the Psalter and (2) the insetting of psalms in Chronicles. This is remarkable because, as I shall show, they

[684] 2Chr 7:3 shows the chanting of the refrain by the people, probably led by the singers: Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 119.

both show a strong theological reaction to the experience of the exile, especially to the failure of the old Davidic covenant. It is worth investigating the similarities in the way the psalms have been reshaped to fit within their frames of reference.

In this chapter, I intend to show that the Chronicler's inclusion of biblical psalms into the storyline not only characterises the Levitical singers as the tradents and composers of these hymns but also sharpens the sense of their role in fostering covenantal stability by helping people to remember YHWH's faithfulness. First, I explore the compilation of the Hebrew Psalter in relation to the Chronicler, and I argue that they both inherited the same scribal conventions in their respective recontextualisations. The Chronicler also projects these conventions into his depiction of Levitical singers by (1) assigning these conventions as their main jobs (1Chr 16:4) and (2) reframing the content of the chanting according to these conventions (1Chr 16:8-36). Second, I offer a detailed exegesis of 1Chr 16:8-36 and 2Chr 6:41-42 to show that the Levitical singers sought to proclaim YHWH's sovereignty and global kingship and to cause people to remember YHWH's covenantal faithfulness.

6.1. The Levitical Shaping of the Psalter and Chronicles

Psalms 96, 105, 106, and 132 belong to Books IV-V of the MT-Psalter. Evidence in the Qumran Psalm Scrolls 11QPs[a] leads Wilson to conclude that Books I-III were relatively stable in transmission, while Books IV-V were still fluid compared with the MT-Psalter.[685] He builds on a proposal by Sanders[686] in order to support the theory of "gradual stabilisation", in which 11QPs[a]-collection was a true Psalter, acting as a

[685] Gerald Henry Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, SBLDS 76 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 63–138.

[686] James A. Sanders, "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," in *The Canon and Masorah of the Hebrew Bible: An Introductory Reader*, ed. Sid Z. Leiman (New York: Ktav, 1974), 37–51.

signpost to witness to the process of canonisation, and Books IV-V were still open-ended during the first century CE.

Flint, refining Sanders and Wilson's theory, disproves the theory of "gradual stabilisation" and suggests the development of the Psalter in two definite stages: (1) Psalms 1-89 (Books I-III) was stabilised earlier than the Qumran period in about 150 BCE, and (2) Psalms 90-150 (Books IV-V) exhibited a certain fluidity during the Qumran period.[687] This fluidity, according to Flint, reflects three different editions of the Psalter in the late second temple period:

1. Edition I: An early edition of the Psalter (Psalms 1 or 2 to 89)
2. Edition IIa: The 11QPs^{a}-Psalter – complied among those communities that supported the 364-day solar calendar *before* the Qumran period.
3. Edition IIb: The MT-150 Psalter[688]

There were thus at least two scriptural Psalters (Editions IIa and IIb) during the Qumran period. This implies that (1) the 11QPs^{a}-Psalter did not belong to a stage of the linear development of the Psalter, (2) the MT-Psalter did not enjoy universal acceptance, and (3) a proto-MT Psalter would have existed before the Qumran period. Flint's analysis is remarkable because he does not put different editions into a linear development. In effect, this frees the dating of the compilation of the MT-Psalter from a linear evolution towards stabilisation and places it in an environment of plurality. It also gives room for a pre-Qumran dating (e.g. the Persian period) of the MT-Psalter, instead of the post-Qumran dating suggested by Sanders and Wilson.

In his groundbreaking study of the editing of the Psalter, Wilson plausibly argues that the exilic experience, especially the apparent failure of the Davidic covenant, is the central editorial concern that shaped the Psalter. He believes that some royal

[687] Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 141–146.
[688] Ibid., 168–170, 238–240. Since G-Psalter generally coincides with the shape of the MT-Psalter, this testifies to an earlier origin of the MT-Psalter: Ibid., 170.

psalms, in particular Pss 2, 72, 89, have been purposefully placed at the seams of Books I-III, in order to shape the orientation around the exilic reaction to the loss of the Davidic kingdom.[689] This failure of the Davidic covenant is most explicitly spelled out in Ps 89:39-52. According to Wilson, there is a break between Books I-III and Books IV-V, as attested in 11QPs[a]. Book IV thus stands in a unique position to answer the problem of the failure of the Davidic covenant posed in Books I-III:

> In my opinion, Pss 90-106 function as the editorial "center" of the final form of the Hebrew Psalter. As such this grouping stands as the "answer" to the problem posed in Ps 89 as to the apparent failure of the Davidic covenant with which Book One-Three are primarily concerned. Briefly summarized the answer given is: (1) YHWH is king; (2) He has been our "refuge" in the past, long before the monarchy existed (i.e., in the Mosaic period); (3) He will continue to be our refuge now that the monarchy is gone; (4) Blessed are they that trust in him![690]

Wilson further explains the function of Book V:

> Following the lead of Ps 107, it seems that in some sense the fifth book was intended to stand as an answer to the plea of the exiles to be gathered from the *diaspora*. The answer given is that deliverance and life thereafter is dependent on an attitude of dependence and trust in YHWH alone.[691]

The break between Books I-III and Books IV-V is significant, because the exilic experience and theological reflection on the Davidic covenant critically affected the shape of the Psalter. As suggested in Chapters Three and Four, the exilic experience created a strong motivation for Jewish thinkers to reflect on the tension between YHWH's kingship and human kingship. The pre-Hellenistic milieu of the citizen-temple community further fostered a globalised conception of YHWH as the imperial God, which probably influenced the pre-understanding of the Chronicler. This exactly matches the central concern of the compilers of the Psalter: a total

[689] Wilson, *Editing*, 207–214.
[690] Ibid., 215.
[691] Ibid., 227. Italics his

dependence on YHWH's kingship. Since Chronicles and the Psalter both respond to the exile with the argument of YHWH's universal kingship, it is likely that their writers inherited a similar theological character.

Building on Wilson's thesis, Tiňo argues that the compilers of the Psalter, like Deutero-Isaiah and P, present an incompatibility between YHWH's kingship and earthly kingship. They essentially disagree with the Chronicler, who illustrates no conflict between YHWH's kingship and David in Chronicles.[692] However, Tiňo's overall argument is not compelling, because he misses the element of conditionality in the basic understanding of the Davidic covenant in Chronicles.[693] As shown in Chapter Five, the Chronicler reformulates the Davidic dynastic promise by adding an element of conditionality, which can be summarised as "seeking God". This means that there was no conflict between YHWH's kingship and Davidic kings *only under this very condition*. Otherwise, Israel would incur wrath. In fact, the Chronicler does not depict David as a perfect king since his wrongdoings incurred YHWH's wrath twice (1Chr 13:10; 21:7-8). An essential conflict between YHWH and David did appear in Chronicles, when David violated the divine conditions.

Moreover, Wilson has recently nuanced his proposal by illustrating that Ps 132 gives a reference to a "*conditional* enthronement of the Davidic descendants", which shifts "any hopes attached to the Davidic monarchs on to the rulership of God himself."[694] This conditionality does exist in the shape of the Psalter where it is used to express YHWH's imperial sovereignty. This not only matches the conditional enthronement of Davidic kings in Chronicles but also coincides with the Chronicler's

[692] Tiňo, *King and Temple*, 108–119.

[693] Tiňo does explore this conditionality in his articulation of the *Torah* in Chronicles: Ibid., 53. However, he does not explore this element in his comparison with the shaping of the Psalter.

[694] Gerald Henry Wilson, "King, Messiah, and the Reign of God: Revisiting the Royal Psalms and the Shape of the Psalter," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, SVT 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 397. Italics his

shifting of focus from the Davidic dynasty to the covenantal foundation that lay behind the temple. Therefore, the "essential disagreement" between Chronicles and the Psalter is overstated by Tiňo, and their similarity when it comes to the Davidic covenant is frequently evident.

One central similarity between Chronicles and the Psalter is the theology of the temple as realised template. Many agree that Pss 1-2 are intentionally placed at the introduction of the Psalter in order to direct subsequent interpreters to consider the Psalter as a kind of *Torah* and as a book elaborating YHWH's kingship in Zion[695] – the place that symbolised the temple.[696]

Furthermore, Gillingham undertakes a thorough study concerning the editing of the Psalter according to the theological convictions of the Zion tradition. She successfully locates a number of "temple markers", showing that some premises in the temple as realised template (e.g. the mountain top as the connection between heaven and earth, the temple as the centre of the world, and the worldwide governance) probably constituted a dominant pre-understanding of the compilers.[697] The Songs of Ascent (Pss 120-134) offer a compelling example of this. Commentators have offered diverse approaches for the interpretation of The Songs of Ascent.[698] I am inclined to

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[695] Tournay, *Seeing*, 27; James Luther Mays, "The Question of Context in Psalm Interpretation," in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, JSOTSS 159 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 16; James Luther Mays, "The Place of the Torah-Psalms in the Psalter," *JBL* 106 (1987): 10; Gerald T. Sheppard, *Wisdom as a Hermeneutical Construct: A Study in the Sapientializing of the Old Testament*, BZAW 151 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1980), 141–144; S.E. Gillingham, "The Levitical Singers and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter," in *The Composition of the Book of Psalms*, ed. Erich Zenger, BETL 238 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2010), 102.

[696] Pss 1-2 depict many symbols of the temple such as streams of water and trees (Ps 1:3), YHWH's enthronement in the heavens (Ps 2:4), Zion as holy mountain (Ps 2:6), the royal decree of YHWH (Ps 2:7), and nations on the earth as the gift of YHWH (Ps 2:8). The juxtaposition of Pss 1 and 2 strengthens the *Torah* as the refuge of YHWH-seekers (Ps 2:12): Jerome F.D. Creach, *Yahweh as Refuge and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, JSOTSS 217 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1996), 69–73, 79–80. This matches the symbolism of the Zion tradition: S.E. Gillingham, "The Zion Tradition and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 332–333.

[697] Gillingham, "Zion," 308–341; Gillingham, "Levitical Singers," 91–103.

[698] For a comprehensive survey, see Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101-150*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, Minn:

agree with Crows' approach, which locates six formulaic phrases[699] that indicate "a discernible, consistent redactional reworking"[700] of Pss 120-134. He proposes a hypothesis that the nucleus of the collection belongs to the northern non-Jerusalemite agricultural traditions, while the later Jerusalemite editors reframed these traditions according to the Zion tradition,[701] and this happened during the Persian period under the influence of the inauguration of the post-exilic temple community.[702] Gillingham further states that Pss 120-134 contain "the most compelling evidence" for locating the editing footprints of "temple markers".[703] Seybold argues that the Mesopotamian worldview probably influenced the language of the Psalter.[704]

While the majority of scholars regard these psalms as pilgrim-psalms,[705] another possible interpretation of their titles שיר המעלות is "The Songs of the Temple Steps",[706] which may refer to a particular place in the temple where they were sung. In any event, these psalms seem firmly associated with the temple service, harmonising with the overall editorial approach of the compilers, according to the theology of the temple and to the Davidic covenant. Their concerns, in either case, seem to coincide either with 2Chr 5:12; 7:6, depicting the Levitical singers standing at the top of the "temple steps" for chanting,[707] or with 2Chr 36:23, depicting the second temple as the destination of "ascent" for establishing the cult. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that the Chronicler and the compilers of the Psalter are of similar theological outlooks.

Fortress Press, 2011), 288–293.

699 Crow, *Ascents*, 130–136.

700 Ibid., 137.

701 Ibid., 145–158.

702 Ibid., 167–174.

703 Gillingham, "Levitical Singers," 95.

704 Klaus Seybold, *Introducing the Psalms* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990), 177–190.

705 E.g., Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 221–223; Knowles, *Centrality*, 93–103.

706 E.g., John Sawyer, "The Psalms in Judaism and Christianity: A Reception History Perspective," in *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms: Conflict and Convergence*, ed. S.E. Gillingham (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 139–141.

707 Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 72–73.

Scholars have noted their close affinity. Kraus believes that "[t]he Levitical circle of transmitters that stands behind the Chronicler's history presents itself as the priesthood responsible for the vocal and instrumental performance of the Psalms in the postexilic temple community."[708] Riley thinks that "[t]he greatest argument for the influence of the Psalms upon the Chronicler is his own unmistakable use of verses of the Psalter, especially in the events which surround the establishment of the Temple."[709] Tournay suggests that the prominence of singing and music during the second temple period as reflected in Chronicles arose simultaneously with the completion of the Psalter.[710] Davies also believes that the Chronicler and the compilers of the Psalter belonged to the same scribal circle.[711] Williamson notes some strong affinities between Chronicles and the Psalter such as the liturgical refrain (Pss 106:1; 107:1; 118:1; 136:1), דרש (Pss 9:11; 14:2; 22:27; 24:6; 34:5, 11; 69:33; 77:3; 78:34; 105:4; 119:2, 10) and עזר (Pss 10:14; 28:7; 30:11; 37:40; 46:6; 54:6).[712] It is therefore highly probable that they share the same theological outlook with a common interest in the temple cult and its theology.

In her recent article, Gillingham locates six markers affirming that the compilation of the Psalter is the work of Levitical hands: (1) the liturgical headings of various psalms, including "the type of a psalm; the tune to accompany it; the instruments to be used; and the role of the leader of worship";[713] (2) the superscriptions of some psalms (Pss 39, 50, 62, 73-83, 88-89), pointing unambiguously to Levitical editing;[714] (3) the dominance of the figure of David;[715] (4)

[708] Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 32.
[709] Riley, *King and Cultus*, 34.
[710] Tournay, *Seeing*, 27.
[711] Davies, *Scribes and Schools*, 131.
[712] Williamson, *Israel*, 47, 54–55.
[713] Gillingham, "Levitical Singers," 103–104. She observes that "[t]he evidence of singing and music from the contents of the psalms is so overwhelming": Ibid., 105.
[714] Gillingham, "Levitical Singers," 108. Cf. Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 218–219; Mark S. Smith, "The Levitical Compilation of the Psalter," *ZAW* 103 (1991): 259.

the special interest in the *Torah* and the didactic elements in psalms;[716] (5) the concern for the poor and needy;[717] and (6) the prophetic elements in the Psalter.[718] As such, Gillingham offers a very strong argument that, taken together with her illustration of the temple-oriented editing of the Psalter,[719] makes it obvious that there is a strong Levitical influence in the shaping of the Psalter,[720] which cannot be easily disproved. In comparison, most of the six markers match the characterisation of Levites in Chronicles, such as (1), (2), (3), (4), and (6). It is thus reasonable to assume that there is a strong Levitical influence in the Psalter and Chronicles.[721]

Building on the common Levitical influence on the Psalter and Chronicles, we can explore further the common literary conventions used in them. Concerning these Levitical-scribal conventions, Japhet writes,

> The most striking feature is the fundamental similarity in method between the compilation of this psalm and the general character of the Chronicler's literary activity: the joining, editing and reworking of existing materials into a new extensive literary composition.[722]

I wish to unfold this "fundamental similarity", arguing that Levitical scholar-singers summoned people (within the text) to remember YHWH's covenantal faithfulness.

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[715] Gillingham, "Levitical Singers," 109–110. This matches the prophecy of Levitical singers according to David's directions in Chapter Five.

[716] Ibid., 110–114. This matches the *Torah*-educational context in 2Chr 17:7-9.

[717] Ibid., 114–116.

[718] Ibid., 116–120; S.E. Gillingham, "New Wine and Old Wineskins: Three Approaches to Prophecy and Psalmody," in *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 370–390.

[719] Gillingham, "Zion," 308–341.

[720] Supported by: Nancy L. DeClaissé-Walford, *Reading from the Beginning: The Shaping of the Hebrew Psalter* (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press, 1997), 28; Gunther Wanke, "Prophecy and Psalms in the Persian Period," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, vol. 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1984), 184–186; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 32; Davies, *Scribes and Schools*, 131.

[721] I do not go too far in determining a specific group behind the shaping of the Psalter and Chronicles. The topic of authorship is extremely complicated insofar as we cannot confidently determine whether they came from pro-Levitical or/and pro-priestly circles. Scholars have reached no consensus (see footnote 5). I only wish to contend the widely accepted view that Levitical influence penetrates both the Psalter and Chronilces, though the identity of the author (or compilers) remains mysterious.

[722] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 313.

Following the lead of Wilson, I wish to elucidate four literary conventions that are purposefully employed in the compilation of the Psalter and Chronicles. First, the הללויה-psalms conclude segments, while the הודו-psalms introduce new sections (e.g. Pss 104-106; 117-118; 135-136).[723] Second, psalms with doxologies are usually placed at the end of Books I-IV of the Psalter.[724] Third, a shift happens from Books I-III to Book IV and a high proportion of "untitled" psalms predominate in Book IV. The juxtaposition of untitled psalms in Book IV allows the editors freedom in arranging their order to focus on YHWH's kingship in response to the problem posed by the failure of the Davidic covenant in Books I-III.[725] Finally, there is a tendency to assign Davidic authorship to those psalms perceived as divinely inspired, because Levitical singers saw David as the model of a prophet, receiving divine inspiration (cf. Chapter Five). This would have become a stabilising factor for the transmission of hymnic traditions, as it did with their Mesopotamian counterparts (cf. Section 2.3.3). I shall show that the Chronicler uses these four conventions in his insertion of biblical psalms and in his characterisation of Levitical singers.

In summary, I submit that both Chronicles and the Psalter show a coherent concern for some thematic issues such as the theology of the temple, the Davidic covenant, YHWH's global kingship, and the exilic experience. They both encourage their readers to trust in YHWH's kingship by reflecting the insights suggested by the conditionality of the Davidic covenant, and we find a general agreement of theology between them. I now argue that the Chronicler's shaping of inset psalms shows a skilful mastery of common scribal conventions, which are also present in the Psalter, in order to characterise Levitical singers as scholar-singers, who sought to encourage

[723] Wilson, *Editing*, 182–190.
[724] Ibid., 183–184.
[725] Ibid., 173–181.

people through the chanting of well-crafted hymns, to remember covenantal faithfulness and to trust in YHWH's imperial sovereignty.

6.2. The Levitical Scholar-singers in 1 Chronicles 15-16

6.2.1. The Chronicler's Characterisation of the Levitical Singers

The inset psalm (1Chr 16:8-36) belongs to the literary context of 1Chr 13-16, which describes David's inauguration of Levitical singers and the transfer of the ark to the "place" (מקום) prepared by David. The Chronicler reorders his Samuel-*Vorlage* by narrating the first attempt to transfer the ark in 1Chr 13, followed by the defeat of the Philistines in 1Chr 14. The second attempt comes next in 1Chr 15-16, in which the Chronicler significantly expands his Samuel-*Vorlage* (2Sam 6:12-16) from 5 verses to 72 verses. This reordering is probably guided by the wordplay of "seek" (דרש and בקש) (13:3; 14:8; 15:13; 16:10-11) and "break forth" (פרץ) (13:2, 11; 14:11; 15:13) as a double paronomasia[726] to show that seeking YHWH according to "statute" (משפט) was a guiding principle in averting wrath (1Chr 15:13).[727] This statute should be interpreted as an allusion to some established regulations, which were neglected in the previous tragedy (1Chr 13).[728] 1Chr 15:2 makes clear the content of the regulations: only Levites could carry the ark of YHWH and serve him, according to Deut 10:8.[729] This, in effect, emphasises the indispensable role of the Levites in averting wrath at times of "seeking YHWH", a key term summarising the Davidic covenant. The failure of the first attempt thus gives a warrant for "the ordering and sanctifying of the Levites"[730] (1Chr 15:12-14) under David's authority.

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[726] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 588; Eskenazi, "Literary Approach," 265.
[727] Cf. Marc Zvi Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London: Routledge, 1995), 43–45.
[728] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 618.
[729] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 297; von Rad, *Geschichtsbild*, 99.
[730] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 120.

In 1Chr 15:16-24, the Chronicler includes a detailed list of Levitical singers, priests, and gatekeepers, showing the fulfilment of David's commands by the chiefs of the Levites in organising a cultic team during the transfer of the ark.[731] This list shows, in great detail, a collaboration of cultic personnel in the subsequent organisation of the temple service. The central issue was to ensure a proper cultic arrangement for the transfer of the ark, in order for David to receive the divine blessings that the house of Obed-edom previously experienced (1Chr 13:14; 16:43).

In 1Chr 15:25-29(//2Sam 6:12-16), the Levites started to carry the ark with God's help. First, the Chronicler replaces Qal waw-consecutive וילך in 2Sam 6:12 with a participle ההלכים in 1Chr 15:25 and adds the notion of "God's helping" (ויהי בעזר) in 1Chr 15:26 to align it with the participles employed in 1Chr 15:27-28 (הנשאים and מעלים) and to show a cluster of continuous actions.[732] Second, Eskenazi observes an important shift of modifier in describing the ark from 1Chr 15:25 onward:

> Until the Levites carry the ark, it is identified as the ark of God or ark of YHWH. Once the Levites are specifically appointed to carry the ark and actually do so, the terminology changes. Now, for the first time in Chronicles, the "ark of the *covenant*" occurs … the Levites – not the ark itself – are perceived as the actual bearers of the covenant. Only when the two combine – when the Levites and the ark meet – does the ark constitute a covenantal symbol.[733]

This close association of the Levites with the covenant gives the ark theological substance, symbolising Israel as the covenantal people holy to YHWH. This not only matches my interpretation in Chapter Five but also adds significance to the content of the singers' chanting in 1Chr 16:8-36, in which "covenant" dominates the hymn. A theological role is also assigned to Levitical singers in 1Chr 15:25-28, to ensure a

[731] For the list, see Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 49.
[732] Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 355–356; Eskenazi, "Literary Approach," 267.
[733] Eskenazi, "Literary Approach," 270–271.

proper transfer of the ark, with the accompaniment of music and covenantal symbolism, without causing wrath.

After the ark had been settled at David's tent (1Chr 16:1), he appointed Levites:

> He [David] appointed *singers and priests*[734] from the Levites serving before the ark of YHWH, and to invoke (להזכיר),[735] to give thanks (להודות), and to praise (להלל) to YHWH God of Israel. (1Chr 16:4)

This verse is particularly important because it characterises the role of Levitical scholar-singers. First, some commentators have seen that להזכיר, להודות, and להלל belong to the superscriptions of some psalms (Pss 38, 70, 100, 105-107, 111, 118, 136, 146-150), in which להזכיר denotes the psalms of lament, להודות denotes a link with thanksgiving sacrifice, and להלל denotes the hymns of praises.[736] Since these superscriptions presuppose the scribal (or Levitical) shaping of the Psalter, this shows that the Chronicler narrates the scribal significance into the storyline.

Some argue that the superscriptions of psalms reflect the connective midrashic exegesis of historical events linked to their thematic expressions.[737] The Chronicler also performs this kind of exegesis, but in the opposite direction. The editors of the Psalter locate the thematic affinities between a given psalm and the narrative of Samuel-Kings in order to assign historical titles. The Chronicler, however, has an existing narrative structure in his Samuel-*Vorlage* and inserts his preferred psalms with close thematic affinities. Nam also affirms that the "collection of verses in 1 Chr 16:8-35 illustrate the scribal nature of the Levitical singers in their prophetic call to

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[734] I supply "singers and priests" as the object of ויתן, because 1Chr 16:5-6 is a name list of Levitical singers and priest-trumpeters.

[735] Literally, "to cause to remember". G renders as a circumstantial participle ἀναφωνοῦντας: Roger Good, *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, SVT 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 182–183.

[736] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 127; Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:191; Peter R. Ackroyd, *I & II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, TBC (London: SCM, 1973), 63.

[737] Brevard S. Childs, "Psalms Titles and Midrashic Exegesis," *JSS* 16 (1971): 137–150; Elieser Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Formation of Historical Titles in the Book of Psalms," *ZAW* 91 (1979): 350–380.

compile theologically appropriate psalms for the community."[738] Therefore, by assigning Levitical singers with these three scribal terminologies (להזכיר, להודות, and להלל), 1Chr 16:4 would have given an impression to its audience that these singers were scribal professionals comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers.

Second, להודות and להלל belong to the structuring conventions that are used in shaping the Psalter; they mark the beginning and the end of sections. The Chronicler probably employs these technical scribal conventions as a gloss to the scribal capacity of the Levitical singers and, simultaneously, as a reference to their musical profession in 1Chr 16:4. Scholars have agreed that the three terms function (1Chr 16:4) as a structural key for the Chronicler's formulation of the inset psalm (1Chr 16:8-36).[739] This gives an obvious scribal-musical reference suggesting that the Asaphite singers composed the inset psalm using the same scribal conventions employed by the editors of the Psalter. And yet, this Asaphite psalm was composed to be sung musically,[740] in a way that resembles the scribal-musical practice of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests (cf. Section 2.3), at the level of literary world, though we cannot be sure if this inset psalm was actually sung in the second temple.[741]

We thus see a skilful characterisation of Asaph in which the inset psalm is used to refocus the audience's attention towards the scribal character of Levitical singers within the literary world. As I shall show, the content of the inset psalm characterises these singers not only as the composers and editors of liturgical hymns but also as the main agents in fostering covenantal stability by invoking people to remember

[738] Nam, "Writing Songs," 316.

[739] R. Mark Shipp, "'Remember His Covenant Forever': A Study of the Chronicler's Use of the Psalms," *ResQ* 35 (1993): 29–39; Andrew E. Hill, "Patchwork Poetry or Reasoned Verse? Connective Structure in 1 Chronicles XVI," *VT* 33 (1983): 97–101.

[740] Cf. Gillingham, *Poems*, 44–68.

[741] Since Aramaic was the main spoken language, people might not understand this Hebrew psalm if this was really sung. Jews might not regard the Hebrew Psalter as the hymnbook to be sung, but the prayerbook to be meditated (Ps 1): Gerald Henry Wilson, "Shaping the Psalter: A Consideration of Editorial Linkage in the Book of Psalms," in *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter*, ed. J. Clinton McCann, JSOTSS 159 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 72.

YHWH's faithfulness in his global kingship. This is especially true if we presume that some audiences of the Chronicler's work would have had a basic knowledge of the Psalter and Samuel and saw them as divinely inspired scripture.[742] This scripturalising of the imagination adds a new literary expectation to the character of these singers as the bearers and perpetuators of authoritative traditions, a characteristic that is shared with practitioners in the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture.

1Chr 16:7 informs us that David appointed Asaph to sing הודו-psalm for YHWH, and introduces the masterpiece of 1Ch 16:8-36, starting with הודו and ending with הלל (these two conventions may imply the office of prophecy as attested in 1Chr 25:3). First, I offer my translation, divided into sections. Second, I interpret the inset psalm.

6.2.2. A Translation of 1Chr 16:8-36

Israel's Praise (16:8-22)[743]

16:8	הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה קִרְאוּ בִשְׁמוֹ הוֹדִיעוּ	Give thanks[744] to YHWH! Call upon his name!
	בָעַמִּים עֲלִילֹתָיו׃	Make known among the peoples his deeds!
16:9	שִׁירוּ לוֹ זַמְּרוּ־לוֹ שִׂיחוּ	Sing to him! Make music to him! Meditate on all
	בְּכָל־נִפְלְאֹתָיו׃	his wonders![745]
16:10	הִתְהַלְלוּ בְּשֵׁם קָדְשׁוֹ יִשְׂמַח לֵב	Praise in the name of his holiness! Let the heart

[742] This statement is probably true if we see the audiences as the esoteric scribal companions of the Chronicler.

[743] Most scholars have agreed that 1Chr 16:8-36 was taken from Pss 105:1-15; 96:1-13a; 106:1, 47-48, except George J. Brooke, "Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran," *RQ* 14 (1989): 275; Ackroyd, *I&II Chronicles*, 64–65. Most scholars have agreed that 1Chr 16:8-36 comes from the Chronicler's hand and is not a secondary addition, except Noth, *Chronicler's History*, 35; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 127. Japhet plausibly defends the unity of 1Chr 15-16: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 294–296. This inset psalm is also a highly integrated part of the storyline: James W. Watts, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOTSS 139 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 158–160.

[744] 11QPs^{a} shows the liturgical refrain with the first imperative, an attraction to Pss 106:1; 107:1; 118:1; 136:1: Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 3*, 64. G^{AB} adds "a song" (ᾠδή) before this clause. MT is to be preferred.

[745] G adds "that the Lord has made" (ἃ ἐποίησεν κύριος), an assimilation to 16:12: Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 636.

מְבַקְשֵׁי יְהוָה׃ of those who seek YHWH rejoice![746]

16:11 דִּרְשׁוּ יְהוָה וְעֻזּוֹ בַּקְשׁוּ פָנָיו תָּמִיד׃ Resort to YHWH and his strength![747] Seek his face regularly!

16:12 זִכְרוּ נִפְלְאֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה מֹפְתָיו וּמִשְׁפְּטֵי־פִיהוּ׃ Remember his wonders that he has done! His signs, and the judgments of his mouth![748]

16:13 זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל עַבְדּוֹ בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב בְּחִירָיו׃ Seed of Israel,[749] his servant;[750] sons of Jacob, his chosen ones!

16:14 הוּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ מִשְׁפָּטָיו׃ He, YHWH, is our God! His judgments are in all the earth!

16:15 זִכְרוּ לְעוֹלָם בְּרִיתוֹ דָּבָר צִוָּה לְאֶלֶף דּוֹר׃ Remember[751] forever his covenant, the word he commanded to a thousand generations,

16:16 אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת אֶת־אַבְרָהָם וּשְׁבוּעָתוֹ לְיִצְחָק׃ that he cut with Abraham, and his oath to Isaac,[752]

16:17 וַיַּעֲמִידֶהָ לְיַעֲקֹב לְחֹק לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּרִית עוֹלָם׃ that he established it to Jacob as a statute, to Israel as an everlasting covenant,

16:18 לֵאמֹר לְךָ אֶתֵּן אֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן חֶבֶל נַחֲלַתְכֶם׃ saying,[753] "To you,[754] I shall give the land of Canaan, the portion of your inheritance.

16:19 בִּהְיוֹתְכֶם מְתֵי מִסְפָּר כִּמְעָט When you were[755] men of number as[756] a few,

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[746] G reads "those who seeks his desire" (ζητοῦσα τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ). 11QPs[a] reads "those who seek his favour" (מבקשי רצונו). G matches 11QPs[a] against MT. However, the tetragrammaton in MT matches the literary context (esp. 16:4). MT is to be preferred.

[747] G and G-Ps 104:4 read "be strong" (ἰσχύσατε, κραταιώθητε = וְעֻזּוּ). MT is to be preferred since "strength" is a reference to the ark (Pss 78:61; 132:8), which matches the literary context: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 318; Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:193; Ackroyd, *I&II Chronicles*, 64; G. Henton Davies, "The Ark in the Psalms," in *Promise and Fulfilment*, ed. F.F. Bruce (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), 51–61.

[748] Ps 105:5 reads פיו for פיהו.

[749] Ps 105:6, some G-manuscripts, S, and Arabic read "Abraham" for "Israel". MT is to be preferred. It seems obvious that the Chronicler replaces "Abraham" with "Israel". *Contra* Brooke, "Psalms," 275.

[750] G and 11QPs[a] read plural (עבדיו). G might employ a *Vorlage* close to 11QPs[a].

[751] Ps 105:8 reads Qal perfect. G reads participle (μνημονεύων). Mss of Ps 105:8 read an imperative, which shows more of an assimilation to 16:15 than a different *Vorlage* employed by the Chronicler.

[752] Ps 105:9 reads לישחק for ליצחק.

[753] Ms of Ps 105:11 lacks לאמר.

[754] Only 11QPs[a] reads plural (לכם). MT is to be preferred.

וְגֵרִים בָּהּ׃ and strangers in it,

16:20 וַיִּתְהַלְּכוּ מִגּוֹי אֶל־גּוֹי וּמִמַּמְלָכָה And they walked from nation to nation,[757] and
אֶל־עַם אַחֵר׃ from a kingdom to another people.

16:21 לֹא־הִנִּיחַ לְאִישׁ לְעָשְׁקָם וַיּוֹכַח He He did not allow anyone[758] to oppress them, and
עֲלֵיהֶם מְלָכִים׃ He reproved kings on their account.

16:22 אַל־תִּגְּעוּ בִּמְשִׁיחָי וּבִנְבִיאָי Do not touch my anointed ones; and do not harm
אַל־תָּרֵעוּ׃ פ my prophets![759]

International Praise (16:23-30)

16:23 שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה כָּל־הָאָרֶץ בַּשְּׂרוּ Sing to YHWH, all the earth! Proclaim tidings
מִיּוֹם־אֶל־יוֹם יְשׁוּעָתוֹ׃ from day to day[760] his salvation![761]

16:24[762] סַפְּרוּ בַגּוֹיִם אֶת־כְּבוֹדוֹ Recount among the nations his glory; among all
בְּכָל־הָעַמִּים נִפְלְאוֹתָיו׃ the peoples his wonders!

16:25 כִּי גָדוֹל יְהוָה וּמְהֻלָּל מְאֹד For great is YHWH, and to be praised greatly,
נוֹרָא הוּא עַל־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים׃ and to be feared over all gods!

16:26 כִּי כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים אֱלִילִים For all the gods of the peoples are worthlessness,
וַיהוָה שָׁמַיִם עָשָׂה׃ but YHWH[763] has made heavens!

16:27 הוֹד וְהָדָר לְפָנָיו עֹז וְחֶדְוָה Majesty and splendour are before him; strength

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[755] Ps 105:12, G, V_g read "when they were" (בהיותם), and S-Ps 105:12 and T_g-Ps 105:12 read "when you were". G and V_g should be a correction to Ps 105:12: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 359; Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 223. It might also be a scribal adaptation (or error?) to the suffix of וחלתכם in 16:18. S-Ps 105:12 and T_g-Ps 105:12 should be an attraction to 16:19.

[756] כ here introduces a predicate: GKC §118x, cf. WO'C §11.2.9c.

[757] S reads "you were carried away captive from nation to nation", an enhancement of the exilic imagery: Michael Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 209.

[758] Ps 105:14 reads "Adam" (אדם) for "anyone" (איש). Mss of Ps 105:14 read איש. They should be an adaptation to 16:21.

[759] Ps 105:15 reads ולנביאי for ובנביאי.

[760] Ps 96:2 reads ליום for אל־יום.

[761] Ps 96:1b, 2a > 16:23. Klein believes that there is a deliberate omission of "new song", which seems inappropriate in the middle of this psalm or not suitable for non-Israelite referents: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 366. Alternatively, it reflects a textual corruption or a different *Vorlage*: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 317. I think that it is probably an intentional omission to form an *inclusio* between 16:9 and 16:23.

[762] G lacks 16:24 by homoioteleuton: Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 359; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 638.

[763] G reads "our God" for "YHWH".

בִּמְקוֹמוֹ׃ and joy[764] are in his place![765]

16:28 הָבוּ לַיהוָה מִשְׁפְּחוֹת עַמִּים Ascribe to YHWH, families of peoples! Ascribe to YHWH, glory and strength!
הָבוּ לַיהוָה כָּבוֹד וָעֹז׃

16:29 הָבוּ לַיהוָה כְּבוֹד שְׁמוֹ שְׂאוּ Ascribe to YHWH, the glory of his name! Bring an offering and come[766] before him![767] Worship YHWH in holy adornment![768]
מִנְחָה וּבֹאוּ לְפָנָיו הִשְׁתַּחֲווּ
לַיהוָה בְּהַדְרַת־קֹדֶשׁ׃

16:30 חִילוּ מִלְּפָנָיו כָּל־הָאָרֶץ Tremble before him,[769] all the earth! Indeed, the world will be established,[770] it will not be shaken![771]
אַף־תִּכּוֹן תֵּבֵל בַּל־תִּמּוֹט׃

Universal Praise (16:31-33)

16:31 יִשְׂמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתָגֵל הָאָרֶץ Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad! Let them say[772] among the nations, "YHWH reigns!"
וְיֹאמְרוּ בַגּוֹיִם יְהוָה מָלָךְ׃

16:32 יִרְעַם הַיָּם וּמְלוֹאוֹ יַעֲלֹץ הַשָּׂדֶה Let the sea and its fullness thunder! Let the field and all that is in it rejoice!
וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ׃

16:33 אָז יְרַנְּנוּ עֲצֵי הַיָּעַר מִלִּפְנֵי יְהוָה Then, the trees of the forest will shout with joy before YHWH, for he comes[773] to judge the earth!
כִּי־בָא לִשְׁפֹּט אֶת־הָאָרֶץ׃

Final Call to Thanksgiving (16:34)

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[764] Ps 96:6 reads "beauty" (תִּפְאֶרֶת) for "joy" (חֶדְוָה).

[765] Ps 96:6 reads "his sanctuary" (מִקְדָּשׁוֹ) for "his place" (מְקֹמוֹ). This removes an anachronism: Williamson, *Chronicles*, 129.

[766] G reads "receive gifts and carry" (λάβετε δῶρα καὶ ἐνέγκατε).

[767] Ps 96:8 reads "to his court" (לְחַצְרוֹתָיו) for "before him" (לְפָנָיו). This removes an anachronism: Williamson, *Chronicles*, 129.

[768] G and G-Ps 95:9 read "in his holy court" (as if בְּחַצְרוֹתָיו קָדְשׁוֹ), a possible adaptation to לְחַצְרוֹתָיו in Ps 96:8.

[769] Ps 96:9 reads "from his face" (מִפָּנָיו) for "before him" (מִלְּפָנָיו).

[770] G and G-Ps 95:10 read "was erected, he erected" (κατορθωθήτω, κατώρθωσεν).

[771] Ps 96:10c, 13b are missing and the ordering is different in 16:30-33: 16:30//96:9b, 10b; 16:31//96:11, 10a; 16:32//96:11b, 12a; 16:33//96:12b, 13a.

[772] Ps 96:10a reads "say!" (אִמְרוּ) (imperative) for "let them say" (וְיֹאמְרוּ) (imperfect). The reordering of Ps 96:11, 10a in 16:31 designates the subject of "say" as having a universal nature instead of "peoples", and constructs a parallelism in 16:31-32.

[773] Ps 96:13a doubles the phrase כִּי בָא.

16:34 הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה כִּי טוֹב כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ׃ Give thanks to YHWH,[774] for he is good for his faithfulness endures forever!

Summary Petition (16:35-36)

16:35 וְאִמְרוּ הוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעֵנוּ וְקַבְּצֵנוּ וְהַצִּילֵנוּ מִן־הַגּוֹיִם לְהֹדוֹת לְשֵׁם קָדְשֶׁךָ לְהִשְׁתַּבֵּחַ בִּתְהִלָּתֶךָ׃ And say,[775] "Save us, God of our salvation![776] Gather us and deliver us[777] from the nations! To give thanks to your holy name, and to glory in your praise."

16:36 בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־הָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל־הָעָם אָמֵן וְהַלֵּל לַיהוָה׃ פ "Blessed by YHWH, God of Israel from the everlasting and until the everlasting." And all the people say, "Amen", and "Praise YHWH!"[778]

6.2.3. Comments

Kleinig's structure[779] shows a gradual progression of the scope of praise from Israel (16:8-22), to other nations (16:23-30), and then to the creation (31-33).[780] This suggests that the chanting of Asaphites involved not only a national concern but also international and worldwide dimensions.

Since Pss 96, 105, 106 are untitled psalms in the MT-Psalter, the Chronicler can characterise Asaph as a professional scholar-singer, who could freely arrange these untitled psalms to produce a new hymn, showing the gradual extension of the domains of praise (from Israel to the universe). This not only reflects the scribal convention

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[774] Ps 106:1 starts with "Praise YHWH" (הללויה). This is omitted because the Chronicler, following the scribal convention of the editors of the Psalter, probably thinks that it is more appropriate for הללויה to appear at the end of this inset psalm.

[775] Ps 106:47 lacks אמרו.

[776] Ps 106:47 reads "YHWH our God" (יהוה אלהינו) for "God of our salvation" (אלהי ישענו).

[777] Ps 106:47 lacks "and deliver us" (והצילנו). The juxtaposition of אלהי ישענו and והצילנו can be found in Ps 79:9, which might influence 16:35, and prepares a way for "God of Israel" in 16:36, in which "our salvation" (ישענו) and "Israel" (ישראל) sound similarly.

[778] Ps 106:48 reads הללו־יה (2mp Piel imperative) for והלל ליהוה (Piel infinitive absolute). This infinitive absolute substitutes a finite verb form as imperative: GKC §113y.

[779] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 143–144.

[780] Also Ralph W. Klein, "Psalms in Chronicles," *CTM* 32 (2005): 266–268.

(freely arranging untitled psalms) of shaping the Psalter to the literary world but also assigns a new authorship to Asaph under the directions of David (1Chr 16:7). This would have lent authority to the new psalm, because Chronicles attempts to promote David as the prophet who received divine inspirations (1Chr 14:10, 14; 28:11-19).[781] As such, we can find three characterisations of Asaph: (1) he was a scribe who could freely arrange untitled psalms, (2) he was a professional singer who could sing the new psalm, and (3) he transmitted this new psalm, which was perceived as divinely inspired through David the prophet in a scribal-musical mode. These techniques resemble the scribal-musical practice of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests, who tended to recontextualise freely the hymnic traditions and to carry out a musical-written transmission of divinely inspired traditions (cf. Section 2.3).

In relation to the vocation of the Levitical singers, I shall now unfold the covenantal theology within the threefold division of the psalm. It characterises Asaph as a professional scholar-singer who served for the purpose of covenantal stability.

6.2.3.1. YHWH's Covenantal Faithfulness in Israel's Past (1Chr 16:8-22)

The inset psalm starts with הודו (16:8), a scribal convention used by the compilers of the Psalter to denote the beginning of an episode. The Chronicler follows this convention to show that Asaph was a Levitical scholar-singer who was an expert in chanting and composing הודו-psalms. שירו and זמרו denote that YHWH-thanksgiving was also a musical activity (16:9), in which שירו usually has a sacramental and religious character,[782] designating that "singing" exclusively belonged to the realm of God. זמרו should be interpreted as the playing of musical instruments as attested in Ps

[781] The inset psalm does not directly claim David's authorship, but can be indirectly conceived as "Davidic", because David acted as the cult-founder of Asaph's office: Howard N. Wallace, "What Chronicles Has to Say About Psalms," in *The Chronicler as Author*, ed. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 263 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 284–291.

[782] "שיר," *TDOT*, XIV: 618.

144:9.[783] They both are Levitical terms,[784] denoting the daily practices of Levitical singers in a musical-liturgical setting. The goals of this scribal-musical worship were to make YHWH's deeds known (16:8) and to meditate on all YHWH's wonders (16:9). 16:10-11 clearly summoned YHWH-seekers to participate in this musical worship. These YHWH-seekers were those who "seek God" according to the Davidic covenant, and their worship primarily involved a remembrance of YHWH's wonders (16:12).

"His wonders" (נפלאתיו) (16:9, 12, 24) is a dominant notion in the psalm, and 16:8-22 focuses on YHWH's wonders in a historical dimension. The psalm harks back to the time when there was no king, the time when the patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) solely relied on YHWH as their only king to protect them in their life of sojourning.[785] This exactly matches the theological character of Book IV, which starts with the prayer of Moses (Ps 90), shifting the focus from the exilic failure of the old Davidic covenant (Ps 89) to the leadership of Moses in an era without an earthly king: Only YHWH is the king.[786] The Chronicler also shows this "exilic consciousness" and reframes the history of the sojourning patriarchs by making it resonate with the exilic experience and echo the mobility of the ark. We see that the Chronicler alters his Psalms-*Vorlage* from "they were" to "you were" in 16:19 in order to identify his audiences in the Persian period.[787] The descriptions "few in number", "strangers", and "walked from nation to nation" (16:19-20) then become not only the experience of the patriarchs but also the experience of the Persian Yehud, which was a poor province with few people.[788] We thus see how the Chronicler configures his

[783] Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 222.
[784] שיר occurs most in the Psalter and Chronicles, showing an obvious Levitical usage: "שיר," *TDOT*, XIV: 614. זמר occurs most in the Psalter (41 out of 49 in the HB).
[785] DeClaissé-Walford, *Reading*, 90.
[786] Tiňo, *King and Temple*, 114–115; Wilson, *Editing*, 215.
[787] Wallace, "What Chronicles," 275–276; William Doan and Terry Giles, "The Song of Asaph: A Performance-Critical Analysis of 1 Chronicles 16:8-36," *CBQ* 70 (2008): 37.
[788] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 647; Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 233.

pre-understanding, affected by the exilic experience (behind the text), into the psalm (within the text) in order to invite an active participation of his audiences (in front of the text). The chanting of Asaphites thus encouraged all Israel back to their historical root in the patriarchs: the everlasting covenant.

The Chronicler again employs his technique of identifying his audiences in 16:13, where "Israel" substitutes "Abraham" to designate his audiences as true Israelites,[789] and in 16:15, where the verb "remember" has been amended from Qal perfect to imperative.[790] This constructs a parallelism in 16:12 and 16:15 by a twofold imperative, "remember", identifying "his wonders" with "his covenant". Thus the historical wonders of YHWH and the worldwide security "in all the earth" (בכל־הארץ), as guaranteed by YHWH's judgments (16:14), formed the basic understanding of YHWH's covenantal faithfulness in the arena of history. YHWH made an everlasting covenant with Abraham (16:16; cf. Gen 17:2; 22:16-18) and made an oath to Isaac (16:16; cf. Gen 26:3). He established the covenant to Jacob as statute (16:17; cf. Gen 35:9-13) and promised the portion of their inheritance (16:18). This not only summarises the story of Gen 15-35 but also lays a covenantal foundation for the stability of the land (16:21-22) under YHWH's universal sovereignty, even though Israel was scant in number. With regard to the continuity of this covenant (cf. 16:17b) with the Davidic covenant, Riley writes,

> [T]his continuity between the Temple and Abraham is indicated by the identification of the Temple mount with Mount Moriah in 2 Chron. 3.1, as well as by the motif of security in the land [here Riley quotes 1Chr 16:15-18]. Thus while all Israelites share in the covenant relationship with Yahweh, those who adhere to the Jerusalem cultus truly constitute Israel for

[789] Trent C. Bulter, "A Forgotten Passage from a Forgotten Era (1Chr. XVI 8-36)," *VT* 28 (1978): 142; Doan and Giles, "Performance-Critical Analysis," 36.
[790] McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 148; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 137; Wallace, "What Chronicles," 270.

> the Chronicler, since they are the ones who have remained faithful to the covenant relationship begun with Abraham and who consequently inherit its promises.[791]

We thus see how the Chronicler transfers the Abrahamic covenant into the temple. When the Levitical singers chanted this psalm, they actually proclaimed YHWH's covenantal faithfulness in historical terms, reclaiming the covenantal stability of the Promised Land. YHWH was faithful in the past. He was faithful in David's time. He had to be also faithful in Yehud. Therefore, the Levitical singers encouraged the community of Yehud to trust in YHWH's covenantal faithfulness, even though the citizen-temple community was still said to be "scant in number".

6.2.3.2. YHWH's Global Rulership in All Nations (1Chr 16:23-30)

16:23 begins with one שירו instead of the three שירו in Ps 96:1-2, in order to construct an *inclusio* with 16:9 and to emphasise the phrase "all the earth" (כל־הארץ), "which makes it quite clear that there is a shift of address from the land of Israel to the whole world."[792] The choices of "nation" (גוי) and "people" (עם) in 16:24, 26, 28, 31 identify that שירו should be extended to an international realm and that "his wonders" (16:24) should be recounted among all the peoples.

This international awareness reflects the global outlook of Jews surrounded by world empires in the pre-Hellenistic culture. YHWH was not seen as a god restricted to the land of Israel but as the global, imperial God controlling all the nations. The case for his global authority is defended in 16:25-26, in which we can detect a polemic against Babylonian-Persian oppressors.[793] 16:25 depicts the heavenly court,[794] where

[791] Riley, *King and Cultus*, 191.
[792] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 138.
[793] Rüdiger Bartelmus, "*šāmajim* - Himmel: Semantische und traditionsgeschichtliche Aspekte," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Beate Ego, and Annette Kruger, FAT 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 104–105.
[794] This resembles the heavenly divine dwelling in the Mesopotamian worldview: Ibid., 105.

all other gods fear and praise YHWH.[795] 16:26 further propounds that "all the gods of the peoples are worthlessness", showing a downgrading and demythologising stance towards foreign gods.[796] Only YHWH was the prime creator of the heavens. We thus see how the pre-understanding of the temple as realised template issues in the Chronicler's choice of this psalm. Moreover, 16:25-26 contains כי twice, a causative conjunction that provided motivation to praise.[797] This makes explicit that the praise in the heavenly council before YHWH constituted the perpetual source of motivation for the earthly chanting of Levitical singers to encourage Israel in their liturgy. It is possible that their earthly chanting envisaged the heavenly praise, a concept that may have been inherited from Isaiah's vision (cf. Section 4.2.2.1).

The appeal of the Levitical singers to the heavenly court in fostering an international stability can further be detected in 16:27, in which the Chronicler replaces "beauty" in Ps 96:6 with "joy" (חדוה), so that "strength" and "joy" are now "in his place" (במקמו). מקום is the Chronicler's technical term to denote a sacred sanctuary, especially Jerusalem (1Chr 13:11; 14:11; 15:1, 3, 12), or the heavenly sanctuary above Jerusalem (2Chr 6:21).[798] A metaphorical interpretation of "strength" and "joy" suggests that YHWH's presence (symbolised by the ark, i.e. "strength"[799]) and worldwide, joyful stability were in his holy sanctuary. The transfer of the "ark/strength" accompanied by the "joyful" chanting (15:16, 25) of the Levitical singers to the "place" prepared by David (15:1; 16:1) creates an exact parallel to "strength" (עז), "joy" (חדוה), and "place" (מקום) in this hymn. Since 16:25-26

[795] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 648–649.
[796] Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 465.
[797] Mark A. Throntveit, "Songs in a New Key: The Psalmic Structure of the Chronicler's Hymn (1Chr 16:8-36)," in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller*, ed. Brent A. Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 170.
[798] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 138–139; Robert Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark*, LHB/OTS 470 (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 183.
[799] See footnote 747.

envisages a heavenly setting, it is not difficult to see how the musical performance of the Levitical singers in the earthly transfer of the ark (1Chr 15-16) symbolised (or prophesied) the heavenly presence of YHWH and the heavenly joy. Both the literary context and the inset psalm itself unambiguously point to the central focus on מקום (cf. the temple as the "place" for the ark, 2Chr 5:7-8) and the divine presence (symbolised by the ark) in relation to the Levitical chanting and the temple as realised template. Although the temple had not yet been built, this literary pattern creates an exact parallel to the transfer of the ark to Solomon's temple (2Chr 5:2-14),[800] envisaging the concept of the temple as realised template.

16:28-30 gives a call to all the peoples to ascribe to YHWH (with the threefold imperative "ascribe") his global rule. Only YHWH deserved exclusive worship and fear in "all the earth" (כל־הארץ) (16:30). Thus this section begins and ends with כל־הארץ (16:23, 30) in order to give an all-embracing impression of worship in the worldwide realm. The Chronicler moves Ps 96:10b forward and joins it with Ps 96:9b in 16:30. This scribal editing gives a concluding statement on worldwide stability (i.e. "the world will be established and not be shaken") to end the section. It is implied that all nations could experience this stability through the terrestrial chanting of the Levitical singers that replicated the celestial chanting of the heavenly court.

6.2.3.3. YHWH's Kingship in Universal Praises (1Chr 16:31-33)

16:31 starts with the heavenly and earthly rejoicing, involving a coherence between heaven and earth that directs the theme of the third section: the universal praises. The Chronicler places Ps 96:10a after Ps 96:11a in 16:31 and alters the imperative "say!" to the imperfect jussive "let them say", in order to connect "the rejoicing of nature and

[800] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 574; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 213.

the acknowledgment of God by humankind".[801] This scribal editing upgrades the reign of YHWH from among the nations to the creation by putting the proclamation "YHWH reigns!" into the mouths of heaven and earth (16:31). The Chronicler may have been influenced by the temple as realised template to upgrade the kingship of YHWH from the international (Ps 96:10) to the realm of creation (16:31). This not only matches the theological reaction to the failure of human kingship in the editing of Book IV of the Psalter[802] but also shares the Mesopotamian God-king conception that culturally intensified the Jewish reflection on YHWH's global kingship.[803]

The singers captured this theological substance and chanted the celebration of YHWH's kingship by inviting the sea, the field (16:32), and the trees (16:33) to join in proclaiming, "YHWH reigns!" This is imagery from Deutero-Isaiah (Isa 44:23; 49:13; 55:12),[804] in which the word "shout with joy" (רנן) (cf. 16:33) is a recurring theme that describes the joyful praising of natural forces (cf. Ps 19:1-7). The heavenly beings are also said to "shout for joy" (רנן) (Job 38:7) when YHWH established the sockets and cornerstone of the world (Job 38:6). This heavenly picture corresponds to the joyful chanting of the Levitical singers during the foundation of the temple (Ezra 3:10-12; cf. 2Chr 5:11-14; 7:3-6).[805] Therefore, when the Levitical singers chanted this psalm accompanied by their musical instruments (cf. זמר in 16:9), they were imitating heavenly joyfulness under the universal judgments of YHWH, whose global kingship was being proclaimed (16:31).

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[801] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:195.
[802] Wilson, *Editing*, 215.
[803] Gerstenberger, *Israel*, 224–225.
[804] Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 466.
[805] Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 103; John E. Hartley, *The Book of Job*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 495.

6.2.3.4. YHWH's Covenantal Faithfulness and His Salvation (1Chr 16:34-36)

16:34-36 concludes this inset psalm. It begins with the well-known liturgical refrain "Give Thanks (הודו) to YHWH, for he is good (טוב), for his faithfulness (חסדו) endures forever" (16:34), which provided two reasons (two כי) for Israel to give thanks based on two divine attributes: YHWH's goodness and his faithfulness.

The Chronicler narrates this refrain in six different places in Chronicles. I also include one occurrence in Ezra, as shown in the following table:

1Chr 16:34	כי לעולם חסדו	כי טוב	הודו ליהוה
1Chr 16:41	כי לעולם חסדו		להדות ליהוה
2Chr 5:13	כי לעולם חסדו	כי טוב	ובהלל ליהוה
2Chr 7:3	כי לעולם חסדו	כי טוב	והודות ליהוה
2Chr 7:6	כי־לעולם חסדו		להדות ליהוה
2Chr 20:21	כי לעולם חסדו		הודו ליהוה
Ezra 3:11	כי־לעולם חסדו	כי טוב	בהלל ובהודת ליהוה

As can be seen, the basic formula כי־לעולם חסדו remains unchanged, showing that this should be seen as the core of this refrain. Ezra 3:11 depicts the fullest form with הודו and הלל appearing together to introduce the refrain. הודו and הלל correspond to the aforementioned scribal conventions, characterising the Levitical singers as scholar-singers. Moreover, this refrain was exclusively chanted by Levitical singers in all occurrences that were closely associated with the temple liturgy, such as the inauguration of the Solomonic temple (2Chr 5:13; 7:3, 6), the battle linked to the temple cult (2Chr 20:21), the establishment of the regular (תמיד) worship (1Chr 16:37, 40) in a prepared sanctuary (1Chr 16:34, 41), and the celebration when the foundation of the second temple was laid (Ezra 3:11). Therefore, the proclamation of "his

faithfulness" (חסדו) in relation to the tradition of the temple as realised template and the Levitical scribal-musical practices should be unmistakable.

What is the relationship between YHWH's חסד and the temple cult of Levitical singers? I believe that the concept of covenant that underlies the refrain is the intrinsic connection between YHWH's חסד and the temple. In her comprehensive study of חסד, Sakenfeld concludes that the meaning of חסד shifts from a secular to a religious usage in the post-exilic texts such as Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, in which YHWH's חסד was manifested in his salvation within his covenantal obligation toward his people.[806] Although we have no evidence for suggesting close links between ברית and חסד in earlier usages,[807] we have much evidence for such links in the post-Deuteronomistic literature such as Chronicles.[808] Concerning this close affinity, Sakenfeld writes,

> The occurrence in temple-associated psalms and prose contexts … suggests the connection of the phrase [i.e. the refrain] with the theological tradition of Jerusalem and the Davidic covenant. Thus the general focus is more on God's free commitment to his people than on Israel's responsibility for covenant obedience as a "condition" for *ḥesed*.[809]

While it is true that the refrain focuses on YHWH's unfailing faithfulness (or commitment) to his people (cf. 1Chr 17:13; 2Chr 6:14), the aforementioned conditionality of the Davidic covenant in Chronicles gives a nuanced understanding that covenant obedience was still Israel's responsibility *not* for the divine חסד but for covenantal stability. The Levitical proclamation of this refrain thus reminded Israelites about YHWH's *unconditional* covenantal faithfulness (2Chr 6:14) in upholding the *conditionality* of the Davidic covenant (1Chr 28:7), so that Israelites could confidently

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[806] Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Hesed in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry*, HSM 17 (Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1978), 151–168, 217–231.

[807] "חסד," *TDOT*, V:52-53.

[808] "חסד," *TDOT*, V:60-61. חסד occurs most frequently in the Psalter and Chronicles throughout the HB: "חסד," *TDOT*, V:45. This probably suggests that חסד is a favourite term for the Psalter and Chronicles.

[809] Sakenfeld, *Hesed*, 167.

appeal to the temple in averting wrath and fostering worldwide stability. We thus see that YHWH's חסד was a constant factor in sustaining the Davidic covenant.

The Chronicler does not allow for this refrain to be chanted as an abstract proposition of God. Rather, its placement in 16:34 echoes YHWH's historical faithfulness in the covenantal experience of the patriarchs (16:15-22) and thus becomes a perfect conclusion for this hymn. The references in 2Chr 5:13; 7:3, 6; 20:21 also mention several direct encounters with YHWH, whose glory filled the temple and whose deliverance came during any threat. All these experiences form an experiential context in which the Levitical singers worshipped YHWH on behalf of all Israel, proclaiming YHWH's covenantal faithfulness.

How can we explain the connection between YHWH's חסד in 16:34 and the salvation and deliverance in 16:35?[810] Scholars have agreed that YHWH's חסד contains the connotations of "salvation" and "deliverance" based on his covenantal obligation to his people in the post-exilic lament traditions.[811] It was thus essential for the Levitical singers to proclaim the covenantal faithfulness in order to remind Israelites of the hope of deliverance. Bulter gives a lucid description of the Chronicler's configuration:

> The literary context, i.e., the celebration of the foundation of the Jerusalem cults, calls for thanksgiving. The historical context, i.e., the post-exilic community, calls for a plea of deliverance. The historical context with its subjugation to foreign rulers also calls for literary subtlety and restraint. To speak to this situation, the editor chooses the literary medium of cultic liturgy. He refuses to write something new. Rather, he takes up the old, the traditional, and creates a new arrangement. He then places this into a new literary context, that of the Chronicler's history.[812]

[810] The Chronicler alters his Psalms-*Vorlage* (Ps 106:47) here by inserting "God of salvation" and "deliver us" in 16:35: see footnote 776-777.

[811] Bellinger Jr., *Psalmody*, 91; Sung-hun Lee, "Lament and the Joy of Salvation in the Lament Psalms," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, SVT 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 233–239; Sakenfeld, *Hesed*, 167–168, 212–213, 218–231.

[812] Bulter, "Forgotten," 145.

Thus the theme of "deliverance" becomes the emphasis of Jews facing the challenge of their Babylonian-Persian oppressors.[813] The plea for deliverance was probably a burning issue for the Chronicler in his configuration of his Psalms-*Vorlage* in order to show that the scribal-musical service of the Levitical singers was irreplaceable when it came to making an appeal to the Davidic covenant for YHWH's salvation.

16:36 is a doxology that concludes the psalm. It also ends with הללו ליהוה. These two elements show the scribal conventions of the editors of the Psalter. The response of all the people with "Amen" was an antiphon to the chanting of the Levitical singers, showing an active participation of Israelites. This faithfulness is portrayed as believable and "Amen-able". Therefore, the Levitical singers are shown encouraging people to trust in YHWH's covenantal faithfulness in order to foster covenantal stability. This covenantal faithfulness was seen to stem from the temple as the place that realised the Davidic covenant. The psalmic conclusion of Solomon's prayer (2Chr 6:41-42), to which I now turn, will also increase our understanding in this respect.

6.3. The Psalmic Conclusion of Solomon's Prayer in 2 Chronicles 6:41-42

I intend to argue in this section that the presence of hymnic traditions at the conclusion of Solomon's prayer in 2Chr 6:41-42 indicates a Levitical-scribal editing according to the covenantal theology that is reflected in the liturgical refrain. I offer my translation of 2Chr 6:41-42 and then I unfold my arguments.

6.3.1. Translation

6:41 וְעַתָּה קוּמָה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לָנוּחֶךָ Ar Arise now,[814] YHWH God,[815] to your resting אַתָּה וַאֲרוֹן עֻזֶּךָ כֹּהֲנֶיךָ יְהוָה place![816] You and the ark of your strength! Let

[813] Cf. Klein, "Psalms," 269; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 651.
[814] Ps 132:8 lacks "now" (עתה).

אֱלֹהִים֙ יִלְבְּשׁ֣וּ תְשׁוּעָ֔ה וַחֲסִידֶ֖יךָ your priests, YHWH God, put on salvation![817] Let

יִשְׂמְח֥וּ בַטּֽוֹב׃ your faithful ones[818] rejoice[819] in goodness![820]

6:42 יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהִ֔ים אַל־תָּשֵׁ֖ב פְּנֵ֣י YHWH God! Do not turn away the faces of your

מְשִׁיחֶ֑יךָ זָכְרָ֕ה לַחַסְדֵ֖י דָּוִ֥יד anointed ones![821] Remember the faithfulness of

עַבְדֶּֽךָ׃ פ David your servant![822]

6.3.2. Comments

The Chronicler's omission of 1Kgs 8:50b-51, 53 and his supplementation of Ps 132:8-10 in 2Chr 6:41-42 generate a climax that articulates the global control of YHWH (i.e. rest) after the ark had been settled within its resting place in the temple (cf. 1Chr 28:2).[823] This invoked the acceptance of the burnt-offering, symbolised by the descending of the heavenly fire (2Chr 7:1), and the divine presence, symbolised by YHWH's glory. Many have agreed that this is reminiscent of 1Chr 21:26, in which David is described as witnessing the heavenly fire coming down to consume the burnt-offering at the threshing floor of Ornan, the place where Solomon built YHWH's temple (2Chr 3:1) (cf. Lev 9:24 and Exod 40:34).[824] As such, the "fire" (1Chr 21:26; 2Chr 7:1) acts as an *inclusio* to bracket David's preparation for the temple (1Chr 22-29) and Solomon's construction of the building (2Chr 3-6).

As argued in Chapters Four and Five, the Chronicler's temple is best understood by the concept of the temple as realised template within the conditions of the Davidic

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[815] Ps 132:8 reads "YHWH" for "YHWH God". The phrase "YHWH God" also appears in 6:41b and 6:42, and does not appear in Ps 132:9-10.

[816] Ps 132:8 reads למנוחתך for לנוחך.

[817] Ps 132:9 reads "righteousness" (צדק) for "salvation" (תשועה).

[818] G reads "and your sons" (καὶ οἱ υἱοί σου). G-Ps 131:9 reads "and your faithful ones" (καὶ οἱ ὅσιοί σου). MT is to be preferred.

[819] Ps 132:9 reads "shout for joy" (ירננו) for "rejoice" (ישמחו).

[820] Ps 132:9 lacks "in goodness" (בטוב).

[821] Ps 132:10 reads singular. Mss of 6:42 support the reading of Ps 132:10. MT is to be preferred.

[822] Ps 132:10 lacks זכרה לחסדי דויד עבדך. 6:42 lacks בעבור דוד עבדך.

[823] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:350–351.

[824] Ibid., 1:353–354; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 609; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 222.

covenant for fostering worldwide stability. The "fire" brackets the designation of the temple as an introduction (1Chr 21:26) and a conclusion (2Chr 7:1), symbolising the connection between heaven and earth. But why does the Chronicler choose to place 2Chr 6:41-42 before the descending fire (2Chr 7:1) as if this conclusion invoked YHWH's presence? One possible answer is that the remembrance of YHWH's covenantal faithfulness is a dominant theological device to convey the Chronicler's basic understanding of the temple. In Kings, the Deuteronomistic conclusion (1Kgs 8:50b-53) explains that the ground for YHWH's presence was his special relationship with the Israelites in the Exodus. But in Chronicles, the Davidic promise became the ground for YHWH's acceptance.

First, the Chronicler's most important alteration to the psalm is the addition of the phrase "remember the faithfulness of David your servant" (זכרה לחסדי דויד עבדך) at 6:42 according to Isa 55:3b. The central issue is whether חסדי דויד denotes a subjective or objective genitive. Some interpreters prefer the former, meaning the faithful deeds of David (cf. 2Chr 32:32; 35:26).[825] Others favour the latter, meaning YHWH's faithfulness towards David.[826] A few embrace both readings, suggesting that the same phrase carries both the human and theological senses.[827] I am inclined to agree with Williamson's proposal, which offers a plausible argument in support of the reading of an objective genitive.[828] While he builds on a thorough study on the phrase in the HB (esp. Isa 55:3), he does not explore the phrase in the literary context of 2Chr 6-7. I therefore wish to add three points:

[825] Beentjes, *Tradition*, 174; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 605; Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 51; Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:352.
[826] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 221; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 345; Wallace, "What Chronicles," 271 n16; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 99–100.
[827] Ackroyd, *I&II Chronicles*, 114; Sakenfeld, *Hesed*, 157–158.
[828] H.G.M. Williamson, "'The Sure Mercies of David': Subjective or Objective Genitive?," *JSS* 23 (1978): 31–49.

1. The Levitical singers proclaimed "his faithfulness" (חסדו) by chanting the liturgical refrain in 2Chr 7:3, 6. The חסד here undoubtedly points to YHWH's covenantal faithfulness towards David.
2. They proclaimed the refrain after the fire came down (2Chr 7:1). It can be understood as a proclamation of YHWH's presence.[829] This proclamation focuses on "his faithfulness" (חסדו). Therefore, it is natural to interpret that the fire came down because of the faithfulness of YHWH, not of David.
3. 2Chr 6:42 concludes Solomon's prayer, and the fire came down just after 2Chr 6:42. This probably suggests that חסדי דויד invoked the divine presence. Since the חסד that the singers proclaimed belongs to YHWH, and since the singers proclaimed the divine presence, it seems clear that חסדי דויד should be read as referring to "YHWH's faithfulness towards David"; it is an objective genitive.

Furthermore, the theological foundation of the temple lay on the conditionality of the Davidic covenant, as mentioned in Chapter Five. This forms a theological basis for the service of Levitical singers. It thus seems natural to interpret זכרה לחסדי דויד עבדך as Solomon's exhortation to the singers to remember (1Chr 16:4) the Davidic covenant before the Israelites. The Chronicler's insertion of this phrase prepares a way to justify the chanting of the Levitical singers in proclaiming YHWH's covenantal faithfulness.

Second, the Chronicler replaces "shout for joy" (ירננו) with "rejoice in goodness" (ישמחו בטוב) (6:41). I see this as a backward projection of the liturgical refrain (2Chr 7:3), particularly the phrase כי טוב, into 2Chr 6:41. The joy in goodness (2Chr 6:41) and the remembrance of YHWH's faithfulness (2Chr 6:42) thematically coincide with the liturgical refrain. This shows a coherent progression from YHWH's *goodness and faithfulness* (2Chr 6:41-42) to YHWH's presence (2Chr 7:1) and then to the Levitical proclamation of his *goodness and faithfulness* (2Chr 7:3). Furthermore, the fulfilment

[829] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 110–114; Willi, "Evokation," 357–358.

of “rejoice in goodness” (ישמחו בטוב) (2Chr 6:41) can be found in 2Chr 7:10: “He sent the people to their homes, joyful (שמחים) and in good spirits because of the goodness (וטובי לב על־הטובה) that YHWH had shown to David and to Solomon and to his people Israel” (NRSV). This not only shows that the goodness belongs to YHWH but also equates “his faithful ones” (2Chr 6:41) with “his people” (2Chr 7:10).

Finally, the Chronicler replaces “righteousness” with “salvation” (cf. Ps 132:16). As mentioned before, YHWH’s faithfulness is shown manifesting itself in the deliverance of his people under his covenantal obligation. It seems that the insertion of the “salvation” resembles the insertion of “deliver us” and “God of salvation” in 1Chr 16:35. This further supports the reading of an objective genitive for חסדי דויד (because salvation comes from YHWH) and characterises the priests as needing YHWH’s salvation and faithfulness during the synchronisation of burnt-offering and song. The working of this synchronisation determined the liturgical role of the Levitical singers, and this will be explored in Chapter Seven.

6.4. Conclusion

The Chronicler’s insertion of psalmic traditions into his narrative characterises Levitical singers as professional scholar-singers in the literary world. The Levitical shaping of the Hebrew Psalter attempted to answer the challenge posed by the exilic experience of the failure of the old Davidic covenant. In this theological remodeling, the global kingship of YHWH was offered as a comfort for the Jewish diaspora. The Chronicler shares this essential theological reaction and reframes the earlier history by bringing forth the conditions (i.e. seeking God) of the Davidic covenant. In so doing, he highlights YHWH’s worldwide sovereignty according to a pre-understanding of the temple as realised template. Thus this study shows that the Chronicler and the editors of the Psalter were related in many theological issues with shared scribal conventions.

The comparison of scribal conventions between the editors of the Psalter and the Chronicler's hymnic insertions uncovers the Chronicler's characterisation of the Levitical singers as scholar-singers. First, 1Chr 16:4 shows that the Chronicler projects the scribal conventions (לְהוֹדוֹת and לְהַלֵּל) into his storyline, in order to characterise Asaph as professional scholar-singer comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests – being capable to compose (scribal) and to chant (musical) the inset psalm in 1Chr 16:8-36.

Second, the scribal-musical arrangement of this inset psalm directs our attention to the time of the patriarchs who made an everlasting covenant with YHWH. This not only matches the approach employed by the editors of the Psalter but also echoes the exilic experience of the citizen-temple community in diaspora. Although they were scant in number and always encountered difficulties, they could still obtain hope because YHWH was their global king. The Levitical scholar-singers sought to encourage people to rely on YHWH's global kingship and his covenantal faithfulness.

Third, the chanting of the liturgical refrain (esp. 2Chr 7:3, 6) and the psalmic conclusion of the Solomon's prayer (2Chr 6:41-42) are placed in such a way to form a bracketing structure to show that YHWH's presence (2Chr 7:1) was a result of YHWH's covenantal faithfulness towards David. The Levitical singers are portrayed as chanting the liturgical refrain, proclaiming YHWH's faithfulness, in order to remind Israelites about his commitment chartered in the Davidic covenant.

The citizen-temple community was small and poor. Their temple was not as large as were those of their surrounding neighbours. They even encountered severe oppressions, but the Chronicler's characterisation of the Levitical singers as professional scholar-singers sought to direct the attention of his contemporaries towards YHWH's covenantal faithfulness as the constant comfort and hope for deliverance. The underlying reasoning is that David and Solomon and their singers

could obtain covenantal stability. Therefore, the citizen-temple community could gain the same stability. Although they were “scant in number”, they could still expect covenantal stability because of the fostering service of the Levitical scholar-singers and YHWH’s covenantal faithfulness.

7. Double Synchronisations for Worldwide Stability: Song and Sacrifice in the Liturgical Context of Levitical Singers

During my discussion of 2Chr 6:41-42 in the previous chapter, I made a remark concerning the Chronicler's perception of priests needing God's salvation and covenantal faithfulness (חסד) in their sacrificial services. This is remarkable, because nowhere does the Pentateuch tell us that priests based their sacrificial services on YHWH's חסד. But if we read the Chronicler's synchronisation[830] of song and sacrifice (2Chr 5-7; 29-30; 35) in the theological frame of reference of the temple as realised template, according to the Davidic covenant and YHWH's חסד, we can understand why the Chronicler makes such a connection.

In this chapter, I intend to show that the temple worship described in Chronicles enacted the divine-human covenantal relationship through the synchronisation of the sacrificial and hymnic services. As have noted, there is a typological transfer from the tabernacle tradition to the Chronicler's depiction of the temple.[831] The priestly sacrificial system, formerly used as an enactment of the Mosaic covenant, is typologically recontextualised into a new setting as an enactment of the Davidic covenant. This radical recontextualisation involves Levitical music as a crucial element. The liturgical offerings of Levitical singers embodied the Davidic covenant so that when their songs were synchronised with priestly sacrifices, the sacrificial system was symbolically incorporated into the theological frame of reference of the temple as realised template under the divine promise to David (1Chr 28:9-10, 20; 2Chr 7:12-22). In this new context, music and sacrifice were two indispensable elements in fostering worldwide stability; the synchronisation of song and sacrifice

[830] "Synchronisation", for me, does not necessarily mean a strict temporal happening of sacrifice and song. I employ this term loosely to depict a collaboration of song and sacrifice, and a spatial coherence between heaven and earth.

[831] Williamson, "Accession," 351–361.

created another dimension of synchronisation, the coherence between heaven and earth. I wish to present this picture in this chapter.

First, I revisit the inauguration of Solomon's temple in 2Chr 5-7 and argue that YHWH's חסד was the theological foundation of the well-being of the temple in the double-synchronisation. Second, I offer an exposition of Hezekiah's reinauguration of the temple (2Chr 29) to show how the synchronisation of song and sacrifice achieved the synchronisation of heaven and earth. Finally, I offer an exposition of Hezekiah's and Josiah's Passover (2Chr 30 and 35), in order to strengthen and verify my overall thesis. During my exposition, I explain the liturgical situation of Levitical singers in light of the exilic experience.

7.1. Solomon's Inauguration of the Temple Worship

7.1.1. The General Context: Sukkot

According to Chronicles, the Feast of Tabernacles (or Sukkot) formulated the literary context of Solomon's inauguration of the temple cult. Dillard offers a chiastic structure of 2Chr 5-7, in which the summons and dismissal (2Chr 5:2; 7:10), sacrifice (2Chr 5:6; 7:4-5, 7), music (2Chr 5:11-13; 7:3, 6), and glory and cloud (2Chr 5:14; 7:1-3) frame the central episode of Solomon's prayer (2Chr 6:1-42).[832] The themes of sacrifice and music thus act as a literary bridge between the congregation (i.e. summons and dismissal) and the divine presence (i.e. glory and cloud).

The temple inauguration happened "at the festival (חג) that is in the seventh month" (2Chr 5:3) (i.e. Sukkot). The Chronicler further specifies its exact schedule in 2Chr 7:8-10: following the regulations in Deut 16:13-15, Num 29:12-38, and Lev 23:33-36, Sukkot started from the fifteenth day of the seventh month for seven days

[832] Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 5–6.

(2Chr 7:8) with a holy convocation on the eighth day (2Chr 7:9), which was the twenty-second day of the month. He replaces "on the eighth day" in 1Kgs 8:66 by "on the twenty-third day of the seventh month" in 2Chr 7:10, in order to specify the exact date of the dismissal. He also adjusts the "fourteen days" in 1Kgs 8:65 to "the inauguration (חנכת)[833] of the altar they did seven days and the festival seven days" in 2Chr 7:9, clarifying that the inauguration service did not overlap Sukkot. The inauguration was thus started from the eighth day of the seventh month for seven days, and was followed by Sukkot.[834]

Why does the Chronicler specify the exact schedule of the pilgrim feast, Sukkot, after the inauguration? First, he wishes to establish "the first precedent of pilgrimage to the new Temple in Jerusalem on the occasion of the most important of the three pilgrim feasts."[835] The centralisation of the newly inaugurated temple cult required "all Israel" to come to celebrate the חג.[836] Due to his pre-understanding of the temple as realised template, the Chronicler narrates this inauguration not merely as a cultic initiation but also as the initiation of the communication between heaven and earth (2Chr 7:1) at this specific temple site, so that the people had to come to this centralised location to seek "the God of heaven" (2Chr 36:23).

Second, the recurring "seven" (2Chr 5:3; 7:8-10) probably symbolised the days of creation in Gen 1-2. The observance of Sukkot was perceived as an extension of the creation, and created order was thought to be fostered through ritually enacting God's

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[833] I render חנכת as "inauguration" instead of "dedication", partly because this ceremony concerns not the dedication of the temple to God but its inauguration and because its etymology does not specify "dedication" but "initiation": "חנך," *TDOT*, V:19-21; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 592.

[834] Most commentators support this interpretation except Johnstone, who thinks that the inauguration service merged with Sukkot: Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:356. Japhet observes an inconsistency at 2Chr 5:3, describing that the people were gathered "at the feast": Japhet, *Chronicles*, 612. McKenzie also wonders how the Chronicler handles Yom Kippur if the inauguration overlaps with it: McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 249. However, we should stay with the clearest evidence in 2Chr 7:9 and affirm the separation of the inauguration service and Sukkot.

[835] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 611.

[836] חג designates a pilgrimage to a temple: Haran, *Temples*, 290–293.

complete creation from chaos to order.[837] This temporal symbolism resembles the liturgical practices of the *kalû*-priests, who had to perform their rites at the right time with the right procedure in its greatest details with a view to preventing any harm to their kings and to fostering creation order (cf. Section 2.4.1).

Finally, the Chronicler emphasises the holy convocation on "the eighth day" (2Chr 7:9) by retaining the phrase "the eighth day" from 1Kgs 8:66 and clarifying the twenty-third day of the month as the dismissal day, indicating that the people could observe the holy convocation as a whole. The complete observance of this holy convocation without any interference is very important because its completeness equates to holiness[838] and signifies the holy inauguration of the new temple. Milgrom points out that "[t]he eight days celebrating the inauguration of the tabernacle became a paradigm for subsequent temple inaugurations."[839] This should make sense in light of the Chronicler's typological transfer of the tabernacle tradition to the temple.

To summarise, the Chronicler describes a detailed schedule for the inauguration service and Sukkot, in order to clarify that this was a sanctified moment, starting the sacred cult. His pre-understanding of the temple as realised template probably influences him to specify the sanctification of time to symbolise the seven-day ordering of creation. This forms the literary context in which the synchronisation of song and sacrifice is presented.

7.1.2. Comments on 2Chr 5:11-14

1Kgs 8:10 informs us that a cloud filled YHWH's temple just after the priests came out from the holy place after transferring the ark. The Chronicler, however, inserts

[837] Gorman, *Ideology*, 215–228, esp. 224–225.
[838] Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 152–153. I follow Douglas to define "holiness" as "completeness" in maintaining proper boundaries and categories within the created order: Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2002), 63–71.
[839] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 593.

2Chr 5:11-13a into this verse. This insertion bridges the congregational gathering and sacrificing (5:6), and the divine presence (5:13b-14).[840] Apparently, the installation of the ark (5:7) and the congregational sacrifice (5:6) were not sufficient to evoke the divine presence, probably because they belonged to only one part of the תבנית (1Chr 28:11-19). 1Chr 28:13 calls for a full use of the divisions of priests and Levites. Therefore, the Chronicler supplies his *Sondergut* (5:11-13a) here, in order to illustrate how the Levitical service helped to realise the תבנית:

5:11	וַיְהִי֙ בְּצֵאת הַכֹּהֲנִ֔ים מִן־הַקֹּ֖דֶשׁ	And when the priests went out from the holy
	כִּ֣י כָל־הַכֹּהֲנִ֗ים הַנִּמְצָאִים֙	place, for all the priests who were present had
	הִתְקַדָּ֔שׁוּ אֵ֥ין לִשְׁמֹ֖ור	consecrated themselves without keeping
	לְמַחְלְקֹֽות׃	divisions,[841]
5:12	וְהַלְוִיִּ֞ם הַמְשֹׁרְרִ֣ים לְכֻלָּ֗ם לְאָסָף֙	and the Levitical singers, of all of them, of
	לְהֵימָ֣ן לִֽידֻתֻ֔ון וְלִבְנֵיהֶ֖ם	Asaph,[842] of Heman, of Jeduthun, and of their
	וְלַאֲחֵיהֶ֑ם מִלְבָּשִׁ֥ים בּ֛וּץ	sons and of their brothers, were being clothed
	בִּמְצִלְתַּ֥יִם וּבִנְבָלִ֖ים וְכִנֹּרֹ֑ות	with byssus, with cymbals, and with harps and
	עֹמְדִ֗ים מִזְרַ֙ח לַמִּזְבֵּ֔חַ וְעִמָּהֶ֕ם	lyres,[843] standing east[844] towards the altar, and
	כֹּהֲנִ֥ים לְמֵאָ֛ה וְעֶשְׂרִ֖ים	with them priests of one-hundred-and-twenty
	מַחְצְרְרִ֥ים בַּחֲצֹצְרֹֽות׃	trumpeters[845] with trumpets;
5:13	וַיְהִ֤י כְאֶחָד֙ לַמַּחֲצְרִ֔ים	and when the trumpeters[846] and the singers *were*
	וְלַמְשֹׁרְרִ֔ים לְהַשְׁמִ֥יעַ קֹ֖ול אֶחָ֑ד	as one to cause *themselves* to hear one voice to

[840] The cloud symbolised YHWH's presence (Exod 13; Num 9; Ezek 10:3-4): Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles*, AB 13 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 29.

[841] ל introduces the object "divisions": GKC §117n. Mss read –לַמ (i.e. the divisions). MT is to be preferred.

[842] G reads "sons of Asaph" (τοῖς υἱοῖς Ασαφ), a synonym of "Asaph": *GC*, 2:150.

[843] "Lyres" is governed by the preceding ב: GKC §119hh.

[844] G reads "opposite" (κατέναντι) to the altar. There is no difference between "opposite" or "east" of the altar: Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 73.

[845] Reading with the *qere*, מחצרים; *kethib* probably errs (cf. 1Chr 15:24).

[846] Reading with *qere*, למחצרים: see footnote 845.

לְהַלֵּל וּלְהוֹדוֹת לַיהוָה וּכְהָרִים
קוֹל בַּחֲצֹצְרוֹת וּבִמְצִלְתַּיִם
וּבִכְלֵי הַשִּׁיר וּמְהַלְלִ֣ים לַיהוָה֮ כִּי
טוֹב כִּי לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ וְהַבַּ֣יִת
מָלֵא עָנָן בֵּית יְהוָה׃

praise and to give thanks to YHWH; and when they raised a voice with trumpets and with cymbals and with instruments of the song, and when they praised YHWH, "For he is good, for his faithfulness endures forever", a cloud[847] filled the temple,[848] the temple of YHWH.[849]

The Chronicler uses particular choices of temporal clauses and tenses. In 5:6, he employs two participles, "those who were being gathered" (הנועדים) and "being sacrificing" (מזבחים), to depict the congregational sacrifices before the ark. מזבחים introduces a circumstantial asyndetic clause,[850] which qualifies a continuous action of those gathered (הנועדים). This means that they were continuously sacrificing before the ark until it was properly installed (5:7).[851] Then the Chronicler retains the temporal marker ויהי, already reflected in 1Kgs 8:10 (5:11), to introduce the temporal clause by means of an infinitive construct בצאת. He also imitates his *Vorlage* to construct two similar temporal clauses in 5:13: (1) וכהרים קול and (2) ומהלל ליהוה, which are both introduced by a single ויהי. In so doing, three temporal clauses ("when the priests came out", "when they raised a voice", and "when they praised YHWH") depict the three synchronised motions.[852] We thus see that the moment of the divine presence (5:13b-14) happened at the end of the sacrifice and at the start of the song, the moment at which the ark was completely installed.

The Chronicler includes music at the moment of the divine presence, probably because his temple was built according to the divine promise as envisaged by the

[847] G reads νεφέλης δόξης κυρίου, probably influenced by 5:14: Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 40.
[848] 1Kgs 8:10 reads והענן מלא את־בית יהוה.
[849] Dillard omits "the temple of YHWH" as a gloss: Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 40. However, I retain it as an apposition to הבית.
[850] JM §159a.
[851] Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 77.
[852] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 580–581.

Davidic covenant. YHWH's faithfulness to his promise constituted the foundation of his presence in the temple. The Chronicler places the appearance of the divine presence during the moment when the singers praised YHWH with the liturgical refrain (5:13b), in order to convey that YHWH's חסד to his promise was *the* crucial element for his presence. This does not mean to convey that the installation of the ark and the sacrificial service were not crucial but that the priestly services had to be performed in collaboration with the Levitical chanting of YHWH's חסד for the divine presence to appear.[853] If we accept that God's presence was the prerequisite for the well-being and blessing afforded by his power,[854] then the Chronicler probably characterises the Levitical singers as the main tradents of the Davidic traditions, fostering covenantal stability in the remembrance of YHWH's חסד.

7.1.3. Comments on 2Chr 7:1-11

In Section 6.3.2, I argued that the conclusion of Solomon's prayer (2Chr 6:41-42), especially the phrase חסדי דויד, enabled the divine presence symbolised by the descending fire in 2Chr 7:1. In this section, I attempt to show that the synchronisation of sacrifice and song served as a pattern to inaugurate the temple cult in 2Chr 7:1-7:

7:1	Sacrifice	וּכְכַלּוֹת שְׁלֹמֹה לְהִתְפַּלֵּל	And when Solomon had finished praying,
		וְהָאֵשׁ יָרְדָה מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם	then the fire came down from the heaven
		וַתֹּאכַל הָעֹלָה וְהַזְּבָחִים	and consumed the burnt-offering and the
		וּכְבוֹד יְהוָה מָלֵא אֶת־הַבָּיִת׃	sacrifices. And the glory of YHWH filled the temple.

[853] Cf. David Janzen, *The Social Meanings of Sacrifice in the Hebrew Bible: A Study of Four Writings* (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 209–242.
[854] Levine, "Presence," 71–87.

7:2		וְלֹא יָכְלוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים לָבוֹא	And the priests were not able to come
		אֶל־בֵּית יְהוָה כִּי־מָלְאָ	towards the temple of YHWH,[855] because
		כְבוֹד־יְהוָה אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה:	the glory of YHWH filled the temple of YHWH.
7:3	Song	וְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רֹאִים	And all the sons of Israel, seeing when the
		בְּרֶדֶת הָאֵשׁ וּכְבוֹד יְהוָה	fire came down and the glory of YHWH
		עַל־הַבַּיִת וַיִּכְרְעוּ אַפַּיִם	*was* upon the temple, bowed down upon the
		אַרְצָה עַל־הָרִצְפָה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ	pavement *with* faces towards earth, and
		וְהוֹדוֹת לַיהוָה כִּי טוֹב כִּי	they worshiped and gave thanks[856] to
		לְעוֹלָם חַסְדּוֹ:	YHWH, "For he is good, for his faithfulness endures forever."
7:4	Sacrifice	וְהַמֶּלֶךְ וְכָל־הָעָם זֹבְחִים זָבַח	Then the king and all the people[857] were
		לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: ס	slaughtering sacrifice before YHWH.
7:5		וַיִּזְבַּח הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת־זֶבַח	And the king[858] Solomon slaughtered a
		הַבָּקָר עֶשְׂרִים וּשְׁנַיִם אֶלֶף	sacrifice[859] of twenty-two thousand oxen,
		וְצֹאן מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִים אָלֶף	and one-hundred-and-twenty thousand[860]
		וַיַּחְנְכוּ אֶת־בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים	sheep. So the king and all the people
		הַמֶּלֶךְ וְכָל־הָעָם:	inaugurated[861] the temple of God.
7:6	Song	וְהַכֹּהֲנִים עַל־מִשְׁמְרוֹתָם	And the priests were standing upon their
		עֹמְדִים וְהַלְוִיִּם בִּכְלֵי־שִׁיר	watches, and the Levites, with the
		יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה דָּוִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ	instruments of song of YHWH, which the

[855] G reads ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, an addition influenced by 2Chr 7:8. MT is to be preferred.

[856] והודות here is an infinitive absolute (but in the form of infinitive construct), acting as the continuation of the preceding finite verb וישתחוו: GKC §113z; JM §123q.

[857] 1Kgs 8:62 reads "all Israel with him" for "all the people".

[858] 1Kgs 8:63 and G lacks "the king", but G-1Kgs 8:63 retains "the king". Cf. *GC*, 1:120.

[859] 1Kgs 8:63 reads "the well-being offerings that he offered to YHWH" for "a sacrifice of".

[860] G^B lacks וצאן מאה ועשרים אלף, an obvious homoioteleuton.

[861] ויחנכו takes double subjects while G takes the first, singular, subject "the king": *GC*, 1:43.

		לְהוֹדוֹת לַיהוָה כִּי־לְעוֹלָם	king David had made, to give thanks to
		חַסְדּוֹ בְּהַלֵּל דָּוִיד בְּיָדָם	YHWH, "for his faithfulness endures
		וְהַסֹּחֲרִים מַחְצְצְרִים נֶגְדָּם	forever", when David praised through their
		וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֹמְדִים: ס	agency.[862] When the priests were blowing trumpets[863] in front of them, all Israel was standing.
7:7	Sacrifice	וַיְקַדֵּשׁ שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת־תְּוֹךְ	And [864] Solomon [865] consecrated [866] the
		הֶחָצֵר אֲשֶׁר לִפְנֵי בֵית־יְהוָה	middle of the court that was before[867] the
		כִּי־עָשָׂה שָׁם הָעֹלוֹת וְאֶת	temple of YHWH, for he offered there the
		חֶלְבֵי הַשְּׁלָמִים כִּי־מִזְבַּח	burnt-offerings and the fats of the
		הַנְּחֹשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה שְׁלֹמֹה	well-being offerings, for the bronze altar
		לֹא יָכוֹל לְהָכִיל אֶת־הָעֹלָה	that Solomon had made was not able[868] to
		וְאֶת־הַמִּנְחָה וְאֶת־הַחֲלָבִים:	contain the burnt-offering and the grain offering and the fats.

In Section 2.4.2, I noted that Gudea of Lagash stationed musicians in his newly built temple, so that their music could attract the divine presence. He also received a heavenly template to build Ningirsu's temple and prayed for divine presence. This ancient concept of "template" was received in the Neo-Babylonian Esagila temple of Marduk, which was seen as a counterpart of various layers of divine residences (Section 2.4.2). Furthermore, the Mesopotamian liturgical practice of synchronised song and sacrifice is depicted in various ritual texts of *kalû* (Section 2.4.1) as an

862 Literally, "through their hands".
863 Reading with *qere*, see footnote 845.
864 1Kgs 8:64 reads "on that day".
865 1Kgs 8:64 reads "the king" for "Solomon".
866 1Kgs 8:64 reads Qal perfect for waw-consecutive.
867 G reads ἐν. MT is to be preferred.
868 1Kgs 8:64 reads "that was before YHWH was too small" for "that Solomon had made was not able". This highlights the abundance of sacrifices instead of the smallness of the altar. This also emphasises Solomon's bronze altar: Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 350; Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:355.

attempt to foster the well-being of kings linked with the concept of the temple as realised template. Tuell believes that the concept of divine presence reflected in the Gudea Cylinder is similar to that depicted in the Chronicler's inauguration of Solomon's temple, in which YHWH's glory filled the temple; Gudea is similarly depicted as requesting Ningirsu's glorious presence.[869]

The Chronicler's relation of liturgical music to the divine presence, a concept similar to its Mesopotamian counterpart, constitutes a major difference from Samuel-Kings. For him, ritual music could attract (2Chr 5:11-14) and proclaim (2Chr 7:1-7) the divine presence. It could even be synchronised with sacrifices to promote the well-being of all Israel. This parallel situation can be explained by the fact that music in the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture was highly esteemed, belonging to the professional practices and norms,[870] so that the Chronicler probably reaffirmed music in relation to the divine presence to upgrade the significance and authenticity of the temple comparable to other temples in defiance of the Babylonian-Persian challenges during his reflection on the exilic experience.

As shown in my translation and its structure, the Chronicler inserts his *Sondergut* (2Chr 7:1b-3, 6) into his *Vorlage*, constructing an interlacing pattern of sacrifice-song-sacrifice-song-sacrifice. I argue that the first sacrifice-song is the heavenly inauguration, while the second sacrifice-song is the earthly inauguration. The term "heavenly inauguration" designates the inauguration of earthly worship by heavenly, divine initiation. The term "earthly inauguration" means the continuation on earth of the pattern established by the "heavenly inauguration". This inauguration takes a similar form to Gudea's inauguration and the ideology of the Esagila temple of Marduk, in which "liturgical music", "divine presence", and "heavenly template" also

[869] Steven Shawn Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, Interpretation (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1989), 129–130.
[870] Ziegler, "Music," 288–312.

occupied a central significance. It must be noted that the Chronicler would have known nothing about the Gudea Cylinder written about 1,500 years before his time. A textual comparison between the two passages does not show any sign of literary dependence;[871] thus this appears to be not direct literary borrowing but the use of shared themes that were reaffirmed to suit the agendas of the citizen-temple community and to authenticate inauguration of the temple.

7:1 and 7:3 contain two temporal clauses, "when Solomon had finished praying" and "when the fire came down". This indicates that all the verbs surrounding the two temporal clauses denote simultaneous circumstances. The actions "Solomon finished his prayer", "the fire came down", "YHWH's glory filled the temple", "Israelites bowed down", and "they gave thanks" are depicted as concurrent. The Chronicler thus synchronises the divine presence (fire and glory[872]), sacrifices, and music.

How should we interpret the text in a way that shows this synchronisation? First, the Chronicler borrows the "descending fire" from Lev 9:23-24 and replaces the congregational "shout for joy" (וירנו) in Lev 9:24 with the congregational chanting of the liturgical refrain in 7:3.[873] Lev 9:23-24 concludes the inauguration of the altar in the tabernacle. The "fire" not only socially legitimised the priestly authority but also symbolically denoted a legitimate altar site at which to access the divine encounter. Many have agreed that the fire from heaven symbolised the divine acceptance of the offerings and legitimised the temple site.[874] David encountered the same heavenly fire when he built his altar on the threshing floor of Ornan (1Chr 21:26), the legitimate temple site (Section 4.3.1). The descending fire in 7:1, patterned after 1Chr 21:26, would have confirmed the temple's function in averting wrath. Anthropologists think

[871] See appendix C10 for the Gudea Cylinder A.
[872] Fire and Glory are similar symbols for the divine presence: Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 589–590.
[873] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 119.
[874] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 222; McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 248; Ackroyd, *I&II Chronicles*, 114; Myers, *II Chronicles*, 40.

that fire represented a gateway to the other world and established a communication channel for divine power and blessing to the human world.[875] The holy flame was supposed to be perpetuated and never to die out, in order to ensure the divine acceptance of subsequent offerings.[876] The earthly sacrificial system is thus shown to have been inaugurated by the heavenly divine fire, the heavenly inauguration.

Second, the first sacrifice for the heavenly inauguration of the altar was the burnt-offering (7:1).[877] This offering can be interpreted as (1) transforming victims into smoke as a soothing fragrance (Lev 8:21) in order to avert wrath (1Chr 21:26),[878] (2) as attracting the divine presence (Exod 29:42-43),[879] or (3) as a gift in return for God's aid.[880] This offering was probably the first because (1) it is the only sacrifice depicted as "going up" both at the etymological level and the symbolic level;[881] (2) it attracted the divine presence from heaven; and (3) it is reminiscent of 1Chr 21, designating the temple site and the altar as the place for averting wrath. This does not mean that there was wrath during Solomon's inauguration, but it symbolised the theological significance of the temple in averting subsequent wrath. Therefore, the burnt-offering, consumed by the holy flame, symbolised the maintenance of creation order, which was the theological context for the divine wrath.[882]

Finally, according to Chronicles, the Israelites bowed down to worship YHWH by giving thanks with a liturgical refrain, a proclamation of YHWH's חסד as envisaged

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875 Leach, *Culture*, 88.

876 Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 591; Stephen A. Geller, *Sacred Enigmas: Literary Religion in the Hebrew Bible* (London: Routledge, 1996), 73.

877 The first sacrifice performed on the altar of the second temple was also burnt-offering during Sukkot (Ezra 3:3-4): Tuell, *Chronicles*, 130–131.

878 Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 175; Frank H. Gorman, *Divine Presence and Community: A Commentary on the Book of Leviticus*, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 23; Gorman, *Ideology*, 126; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 111. For the expiatory function of burnt-offering and how חטאת and אשם usurped its expiatory function, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 175–177.

879 B.A. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord: A Study of Cult and Some Cultic Terms in Ancient Israel*, SJLA 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 22–27; Levine, "Presence," 80; Klawans, *Purity*, 69–70.

880 Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 441; Gray, *Sacrifice*, 3.

881 "עלה," *TDOT*, XI:77, 81-82.

882 Gorman, *Divine Presence*, 23.

by the Davidic covenant (cf. Section 6.2.3.4). This supplements the synchronisation of heaven and earth with the divine חסד. YHWH was seen to offer his presence according to his חסד. Therefore, the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in 7:1-3 is a fusion of many traditions (e.g. the tabernacle, the Davidic covenant, and the sacrificial system).

After describing the heavenly inauguration of the earthly sacrifice, the Chronicler moves back to his Kings-*Vorlage* in 7:4-5 to describe Solomon's earthly sacrifices. These sacrifices helped Solomon and his people to "inaugurate the temple of God" (7:5) and can be interpreted as a continuation of the heavenly inauguration of the altar. In 7:4-6, the Chronicler employs four participles (זבחים, עמדים [x2], and מחצרים) to depict another round of simultaneous actions: sacrificing, standing, and blowing trumpet. As in the first round (7:1-3), song and sacrifice are depicted as synchronised with the congregational worship (standing) in 7:4-5. This follows the pattern established in the heavenly inauguration (7:1-3), in which the burnt-offering was synchronised with the chanting of the liturgical refrain. In this instance (7:6), the Levitical singers chanted in collaboration with priestly trumpeters, and YHWH's חסד was once again proclaimed. The singers stood before the priestly trumpeters (or east towards the altar, in 2Chr 5:12) and acted as intermediaries between YHWH and all Israel,[883] helping the Israelites to channel thanksgiving to YHWH and proclaiming the divine acceptance of their offerings based on his חסד. Therefore, the interlacing pattern denotes two sequential rounds of the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in both the heavenly and earthly inaugurations of the temple.

After Solomon's inauguration of earthly sacrificial service, he began to extend the realm of holiness to the middle of the court to accommodate a larger number of sacrifices, including burnt-offerings, well-being offerings, and grain offerings (7:7). I shall discuss different sorts of offerings in relation to the service of Levitical singers in

[883] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 73.

the next section. It is sufficient to comment here that the place of sacrifice had to be consecrated and free from impurity in order not to spoil the divine presence that had already been established in the inauguration. This profound concern for holiness and purity shares a similar concern with its Mesopotamian counterpart (Section 2.4.2), and this will be explored in the next section as well.

7.1.4. Summary

The synchronisation of song and sacrifice constitutes one of the most important innovations in the Chronicler's way of describing the service of Levitical singers. In his version of the inauguration of Solomon's temple, this synchronisation brings together the priestly tabernacle traditions and the Levitical Davidic covenant. When priests and Levites synchronised their rites, they helped to establish the synchronisation of heaven and earth and thereby foster creation order.

In this double-synchronisation, the attraction and proclamation of the divine presence were particularly important, because YHWH's presence ensured the well-being of all Israel. Levitical singers had to proclaim YHWH's חסד and his acceptance of sacrifices, in order to remind the people of his gracious presence according to his חסד. This reflects the social context of the Chronicler, who supplemented the sacrificial system with the concept of YHWH's חסד in relation to his worldview of global tranquillity and rest,[884] a worldview that stemmed from his pre-understanding of the temple as realised template and the experience of the exile.

Furthermore, the Chronicler chooses to place the inauguration of the temple at Sukkot. This affirms that he wants to communicate the importance of the scheduling of the inauguration service for fostering worldwide stability. I submit that Levitical chanting *in synchronisation* with the priestly sacrifice is portrayed as having

[884] Janzen, *Social Meanings*, 209–242.

theological significance in achieving the synchronisation of heaven and earth and thereby promoting the worldwide stability envisaged by the Davidic covenant.

After the inauguration, the synchronisation of song and sacrifice became the practice of תמיד (2Chr 8:13-14). Song and sacrifice were regulated in the Jewish cultic calendar and daily offerings in order to mark temporal divisions in the created order.[885] The Chronicler recontextualises this regularity within the context of YHWH's חסד, which allowed the reverse of misfortune through repentance and celebrates his salvation and peace with joy and thanksgiving.[886]

7.2. Hezekiah's Reinauguration of the Temple Worship

According to the Chronicler, the תמיד-service of Levitical singers encountered a disaster due to the apostasy of Ahaz (2Chr 28). The Chronicler depicts Ahaz as acting in "trespass" (מעל) against YHWH (2Chr 28:19, 22). This forms the literary context for Hezekiah's reinauguration of YHWH's temple, and it is intriguing to explore the liturgical role of Levitical singers in Hezekiah's reforms.

7.2.1. The General Context: The Trespass of Ahaz

In P, מעל was a trespass upon sancta and a sin against God (Lev 5:15, 21; Num 5:6). The Chronicler clearly puts מעל as trespass against temple sancta (2Chr 26:16-18; 28:19, 22-25; 29:19).[887] Another aspect of מעל was the violation of covenant oath (Lev 26:15, 40; Ezek 17:18-20).[888] Milgrom affirms that these two categories of מעל were one, because "[b]oth trespasses are against the Deity. Moreover, trespass upon sancta is simultaneously trespass upon the covenant, since reverence for sancta is

[885] Cf. Gorman, *Ideology*, 215–227; Hayward, "Sanctification," 141–167.
[886] Janzen, *Social Meanings*, 225–228.
[887] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 345–346; Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, 16–19; Williamson, *Israel*, 53.
[888] Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, 19–20; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 348.

presumed in the covenant relationship."[889] It incurred YHWH's wrath, based on his covenantal relationship with his people. Milgrom's interpretation of מעל, for me, is well-grounded, but the difficulty lies in Lev 5:15, which requires the expiation of מעל through reparation offerings (אשם).[890] However, nowhere in 2Chr 29-32 do we find any performance of reparation offerings. How can this inconsistency be explained?

The only reparation that is described in Chronicles was David's purchase of the threshing floor of Ornan at full cost for the purpose of averting the plague (1Chr 21:22-25) (cf. Section 4.3.1). The temple site thus symbolised this reparation as a base for the expiation of any trespass upon sancta and against God. This does not mean that reparation was a permanent factor in the temple site without exercise of human responsibility, because מעל could accumulate to a certain extent without remedy (2Chr 36:14-16). Rather, the reparation effect of מעל was probably absorbed, as I shall show, within the conditionality of the Davidic covenant in 1Chr 28:3-10 and 2Chr 7:12-22. 2Chr 28:3 describes that Ahaz practiced a cult "according to the abominations of the nations" (כתועבות הגוים), similar to that of Molech (Lev 20:2), apostatised (2Chr 28:22-25), and polluted the temple with "the filth" (הנדה) (2Chr 29:5) and "the uncleanness" (הטמאה) (2Chr 29:16). According to Klawans, this idolatrous worship was one of the three sinful practices that brought a moral defilement on the land of Israel (Lev 18:25) and the sanctuary of God (Lev 20:3). This defilement eventually led to an exile (Lev 18:28)[891] and threatened the divine presence, so that its accumulation

[889] Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, 21.

[890] I follow Milgrom's rendering "reparation offering": Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 342.

[891] Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 26–27. Ritual impurity does not defile the land, while moral impurity does: Adolf Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, JCP 11 (London: OUP, 1928), 212–269. Some might blur the distinction between ritual and moral impurity: Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism*, SJLA 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1973). However, the distinction should be maintained according to the argument posed by Klawans and Büchler. For a helpful survey, see Klawans, *Impurity*, 3–20.

"undid" the effective observation of the תמיד inaugurated by Solomon.[892] How does the Chronicler handle this defilement?

The condition prescribed in 2Chr 7:14 was probably the theological foundation for the removal of the defilement of the land. The choices of "humble", "pray", "seek", "turn", "forgive", and "heal" seem to be a fusion of priestly and prophetic traditions. Milgrom remarks that one priestly term for repentance was אשם, which was later usurped by the prophetic term "turn" (שוב) in the Babylonian-Persian period.[893] The Chronicler may incorporate אשם (cf. reparation offering) into שוב to establish the condition in 2Chr 7:14, so that שוב constituted the ground for YHWH's forgiveness and healing. This matches the original priestly doctrine of repentance, which required confession and remorse as preconditions for converting deliberate sin into an inadvertence that was eligible for sacrificial expiation that brought YHWH's forgiveness.[894] This forgiveness included the healing of the land and thereby the removal of the moral defilement from the earth.

Furthermore, the Chronicler may also have recontextualised מעל as a hermeneutical key to describe a corporate and wilful trespass, which was originally perceived as an individual and inadvertent trespass in Lev 5:15-26.[895] This tendency toward a more corporate and moral interpretation of מעל would have demanded a more deliberate repentance, summarised as שוב. As shall be shown, the language of 2Chr 7:14 dominates the speech, letter, and prayer of Hezekiah in 2Chr 29-30, so that it forms the foundation for the expiation and removal of Ahaz's מעל, and thus the divine wrath. This also strengthens my proposal that the chanting of YHWH's חסד

[892] Cf. Klawans, *Purity*, 71.
[893] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 376–377.
[894] Ibid., 373–378; Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology*, SJLA 36 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 47–66. For a study of "forgiveness", see Jay Sklar, *Sin, Impurity, Sacrifice, Atonement : The Priestly Conceptions*, HBM 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005), 80–88.
[895] Johnstone, *Chronicles and Exodus*, 99–106.

encouraged people to trust in God's promise (2Chr 7:14) in order to avert wrath and to promote worldwide stability.

7.2.2. Hezekiah's Speech (2Chr 29:5-11)

According to priestly traditions, YHWH's presence in his earthly abode ensured the security and well-being of the community. Impurity diminished the sanctity of the earthly sanctuary and drove away the divine presence.[896] Impurity and defilement also attacked the ordered boundaries between holy and profane, between clean and unclean, so that they would collapse due to confusion.[897] Therefore, the Chronicler characterises Hezekiah as a pious king who saw the restoration and purification of the temple as the first and most urgent task in the first month (29:3).[898] Hezekiah opened the doors of YHWH's temple (29:3) and gathered priests and Levites (29:4) to encourage them to cleanse and consecrate the temple in his well-known speech:

29:5 שִׁמְעֻנִי הַלְוִיִּם עַתָּה הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ וְקַדְּשׁוּ אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵיכֶם וְהוֹצִיאוּ אֶת־הַנִּדָּה מִן־הַקֹּדֶשׁ׃

"Listen to me, O Levites now! Consecrate yourselves and consecrate the temple of YHWH the God of your fathers, and bring out the filth from the holy place."

29:6 כִּי־מָעֲלוּ אֲבֹתֵינוּ וְעָשׂוּ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה־אֱלֹהֵינוּ וַיַּעַזְבֻהוּ וַיָּסֵבּוּ פְנֵיהֶם מִמִּשְׁכַּן יְהוָה וַיִּתְּנוּ־עֹרֶף׃

"For our fathers have trespassed and have done the evil in the eyes of YHWH our God, and have forsaken him, and have caused to turn their faces from the dwelling place of YHWH, and have set *to him* the back of *their* neck."

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[896] Cf. Levine, *Presence*, 76–77; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 258–259; Neusner, *Purity*, 13–14, 25.

[897] Gorman, *Ideology*, 79–81; Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 40–55.

[898] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 916. "The first month" here should refer to the first month of the year (Nisan), not of Hezekiah's reign (cf. 29:17): Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 463; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 922.

29:7 גַּם סָגְרוּ דַּלְתוֹת הָאוּלָם וַיְכַבּוּ
אֶת־הַנֵּרוֹת וּקְטֹרֶת לֹא
הִקְטִירוּ וְעֹלָה לֹא־הֶעֱלוּ
בַּקֹּדֶשׁ לֵאלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

"They have also shut the doors of the porch,[899] and have extinguished the lamps, and have not burned incense, and have not brought up burnt-offering in the holy place[900] to the God of Israel."

29:8 וַיְהִי קֶצֶף יְהוָה עַל־יְהוּדָה
וִירוּשָׁלִָם וַיִּתְּנֵם לְזַוְעָה לְשַׁמָּה
וְלִשְׁרֵקָה כַּאֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם רֹאִים
בְּעֵינֵיכֶם׃

"So the wrath of YHWH was upon Judah and Jerusalem, and he has given them terror,[901] and horror, and hissing, as that you are seeing by your eyes."

29:9 וְהִנֵּה נָפְלוּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בֶּחָרֶב
וּבָנֵינוּ וּבְנוֹתֵינוּ וְנָשֵׁינוּ בַּשְּׁבִי
עַל־זֹאת׃

"For behold, our[902] fathers have fallen by the sword, and our sons and our daughters and our wives are in the captivity for this.[903]"

29:10 עַתָּה עִם־לְבָבִי לִכְרוֹת בְּרִית
לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיָשֹׁב
מִמֶּנּוּ חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ׃

"Now! It is with my heart to cut a covenant before[904] YHWH God of Israel, so that his burning anger will turn from us."

29:11 בָּנַי עַתָּה אַל־תִּשָּׁלוּ כִּי־בָכֶם
בָּחַר יְהוָה לַעֲמֹד לְפָנָיו
לְשָׁרְתוֹ וּלְהִיוֹת לוֹ מְשָׁרְתִים

"My sons![905] Now! Do not be negligent, for YHWH has chosen you to stand before him and to minister to him, in order to be ministering to

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899 G reads τοῦ ναοῦ, which is a standard rendering for הָאוּלָם: *GC*, 1:59.

900 G wrongly regards קדש as an adjective (ἁγίῳ): *GC*, 2:13.

901 "Terror" can either be *qere* (לזעוה) or *kethib* (לזועה). MT's vocalisation seems strange when compared with Jer 15:4, reading לְזוַעָה. Isa 28:19 takes *kethib* while Ezek 23:46 takes *qere*. The variation also appears at Jer 15:4; 29:18; 34:17: *BDB*, 266; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 465. This shows a strong influence from Jeremiah's terminology. MT seems to allow us to interpret the word with reference to either Isaiah or Jeremiah, in which the two forms are likely to be equally traditional.

902 Mss read "your fathers" (אבותיכם). G reads "your fathers" (οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν) together with "your sons and your daughters and your wives". Dillard explains it as "an intra-G confusion of ἡμῶν and ὑμῶν": Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 232. But G and Mss might intend to alter the Hebrew because the fathers of Hezekiah were not killed by the sword and were not taken to captivity: Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 465.

903 The phrase "for this" belongs to the beginning of 29:10 in G.

904 Hezekiah did not make a true covenant "with" YHWH but a whole-hearted commitment "before" YHWH: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 919; Japhet, *Ideology*, 88–91; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 353–354.

905 G lacks "my sons". It might arise from a different *Vorlage* or a translator's error: *GC*, 2:132-133.

ומקטרים׃ס him and burning incense."

In this speech, the Chronicler freely draws on different traditions to address the contemporary concerns:[906] the holiness and the purity of the temple. Levites were instructed to consecrate and cleanse the sanctuary to undo "the filth" (הנדה)[907] that Ahaz brought into it (29:5), because Ahaz (and "our fathers") "have trespassed" (מעלו), "have done the evil" (עשו הרע), "have forsaken him" (ויעזבהו), "have turned their faces" (ויסבו פניהם), and "have set *to him* the back of *their* neck" (ויתנו־ערף) (29:6). This variety of choices comes from the programmatic statements posed by the Davidic covenant to indicate those who did not fulfil the divine condition of "seeking God".[908]

The doors of the porch are said to be closed in 29:7. "The porch" (האולם) was the tower-like structure that symbolised the place reaching the heaven (2Chr 3:4) (cf. Section 4.3.3). The closing of the doors of the porch thus symbolised a broken coherence between heaven and earth. The extinguishing of the lamp symbolised YHWH's absence. The regular offering was stopped.[909] This means that the usual communication between heaven and earth was abandoned. 29:8 borrows the language of the exile, especially that of Jeremiah;[910] "YHWH's wrath" (קצף יהוה), and "terror"

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[906] Von Rad thinks that the Chronicler follows a *Gattung* called "Levitical sermon" here: Gerhard von Rad, "The Levitical Sermon in I and II Chronicles," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, trans. E.W. Trueman Dicken (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966), 267–280. But it seems inappropriate to impose our concept of "*Gattung*": Rex Mason, *Preaching the Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 1–4. Throntveit classifies this speech as oration without maintaining rigid *Gattungen*: Mark A. Throntveit, *When Kings Speak : Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles*, SBLDS 93 (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1987), 20, 32, 39–40.

[907] A strong word that describes ritual impurity: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 917; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 353; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 464. It also describes the abominations arising from idolatry (e.g. Ezra 9:11). The context justifies that "the filth" refers to Ahaz's apostasy.

[908] סבב appears at 1Chr 10:14; 12:24; 13:3 to describe the consequence of Saul's not "seeking God". עזב appears at 1Chr 28:9, 20; 2Chr 7:19, 22 to describe the negative side of the Davidic covenantal conditions, and becomes an antonym of "seeking God". מעל occurs in a programmatic position (1Chr 10:13) to describe Saul, a type of those who did not "seek God". עשו הרע is the opposite action of וישבו מדרכיהם הרעים in 2Chr 7:14, a programmatic conditional statement. ויתנו־ערף resembles the conclusing statement explaining a reason for the exile in 2Chr 36:13.

[909] The altar was built before the porch (2Chr 8:12; 15:8). Sacrifices offered on it would thus symbolise an upward movement towards heaven.

[910] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 353; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 918; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 464; McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 341; Paul K. Hooker, *First and Second Chronicles*, WBc (London: Westminster John Knox,

(לזועה) are used to describe the Assyrian exile, for example. The choice of language (also in 29:9) is strong proof of the Chronicler's exilic consciousness, in which the theological reflection on the trauma influenced the Chronicler's intra-Jewish exegesis (e.g. of Jeremiah) so that he reaffirmed the exilic traditions in articulating the theological consequence of the uncleanness and impurity of the temple.

Furthermore, the Chronicler includes the Levites in the restoration of the purity and holiness of the temple, and they restarted their regular ministry[911] (29:11). This echoes the lingering concern of the citizen-temple community to restore the authentic temple cult, which needed Levites as the "chosen"[912] personnel to perform such a holy task. Therefore, Hezekiah's speech forms a strong theological statement on the liturgical role of Levites and their responsibility for the holiness and purity of the temple to avert God's wrath and foster stability.

7.2.3. The Purification and Consecration of the Temple (2Chr 29:12-19)

In 29:12-15 there is a list of Levites, including singers (29:14), who were entrusted with purging the temple. The involvement of singers again echoes the Mesopotamian norms. The Mesopotamian ritual texts confirm that *kalû*-singers and exorcists worked together to purify the sanctuary and that they presented songs and sacrifices. The multi-professional profile of the Mesopotamian *kalû*-priests enabled them to handle various ritual tasks for fostering worldwide stability (Section 2.4.1). Likewise, we see here that the Levites could exercise multiple liturgical roles such as purification and singing. In light of the practices of the *kalû*-priests, the Chronicler may be speaking of Levites in terms of their professional roles in order to legitimise their activities.

2001), 249; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 416–417.

[911] The double "minister" (שרת) appearing in 29:11 might indicate the priestly ministry to YHWH (the first שרת) and the Levitical ministry to priests (the second שרת): Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 233; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 417.

[912] For the chosenness of Levites, see Japhet, *Ideology*, 71–73; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 919.

Furthermore, the Chronicler uses the term "minister" (שרת) (29:11, cf. 2Chr 31:2) to describe various liturgical roles of Levites such as music (1Chr 6:16-17; 16:4; 2Chr 8:14), carrying and ministering the ark (1Chr 15:2; 16:37), and gatekeeping (1Chr 26:12). Levites are also called "ministering Levites" (2Chr 23:6). This suggests a multi-functional "ministry" of Levites that resembles that of the *kalû*-priests.

Finally, the language employed in 29:6-11 suggests a strong reaction to the exile, which would have affected the literary configuration of Levites in Chronicles. This further demonstrates how the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context gives us insight into the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers as elite professionals, who were able to chant, prophesy, write, and purify for the purpose of worldwide stability.

In 29:16-19 there is a description of the complete purification[913] and consecration[914] of the temple, in which the consecration of the porch occupies the centre (i.e. the eighth day[915]) of the sixteen-day project (29:17). The consecration of this tower-like structure represented a symbolic endeavour to reach heaven with holiness. The altar of burnt-offering and all the vessels were cleansed in order to prepare the "going up" of sacrifices and to restore the heavenly תבנית (1Chr 28:14). Priests and Levites were thus creating a holy communicative channel between heaven and earth during the cleansing.

7.2.4. The Blood Manipulation and the Purification Offering (2Chr 29:20-24)

From 29:20 onward, we encounter a complex procedure of sacrificial and hymnic services in the reinauguration of the temple cult. Rainey shows that the order of performing sacrifices in descriptive texts (e.g. 29:20-36) is different from the order

[913] טהר appears at 29:15-16, 18 as piel "factitive", denoting purification acts: Sklar, *Sin*, 107.

[914] קדש appears at 29:15, 17. 29:16 clearly shows gradations of spatial holiness: inner sanctuary (priests), court (transition), and Wadi Kidron (Levites). This re-established the boundaries of holiness, thus order: Gorman, *Ideology*, 88–89; Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 89–148.

[915] "Eight" is the basic number for inauguration and purification: Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 594.

depicted in prescriptive texts. In the descriptive order, the purification offering[916] came first and was followed by the burnt-offering. The well-being offering came last.[917] Kleinig pushes Rainey's observation further and attempts to uncover the ritual significance of the synchronisation of song and sacrifice within the sacrificial order, in which Levitical singers proclaimed the acceptance of Israelite offerings and announced YHWH's presence, goodness, and faithfulness.[918]

While their arguments make good sense,[919] some questions still remain unanswered in 29:20-36: Why did the blood manipulation of the purification offering not involve the sprinkling of blood on the curtain even though the atonement was for all Israel (cf. Lev 4:13-21)? Why did the blood manipulation of the burnt-offering appear at 29:22, a place separated from the actual performance of the burnt-offering at 29:27-29? How can the idea of the Chronicler's pre-understanding of the temple as realised template, in the context of the Davidic covenant, improve our understanding of the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in 29:25-30? What role did music play in the well-being offering in 29:31-36?

First, 29:21-24 concerns the purgation of the altar and the atonement for all Israel. 29:21 presents a list of animals for sacrifices. Bulls, rams, and lambs were used for burnt-offerings, while he-goats were used for purification offerings.[920] The number seven signified the wholeness of the upcoming purification.[921] The list of animals follows that represented in the inauguration of the altar in Num 7:87-88,[922] and 29:22 describes the blood manipulation in great detail.

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[916] I render חַטָּאת as "purification offering": Ibid., 253–254.
[917] A.F. Rainey, "The Order of Sacrifices in Old Testament Ritual Texts," *Biblica* 51 (1970): 485–498.
[918] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 100–131.
[919] This supports Levine's theory that the burnt-offering attracts the divine presence for covenantal communion, and purity is the prerequisite for the attraction: Levine, *Presence*, 20–27.
[920] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 925; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 356; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 467.
[921] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 921.
[922] Ibid., 925; Hooker, *Chronicles*, 250; Tuell, *Chronicles*, 214; McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 342.

Lev 4:13-21 prescribes the blood manipulation for the purification offering of the whole congregation (cf. "all Israel" in 29:24) that involved the sevenfold sprinkling of blood on the curtain (4:17) and daubing blood on the horns of the incense altar (4:18). However, these details are not represented in 29:22-24. This is unexpected because "curtain" (2Chr 3:14) and "incense altar" (1Chr 6:34; 28:18) are two particular highlights in the Chronicler's *Sondergut*. The Chronicler's preference for depicting the daubing of blood on the altar of burnt-offering creates an inconsistency with P. This inconsistency, however, can be explained based on the different location of YHWH's glory between the priestly tabernacle and the Chronicler's temple. Japhet observes that the cloud is described as falling *upon* the tabernacle and the glory filling it *from within* in Exod 40:34-35. The Chronicler seems to be equating "cloud" and "glory" and offers no sense of "from within".[923] I add that YHWH's glory came at the same time as the descending holy flame in 2Chr 7:1-3. Therefore, YHWH's glory is said to be *from within*, behind the curtain in the tabernacle, while it is described as *from above* in Chronicles. Gilders writes,

> Since his "glory" (*kābôd*) abides in the Most Holy Place behind the curtain, when the anointed priest sprinkles blood toward this curtain he stands in close proximity to the manifest Deity and points to him – "indexes" him – with the gesture. The sprinkling of blood toward the abode of Yahweh's presence indexes a relationship between the anointed priest and Yahweh, as well as between Yahweh and the community that the anointed priest represents inside the shine.[924]

Gilders' theory of "indexing" denotes the instrumental aspect of blood manipulation in joining social connections. The priests sprinkled blood upon the curtain of the tabernacle to make a social connection to YHWH. The Chronicler probably alters this picture and specifically describes the daubing of blood on the altar of burnt-offering

[923] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 581.
[924] William K. Gilders, *Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible : Meaning and Power* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 116.

(29:22) in order to signify a social connection between the people and the altar. Since this altar of "going up" occupies a central position in the symbolism of Chronicles (1Chr 21:26; 2Chr 7:1), marking the heavenly inauguration of the temple cult (Section 7.1.3), the daubing of blood on this altar (29:22) would effectively connect (or "index") YHWH in heaven (YHWH's glory is *from above*) and the people, through the altar.

Furthermore, the daubing of blood would have purified the altar for subsequent offerings (Lev 8:14-15).[925] This ensured its purity, a prerequisite for divine-human encounter in the realm of holiness. The Chronicler thus feels obliged to align his description of events with his concept of the temple as realised template by separating the preparation for the burnt-offering (29:22) and its actual performance (29:27-28), because the communicative channel between heaven and earth needed be established in 29:22 as the prerequisite for both the purification offering (29:23-24) and the burnt-offering (29:27-28).[926] The application of this heaven-and-earth dimension would have replaced the consecrating effect of the sprinkling of blood on the altar that is described in priestly writings.[927] Thus the Chronicler departs from the blood-sprinkling rite prescribed in Lev 4:17-18 and focuses on the daubing of blood on the altar of burnt-offering, because YHWH's presence here was more from above than from within. This highlights the symbolic coherence between heaven and earth as the precondition for the purification offering and the burnt-offering. This also gives a theological context for the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in 29:25-30.

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[925] Gorman, *Ideology*, 83–89; Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 131–132. Milgrom thinks that the חטאת-blood acts as ritual detergent to purge the sanctuary, but not a person: Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 254–256. But "ritual disinfectant" might be more correct, because blood destroys impurity instead of removing it: Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 129–130. Recent research shows that blood in כפר-rite purifies and ransoms (Lev 17:11): Sklar, *Sin*, 163–182. See also footnote 520.

[926] Cf. Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 155.

[927] Gilders and Milgrom plausibly argue that the daubing of blood "purified", while the sprinkling of blood "consecrated" according to the logic that purity was the precondition of holiness: Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1037–1039; Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 131–132.

Second, 29:23-24 depicts an actual procedure of purification offering as matching the first three steps (bringing in the victims, laying hands upon them, slaughtering them) of the priestly six-step procedure[928] – except that priests, rather than laypersons, were responsible for slaughtering the victims (29:24).[929] The next three steps, especially the tossing of blood, are probably omitted to highlight the daubing of blood in 29:22. Then, 29:24 describes how the priests "purified" (ויחטאו) (or "de-sinned")[930] the altar with blood[931] in order to "atone for all Israel" (לכפר על־כל־ישראל). The word כפר has been much discussed. It probably means both "purify" and "consecrate", and the juxtaposition of כפר and על means making an expiatory rite *on behalf of* someone.[932] Milgrom writes about the meaning of כפר, "… all texts that assign to *kipper* the function of averting God's wrath have *kōper* in mind: the innocent life spared by substituting for it the guilty parties or their ransom."[933] Since the Chronicler depicts this כפר-rite in the context of averting God's wrath (29:8-10), we can interpret that the purification offering "ransomed" the lives of "all Israel", lest they encountered divine wrath (a pattern after 1Chr 21:22).

Therefore, the divine wrath was averted due to the performance of the purification offering on the behalf of all Israel, and this becomes another theological context for the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in 29:25-30.

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928 Gary A. Anderson, "Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings," in *ABD*, V:875.

929 Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 2:195; Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 153–154.

930 טהר and חטא are synonymous except that the former word denotes the positive side, "to make pure", while the latter designates the negative side, "to de-sin". The context also suggests the rendering, "offered purification offering": Sklar, *Sin*, 109–112.

931 I take "the altar" as the direct object of ויחטאו, and render את־דמם as "with their blood". *Contra* Gilders, *Blood Ritual*, 30.

932 קדש means consecrating a direct object, but כפר in piel means consecrating on behalf of someone through the performance of a rite. It matches the fact that חטאת-blood is never applied upon a person, but upon sanctuary on behalf of a person: Sklar, *Sin*, 113; Milgrom, *Cultic Theology*, 76; Levine, *Presence*, 63–67.

933 Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1082. Sklar contends further that the concept of "ransom" (*kōper*) relates to the context of sin: Sklar, *Sin*, 80–101.

7.2.5. The Synchronisation of Song and Burnt-offering (2Chr 29:25-30)

As has been shown, the holy communication between heaven and earth and the averting of God's wrath constitute two prerequisites for the synchronisation of song and sacrifice; the altar of burnt-offering (the heaven-and-earth connective point) had to be purified to make the upward movement of burnt-offering and song possible.

2Chr 29:25-30 depicts the synchronisation with two authorising statements, in 29:25 and 29:30, bracketing the central portion (29:26-29). Hezekiah stationed Levitical singers at YHWH's temple, with all Levitical musical instruments, and these singers played music "according to the command of David, and of Gad the royal seer, and of Nathan the prophet" (29:25). Then, 29:25b further specifies that this command was "by the directions of YHWH through the directions of his prophets."[934] 29:30 describes how Hezekiah and his officials "instructed" (ויאמר) the Levites to praise YHWH "with the words of David and of Asaph the seer." These specifications of Davidic authority along with that of three major prophets show the Chronicler's emphasis on the Levitical singers' imitation of the prophetic model of David in order to foster covenantal stability (cf. Section 5.3.3.2). The bracketing structure (29:25, 30) encapsulates the middle portion (29:26-29) as if the synchronisation of song and sacrifice were embraced by the theological context of the Davidic covenant. This is evidence of the Chronicler's recontextualisation of the sacrificial system into the musical enactment of the Davidic covenant to foster worldwide stability.

The synchronisation of song and burnt-offering is described as follows:

29:27	וַיֹּאמֶר֩ חִזְקִיָּ֨הוּ לְהַעֲל֜וֹת הָעֹלָ֗ה	And Hezekiah instructed *them* to bring up the
	לְהַמִּזְבֵּ֙חַ֙ וּבְעֵ֣ת הֵחֵ֔ל הָעוֹלָ֖ה הֵחֵ֑ל	burnt-offering on the altar. At the time *when*[935]

[934] I render יד as "direction".
[935] I supply "when" to reflect the omission of the retrospective word: GKC §155l.

שִׁיר־יְהוָה וְהַחֲצֹצְרוֹת וְעַל־יְדֵי כְּלֵי דָּוִיד מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

the burnt-offering began, the song of YHWH began with[936] the trumpets, which[937] was upon the instructions[938] of the instruments of David King of Israel.

29:28 וְכָל־הַקָּהָל מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים וְהַשִּׁיר מְשׁוֹרֵר וְהַחֲצֹצְרוֹת מַחְצְצְרִים הַכֹּל עַד לִכְלוֹת הָעֹלָה׃

And all the assembly was worshipping, and the singers were singing, and the trumpets were sounding[939] until[940] the burnt-offering was completed.[941]

As can be seen, the Chronicler uses one temporal clause (ובעת החל העולה החל שיר־יהוה) to specify precisely the synchronised timing for bringing up the burnt-offering and YHWH's song. The burnt-offering was the sacrifice *par excellence* for denoting the connection between heaven and earth, and the "fire" (1Chr 21:26; 2Chr 7:1) underlined the theological significance of the burnt-offering as the sacrifice to inaugurate vertical synchronisation and to avert God's wrath.

To this symbolic meaning of the burnt-offering, the Chronicler adds the hymnic synchronisation to give a sense of "mutual symbolisation", and thus the symbolic meanings of song and sacrifice were mutually enriched by one another. On the one hand, the symbolic meaning of the burnt-offering was enriched within the theological context of YHWH's faithfulness, as envisaged by the Davidic covenant through the Levitical singing. On the other hand, YHWH's song was enriched by the theological

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[936] I render this ו as *wāw concomitantiae*: GKC §154a n1(b).

[937] I render this ו as explicative referring to YHWH's song, not to the trumpets, in order to avoid the sense of trumpets being played under David's directions. Another proposal is "alongside": Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 80 n3.

[938] ועל־ידי is difficult because כלי דויד is not a person. G reads "with" (πρὸς) in an attempt to make it easier. MT is to be preferred.

[939] Reading with *qere*: footnote 845.

[940] G, S, V_g lack הכל. The word הכל seems strange grammatically, and it might be incorrectly duplicated according to וכל at the beginning. MT is to be rejected.

[941] לכלות means "be complete", an opposite of החל in 29:27: *BDB*, 477. The infinite construct seems awkward. G reads "was completed" (συνετελέσθη), a reading reflected in my rendering.

meaning of the burnt-offering in averting God's wrath and creating a connection between heaven and earth. The synchronisation of song and sacrifice is therefore presented as the gateway through which heavenly blessings were channelled to the earthly realm to nurture covenantal stability. This liturgical practice generally resembles certain procedures in the *kalû*-ritual, in which the collaboration of song and sacrifice was also important for fostering well-being and stability (Section 2.4.1).

Kleinig argues, from his understanding of the chiastic structure of 29:27-29, that the prostration of the congregation occupies the central position in the acknowledgment of YHWH's presence and acceptance. This follows the pattern already established in Solomon's inauguration.[942] My reading of Solomon's inauguration adds meaning to this prostration insofar as they acknowledged the divine presence as that promised by the Davidic covenant, and they affirmed the divine acceptance in the form of heaven-to-earth blessing, symbolised by the holy flame (2Chr 7:1) (cf. the heaven-to-earth motif in the *balag*-tradition in Section 3.1.2). The burnt-offering offered in 29:27-28 would have followed such a pattern, and its synchronisation with song would have added its theological significance in respect to nurturing covenantal stability. Thus the singers are portrayed as intermediaries, helping the people to acknowledge the divine presence and bestowal of worldwide stability (cf. the intermediate role of *gala*-priest in Section 2.2.3).

In fact, this stability is reflected in the mention of "joy" (29:30), which Japhet defines as "the conclusive expression of the fact that a deed has been executed with the whole heart."[943] Endres proposes a chiastic structure in 1Chr 29:9, in which "whole heart" (לב שלם) stands at the centre with "rejoice" (שמח) at either side, so that "[i]t begins with popular rejoicing over the generosity of those who act with 'whole

[942] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 120–122.
[943] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 928.

heart' and then builds up to joyful rejoicing of the king."[944] As such, this heavenly joy was probably transferred to the congregation through the singers' acknowledgment of the divine presence and the "wholeheartedness" of the congregation.[945] It is precisely this "wholeness" (or "holiness" in Douglas' definition[946]) that restored the holy identity of all Israel (Exod 19:5-6; Lev 19:2) within the created order. Therefore, the synchronisation of song and sacrifice probably helped the Israelites to restore their place in the created order, in which "joy" was the main indicator of worldwide stability achieved in the synchronisation of heaven and earth because of the congregational "wholeheartedness".

7.2.6. The Well-being Offering and Thanksgivings (2Chr 29:31-36)

After sin and impurity were removed and the divine-human relationship was restored, the well-being offering (שלמים) (29:25-30) reinforced "the value of the restored relation between God and man. They [i.e. שלמים] are the appropriate way to acknowledge positively God's goodness and any particular benefits which an individual may have received from Yahweh's hand."[947] Therefore, שלמים seems appropriate as a conclusion to the order of the Chronicler's sacrifices.

Milgrom notes three motivations for שלמים in the priestly writings: freewill, vows, and thanksgiving (תודה) (cf. 2Chr 29:31). He believes that "the common denominator of these motivations is rejoicing."[948] He highlights that we can only find תודה under the form of שלמים in P, such that תודה should be differentiated from

[944] Endres, "Spiritual Vision," 19.
[945] Some psalmic traditions possibly reorientated the joyful experience as the consequence of YHWH's blessing: Berquist, *Judaism*, 201.
[946] Douglas, *Purity*, 63–71.
[947] Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 164.
[948] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 218.

freewill and vows due to there being different time spans for eating (Lev 7:15-16)[949] and different associations with the burnt-offering.[950]

Modéus, however, believes that תודה is not a distinct sacrifice from שלמים, because there is no independent rule for תודה, which refers only to the *causae* (i.e. situation) of thanksgiving.[951] His main thesis contends that שלמים is a symbol that marks the ritualising of different situations.[952] He further investigates the frequent representation of this sacrifice in the context of cultic inauguration in the HB and contends that שלמים is frequently added to the narrative as a gloss to designate the peak event in the legitimisation of inaugurated cults.[953] This redactional glossation is intended to change the reader's perception of the unspecified זבחים (cf. 2Chr 29:31 and the juxtaposition of זבחים and שלמים) and to clarify זבחים for the cult-legitimacy.[954]

Modéus' analysis gives a plausible explanation for the symbolic interrelationship among זבחים, תודה, and שלמים in 29:31 and 29:35, at the Chronicler's redactional level. In fact, Williamson and others see זבחים in 29:31 as an abbreviation for שלמים (and תודה), and the ו between זבחים and תודה can thus be epexegetical.[955] Therefore, the Chronicler probably puts שלמים as a marking symbol to enact the *causae* of תודה for the joyful celebration of heavenly blessings in the (re)inauguration of a legitimate cult.

In the Chronicler's context, the *causae* of תודה would have been associated with the musical performance of Levitical singers, because ידה (a synonym of תודה) was one of the main vocations of any Levitical scholar-singer (1Chr 16:4) (Section 6.2.1). We also have an explicit reference in 2Chr 30:22 to singers "giving thanks" (מתודים)

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[949] תודה contains a one-day meal, while others two-days meal.
[950] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 219.
[951] Martin Modéus, *Sacrifice and Symbol : Biblical selamîm in a Ritual Perspective*, CBOTS 52 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2005), 108–109.
[952] Ibid., 57–116.
[953] Ibid., 188–205. שלמים contains a "dedicatory" nature for initiating a proper cult: Levine, *Presence*, 34, 51.
[954] Modéus, *Sacrifice and Symbol*, 221–268.
[955] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 359; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 469; Myers, *II Chronicles*, 169.

during שלמים. Furthermore, Jon 2:10, Pss 50:23, and 116:17 describe the hymnic thanksgiving as "a sacrifice of thanksgiving" (זבח תודה), an expression close to that in 29:31. Therefore, 29:31-35 probably depicts a joyful, national celebration, filled with well-being offerings, burnt-offerings, and songs of thanksgiving.

What did the congregation give thanks for? Kleinig argues from Hezekiah's negative example in 2Chr 32:24-26 and Isa 38:9-20 that thanksgiving was an appropriate response, repaying and acknowledging God's salvation and acceptance in order not to incur his wrath again.[956] Kleinig's proposal is justified and agrees with the sense of the conclusive statement, "Hezekiah and all the people rejoiced over *what* God had prepared for the people" (29:36). Thanksgiving thus acknowledged the realisation of the divine promise in 2Chr 7:14, in which God acted to forgive and heal.

However, the role of שלמים as a marking symbol for the situation of thanksgiving is less explained. Lev 3:1-17 prescribes the ritual procedure for שלמים, in which the fat of the victims was to be burnt on the altar as a soothing aroma to YHWH, and the meat was to be consumed, except for the blood and fat (cf. 2Chr 7:7; 29:35). Milgrom thinks that the main function of שלמים was to provide meat for the table, because non-cultic slaughtering is prohibited in P.[957] Brichto further suggests,

> As the property of its Creator, life was sacred. The taking of life without, so to speak, a sacral act of desacrilization was fraught with danger … Slaughter on other than a duly designated altar, thus failing acknowledgment of God's lordship over all life, constituted a taboo which rendered the subsequent repast "eating together with the blood," a term which represented the taboo itself, as did the more direct expression "eating the blood."[958]

Therefore, שלמים acknowledged God as the origin of all life when offerers consumed the meat. שלמים in the situation of תודה with Levitical singing created another symbolisation, in which offerers acknowledged YHWH as the origin of all life forces

[956] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 127–129.
[957] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 221.
[958] Brichto, "Slaughter," 40–41.

and blessings according to the divine promise. This paralleled the Chronicler's temple ideology, in which the physical structure of the temple symbolised itself as the source of life (Section 4.3.3). All Israel had to remember YHWH's faithfulness in thanksgivings in order to repay what he had done for them (29:36). In this way, God's wrath was to be averted, or at least delayed (2Chr 32:25-26).

7.2.7. Summary

Hezekiah's reinauguration shows a profound concern for purity, holiness, and YHWH's presence. We see from his speech that the language of the exile provides a dominant mode of expression for characterising the Levites as they averted God's wrath through the purifying and consecrating of the temple. This provides strong evidence for the Chronicler's exilic consciousness and increases the likelihood that his intra-Jewish reflection was influenced by pre-Hellenistic culture, in which the norms and practices of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, especially that of *kalû*-priests, played a crucial part. The theological, social, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community were fulfilled in the reinauguration of authentic, consecrated worship in the second temple, and some ideas from intra-Jewish traditions (e.g. sacrifice and purity in P and D) were reaffirmed in Chronicles.

The priestly sacrificial system is recontextualised within the Chronicler's frame of reference of the temple as realised template in order to enrich the theological significance of the sacrifices. In this new context, the Chronicler emphasises the altar as symbolising the gateway towards heaven. The synchronisation of song and burnt-offering resulted in "mutual symbolisation". In this way, all Israel was taught that they could get access to heavenly joy as an indicator of covenantal stability, and that they could restore their place within created order. With the singers' help,

Israelites celebrated by using the well-being offering as a marking symbol in thanksgiving, in order to repay and acknowledge what God had done for them.

7.3. Hezekiah's and Josiah's Passovers

The Chronicler places a more prominent emphasis on Hezekiah's Passover than on Josiah's.[959] He uses the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread in 2Chr 30 to reunite all Israel at the centralised and reinaugurated Jerusalem temple cult after Hezekiah's reform. Here, the centralisation of the cult is the focus. The strict observance of the Law is, however, not the central issue (e.g. 2Chr 30:18-20), because the purification and consecration of the temple in Hezekiah's period came suddenly (2Chr 29:36). However, in Josiah's Passover (2Chr 35:1-18), the Chronicler does illustrate a strict observance of the Law. Although these two accounts contain different emphases, "the prominence of the Levites and the very favourable portrayal of their role"[960] were still at work in both accounts. It is crucial to investigate the liturgical role of Levites and their singers in this context.

7.3.1. Hezekiah's Letter (2Chr 30:6-9)

Hezekiah attempted to keep the Passover in the second month (30:2), a necessary postponement according to Num 9:9-12 when an individual was unclean or on a distant journey.[961] The Chronicler employs this law and duplicates the two reasons to justify Hezekiah's timing (30:3-5).[962] In order to assemble all Israel including the North, Hezekiah wrote a letter (30:1, 6) to command them to keep the feast:

30:6b בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל שׁוּבוּ אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי "Sons of Israel! Return towards YHWH God of

[959] Hooker, *Chronicles*, 275; Tuell, *Chronicles*, 234.
[960] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 403.
[961] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 940.
[962] The temple was still unclean on the fourteenth day of the first month (2Chr 29:17).

	אַבְרָהָם֙ יִצְחָ֔ק וְיִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל וְיָשֹׁ֑ב	Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, so that he will
	אֶל־הַפְּלֵיטָ֣ה הַנִּשְׁאֶ֔רֶת לָכֶ֖ם מִכַּ֥ף	return towards those who escaped and those
	מַלְכֵ֥י אַשּׁ֖וּר:	who were left to you from the hand of the kings[963] of Assyria."
30:7	וְאַל־תִּהְי֗וּ כַּאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם֙ וְכַאֲחֵיכֶ֔ם	"Do not be like your fathers and like your
	אֲשֶׁ֤ר מָעֲלוּ֙ בַּֽיהוָ֔ה אֱלֹהֵ֖י אֲבוֹתֵיהֶ֑ם	brothers, who trespassed upon YHWH God of
	וַיִּתְּנֵ֥ם לְשַׁמָּ֖ה כַּאֲשֶׁ֥ר אַתֶּ֖ם רֹאִֽים:	their fathers, so that he gave them a waste as that you are seeing."
30:8	עַתָּ֥ה אַל־תַּקְשׁ֛וּ עָרְפְּכֶ֖ם	"Now do not harden your necks like your
	כַּאֲבוֹתֵיכֶ֑ם תְּנ֤וּ־יָד֙ לַיהוָ֔ה וּבֹ֣אוּ	fathers! Submit[964] to YHWH, and come in to
	לְמִקְדָּשׁ֔וֹ אֲשֶׁ֥ר הִקְדִּ֖ישׁ לְעוֹלָ֑ם	his sanctuary that he has consecrated forever!
	וְעִבְד֣וּ אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֵיכֶ֔ם וְיָשֹׁ֥ב	Serve YHWH your God, so that he will turn
	מִכֶּ֖ם חֲר֥וֹן אַפּֽוֹ:	away his fierce anger from you!"
30:9	כִּ֣י בְשׁוּבְכֶ֗ם עַל־יְהוָה֙ אֲחֵיכֶ֣ם	"For when you return to YHWH, your brothers
	וּבְנֵיכֶ֔ם לְרַחֲמִ֖ים לִפְנֵ֣י שׁוֹבִיהֶ֑ם	and your sons *will find* compassion before those
	וְלָשׁ֣וּב לָאָ֔רֶץ הַזֹּ֖את כִּֽי־חַנּ֥וּן	who took them captive, in order to return to this
	וְרַחוּם֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֵיכֶ֔ם וְלֹא־יָסִ֥יר	land. For YHWH your God is gracious and
	פָּנִ֖ים מִכֶּ֑ם אִם־תָּשׁ֖וּבוּ אֵלָֽיו: פ	compassionate, and he will not turn aside the face[965] from you if you return to him."

This letter shows two important features. First, the catchword "turn" (שוב) appears six times as the major theme: "as you turn, so he turns".[966] Its location at 30:6 and 30:9 formulate an *inclusio* to theme this letter as a call for repentance. McKenzie

[963] G, S, V_g read singular, a possible "harmonization with accounts of the fall of the Northern Kingdom": Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, 239.

[964] Literally, "Give a hand". G reads "glory", a paraphrase of יד: *GC*, 1:52.

[965] Some versions read "his face", supported by G "τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ", a translator's addition: *GC*, 1:48-49. The plural form פנים contains singular meaning: *BDB*, 815. MT is to be preferred.

[966] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 2:201.

writes, “The entire letter and the subsequent celebration pick up and elaborate on the words and ideas in Solomon’s prayer in 2Chr 7:14: return (vv. 6, 9), humble (11), pray (18), seek (19), hear, and heal (20).”[967] The uses of words surrounding the covenantal promise in 2Chr 7:14 provide strong evidence that the Chronicler holds to the idea of attempting to enable worldwide stability through the people’s repentance, exemplified by a return to the temple. The Chronicler employs the Passover as a literary device to promote his conviction that the temple was the place of pilgrimage where humble YHWH-seekers could reverse their misfortune (30:7) and avert God’s wrath (30:8).

Second, the entire letter was written under the shadow of the exile, and the phrases “took them captive”, “return to this land”, “his fierce anger”, and “waste” are reminiscent of the trauma. Its exact wording matches that of the prophets (Zech 1:2-4; Mal 1:9) in the restoration period,[968] so that “the Chronicler has made the exile into a recurring, ‘typical’ situation within the continuing life of the community.”[969] Williamson also writes concerning the whole episode of Hezekiah:

> [H]e [the Chronicler] has left sufficient indication at its close to point the way forward to the restoration in the Persian period. The typological patterns which have been noted throughout from the reign of Saul onwards are here continued, the themes of restoration and exile thus being ones in the light of which he will have expected his readers to assess their own situation.[970]

We thus find a strong case here for arguing that the Chronicler configures the exilic experience into his storyline in order to encourage all Israel in the citizen-temple community to return to YHWH’s faith. This intra-Jewish reflection on the exile would have reaffirmed some traditions (e.g. Zechariah and Malachi) that legitimised the temple as the place for repentance and pilgrimage in defiance of Babylonian-Persian

[967] McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 345.
[968] Williamson, *Chronicles*, 367–368.
[969] Ibid., 368.
[970] Ibid., 350.

challengers. The call for repentance (2Chr 7:14) forms the literary context for the service of Levitical singers in helping the Israelites to repent at Hezekiah's Passover.

7.3.2. Hezekiah's Prayer (2Chr 30:18-20)

Although the Northern people did not give a completely positive response to the letter (30:10), some could still humble themselves (2Chr 7:14's terminology) to come to the temple (30:11) with "one heart" (30:12). Many people assembled in Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Unleavened Bread (30:13). Since ritual purity was the prerequisite for the performance of any sacrifice,[971] they had to eliminate other altars and throw the most unclean items into the Wadi Kidron (30:14). Priests and Levites humbled (2Chr 7:14's attitude) and consecrated themselves (30:15). They stood at their posts to perform blood manipulation either for altar purification or for an apotropaic purpose as in the Passover of Exod 12 (30:16).[972]

However, the people came in numbers too great for the Levites (probably involving singers; cf. 2Chr 29:13-14) to cleanse them (30:17-18). These verses emphasise the limitations of the Levites and the massive impurity adhering to the people. Although the Chronicler characterises the Levites as socially equivalent to the *kalû*-priests, he does not believe that human endeavour could solve all the problems arising from sin and impurity. At this crucial moment, the Chronicler employs the language of 2Chr 7:14 again to construct Hezekiah's prayer:

30:18b יְהוָה הַטּוֹב יְכַפֵּר בְּעַד: "May the good YHWH purify on behalf of"

[971] Klawans, *Purity*, 56.

[972] There is no direct object for the daubing of blood, and we can fill the gap with either choice.

30:19	כֹּל־לְבָבוֹ הֵכִין לִדְרוֹשׁ	"*those who*[973] fix his whole heart to seek the God
	הָאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתָיו	YHWH God of their fathers, though not according
	וְלֹא כְּטָהֳרַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ׃ ס	to the purification of the sanctuary."
30:20	וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֶל־יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ	And YHWH listened to Hezekiah, and he healed
	וַיִּרְפָּא אֶת־הָעָם׃ ס	the people.

"One heart" in 30:12 is qualified in 30:19 as a heart seeking YHWH. This seeking heart (using דרש and לבב) recalls the summary of the Davidic covenant in 1Chr 28:8-9 and 2Chr 7:14, in which "seeking God" forms a strong motivation to reverse the misfortune. In fact, YHWH did "listen" (שמע) to Hezekiah's prayer and "healed" (רפא) the people according to his promise in 2Chr 7:14 (30:20). Interestingly, 30:18b illustrates Hezekiah's request for YHWH's "purification" (כפר)[974] of the sanctuary on behalf of the people. YHWH, who is described as "good" (יהוה הטוב), seems to become the basis for the purification. The Chronicler believes that God's active purification in response to the seeking heart overrode the strict observance of the Law.[975] This special description of YHWH as "good" may remind the reader of the Levitical chanting of "for he is good" in the liturgical refrain. Hezekiah probably prayed for God's purification of the sanctuary on behalf of the congregation through the Levitical hymnic tradition of "YHWH as good", reminding to seek God in order to pursue the stability bestowed from the heaven according to 2Chr 7:14.

7.3.3. The Joyful Celebration of the Feast (2Chr 30:21-27)

In this episode, "joy" (שמחה) (30:21, 23, 25, 26) is the main component in the description of the Feast of the Unleavened Bread. After YHWH's purification and

[973] An asyndetic relative clause: JM §129q.

[974] I translate "purification" to match the context, but it also includes the meaning of "ransom" because of its concern with averting God's wrath (30:8): see footnotes 932-933.

[975] Hooker, *Chronicles*, 256; Ackroyd, *I&II Chronicles*, 186; Neusner, *Purity*, 12.

healing (30:20), the Chronicler presents the collaboration of priests and Levites, and their service of praising "with the instruments of might" (בכלי־עז) (30:21).[976]

Kleinig thinks that these musical instruments were "of might" because they could motivate the people to rejoice by evoking YHWH's presence.[977] I rather believe that these instruments of might motivated people to rejoice, because they imitated and prophesied the heavenly joy in remembrance of the divine promise to David and Solomon, as I presently discuss in an excursus. They are described as being mighty also because of their power to foster and proclaim stability in the battle in Jehoshaphat's time (Section 5.4). The Chronicler puts the first שמחה in the setting of daily Levitical praising (30:21) in relation to the mighty instruments, in order to designate music as the proper liturgical expression of heavenly joy.[978]

According to Num 28:24, the people had to present burnt-offerings daily for seven days in the feast. But the Chronicler replaces this daily offering with a daily performance of music (30:21) without mentioning any burnt-offering. One might read this as a downgrading of the significance of sacrifices, but it is to be understood better as an abbreviation of the daily synchronisation of song and sacrifice. The Chronicler may have thought that it would be sufficient to refer to the daily music as a gloss for both song and sacrifice in line with the whole picture presented in 2Chr 29:21-30. In the same way, he probably also abbreviates the well-being offerings and thanksgivings in 30:22 (cf. 2Chr 7:7; 29:31-35). There is thus no need to repeat the theological significance of liturgical music here (cf. Section 7.2.5).

The Chronicler adds a phrase "all the Levites who showed good discretion for YHWH" (כל־הלוים המשכילים שכל־טוב ליהוה) in 30:22, which reflects the multi-functional capacity both of the Levitical communities and the Mesopotamian

[976] G lacks עז in the translation. MT is to be preferred.
[977] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 88.
[978] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 954.

scribal-signers in the Babylonian captivity, as I have shown (p.130). Reading the *kalû*-priest practices alongside the situation set out here, it is reasonable to suggest that the Chronicler intended to characterise the Levites as experts in purity law, sacrificial law, and liturgical chanting as a response to Babylonian-Persian oppressions.

Finally, the Chronicler ends Hezekiah's Passover with a concluding image of "great joy" (שמחה־גדולה) (30:26) and "blessing" (ויברכו) (30:27). He thinks that a true repentance according to 2Chr 7:14 and a genuine observation of Mosaic and Davidic authorities gave joy and blessing. Interestingly, 30:27 illustrates that "their prayer came to his holy dwelling, to the heaven" (ותבוא תפלתם למעון קדשו לשמים). The Chronicler thus understands the earthly service of Levitical singers as producing an impact in the heaven. This is further evidence pointing to the influence of the Chronicler's temple as realised template in his depictions of the singers. He also regards the heavenly dwelling place as the place from which human prayers were received, as envisaged in 2Chr 6:21 and 7:14[979] (cf. Section 4.3).

We can probably conclude, therefore, that the whole reinauguration project and Hezekiah's Passover endeavoured to achieve coherence between heaven and earth. The synchronisation of song and sacrifice played its part in nurturing covenantal stability. Just as Nebuchadezzar invested heavily in his cult in order to foster coherence between heaven and earth for the well-being of Babylon, Hezekiah also invested for such coherence in his reinaugurated temple for the stability of all Israel.

7.3.4. Josiah's Passover (2Chr 35:1-18)

The Chronicler's account of Josiah's Passover follows the pattern of Hezekiah's Passover,[980] with the addition of a strict observance of the Law.[981] Therefore, I do not

[979] Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 2:206; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 372.
[980] Myers, *II Chronicles*, 211.

need to repeat here the theological significance of the singers. However, Japhet comments on the changing role of the Levites in this account:

> In v.3 they are presented as both "the teachers of Israel" and "holy to the Lord", and are asked to "serve the Lord your God" on the one hand "and his people Israel" on the other. Except for the acts which are exclusively priestly, everything connected with the Passover sacrifice is now transferred to the Levites: slaughter, flaying, conveyance of the blood, removal of the fat parts, roasting of the Passover sacrifice, and its distribution according to fathers' houses.[982]

This picture gives an impression that the Levites were experts in many aspects of liturgical matters, just as that of *kalû*-priests. 35:3 depicts them as "teachers" (המבונים)[983] or "those who were skilful" or "those who taught" (המבינים),[984] which probably assumes the father-son apprenticeship system represented in 1Chr 25:7-8 (cf. Section 5.3.4). This verse also depicts the Levites as "those who were holy to YHWH" (הקדושים ליהוה) (see also 2Chr 29:15, 34). The Pentateuch, however, never states that Levites were holy, but merely cleansed (Num 8; cf. the priestly holiness in Lev 8).

Why does the Chronicler upgrade the holiness of Levites? Theologically speaking, they would have had to be holy in order to offer songs in synchronisation with priestly sacrifices, lest they spoiled the divine presence and the holy communication between heaven and earth. Sociologically speaking, the designation of holiness would also have legitimised their role in fostering worldwide stability and afforded them equal status to the *kalû*-priests in the surrounding culture.

The Levites were instructed to prepare themselves "according to the writing of King David of Israel and the writing of Solomon his son" (בכתב דויד מלך ישראל ובמכתב שלמה בנו) in 35:4. This reference is probably intended to be reminiscent of the

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[981] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 1046.
[982] Ibid., 1045.
[983] Reading with *kethib*.
[984] Reading with *qere*, a participle also occurred in Neh 8:7, 9, denoting the Levitical *Torah*-teaching. It seems that *qere* reading reflects a correct reading: Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 515. This reflects the Levitical teaching role in the Persian period: Japhet, *Chronicles*, 1047.

heavenly template in 1Chr 28:11-19, in which David is said to have received the authoritative writing which "makes clear" (השכיל) all the words of the תבנית (cf. Section 4.3.2).[985] As I have shown (p.186), the office of השכיל resembles the Levitical role in interpreting the *Torah*. We also have an explicit reference in 2Chr 30:22, showing that it belonged to the Levitical office. The Levites probably used David's writing to prepare themselves for their expository explanation of the heavenly תבנית. Josiah's Passover is shown to have happened not only according to the Mosaic Law (35:6) but also according to David's תבנית (35:4, 15). This dual authority governed the Levitical service and singing, so that the Levites could realise the heavenly domain on earth in the Passover and achieve coherence between heaven and earth.

7.4. Conclusion

The Chronicler sees the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in the (re)inauguration of the temple cult as one of the most important theological devices to foster the synchronisation of heaven and earth. In Solomon's inauguration, the first round of the synchronisation of song and sacrifice (2Chr 7:1-3) belonged to the heavenly inauguration of the altar. This was followed by the earthly inauguration in the second round of the synchronisation (2Chr 7:4-6). In both rounds, Levitical singers are shown proclaiming YHWH's חסד (2Chr 7:3, 6) in collaboration with the priestly sacrifices, in order to foster YHWH's presence according to the divine promise established for the temple. In this way, they attempted to enable stability in the whole world.

In Hezekiah's reinauguration, the Chronicler characterises the Levites as multi-functional elite professionals for various liturgical purposes such as purification, consecration, and chanting. They removed sin and impurity in order to restore YHWH's presence and to channel his blessings and joy to the people. After their

[985] David's "writing" probably refers also to 1Chr 23-26: De Vries, "Moses and David," 630–631.

purification and consecration, they synchronised YHWH's song with the priestly burnt-offerings. This created a mutual symbolisation between Levitical song and priestly sacrifice in order to avert God's wrath and to foster covenantal stability as envisaged by the Davidic covenant. Levites also helped the people repay and acknowledge God's salvation and blessing with thanksgivings during the presentation of the well-being offerings for a long-term stability and joy.

In Hezekiah and Josiah's Passovers, we find the Chronicler documenting a further deepening of the liturgical role of Levitical singers in fulfilling many aspects of the feast. They could perform purification, singing, consecration, slaughter, transferral of blood, teaching, flaying, and roasting. It seems that they are portrayed as multi-functional elite scholar-singers on a par with their Mesopotamian counterparts. They helped every YHWH-seeker to repent and return to the Jerusalem temple according to the divine promise made in 1Chr 28:8-9 and 2Chr 7:14. They showed the importance of "seeking God" in reversing the misfortune of Israelites, and they attempted to channel God's joyfulness and blessing to the people. They imitated the heavenly joyfulness, and acted out the heavenly תבנית according to the writings of David and Solomon. They could achieve such a goal because they were holy persons.

In the Chronicler's description, we find many traces of the language of the exile. This exilic mode of expression becomes a typological pattern to depict the openings of Hezekiah's reinauguration of the cult and his Passover. Hezekiah and Josiah behaved like Mesopotamian kings, such as Ashurbanipal, who significantly invested in temple cults in order to nurture coherence between heaven and earth for the purpose of worldwide stability. This not only echoes the social and theological influence triggered by the Mesopotamian professional norms and practices but also matches the mission of restoration heroes (e.g. Ezra and Nehemiah) in reversing the misfortune and the trauma encountered in the Jewish diaspora.

Jews always encountered severe challenges and attacks to their faith. They experienced many insults and abominations with all sorts of impurity and sin, just as in the time of Ahaz. But the Chronicler never abandoned his faith in the divine promise set forth in the Davidic covenant. He trusted that God would reverse the misfortune according to his promise, if Jews sought God and repented from their sins. He characterised the Levitical singers as having multi-functional liturgical roles in order to summon the people to promote covenantal stability and reclaim heavenly joyfulness. Hezekiah could reinaugurate an authentic temple cult. The citizen-temple community could also reinaugurate the second temple cult in the same way, regardless of the seriousness of their impurity. This could be done as long as they had a seeking heart during the synchronisation of song and sacrifice, as Ps 27:6-8 (NRSV) declares,

Now my head is lifted up above my enemies all around me,
and I will offer in his tent sacrifices with shouts of joy;
I will sing and make melody to the LORD.
Hear, O LORD, when I cry aloud,
be gracious to me and answer me!
"Come", my heart says, "seek his face!"
Your face, LORD, do I seek.

Excursus: The Theological Significance of Musical Instruments

In this research, we encounter repeated references to musical instruments associated with the threefold aspect of Levitical singers. This study would thus be incomplete if we neglect them. In this excursus, I attempt to show briefly the theological significance of harps, lyres, cymbals, and trumpets within the theological frame of reference of the temple as realised template in order to supplement the gap in scholarship that has mainly focused on the exploration of these instruments in historical and comparative settings.[986]

Lyres and Harps

In respect to lyres and harps, Braun writes, "of the twenty-eight occurrences of the *nēḇel* [harp] in the Old Testament, twenty-two are associated with the *kinnôr* [lyre]."[987] The lyres and harps were thus closely related. In Chronicles, they are always said to be played together. The lyre (כנור) was a stringed instrument with varying number of strings.[988] It is said to be one of the first musical instruments invented by Jubal (Gen 4:21) and was associated with David, whose lyre could heal Saul (1Sam 16:16, 23). Its sound was "sweet" (Ps 81:3) and "resounding" (Ps 92:4). It was made of "algum wood" imported from Huram (2Chr 9:11).

[986] E.g., Alfred Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969); Joachim Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources*, BIW (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); Claire C.J. Polin, *Music of the Ancient Near East* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1974); Francis W. Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians and Their Immediate Successors, the Babylonians & Assyrians* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1970); Theodore W. Burgh, *Listening to the Artifacts : Music Culture in Ancient Palestine* (London: T&T Clark, 2006).

[987] Braun, *Music*, 22.

[988] It might have ten strings according to Josephus (*Ant*. VII.306), or eight strings (1Chr 15:21; Pss 6:1; 12:1) based on the controversial term השמינית: cf. Sendrey, *Music*, 124.

Most importantly, the lyre was the instrument of "joy" (שמחה) (Job 21:12; Isa 24:8; Ezek 26:13).[989] According to 1Chr 16:27 and Neh 8:10, "joy" (חדוה) is described as "the joy of YHWH" and "the joy in his place". Psalmists also proclaim, "God of my exceeding joy" (Ps 43:4) and "Jerusalem above the head of my joy" (Ps 137:6). Thus Israelites could find this "joy" in YHWH and in his dwelling place. Neh 8:10 further defines "joy" as "your place of refuge" (מעזכם), symbolising YHWH's protection and stability. How could people find this kind of joy? Exercising and understanding the Mosaic *Torah* and following David's cultic organisation may have helped the Israelites to obtain this joy.[990]

After the teaching of Levites (Neh 8:7-8), all people rejoiced "because they had understood the words that were declared to them" (Neh 8:12 NRSV). Levitical singers produced sounds of joy (1Chr 15:16, 25) after the Levites had carried the ark "as Moses had commanded according to YHWH's word" (1Chr 15:15) and as David had commanded (1Chr 15:16). Jehoiada re-established the cultic order of the temple according to "the *Torah* of Moses" and "the direction of David", and Levites sang with joy (2Chr 23:18). Hezekiah commanded the Levites to make music "with the words of David" and they sang with joy (2Chr 29:30). The Israelites celebrated the Passover "according to the *Torah* of Moses" (2Chr 30:16), and then they had great joy (2Chr 30:21, 23, 26).

During the moment of joy, Levitical singers praised and made music with lyres, in order to proclaim the state of joyfulness (i.e. stability) (1Chr 15:16; 2Chr 20:27-28; 2Chr 29:25-30; 2Chr 30:21-27). But psalmists hung up their harps when there was no joy (Ps 137:2). One might question whether lyres produced or proclaimed joy. 1Chr

[989] Sol Baruch Finesinger, "Musical Instruments in OT," *HUCA* 3 (1926): 26.
[990] Berquist states, "Joy is a gift from God, contingent upon obedience to the priestly regulations": Berquist, *Judaism*, 201.

13:8-10 may suggest that using lyres alone without following the Mosaic *Torah* could incur God's wrath. Playing lyres was thus more a proclamation than a cause of joy.

Job 38:7 states, "[w]hen the stars of morning shouted (or sang) for joy together (ברן־יחד) and all the sons of God cried (וירעו)." The stems רנן and רוע are also used to describe the emotional expressions of the Israelites in responding to the descent of the heavenly fire (וירנו in Lev 9:24) and the liturgy conducted after the foundation the second temple was laid (הריעו תרועה in Ezra 3:11 and מריעים תרועה גדולה in 3:13). The heavenly praise depicted in Job 38:6-7 happened when YHWH laid the foundation of the whole creation. If we accept the concept of the temple as realised template, then the praise in Ezra 3:11-13 should be perceived as the earthly counterpart of the heavenly praise in Job 38:6-7; the Levitical chanting of the liturgical refrain in Ezra 3:11 imitated the heavenly voices in Job 38:7 (cf. Section 3.2.2).

Chronicles further develops this joyful singing across the realms of heaven and earth in 2Chr 7:1-10, in which the Chronicler replaces the joyful shouting (וירנו) in Lev 9:24 with the Levitical chanting of the refrain (2Chr 7:3) when the heavenly fire came down (2Chr 7:1).[991] Since the Chronicler has made a typological transfer from the Mosaic tabernacle (Lev 9:23) to the Davidic temple, the joyful shouting (רנן) would have been absorbed typologically into the Levitical chanting. Since רנן is a special term to describe the celestial joyful praising in Job 38:7 (cf. 1Chr 16:33), the concept of celestial joyful worship would probably be transferred typologically to the terrestrial Levitical chanting. Thus the earthly Levitical chanting likely imitated the heavenly praise. In this way, Levitical singers accompanied their chanting with lyres to proclaim the state of worldwide stability in the form of joy. We may thus speak of this as "prophesying" the presence of joy originating from YHWH. This can be verified in the inset psalm (cf. Sections 6.2.3.2 and 6.2.3.3), in which Asaphites

[991] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 119.

proclaimed (or prophesied) celestial chanting and YHWH's kingship over the heavenly court.

We have limited knowledge about harps (נבל), which probably had a vertical and angular shape, as seen in the art work in Assyrian palaces.[992] It was used in upper class society, and was also an instrument of joy (Amos 6:5; Isa 14:11). 1Chr 15:20 states that Levites played harps according to עלמות, a term that may mean "the tone of a lady". There was certainly a close relationship between lyres and harps because they are always described as being played together in Chronicles. It seems that the theological significance of harps should be understood together with lyres. They both proclaimed (or prophesied) the presence of joy and worldwide stability when people implemented the *Torah* of Moses and followed the direction of David.

Cymbals

The Hebrew word "cymbals" (מצלתים) takes a dual form, probably suggesting that they were used in pairs.[993] 1Chr 15:19 states that they were made of bronze. Egyptian and Assyrian iconographies confirm that they were circular in shape and produced signalling and ringing sounds when clapped together.[994] Kleinig believes that cymbals introduced and led the start of chanting and that they were used together with priestly trumpets to proclaim YHWH's presence.[995] Only chief-singers (Asaph, Heman, and Ethan in 1Chr 15:19; 16:5) could play cymbals, probably leading the harmonisation of all accompanying instruments. The Chronicler does not show Levitical singers as playing these instruments during times of curse and divine wrath but restricts their usage to periods of joy and stability (e.g. 2Chr 20:27-28).

[992] Ibid., 85.
[993] Smith, *Music*, 55.
[994] Sendrey, *Music*, 376.
[995] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 82–83.

I suggest that this is because only in stability and joy were people allowed to hear the celestial praise, because lyres, harps, and cymbals were played together to imitate the sound of angels. These musical instruments are depicted as “the instruments of David” (כלי דויד) (2Chr 29:26-27) and “the instruments of the songs of God” (כלי שיר האלהים) (1Chr 16:42). As shown before (in Section 4.3.2), David received the heavenly template (1Chr 28:11-19), which included “all the instruments of service” (כל־כלי עבודת) (1Chr 28:13). כלי דויד should be seen as a part of the כל־כלי עבודת, which were also a part of the heavenly template. We can thus speak of the heavenly template being realised when Levitical singers played David’s instruments in imitation of the sound of celestial praise (*imitatio angeli*). Moreover, the Mesopotamian considered musical instruments to imitate the sound of gods (*imitatio dei*), and the instruments of *kalû*-priest were of divine origin, capable of appeasing the heart of gods. The Chronicler’s reflection of the exile may have been influenced by the Mesopotamian perception of musical instruments so that some celestial-terrestrial traditions (e.g. Isa 6; cf. Section 4.2.2.2) were reaffirmed to address socio-political challenges in the citizen-temple community.

In summary, when Levitical singers played musical instruments, their audience could probably hear the celestial angelic praise because these instruments were employed only during worldwide stability and joy, in which a channel of communication between heaven and earth was established. Then, these musical instruments are said to prophesy the heavenly praise. However, this conclusion can only be argued from inner-biblical exegetical and historical-comparative perspectives. This would at least allow us to make a *prima facie* instance that is not completely ruled out.

Trumpets

Israel's trumpet (חצצרה or שופר) looked like a long straight silver (or bronze) cone and resembled its Egyptian counterpart.[996] It could only produce various signals for secular and religious purposes such as fighting, gathering, memorial services (Num 10:3-10), and the prostration of the people.[997] It was also used in a variety of liturgical services in 1Chr 15:24; 16:6, 42; 2Chr 5:12; 7:6; Ezra 3:10; Neh 12:35, 41,[998] and its use thus dominates Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. What can be understand of its significance in Chronicles?

I believe that the mention of trumpet blowing is probably an important clue to the Chronicler's temple as realised template, as it represented an earthly counterpart of the angelic trumpet blowing. Trumpets were regarded as "holy vessels" (Num 31:6),[999] and it was the exclusive prerogative of the Aaronites to blow trumpets (Num 10:8). The Chronicler never diverts from this tradition and assigns trumpet blowing to the priests (1Chr 15:24; 16:6; 2Chr 5:12-13; 13:12-14; 29:26-28; cf. Ezra 3:10; Neh 12:35, 41). In 2Chr 5:11b, the Chronicler supplements a comment depicting the priestly holiness. This probably clarifies that the priests had to be consecrated before they could operate these "holy vessels". They blew trumpets in order to bring the people to the remembrance of YHWH. The twofold occurrence of "before YHWH" or "before your God" in Num 10:9-10 may suggest that trumpet blowing functioned as a proclamation of YHWH's presence and his power to save his people. This ritual function is clearly in view in 1Chr 15:24, 28; 16:4, 6;[1000] 2Chr 5:12-14; 7:6.[1001]

Furthermore, priestly trumpet blowing was not confined to the earthly realm but was extended to the angelic dimension in Exod 19:19-20 and Deut 33:2, where the

[996] Sendrey, *Music*, 332–333.
[997] Ibid., 335–336; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 79–80.
[998] Sendrey, *Music*, 335–336.
[999] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 78.
[1000] The priestly trumpet-blowing was performed "before the ark", which resembles "before YHWH" in Num 10:9-10.
[1001] Cf. Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 81–82.

"holy ones" blew the sound of horns when YHWH came down upon Mount Sinai to meet with his people. Zech 9:14 states that YHWH himself blew the trumpet. We thus see some explicit references to angelic trumpet blowing. Many have agreed that the inauguration of Solomon's temple in 2Chr 5-7 is patterned after the inauguration of the tabernacle in Exod 40:34-35 and the inauguration of the altar in Lev 9:23-24.[1002] Since the divine presence in Mount Sinai (announced by the angels) was probably replicated when the divine presence in the tabernacle was announced by the priestly trumpeters, [1003] the Chronicler would have typologically transferred this celestial-terrestrial announcement of the divine presence into his inauguration of the temple. In this way, the synchronisation of Levitical musical instruments with priestly trumpets in "one voice" (קול־אחד) (2Chr 5:13) probably conveyed the expectation that a synchronisation of heaven and earth announced YHWH's presence.

[1002] Japhet, *Chronicles*, 609; Williamson, *Chronicles*, 222; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 347.
[1003] John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC 3 (Waco, Tex: Word Books, 1987), 500; Douglas, *Leviticus*, 86.

Conclusion of Part II

In Part II, I have examined the Chronicler's characterisation of the service of the Levitical singers in light of the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture and temple ideologies. I take the symbolic meaning of their service seriously and conduct an inner-biblical exegesis in order to discover how the circumstantial scribal-musical elements affected the Chronicler's interpretation of earlier Israelite traditions.

From this we have reached the following conclusions:

1. The Chronicler probably features the Jerusalem temple as the earthly counterpart of the heavenly temple, which governed the stability of the whole world. This concept of the temple as realised template forms a theological frame of reference for understanding the service of the Levitical singers in Chronicles. This probably shows that the Chronicler's attempt to increase the authenticity of the temple cult may be considered to be comparable to the surrounding Babylonian-Persian temples.
2. The Chronicler probably assigns the qualities of music and prophecy in characterising the Levitical singers in their educational context due to his desire to set them on a par with the professional norms and practices of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests. They prophesied according to the direction of David and encouraged Israelites to trust in the conditions of the Davidic covenant (1Chr 25:1-8) in order to foster and nurture worldwide stability and to attempt to stabilise threats (2Chr 20).
3. The Chronicler likely shares the scribal conventions of the Levitical shaping of the Psalter and employs these conventions to craft the inset psalms (1Chr 16:8-36; 2Chr 6:41-42) in order to characterise the Levitical singers as capable scribes,

who were socially comparable to the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests. In so doing, the Levitical scholar-singers could proclaim YHWH's faithfulness, so to uphold the Davidic covenant, so that Israelites could seek God and trust in the divine promise for enabling covenantal stability.

4. The Chronicler narrates the synchronisation of song and sacrifice during the (re)inaugurations of the Jerusalem temple. This collaborative service of priests and Levites brought an effect of mutual symbolisation, in which the covenantal meaning of the Davidic promise and the priestly traditions of burnt-offering blended together to intensify the effect for promoting worldwide stability.

From these findings we are therefore able to conclude that the temple service of the Levitical singers sought to foster and promote worldwide stability in covenantal terms in their threefold role – educational, scribal, and liturgical. This characterisation probably betrays the Chronicler's ideological attempt to promote the profile of the Levitical scholar-singers to be socially equivalent to the professional norms and practices of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, especially *kalû*-priests, in order to promote the authenticity of the second temple cult.

8. Conclusion

This study can be summarised in two points. First, the intensive cultural interaction that deportees from the Jewish eilte had with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers and *kalû*-priest in the Neo-Babylonian royal court influenced the ongoing intra-Jewish reflection on the concept of the temple as realised template and music. The Chronicler continued this reflection during the restoration period, so that some inner-biblical ideas surrounding the concept and music, together with the common understanding of the institutional and ideological depictions of scholar-singers, were reaffirmed and reinforced in his configuration of Chronicles. This can be explained as fulfilling the social, theological, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community in their identity making process and promoting the primacy of the Jerusalem temple. The prominence of music in Mesopotamian professional culture would have helped to legitimise the authenticity of the temple and socially elevate Levitical singers to the same level as Mesopotamian elite professionals. This, in turn, helped members of the community to appreciate and identify themselves with the theological significance of the temple and Levitical singers in terms of their cultural affinity with the wider pre-Hellenistic scribal-musical culture and in response to their Babylonian-Persian enemies. Nevertheless, we should not identify the similarities in written descriptions of the two cultures as the consequence of direct literary borrowing but as arising from the use of commonly shared ideas in the socio-ideological setting (Part I).

Second, the Chronicler's characterisation of Levitical singers in Chronicles verifies the foundation established from the historical-comparative perspective in Part I. He characterises Levitical singers as the main agents in fostering and enabling

worldwide stability, as envisaged in the conditional terms of the Davidic covenant, within the three aspects (educational, scribal, liturgical) of their service. I take seriously the symbolic and theological implication of their ritual acts and understand these acts in terms of the socio-ideological milieu of the citizen-temple community and alongside Mesopotamian professional norms and practices. This leads me to the conclusion that the Levites promoted and nurtured worldwide stability within the theological infrastructure of the temple as realised template, in which the Davidic promise (2Chr 7:14) became the theological foundation for the temple's importance in reversing misfortune and fostering repentance. This brought theological hope to the citizen-temple community by fostering covenantal stability, even though they encountered instability (Part II). These conclusions have far-reaching implications. I summarise the conclusions of this study and explain briefly their implications, below.

8.1. Concluding Remarks

8.1.1. The Citizen-Temple Community and the Musical Culture of Mesopotamia

Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon was a pious follower of traditional Mesopotamian norms and practices. His elite professionals and royal officials were well-educated and capable in numerous professions, assisting him to restore the place of Babylon as the centre of the whole world and to fashion it as a cultural centre so that there was a revival of traditional Mesopotamian scribal-musical norms and practices in the social setting of the royal court. The Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical culture had practised a continuous hermeneutics of the ancient traditions since the Old Babylonian period.[1004] This striking continuity (though not without changes) testifies to the fact that music, singers, interpreting songs, musical theory, and musical instruments were consistently

[1004] Veldhuis, "Mesopotamian Canon," 9–28; Frahm, *Babylonian*.

the main components of the educational, scribal, and liturgical aspects of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, especially *kalû*-priest and the profession of *kalûtu* – perpetuating traditions, performing musical cult, transmitting laments, and fostering stability and well-being. However, we should not explain this continuity by imposing any overarching model.

The art of singing was seen as an upper level of the scribal curriculum, especially in the specialised training of *kalûtu*, and was symbolically powerful in conveying the temple as realised template in various cultic settings, in order to fulfil the social, political, and theological agendas of a particular cult. Since music was at the core of the Neo-Babylonian scribal-musical curriculum and *kalûtu*, scholars trained in this educational system can be classified as "scholar-singers", who acquired the capacity for multiple functions such as purification, chanting, prophecy, reading, writing, and liturgical performance to help their kings to foster worldwide stability.

This professional culture constituted a primary element within pre-Hellenistic culture.[1005] The development of a "world empire" fostered massive migrations and allowed different peoples to mix. As I have argued in Chapter Three, the deportation of Jehoiachin and his royal officials is a single example within this massive migration policy. The Babylonians tended to weaken the upper class of deportees by assimilating them into the royal court of the Babylonian ruling class, in order to show a pretentious display to conquered people. This practice probably created a social and cultural context, the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context, in which Jewish elite deportees regularly socialised with Mesopotamian scholars, *kalû*-priests, so that it would have influenced the ongoing intra-Jewish reinterpretation of traditions.

Of course, we should not regard such evidence as the result of direct literary dependence or borrowing, as if Jewish scholars replicated the Mesopotamian lore by

[1005] Weinberg, *Citizen-Temple*, 17–33.

visual copying, nor can we determine the direction of influence, because the concept of the temple as realised template had already been widely and fluidly shared in the pre-exilic period.[1006] Rather, I suggest that the social and theological influence (the institutional and ideological ideas) from the Mesopotamian scholar-singer context provided insights for the Chronicler's intra-Jewish reinterpretation of traditions so that some exilic (or pre-exilic) ideas that were already latent in the Israelite traditions were reaffirmed. The chief motivation for the Chronicler's reaffirmation of these ideas was the need to speak of the authenticity of the Jerusalem temple and its singers, such that people in the pre-Hellenistic culture would be able to perceive them as socially equivalent to the Mesopotamian temples and elite professionals.

This motivation is evident from the citizen-temple community's claim to authenticity when it came to perpetuating pre-exilic traditions and worship. In this context, they preferred to use music to fashion worship that was authentic in Babylonian-Persian terms on the one hand and that established a theme of continuity (a hallmark of authenticity) for David's authority on the other. This double strategy of authenticity reflects the identity making process of the community.

It must be noted that the socio-ideological milieu of the citizen-temple community gives only *prima facie* justification for the Chronicler's pre-understanding of the temple as realised template and his view of Levitical singers. As I have argued in Chapter Four, what is certain is the Chronicler's configuration of the concept of the temple as realised template that stemmed from the background of the citizen-temple community. Literary evidence in Chronicles (Section 4.2.1) shows that the Chronicler probably narrates the concept within the temple context. We see in 2Chr 36:22-23 that the generic title "God of heaven" reflects the Persian identification of YHWH,

[1006] Madsen, ed., *Antiquity*.

constructing a concluding remark that directs readers' expectation towards the end with the heaven-and-earth dimension of the Jerusalem temple.

Furthermore, thematic evidence (Section 4.3) shows that the Chronicler probably refashions the temple as the place that averted wrath, the place arising from a heavenly template, and the place reaching the heaven. These three thematic features mark its essential differences from the temple in Samuel-Kings. If we read the temple in Chronicles in light of the political, social, and theological concerns of the citizen-temple community, it seems possible that the Chronicler attempted to exaggerate the theological significance of the temple in order to bring hope to the community, even though the second temple was probably a tiny physical entity. The Chronicler's literary temple also establishes a theological frame of reference in which to comprehend the service of Levitical singers.

8.1.2. Singing for Covenantal Stability

Kleinig thinks that the Levitical singers acted as mediators in proclaiming the divine acceptance of sacrifice and YHWH's presence and repaying YHWH with thanksgiving for what he had done for the Israelites.[1007] My conclusions do not contradict Kleinig's work but further supplement and deepen the prominence of the role of the Davidic covenant in relation to the service of Levitical singers. These singers possessed "worldwide" significance because their prophecy, chanting, playing of instrument, purifying, and consecrating were seen to have a profound worldwide effect in terms of the stability envisaged by the Davidic conditions (1Chr 28:9-10; 2Chr 7:14). Levitical singers existed and served for this *covenantal stability*.

As I have argued in Chapter Five, they prophesied according to the paradigm established by David, the model prophet, to summon people to seek God (1Chr

[1007] Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*.

25:1-6). They were educated in father-son apprenticeships (1Chr 25:7-8) that were comparable to the apprenticeship of *kalûtu*. The roots למד and בין mark the two basic qualities of singers who experienced this education, and the semantic range of these two stems in the HB and in Chronicles probably reflects that they learned not only the skill of singing but also of prophesying, ark carrying, oracle delivery, *Torah* teaching, and reinterpreting traditions. This multi-functional capacity can be further verified by evidence from Jahaziel's oracle (2Chr 20:15-18). Jahaziel was a legitimate descendant of Asaph and exercised an inspired interpretation of traditions (such as Exodus and Isaiah) in order to summon Israelites to seek God after David's prophetic paradigm. As such, the conditions necessary for a worldwide stability were established.

The prophecy of Levitical singers was also exemplified in the Chronicler's description of the transfer of the ark, in which Asaph and other singers are characterised as the tradents of hymnic traditions (1Chr 16:8-36). As I have argued in Chapter Six, there are many important characterisations of Levitical singers. First, the Chronicler uses the untitled psalms (Pss 105; 96; 106) to construct a new inset psalm that is assigned an Asaphite authorship. This newly asserted authorship would have claimed divine inspiration, because Asaphites prophesied according to the direction of David, the model prophet, and imitated David's paradigm when summoning Israelites to seek God. Second, 1Chr 16:4 describes the prime tasks of Levitical singers as "invoking" (להזכיר), "praising" (להלל), and "giving thanks" (להודות), which reflect the scribal conventions of the compiler(s) of the MT-Psalter. The Chronicler crafts the inset psalm using these scribal conventions and, in effect, characterises Asaph and his associated singers as scholar-singers on a par with the *kalû*-priests. Third, the content of the inset psalm (together with the liturgical refrain and 2Chr 6:41-42) propounds the central theme that YHWH's חסד upholds the conditionality of the Davidic

covenant. This, in effect, characterises the Asaphites as the main agents in promoting covenantal stability through the proclamation and remembrance of YHWH's חסד.

Building on Chapters Five and Six, Chapter Seven explores the synchronisation of song and sacrifice in relation to the nurturing of worldwide stability. The Chronicler does not appear to feel it is sufficient to have priestly sacrificial service alone in the (re)inauguration service of the temple (2Chr 5-7; 29) but is obliged to contextualise the sacrificial service (an enactment of the Mosaic covenant) with the Levitical singing (an enactment of the Davidic covenant).

Theologically speaking, this produces an effect of mutual symbolisation. The symbolic meaning of sacrifice was enriched by the Levitical song, in which the proclamation of YHWH's חסד encouraged the people to trust in the Davidic covenant. The symbolic meaning of song was also enriched by the burnt-offering, in which averting wrath and the dimension of "going up" were at work. This mutual symbolisation attempted to enable coherence between heaven and earth, fostering YHWH's presence and stability.

Sociologically speaking, the synchronisation of song and sacrifice increased the perceived authenticity of the temple, such that it was comparable to other temples in ancient Mesopotamia. The Chronicler probably redescribes the inauguration service in a way that would have brought hope to the members of the citizen-temple community, not only in terms of the well-known ideas latent in the pre-Chronistic Israelite traditions but also in terms of the common understanding of temple ideologies in the wider pre-Hellenistic culture. This dual "authenticating" strategy could have produced rhetoric discourses that consolidated the self-identity of the community as the authentic community, because it upheld the joint liturgical efforts of priests and Levites in fostering worldwide stability.

Although I present the theological significance of Levitical singers in three aspects (educational, scribal, and liturgical), I do not intend to over-categorise them into three isolated spheres. My threefold presentation shows that the intrinsic logic of the Davidic covenant penetrates all aspects. For instance, we cannot understand the meaning of Levitical prophecy without the paradigm established by David, the model prophet. We cannot understand the Levitical proclamation of YHWH's חסד without situating the discussion within the theological context of the temple. We cannot understand the mutual symbolisation in the synchronisation of song and sacrifice without exploring first the symbolic meaning of the Levitical chanting of YHWH's חסד. We cannot understand the asserted authorship of the inset psalm (1Chr 16:8-36) without first explaining the prophetic role of the singers. With such an understanding of the theological foundation of the Davidic covenant in view, I submit that the Levitical chanting was incorporated into the infrastructure of the temple to foster, proclaim, prophesy, and promote worldwide stability in covenantal terms.

One well-known theology of the Chronicler is his conviction regarding repentance and retribution, in which the programmatic statement of the Davidic covenant (2Chr 7:14) acts as the guiding principle for reversing misfortune and bringing stability. This programmatic statement (and the Davidic covenant in general) was the theological foundation for the service of Levitical singers. Some might question whether my interpretation bolsters a purely mechanical manipulation of the Davidic conditions. Yet the four responses (humble, pray, seek, turn) denote interior attitudes with necessary exterior actions. They do not denote merely exterior actions that could be mechanically manipulated without interior piety. Furthermore, Japhet has decisively rejected the mechanical understanding of retribution by exploring the Chronicler's prophecy as call for repentance and as warning to avert impending

wrath.[1008] This means that punishment did not come automatically when the Davidic conditions were violated, but kings and the people had to be fully warned for repentance before the actual disaster came. From this, we can confirm that "[r]epentance obviates a mechanical concept of retribution, whereby reward and punishment automatically follow human actions."[1009]

As for Levitical singers, they concurrently exercised this non-mechanical application of the divine promise by emphasising YHWH's חסד as the theological foundation of the promise (2Chr 7:14). The inset psalm (1Chr 16:8-36) gives rich imagery in historical, international, and universal dimensions that encouraged Israelites to trust in YHWH's חסד (Section 6.2.3). This would have generated an imaginative and symbolic power with the fullness of a theology that rejected a merely reductive approach based on mechanical manipulation. We also see Jahaziel's prophecy, delivering YHWH's message and summoning Jehoshaphat and his people to trust in YHWH. This prophecy was response seeking in nature (cf. Jehoshaphat's response in 2Chr 20:20) and focused more on "trust" than mechanical actions (Section 5.4.2).

The joyful worship in Hezekiah's reinauguration service and Passover shows a complex realisation of 2Chr 7:14 with an uneasy integration of the priestly rules. This gives a highly contextual application of 2Chr 7:14 that involved purity laws, dietary rules, consecration procedures, and the synchronisation of song and sacrifice (Section 7.2). This complex, contextual application also rejects the mechanical manipulation of 2Chr 7:14. As such, Levitical singers provided a specific contribution in fostering covenantal stability through their multi-functional capacity in various contexts, in order to remember YHWH's חסד, bring hope to the community, and avert wrath. This

[1008] Japhet, *Ideology*, 138–149.
[1009] Ibid., 149.

probably betrays the Chronicler's attempt to characterise the Levitical singers on a par with the social profile of the Mesopotamian scholar-singers, especially that of *kalû*-priests, in order to increase the authenticity of the temple cult.

8.2. Implications for Further Studies

8.2.1. Implications for the Study of Priests and Levites

Although I do not trace the diachronic development of the second temple singers in this study, introducing the circumstantial concerns of the Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture has far-reaching implications for the study of priests and Levites. Scholars have made great efforts and provided tremendous insights into the development of Israelite priesthood.[1010] Some have tended to explain its development as the consequence of conflict and compromise.[1011] If we wish to read into the tension between priests and Levites by resorting to terms of conflict, we might do so, but this should not lead us to ignore that they belonged to the same citizen-temple community and addressed the same theological, social, and political agendas. The ideological prominence of music and singers may foster the actual co-operation of priests and Levites. If Schaper is right that the Jerusalem priesthood needed the amalgamation of singers and Levites to support them,[1012] then this much needed co-operation was probably motivated by the prominence of music in the wider Mesopotamian scribal-musical culture. From this, we can enrich our understanding of the development of priests and Levites not only by exploring the problem through the biblical text alone but also by understanding it fully within the wider circumstantial

[1010] See footnote 51.
[1011] E.g., Hanson, *Dawn*; Miller, *Origins*.
[1012] Schaper, *Priester*, 279–302.

setting that nourished the prominence of music. I suspect that the situation has more complexity than can be simply explained in terms of "conflict".

I would like to demonstrate, with a single example, how my approach could enrich Schaper's reading. In his interpretation of 1Chr 23-27, Schaper makes a distinction between a generic use of "Levites", denoting the tribal tie of the descendants of Levi, and a more "technical" sense (*technischen Sinne*), denoting the professional functions of temple clergies.[1013] This distinction would be more convincing if we read it alongside the wider scribal-musical context of Mesopotamian professional culture.

In 1Chr 23-27, we encounter a detailed distinction of priests, Levites, singers, gatekeepers, and officials. The Mesopotamian scholar-singer context may foster the amalgamation of Levites and singers through the theological, social, and political agendas of the citizen-temple community to promote the primacy of the temple. This socio-ideological concern gives nuanced insights into the emergence of "technical" Levites, which can be read as a strategy of the community to fashion its elite professionals comparable on a social par with the Mesopotamian scholar-singers. The father-son apprenticeship system in 1Chr 25:7-8 supports this "technical" distinction, because the art of singing could not be inherited automatically through biological ties but had to be acquired technically through training. Of course, more historical-traditional studies need to be done to verify this direction. I hope that introducing the circumstantial scribal-musical concern from Mesopotamia enriches our understanding of these "technical" offices.

[1013] Ibid., 294–295.

8.2.2. Implications for the Chronicler's Gatekeepers

This study focuses on the articulation of the temple as realised template as the theological frame of reference in which to understand the theological significance of the service of Levitical singers. This theological frame of reference can be used to read a variety of the services of temple personnel, such as that of "gatekeepers". I choose gatekeepers, because Obed-Edom, a foreigner, was allowed to be a Levite, a gatekeeper, and a singer.[1014] This multi-functional profile may not reflect different stages of development but the multi-professional capacity of "Levites" in Chronicles.

An important symbolism in the temple was that of the cherubim covering the ark of YHWH (2Chr 5:8), symbolising the guarding angels of the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:24). It may be fruitful to explore how the gatekeepers imitated this angelic capacity in guarding against impurity. Furthermore, Milgrom's exploration of the Levitical guard duty and physical labour of the tabernacle should have a place in an exploration of how the Chronicler reaffirms this tabernacle tradition in his characterisation of gatekeepers.[1015] I intend my interpretation of the temple as realised template in Chronicles to contribute to our understanding of temple guards, as this has not been thoroughly explored in any monograph.

8.2.3. Implications for the Study of the Jewish Temple and Music

The studies of the Jewish temple and its music have attracted scholarly imports.[1016] No one would disregard the importance of the temple and its associated symbolism, especially the theological claim of the temple as realised template. As I have

[1014] Nancy Tan, "The Chronicler's 'Obed-Edom': A Foreigner and a Levite?," *JSOT* 37 (2007): 217–230.
[1015] Milgrom, *Levitical Terminology*, 5–59.
[1016] E.g., Hayward, *Jewish Temple*; Klawans, *Purity*, 103–245; Elior, *Three Temples*; Francis Schmidt, *How the Temple Thinks: Identity and Social Cohesion in Ancient Judaism*, BS 78 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Smith, *Music*.

mentioned at the outset (Section 1.1), the temple as realised template in Chronicles should not be considered as systematically developed but as a general premise stemming from the biblical traditions and the wider Mesopotamian temple ideologies. However, Jewish people further developed the temple as realised template insofar as the correspondence between heaven and earth was systematically articulated in details and was given full attention from about the third century BCE onward. As such, the primacy of the temple and music in Chronicles may reflect an earlier stage of the articulation of the temple as realised template. It may be worthwhile to explore the reception history of the concepts of the temple and music in Chronicles, and their possible influence in the second temple literature.

8.3. Summary

This study justifies its title "Sing for Covenantal Stability". How could the Levitical singing foster worldwide stability in covenantal terms? This study suggests that the threefold role of Levitical singers (educational, scribal, and liturgical) embodied the theological logic of the conditions of the Davidic covenant to encourage the people to trust in YHWH's חסד in upholding the divine promise (2Chr 7:14) within the theological infrastructure of the temple as realised template. They could foster worldwide stability not because of their human endeavour but because of YHWH's faithfulness.

Stability and security are the essential concerns of Chronicles. They were also the fundamental concerns of the citizen-temple community. This community had to face challenges from many Babylonian-Persian enemies that could have shaken the authentic identity of their rebuilt temple. Archaeological and sociological evidence shows that they were "scant in number" with a tiny and "insignificant" temple in Jerusalem. Yehud was probably a small and poor province. The Chronicler put much

emphasis on the hope of stability, not because he lived in, as von Rad says, "a quiet period politically",[1017] but precisely because the community lacked political stability and longed for it.

With such a big crisis of identity and authenticity in view, the Chronicler painstakingly surveyed the pre-Chronistic Israelite traditions and refashioned the first temple as the gateway reaching the heaven, the centre of the world, and the source of life. He characterised Levitical singers as the main agents in nurturing worldwide stability, on a par with scholar-singers and *kalû*-priests in Mesopotamia. He did not lose heart, although surrounded by many big, rich, and successful Mesopotamian temples, and exaggerated the theological significance of the Jerusalem temple to justify its authenticity as being comparable to that of surrounding temples. As David and Solomon could achieve a glorious stability in their golden ages, in which YHWH was faithful to them, Yehud could also promote the same stability, because YHWH's faithfulness was unchanged. Although they were "scant in number", they could still claim the covenantal stability envisaged by the Davidic covenant, the chief identity marker of the very existence of Israel in the whole creation.

[1017] Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. D.M.G. Stalker, vol. 1 (London: SCM, 1975), 348.

Appendix A: The Composition of 1Chr 23-27 and 2Chr 36:22-23

A1: The Composition of 1Chr 23-27 (esp. 1Chr 25)

Commentators have wrestled with the source-critical problem of the complex lists of priests, Levites, singers, and gatekeepers in 1Chr 23-27, and have suggested different proposals: (1) that 1Chr 23-27 is a secondary post-Chronistic addition,[1018] (2) that 1Chr 23-27 contains two layers of editions,[1019] and (3) that 1Chr 23-27 comes from the Chronicler's hand.[1020] The most influential view is Williamson's, who argues that a pro-priestly reviser inserted portions into the Chronicler's original work (23:6b-13, 15-24; 25:1-6; 26:1-3, 9-11, 19, 20-32).

In contrast to Williamson, I believe that (3) is the best option. Firstly, Williamson's contrast between the Chronicler's arrangement of David's organisation and the twenty-four courses of allotment is overstated. He assumes that the random lot-casting for duties contradicted the rational planning of David, in which 25:1-6 heavily involves David but 25:7-31 does not.[1021] This assumption is problematic because lot-casting in ancient times did not give random results but depicted the *ordered* decision of God (e.g. Josh 7; 1Sam 14).[1022] If the Chronicler believes that the division of priests and Levites came from the heavenly template (1Chr 28:13),[1023] I

[1018] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 152; Noth, *Chronicler's History*, 14–15.

[1019] Dirksen, *1 Chronicles*, 275–277; H.G.M. Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-Four Priestly Course: A Study of 1 Chronicles 23-27," in *Studies in Persian Period History and Historiography*, FAT 38 (Tubingen: Mohr, 2004), 126–140; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 444–447.

[1020] Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 260; John W. Wright, "The Legacy of David in Chronicles: The Narrative Function of 1 Chronicles 23-27," *JBL* 110 (1991): 220–242; Schniedewind, *Transition*, 165–170; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 406–411; Kleinig, *The Lord's Song*, 55 n1; Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 788–798.

[1021] Williamson, "Origins," 128–131.

[1022] Joh. Lindblom, "Lot-Casting in the Old Testament," *VT* 12 (1962): 170.

[1023] The division of priests and Levites in 1Chr 28:13, 21 presumes the existence of 1Chr 23-27 since they present the same subject matter with the *Leitwort* מחלקות "division" appearing at 1Chr 23:6; 24:1; 26:1, 12, 19; 27:1-15. Cf. De Vries, "Moses and David," 631; Wright, "Legacy," 233.

cannot see any contradiction between lot-casting and David's organisation, because these two mediums were not competing systems but were mutually echoing.

Secondly, the ostensible doublet appearing in 23:2 and 28:1 might create a repetitive resumption for justifying the insertion of 1Chr 23-27. However, 28:1 is not a strict duplication of 23:2.[1024] For example, the gathering (אסף) in 23:2 involves only a small number of officials and temple personnel, while the assembly (קהל) in 28:1 includes a bigger convocation. Even though they are classified as resumption, this does not necessarily mean that 1Chr 23-27 is secondary, because repetitive resumption might reflect an authorial stylistic decision rather than an editorial insertion.[1025]

Thirdly, the musicians performed under the directions of their fathers (25:2-3, 6). But this does not involve a contradiction with 25:9-31, because their fathers were controlled by David's directions, which allowed them to perform in harmony even though they did not follow their fathers in the twenty-four courses.

Fourthly, the name-list in 25:7-31 shows a considerable compatibility (albeit with slight discrepancies) to the list in 25:1-6.

Finally, 25:1-31 shows a coherent style and subject matter.[1026]

Therefore, I ascribe the whole episode to the Chronicler's hand.

A2: The Composition of 2Chr 36:22-23

The "doublet" between 2Chr 36:22-23 and Ezra 1:1-3 has seen commentators puzzle over the direction of borrowing and the unity of 2Chr 36:22-23 with the rest of the Chronicler's work. If Ezra 1:1-3 borrows from 2Chr 36:22-23,[1027] it would not harm

[1024] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 792–793; Wright, "Legacy," 231.
[1025] Burke O. Long, "Framing Repetitions in Biblical Historiography," *JBL* 106 (1987): 385–399.
[1026] Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 854.
[1027] Paul L. Redditt, "The Dependence of Ezra-Nehemiah on 1 and 2 Chronicles," in *Unity and Disunity in Ezra-Nehemiah : Redaction, Rhetoric, and Reader*, ed. Mark J. Boda and Paul L. Redditt, HBM 17 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2008), 229–231.

to the unity of Chronicles. If 2Chr 36:22-23 borrows from Ezra 1:1-3 (or from a third source),[1028] the Chronicler could integrate it into a coherent and intelligent whole, just as he handles his Samuel-Kings-*Vorlagen*. The direction of borrowing thus has almost no bearing on whether 2Chr 36:22-23 is secondary or not. Thus this section will not explore the direction of copying but instead will focus on investigating the latter problem. Some scholars have posited that 2Chr 36:22-23 is a later addition,[1029] or a very late editorial gloss in a redacted version.[1030] This provides the possibility that 2Chr 36:22-23 does not belong to the Chronicler's hand. Here, I focus on exploring the unity of 2Chr 36:22-23 from the internal evidence of the rest of the Chronicler's work.

First, Japhet explores the use of personal names in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles and affirms that Ezra-Nehemiah almost consistently uses a shorter ending (יה), while Chronicles uses both long (יהו) and short endings.[1031] This provides a strong case that "it is impossible to deny the general tendency to use the long ending יהו" that marks the difference between Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.[1032] As for 2Chr 36:22, the name "Jeremiah" (ירמיהו) is used with a long ending, while Ezra 1:1 uses a short ending (ירמיה). This means that 2Chr 36:22 adheres to the general tendency of using the long ending as in the rest of Chronicles.

Redditt also observes that the name "Jeremiah" is more integral to the rest of Chronicles (four times in the last chapter) than Ezra (nowhere mentioned except Ezra 1:1).[1033] Kartveit even thinks that 2Chr 36:21 is constructed according to the Chronicler's integral composition of 2Chr 36:20, 22-23.[1034] But Williamson thinks

[1028] Riley, *King and Cultus*, 150–153; Williamson, *Israel*, 7–10; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 1062.
[1029] Williamson, *Israel*, 9.
[1030] De Vries, *Chronicles*, 11–13.
[1031] Japhet, "Common Authorship," 339–341.
[1032] Ibid., 340–341.
[1033] Redditt, "Dependence," 229–230.
[1034] Magnar Kartveit, "2 Chronicles 36.20-23 as Literary and Theological 'Interface'," in *The Chronicler*

that a later interpolator would have assimilated the longer ending into 2Chr 36:22 when it is added later than the Chronicler.[1035] I admit that this is a possibility that cannot be entirely ruled out. But Williamson's position can at most produce a standoff and is not a compelling proof for arguing that the passage is a secondary addition.

Second, Kartveit contends that the genealogical portion of Chronicles (1Chr 1-9) provides a "land theology", insofar as the tribal settlements are portrayed as an anti-clockwise circle geographically moving around from Judah to Jerusalem. This pictures Jerusalem as the centre of all Israel, and 1Chr 9 further illustrates that the temple is the centre of Jerusalem. In reference to 2Chr 36:22-23, Kartveit further observes that there is a geographical depiction of the linkage among "the kingdoms of the earth", "Israel", "Jerusalem", and "the temple".[1036] As such, Kartveit arrives at the conclusion that this formulates "an inclusio connecting beginning and end."[1037]

Furthermore, if my thesis is correct that the Chronicler incorporates the temple as realised template into his storyline, the Chronicler would have required a proper ending that could convey his conviction that the Jerusalem temple was the centre of the whole world. This matches the result of Kartveit, who argues that the theme "temple as the centre" occupies a crucial place in the Chronicler's introduction and conclusion. It is thus difficult to deny that 2Chr 36:22-23 is an integral portion of Chronicles that properly ends the whole narrative, so that "at the narrative level it is powerfully effective."[1038]

In such an analysis, I may find myself accused of falling into the trap of

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as Author: Studies in Text and Texture, ed. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSS 263 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 397–400.

[1035] Williamson, *Israel*, 9.

[1036] Kartveit, "Interface," 401–402.

[1037] Ibid., 402.

[1038] R.J. Coggins, "Theology and Hermeneutics in the Book of Chronicles," in *In Search of True Wisdom: Essays in Old Testament Interpretation in Honour of Ronald E. Clements*, ed. Edward Ball, JSOTSS 300 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1999), 268.

circularity, in that I used 2Chr 36:22-23 to argue for the Chronicler's heaven-and-earth dimension (cf. Section 4.2.1.1), while here I use the Chronicler's temple as realised template to argue for the unity of 2Chr 36:22-23. However bringing in the argument of Kartveit can effectively break this circularity insofar as 2Chr 36:22-23 not only supports the Chronicler's pre-understanding of the temple as realised template but also formulates an *inclusio* between the introduction and the conclusion. In this way, it would be harder for Chronicles to function theologically if we leave out this theologically important closure.

Finally, Williamson thinks that 2Chr 36:23 ends abruptly and unnaturally with "let him go up" (ויעל),[1039] which provides another counter-argument to the disunity of 2Chr 36:22-23. There is, however, no need to conjecture and hypothesise here why this last sentence ends "abruptly" compared to the more elaborated sentence in Ezra 1:3. As I have shown (cf. Section 4.2.1.1), we can read ויעל symbolically to designate those people who "ascend" to rebuild the temple cult. It is precisely because here "go up" has no direct object that opens this interpretative possibility, and this statement, being seen in this light, ends the book of Chronicles in a symbolically powerful and beautiful manner. If we have at least one probable explanation for this "abrupt" ending, why should we give preference to the position that 2Chr 36:23 is a secondary addition?

As a result, I ascribe 2Chr 36:22-23 to the Chronicler's hand.

[1039] Williamson, *Israel*, 9.

Appendix B: Glossary

Area TA	An excavation area near the temple of Enlil in Nippur.
Ashurbanipal	A Neo-Assyrian king, the son of Esarhaddon (668-627 BCE). He is probably the last strong king in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. He is famous for his establishment of the library of cuneiform documents in his palace at Ninevah.
Ea (or Enki)	The patron diety of Eridu, a god of wisdom, whose sacred number is 40.
Edubba	Scribal school in the familial form of father-son apprenticeship in the Old Babylonian period.
Enlil	The patron deity of Nippur whose sacred number is 50.
Enlil-bani	The tenth king in Isin I Dynasty (1860-1837 BCE).
Enlil-bani hymn A (Eb-A)	An Old Babylonian hymn of Enlil-bani, King of Isin, for scribal education.
Enūma eliš	A famous Babylonian creation myth with multiple versions in different periods (from the Old Babylonian period to the Neo-Babylonian period).
Erra	A god of pestilence and plague.
Erra and Ishum	A famous poem written by Kabti-ilani-Marduk in the eighth century BCE describing how Erra persuades Marduk to leave his dwelling and then destroys it.
The Examination Text A	A group of Neo-Assyrian texts describing an examination between a supervisor and a scribe.
Father and His Perverse Son	A Sumerian Composition showing a dialogue between a father and a son.
Gudea of Lagash	A Sumerian king in Lagash (2141-2122 BCE).
House F	A small domestic house in the middle of Nippur 250 metres south of the temple of Enlil.
Iddin-Dagan	The third king in Isin I Dynasty (1974-1954 BCE).
Iddin-Dagan hymn B (Id-B)	An Old Babylonian hymn of Iddin-Dagan, King of Isin, for scribal education.
Inanna	A Sumerian goddess of fertility, love, sex, and war.
Išme-Dagan	The fourth king in Isin I Dynasty (1953-1935 BCE).
Ishtar	The goddess of love, war, fertility, and sex.
Lipit-Eštar	The fifth king in Isin I Dynasty (1934-1924 BCE).

Lipit-Eštar Hymn B (Li-B)	An Old Babylonian hymn of Lipit-Eštar, King of Isin, for scribal education.
Marduk	The patron deity of Babylon.
Nanaar	A bull god.
Nanshe	Enki's daughter, a goddess of social justice, water, fertility, and prophecy.
Ninĝirsu (or Ninurta)	The god of Lagash, the son of Enlil.
Ninlil (or Sud)	The consort goddess of Enlil.
Nisaba	The Sumerian goddess of writing, learning, and the harvest.
Nisaba hymn A	An Old Babylonian hymn of Nisaba, a goddess, for scribal education.
Šamaš	The Babylonian sun-god.
Shulgi	A Sumerian king in Ur III Dynasty (2094-2047 BCE).
The Atraḫasīs Epic	A famous Mesopotamian epic with multiple versions in different periods (from 18th century BCE to the first millennium BCE) that includes a creation myth and a Babylonian deluge story.
The Decad	A name given to the standardized sequence of ten compositions used in the scribal curriculum in the Old Babylonian *edubba*.
The Gilagmesh Epic	The literary history of Gilgamesh, king of Uruk. It enjoys an early and long survival history from the eighteenth century BCE to the seventh century BCE.
The Papulegarra Hymn	A cultic hymn to Papulegarra dated in 2000 – 1500 BCE
The Tetrad	A name given to the standard sequence of the introductory level of four compositions used in the scribal curriculum for learning Sumerian grammar in the Old Babylonian *edubba*.

Appendix C: Mesopotamian Texts

C1: A Letter from Marduk-šāpik-zēri (Lines 36-50)[1040]

This is a letter written by Marduk-šāpik-zēri to prove himself in front of the great Neo-Assyrian king Assurbanipal, showing that he was qualified in terms of a skilfull mastery of Mesopotamian traditions and scribal educations. The section selected here (extracted from Parpola's transliteration and translation) describes the multi-functional capacity of this scholar, which can somewhat help us to understand the ideal of a well-trained scholar. Besides, he introduced himself as one of the able scholars who fitted for royal services, and identified himself as one of those elite professionals who were trained with various scholarly disciplines or career-tracks, such as scribes, chanters, exorcists, haruspices, and physicians.

	Akkadian Transliteration	English Translation
36	*a-ta-mar a-na* EN LUGAL.ME[Š EN-*i*]*á lu-uš-pu-ra* ˹*dul-la šá* AD-*iá*˺	36 I fully master my father's profession, the discipline of lamentation; I have studied and chanted the Series. I am competent in […], 'mouth-washing,' and purification of the palace […]. I have examined healthy and sick flesh.
37	*ka-lu-ú-tu ug-da*[*m-mir-ma i*]*š-ka-ru un-der-ri-ir*	
38	*az-za-mur ina* ŠÀ-*bi* [*x x x x*]*x mi-is-pi-i tak-pir-ti*	
39	É.KUR *a-le-*ʾ[*e-e x x x x*]*x* UZU DI GIG *un-der-ri-ir*	
40	1 UD-AN-$^{d+}$EN.LÍL [*x x x x al-t*]*a-si* MUL.MEŠ AN-*e uṣ-*˹*ṣab*$^{!}$˺*-bi*	40 I have read the (astrological omen series) *Enūma Anu Enlil* […] and made astronomical observations. I have read the (anomaly series) *Šumma izbu*, the (physiognomical works) [*Kataduqqû*, *Alandi*]*mmû* and *Nigdimdimmuû*, [… and the (terrestrial
41	BE-*iz*$^{!}$*-bu*$^{!}$ [*x x x* (*x*) 1 ALAM.DÍ]M-*mu-ú* 1 NÍG.DÍM.DÍM-*mu-ú*	
42	*x*[*x x x x x x* 1 URU-*i*]*na*-SUKUD-GAR *al-ta-si*	

[1040] Extracted from line 36-50: Parpola, *Letters*, 122.

		omen series) *Šum*]*ma ālu*.
43	[*x x x x x x x x x x x a*]*l-mad ina* GIŠ.MI LUGAL EN-*ia*	43 [*All this* I lear]ned [*in my youth*]. Under the aegis of the king, my lord, I have perfected my […], and [……]. I am competent in the profession of my father; [*let the lord of kings*] do [……].
44	[*x x x x x x x x x x x*]*-e-a ug-dam-mir ù*	
45	[*x x x x x x x x x x du*]*l-lu šá* AD-*iá a-le-ʾe-e*	
46	[*x x x x x x x x x x*]*x li-pu-uš*	
47	[*x x x x x x* LÚ.ŠAMÁ.LÁ.MEŠ *š*]*á it-ti-iá li-gìn-nu* [*x x x x x x x x il*]*-su-ú ʿiʾ-ba-áš-ši ina* ŠÀ-*bi-šú-nu*	47 Among the […… apprentices] who studied with me [*in* ……], there are [……] who [have *returned*] from Elam, [scribes, chanters], exorcists, haruspices, and physicians; [I shall gather them] and give them [to the king], my lord.
48	[*x x x x x x x x x x x*]*-áš-šú šá ul-tu* KUR.NIM.MA.KI	
49	[*x x x* LÚ.DUB.SAR.MEŠ LÚ.UŠ.KU.MEŠ L]Ú.MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ LÚ.HAL.MEŠ LÚ.A.ZU.ME	
50	[*ú-šá-aṣ-bat-ma a-na* LUGAL E]N-*iá a-nam-din*	

C2: The Examination Text A (Line 24)[1041]

This text shows many examination questions put to pupils who took part into scribal education in the Neo-Assyrian period, and provides an overview of the scribal curriculum of the schools in the first millennium BCE. Sjöberg edits this text from eleven texts found in the library of King Ashurbanipal, one from Babylon, and one from Uruk. The section selected here comes from her editing, and shows that music was clearly one of the important elements inside the scribal school.

	Akkadian Transliteration	German Translation
24	[šìr-nam-nar(?) šìr-nam- x x x šìr-nam-gala šì]r-nam-en-na šì-nam-uru-na[šìr-nam-gi-na x x x ki-ru-g]ú šid gul-la ì-zu-ù [*šìr-nam* x-x-*ke*$_4$ *šìr-nam*-x x]-*ne-ki*	Kennst du [den namnar(?)-Gesang, den nam-…-Gesang], den namgala-Gesang, den nam'ena-Gesang, den nam'uruna-Gesang, den

[1041] Extracted from Sjöberg, "Examenstext A," 142–143.

šìr-nam-gala-ke$_4$ *šìr-n*[*am-en-na-k*]*e*$_4$	namgina-[Gesang], das Aufteilen
[*šìr-nam*]-*ú-ru-na-ki*	(eines Gesanges) in seine
[*šìr*]-*nam-gi-na-ke*$_4$[1] *pir-si-šú-nu*[2]	(verschiedenen) Teile, […], den
pa-ra-su[…] *mi-iḫ-ra e-ni u ki-la*[3]	Gegengesang, die Rezitation, das
ti-de-e	Finale?

C3: A Hymn to Ishtar (Section xiv)[1042]

This is a hymn to Ishtar, a Sumerian goddess, praising her body. The section extracted here is the last section of this hymn (Section xiv), indicating "Ea's own word(s)" should be performed to her, in order to please her. Foster perceives this piece as dated in the classical period (2,000 – 1,500 BCE).

What she desires, this song for her pleasure
Is indeed well suited to his mouth,
He performed for her Ea's own word(s).
When he heard this song of her praise,
He was well pleased with him,
Saying, "Let him live long, may his (own) king always love him. (Section xiv)

C4: *Enūma eliš* (Tablet IV, lines 123-146; Tablet V, lines 117-130; Tablet VI, lines 39-68; Tablet VII, lines 145-162)[1043]

This is a Babylonian version of *Enūma eliš*, in which Marduk, the patron god of Babylon, advanced himself to the top of the Mesopotamian pantheon, and Babylon was promoted as the centre of the whole world. The sections extracted here depicts the concept of "counterpart" in understanding the Babylonian temple ideology, together with the ending of the whole composition. Foster perceives this piece dated in the mature period (1,500 – 1,000 BCE).

[1042] Extracted from Foster, *Before the Muses*, 87.
[1043] Extracted from Ibid., 461–462, 467–468, 470–471, 484–485.

Having captured his enemies and triumphed,
Having shown the mighty(?) foe subservient(?),
Having fully achieved Anshar's victory over his enemies,
Valiant Marduk having attained what Nudimmud desired,
He made firm his hold over the captured gods,
Then turned back to Tiamat whom he had captured.
The Lord trampled upon the frame of Tiamat,
With his merciless mace he crushed her skull.
He cut open the arteries of her blood,
He let the North Wind bear (it) away as glad tidings.
When his fathers saw, they rejoiced and were glad,
They brought him gifts and presents.
The Lord calmed down, he began inspecting her carcass,
That he might divide(?) the monstrous lump
    And fashion artful things.
He split her in two, like a fish for drying,
Half of her he set up and made as a cover, heaven.
He stretched out the hide and assigned watchmen,
And ordered them not to let her waters escape.
He crossed heaven, he inspected (its) firmament,
He made a counterpart to Apsu, the dwelling of Nudimmud.
The Lord measured the construction of Apsu,
He founded the Great Sanctuary, the likeness of Esharra.
(In) the Great Sanctuary, (in) Esharra,
    Which he built, (and in) heaven,
He made Ea, Enlil, and Anu dwell in their holy places. (Tablet IV, lines 123-146)

Marduk made ready to speak and said
(These) words to the gods his fathers,
"Above Apsu, the azure dwelling,
"As a counterpart to Esharra, which I built for you,
"Below the firmament, whose grounding I made firm,
"A house I shall build, let it be the abode of my pleasure.
"Within it I shall establish its holy place,
"I shall appoint my (holy) chambers,
    I shall establish my kingship
"When you go up from Apsu to assembly,
"Let your stopping places be here, before your assembly.

“When you come down from heaven to [assembly],
“Let your stopping places be there to receive all of you.
“I shall call [its] name [Babylon],
Houses of the Great Gods,
“We shall all hold fe[stival]s with[in] it.” (Tablet V, lines 117-130)

Marduk the king divided the gods,
The Anunna-gods, all of them, above and below,
He assigned to Anu for duty at his command.
He set three hundred in heaven for (their) duty,
A like number he designated for the ways of the netherworld:
He made six hundred dwell in heaven and netherworld.
After he had given all the commands,
And had divided the shares of the Anunna-gods
of heaven and netherworld,
The Anunna-gods made ready to speak,
To Marduk their lord they said,
“Now, Lord, you who have liberated us,
“What courtesy may we do you?
“We will make a shrine, whose name will be a byword,
“Your chamber that shall be our stopping place,
we shall find rest therein.
“We shall lay out the shrine, let us set up its emplacement,
“When we come (to visit you), we shall find rest therein.”
When Marduk heard this,
His features glowed brightly, like the day,
“Then make Babylon the task that you requested,
“Let its brickwork be formed, build high the shrine.”
The Anunna-gods set to with hoes,
One (full) year they made its bricks.
When the second year came,
They raised the head of Esagila, the counterpart to Apsu,
They built the upper ziggurat of Apsu,
For Anu-Enlil-Ea they founded his … and dwelling.
He took his seat in sublimity before them,
Its pinnacles were facing toward the base of Esharra.
After they had done the work of Esagila,
All the Anunna-gods devised their own shrines. (Tablet VI, lines 39-68)

They must be grasped: the “first one” should reveal (them),
The wise and knowledgeable should ponder (them) together,
The master should repeat, and make the pupil understand.
The “shepherd,” the “herdsman” should pay attention,
He must not neglect the Enlil of the gods, Marduk,
So his land may prosper and he himself be safe.
His word is truth, what he says is not changed,
Not one god can annul his utterance.
If he frowns, he will not relent,
If he is angry, no god can face his rage.
His heart is deep, his feelings all encompassing,
He before whom crime and sin must appear for judgment.
The revelation (of the names) which the “first one”
discoursed before him (Marduk),
He wrote down and preserved for the future to hear,
The [wo]rd of Marduk who created the Igigi-gods,
[His/Its] let them [ ], his name let them invoke.
Let them sound abroad the song of Marduk,
How he defeated Tiamat and took kingship. (Tablet VII, lines 145-162)

C5: Tablet V of Erra and Ishum (Lines 39-61)[1044]

Erra and Ishum is a poetic narrative dated in the eighth century BCE describing Erra’s plan and actions to persuade Marduk to leave his dwelling place in Babylon, in order to destroy it with violence. The section extracted here belongs to the end of Tablet V of Erra and Ishum. The poet introduces himself with his name and indicates to his reader that this poetic narrative was approved and revealed by Erra.

Praise to the great Lord Nergal and warrior Ishum for years without number!
How it came to pass that Erra grew angry and set out to lay
waste the lands and destroy their peoples,
But Ishum his counselor calmed him and left a remnant,
The composer of its text was Kabti-ilani-Marduk, of the family Dabibi.

[1044] Extracted from Ibid., 910–911.

He revealed it at night, and, just as he (the god?)
had discoursed it while he (K.) was coming awake,
he (K.) omitted nothing at all,
Nor one line did he add.
When Erra heard it he approved,
What pertained to Ishum his vanguard satisfied him.
All the gods praised his sign.
Then the warrior Erra spoke thus,
“In the sanctuary of the god who honors this poem, may abundance accumulate,
“But let the one who neglects it never smell incense.
“Let the king who extols my name rule the world,
“Let the prince who discourses the praise of my valor have no rival,
“Let the singer who chants (it) not die from pestilence,
“But his performance he pleasing to king and prince.
“The scribe who masters it shall be spared in the enemy country
and honored in his own hand,
“In the sanctum of the learned, where they shall constantly invoke my name,
I shall grant them understanding.
“The house in which this tablet is placed,
though Erra be angry and the Seven be murderous,
“The sword of pestilence shall not approach it, safety abides upon it.
“Let this poem stand forever, let it endure till eternity,
“Let all lands hear it and praise my valor,
“Let all inhabitants witness and extol my name.” (lines 39-61)

C6: Expiatory Rites for the “Farmer” (Lines 9-r.15)[1045]

This is a letter written by a king’s exorcist, Adad-šumu-uṣur, that indicates an arrangement of expiatory rites for the “farmer” in the Neo-Assyrian period.

	Akkadian Transliteration	English Translation
9	*dul-l*[*i*]-*in*-[*ni*]	9 We have rites to perform ton[ight]: I shall perform one against “Loss of Flesh,” and Urad-Ea another one before Enlil. We shall go to the *qirsu*.
10	*ú-ma-a ina nu*$^{!}$-[*bat-ti*]	
11	*i-ba-aš-ši*	
12	*a-na-ku šá ha-liq-ti* UZU$^{!}$	
13	[^{m}]ARAD-^{d}É.A	

[1045] Extracted from Parpola, *Letters*, 169.

r.1 [*š*]*á*$^{!}$ [*p*]*a*$^{!}$-*an* $^{d+}$EN.LÍL
r.2 *né-pa-aš*
r.3 *ina qi-ir-si*
r.4 *ni-el-lak*
r.5 *dul-lu šá* ⌜É$^{!}$⌝-[*r*]*i*$^{!}$-[*in-ki*]
r.6 *it-*⌜*ti-ma*$^{!}$⌝*-li e-ta-pa-áš*
r.7 *ma-qa-lu-tú aq-ṭu-lu*
r.8 *tak-pir-tú nu-us-se-ti-iq*
r.9 *a-na* LÚ.UŠ.KU *šá an-na-ka*
r.10 LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ *is-se-šú*
r.11 *ap-ti-qi-id ṭè-e-mu*
r.12 *as-sa-ak-an-šu*
r.13 *mu-uk* 6 UD-*me šam-hír*
r.14 *tak-pir-tú da-at an-ni-e*
r.15 *tu-še-ta-qa*

r.5 Yesterday I performed the ritual of *Bit*[*r*]*i*[*mki*]. I made a burnt-offering and we executed a purification ritual.

r.9 I have appointed an exorcist for the chanter who is here, and gave him the following orders: "For six days do likewise, performing the purification ritual after this (fashion)."

C7: Ritual to be Followed by the *kalū*-priest when Covering the Temple Kettle-Drum (Text A, section (ii), lines 1-36 and the Colophon)[1046]

This is a ritual text from the Seleucid period in Uruk that describes a very complex ritual procedure of purification, burnt-offering, and musical performance. This text is transcribed and translated by F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens* (Paris, 1921), 10ff and is quoted in *ANET*.

Although this text is extracted from the text of the Seleucid period, the practice of the temple kettle-drum can be traced to the Neo-Assyrian period as indicated in Text B-D in *ANET*, 334-338. This copy in the Seleucid period would have been copied from older Babylonian texts.

(ii) On (the bricks) you shall lay twelve (pieces of) linen. On them you shall seat all twelve gods. You shall lift up the *egubbū*-vessel of the deity Ningirim and with its water you shall clean the equipment prepared for the ceremony. You shall sprinkle some (aromatic?) barley seed. You shall set up the kettle-drum. (5) You shall lay a

[1046] Extracted from *ANET*, 335-336.

brick for the deity Lumha. You shall set up a stand. You shall slaughter a sheep. You shall offer the thigh, …, and *roasted* meat. You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, and milk. Before these (gods) you shall place water. You shall draw a libation of prime beer, wine, and milk. Before these (gods) you shall place water. You shall draw the curtains shut. On the bull you shall perform the rite of Washing the Mouth. You shall whisper through a reed tube into the bull's right ear the incantation entitled "*Gugal gumaḫ u kiuš kuga*." (10) You shall whisper through a reed tube into the bull's left ear the incantation entitled "*Alpu ilittu Zī attāma*." You shall besprinkle the bull with cedar *resin*. You shall purify the bull, using a brazier and a torch. You shall draw a ring of *zisurra*-flour around the bull. Standing at its head, you shall sing (the composition called) "*Nitugki niginna*" to the accompaniment of a bronze *ḫalḫallatu*. (15) After that, you shall recite (the composition entitled) "*Dimmer … ankia mundimma*." Then you shall cut open that bull and start a fire with cedar. You shall burn the bull's heart with cedar, cypress, and *maṣḫatu*-floor before the kettle-drum. You shall remove the tendon of its left shoulder and shall bury the body of that bull (wrapped) in a single red … cloth. (20) You shall throw some *gunnu*-oil on it (and) arrange it so that its face points to the west. You shall take the hide of that bull and dip it in fine flour made from clean barley, in water, prime beer, (and) wine. You shall then lay it in the pure fat of a bull and aromatic ingredients, (taken) from the hearts of plants, with four *qa*-measures of ground malt, four *qa*-measures of *bitqa*-flour, (and) one (*qa*-measure?) of … (25) You shall press (it) with gall-nuts and alum from the land of the Hittites. (With it) you shall cover the bronze kettle-drum. On it you shall stretch a linen cord. Drum-sticks (or pegs?) of *musukannu*-wood, …-wood, cedar, and *ušu*-wood, and all the rest of the *drum-sticks* (of?) *maštu*-wood *for* the bronze kettle-drum you shall *cover* with *varnish*. (30) With the tendon of (the bull's) left shoulder you shall … its *opening*. You shall bury the … You shall make preparations for a sacrifice to the god Lumba. You shall sacrifice a sheep and shall offer the thigh, the …, and *roasted* meat. (35) You shall make a libation of prime beer, wine, and milk.
…
(Colophon:) Ritual of the *kalū*-priest. Tablet belonging to Anuahaiddin, the son of Rihatanu, the *kala-maḫḫu*-priest of the deities Anu and Antu, citizen of Uruk. It was copied from an old(er) tablet, checkted, and rechecked.

C8: The Nanshe Hymn (Lines 32-46)[1047]

This is an Old Babylonian Sumerian hymn, depicting how Nanshe chose Ninâ in the Lagash region with her temple Siratr built there. The section selected here illustrates how the famous temple builder Gudea of Lagash, appointed as a high priest, stationed and organised a musical cult for Nanshe with different sorts of musical instruments.

The queen had felt urged to make the appropriate brickwork appear.
Nanshe (thus) had been able to have Lagash spread the hands wide on the abundance
She (now) felt urged to envision in the holy heart a high priest,
she seated with her on the throne dais Nanshe's lion,
the beloved high priest of Lagash,
and granted august scepter to the shepherd.
Gudea perfected for her all her precious sacred offices.
Her shepherd, envisioned in the holy heart,
Gudea, ruler of Lagash.
stationed among the *tigi* strings the princely, sweet sounding, tambourines, (40)
stationed with them holy harps, and to the holy chants and the antiphons
he had performed for her
lyres were giving praise unto the house,
whilst out from amid them a chief musician was sounding for her the shofar horn.
Since she had deemed fit to allot to the house sacred rites from Apsû,
he sang at its sacred princely rites the latter's holy chants in Siratr's countyard.

C9: Hymn to Inanna (Lines 36-44)[1048]

This hymn was written at the time of Iddin-Dagan, the third king of Isin I Dynasty, for the annual rite of the sacred marriage of Inanna with the king. The section selected here presents the military role of Inanna to fight for a celestial battle, and celebrates

[1047] Extracted from Jacobsen, *Harps*, 128–129.
[1048] Extracted from Ibid., 115.

her as a goddess of war and victory. Musical instruments played a crucial role in helping Inanna to fight for the battle.

Algar-instruments, silver inwrought, they are beating for her,
– before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
The great queen of heaven, Inanna, I will hail!
Holy tambourines and holy kettledrums they are beating for her
– before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading – (40)
The great queen of heaven, Inanna, I will hail!
Holy harps and holy kettledrums they are smiting for her,
– before holy Inanna, before her eyes, they are parading –
The oldest child of the Moon, Inanna, I will hail! (lines 36-44)

C10: The Gudea Cylinder A (Section vii, Lines 2-8; Section ix, Lines 5-10)[1049]

The Gudea Cylinder A is a famous cylinder depicting how Ninĝirsu had revealed to Gudea, the famous temple builder, in a dream a template for building the temple of Ninĝirsu. It contains three parts. First, the building project was permitted by Enlil. Second, Gudea received the template from a dream. Third, the actual realisation was operated. The sections selected here belong to the second portion of the cylinder. Nanshe prophesied that Ninĝirsu will reveal the design of his temple to Gudea due to Gudea's obedience. Later, Ninĝirsu did respond Gudea's prayer by reaffirming Gudea's role of temple building, and giving him directions for building the temple. In section ix, lines 9-10, Ninĝirsu promised to give Gudea "signposts" with "pure stars", "indicting the times for the various rites of the temple."[1050]

Nanshe's prophecy (section vii, lines 2-8):
…
"then he will accept from you your slightest word as weighty;

[1049] Extracted from Ibid., 396, 399.
[1050] Ibid., 399 n44.

the heart of the lord, unfathomable as inmost heaven,
of Ningirsu, son of Enlil, will become appeased for you;
he will reveal to you the design of his house,
and the warrior will hail for you
his offices, all great."
…
Ningirsu's response (section ix, lines 5-10):
…
Next, for the sleeper, for the sleepr,
at the head he stood, was briefly touching him:
"O you who are to build for me, O you who are to build for me,
ruler who are to build for me my house,
Gudea – for building my house let me give you the signposts
and let me tell you the pure stars above, (the heralds) of my appointed tasks …

C11: Ritual for the Repair of a Temple (Text B, reverse)[1051]

This ritual text consists of two texts (Texts A and B) that comes from Uruk in the Seleucid period. Text C comes from Babylon, probably a century earlier. Although this ritual text comes from the Hellenistic period, it is probably a copy of older tablets. The section extracted here comes from Text B (reverse), showing the ritual procedure of *kalû*-priests during the foundation-laying of a temple.

(The above is) a tablet (describing) what is required of the *kalû*-priests.

When the foundations of a temple collapse, you shall open up the foundations in an auspicious month, on a favorable day. When you are laying the foundations of the temple, you shall prepare during the night five sacrifices for the deities Sin, Marduk, Ninmah, Kulla, and Ninshubur. You shall sacrifice the sheep, strew some (aromatic?) barley seed of *all* (sorts?), start a fire, (and) make a libation of beer, wine, (and) milk. (5) You shall sing the lamentation (called) "*Uddam kimus*" and the lamentation (called) "*Umun barkugga*." After this, you shall set up three sacrificial stands for the god of the temple, the goddess of the temple, (and) the household god of the temple. You shall light a fire, make some water available, (and) draw the curtains shut. Facing the

[1051] Extracted from *ANET*, 341.

temple, you shall sing (the composition entitled) "*Ešabḫungata*," accompanied on the *ḫalḫallatu*-instrument. After this, you shall prepare three sacrifices for the gods Anu, Enlil, and [Ea] in the morning. You shall sing the lamentations (called) "*Umunšermallašu ankia*" and "*Nitug niginam*." (10) You shall sing (the composition entitled) "*Ud Ana Enlila Enki ankia mundimdimene*." … You shall remove the sacrificial accoutrements and shall lay the foundation until the temple is completed. You shall not interrupt making sacrifices and lamentations. Once the foundation is laid, you shall purify that place with purification rituals.

(The above is) the ritual of the *kalû*-priest.

(The next tablet of this series begins with the words:) (15) when the door-sockets are installed.

(Colophon:) Tablet belonging to Nidintuanu. (Written by) the hand of Anubelshunu, his son, the apprentice *kalû*-priest. (Dated at) Uruk, the month of Simannu, twenty-eighth day, the year eighty-one (of the Seleucid period, corresponding to 231 B.C.), Seleucus being the king.

C12: The Court of Nebuchadnezzar (iii 33 – v 29)[1052]

This text comes from a prism unearthed in Babylon, and it describes the personnel in the Neo-Babylonian royal court of Nebuchadnezzar.

(iii 33 – v29)

I ordered the (following) court officials in exercise of (their) duties to take up position in my (official) suite:

As *mašennu*-officials Nabuzeriddinam, the chief cook, Nabuzeribni, the chief armorer (Lord High Steward), [E]rib[…] in charge of the palace officials, Sinshar [ilani(?)], the major-domo, Atkal-ana-Mar-Esa-gila

(iv)

[the …] (some names broken), Inaqibit-Bel [the …], Bel-erish, the chief […], Ardia, the *mašennu* of the "House-of-the-Palace-Women," Beluballit, the secretary of the "House-of-the Palace-Women," Silla, the chief master-of-*ceremonies*, Nabuahusur, the

[1052] Extracted from *ANET*, 307-308.

chief of the engineers, Mushallim-Marduk, Nabu-ushibshi (and) Eribshu, the overseers (lit.: heads) of the slave-girls, Nabubelusur, overseer of the slave-girls, Nabuzeribni, the cupbearer, Nergalresua, the chief of the singers, Ardi-Nabu, the *sipiru* –official of the crown prince, Eaidanni, the chief of the cattle, Rimutu, the chief of the cattle, Nabumarsharriusur, the chief of the sailors, (and) Hanunu, the chief of the royal merchants;

(and as) the officials of the country Akkad (i.e. Babylon): Eadaian, the governor of the Sea (-Country), Nergalsharusur, the *Sîn-magir*, Emuqahi(?), (the governor) of Tupliash, Belshumishkun (the governor) of Puqudu, Bibbea, the Dakkurean, Nadinahi, the "official" of Der, Mardukshарusur (the governor) of Gambulu, Mardukshарrani, the district officer of Sumandar, Belidarum, the Amuqean, Rimutu, the regular governor of Zame, Beletirnapshate, the governor of Iaptiru, the "official" of

(v)

…, Mushezib-Bel, the "official" of …,

(and as) the "officials": Shumkenum, the "official" of the town Dur-[Iakin], Bania, the "official" of the town Limetum, Mardukzeribni, the "official" of the town Matakallu, Shula, the "official" of the town Nimid-Laguda, Shuma, the "official" of the town Kullab, Nergalzeribin, the "official" of the town Udannum, Mardukerish, the "official" of the town Larsa, Nabukinapli, the "official" of the town Kissik, Belupahhir, the "official" of the town of Bakushu;

(and as) *qêpu* –officials of cities: Iba, the district officer of Dur-[…], Shalambili, the district officer of …, Ziria, the district officer of …, Zabina, the *qêpu* –official of …, Shuma, the *qêpu* –official of …, Adadahiddinam, the district officer of the town …, Nabuzerukin (officer) of the country A […], Anumepush, the *qêpu* –official of …, Belshumishkun, the *qêpu* –official of the town N[i…];

(furthermore): the king of Tyre, the king of Gaza, the king of Sidon, the king of Arvad, the king of Ashdod, the king of Mir […], the king of …

C13: UDAM KI AMUS: It Touches the Earth Like a Storm (lines 1-100)[1053]

This *balag*-lament has been edited by Cohen:

It Touches the Earth Like a Storm

It touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
His word touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of great An touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Enlil touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Enki touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Asarluhi touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Enbilulu touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Muzebbasa touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of Sheddukisharra touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable.
The word of the lord Dikumaham touches the earth like a storm. Its meaning is unfathomable. (line 10)

His word, which causes the heavens to rumble above!
His word, which causes the earth to shake below!
His word, (at) which the Anunna-gods stumble!
His word has no diviner. It has no interpreter.
His word, a swelling flood, is unopposed.
His word causes the heavens to rumble, the earth to shake.
His word is a reed mat (in which) mothers wrap their children.
The word of the lord kills the reed bed in its pool.
The word of Asarluhi drowns the crops on their stalks.
The word of the lord is a swelling flood. It overwhelms… (line 20)
The word of Asarluhi is a flood. It destroys the quays.
His word fells the huge *mes*-trees.
His word, a storm turning (all) into ruins!
The word of Enlil rushes about. No one can see it.

His word! Woe, his word!
His word! The honoered one! Woe, his word!

[1053] Extracted from Cohen, *Canonical Lamentations*, 136–138.

Great An! Woe his word!
Enlil! Woe his word!
Enki! Woe his word!
Hero Asarluhi! Woe his word! (line 30)
Lord Enbilulu, heir of Enki! Woe his word!
Hero Muzebbasa! Woe his word!
Lord Dikumaham! Woe his word!
Let me bring his word to the diviner and that diviner will lie.
Let me bring his word to the interpreter and that interpreter will lie.
His word afflicts a man with woe. That man moans.
His word afflicts a young woman with woe. That young woman moans.
As his word proceeds lightly, it destroys the land.
As his word proceeds grandly, it destroys habitations (*var*: it kills people) (line 40)
His word is a covered fermentation vat. Who may know what is inside it? (*var*: Inside it is whirling)
His word, whose interior is unknown, its exterior tramples down (everything).
His word, whose exterior is unknown, its interior tramples down (everything).
His word causes men sickness. It weakens men.
When his word drifts in the heavens, indeed the country is sick.
When his word walks on the land, indeed the land is diminishted.
His word is a storm which chases (all) five out from a household of five.
The word of Asarluhi chases (all) ten out from a household of ten.
Above, his word hurries to me. Above, it causes grief.
The word of Asarluhi is spoken below. Below, there is shaking. (line 50)
At the sickness (inflicted) by the word, I moan.
His word, which causes the heavens themselves to rumble above! Woe, his word!

As for me, … Where can I go?

The honored one like the wind, like the wind,
Like the wind, the eminent one knocks me down.
The honored one, the lord of the lands,
The unfathomable one, whose word is true,
whoses orders no one can challenge,
the honored one, Enlil, whose utterances are unalterable,
is a storm which destroys the cattle pen, which tears out the sheepfold. (line 60)
My roots are uprooted; my forests denuded.
The Anunna-gods have altered my *me*'s which …

His crows denude my forests.
Oh lord of the lands! You do not move about like mortal man.
You do not move about as I would.
You withhold sustenance from my belly.
You silence my liver and my heart.
For you there is none; for you there is no destruction.

Like a single planted reed, the honored one tramples me down like a single planted reed.
The honored one, the lord of the lands,
The unfathomable one, whose word is true,
Whose orders no one can challenge,
Enlil, whose utterances are unalterable,
like the planted *shuppatu*-grass, like the planted *elpetu*-grass,
like a lone poplar planted on the shore,
like the comel planted on dry land,
like a lone tamarisk planted in a storm,
like a single planted reed the eminent one tramples me down.

At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
Your city Nippur! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of the Ekur! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The Kiur, the great place! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The shrine Enamtila! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of Sippar! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The shrine Ebabbar! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of Tintir! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of the Esagil! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of Borsippa! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The brickwork of the Ezida! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The Emahtila! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The Etemenanki! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!
The Edaranna! At your word, at your word, woe to the house at your word!

At your word the heavens rumble.
The word of Enlil causes the earth to shake.
You, when your word is invoked in the heavens, …
It is because of your word that a (normally) faithful ewe abandons its lamb.
It is because of your word that a (normally) faithful goat abandons its kid.
The (normally) faithful mother abandons her child.
The wife of the warrior has abandoned the little child, her (own) child. (line 100)

Appendix D: A Chronological Chart of Ancient Mesopotamia

BCE	Periods in Assyria and Babylonia	Periods in Israel
3,000		
2,500	Ur III Dynasty	
	Isin-Larsa Dynasty	
2,000	Old Babylonian	
	Kassite	
1,500	Middle Assyrian	
1,000		United Monarchy of Israel The Northern and Southern Kingdoms
	Neo-Assyrian	
		Fall of the Northern Kingdom
	Neo-Babylonian	
		Fall of the Southern Kingdom (The Babylonian Exile)
500	Achaemenid Persian	
	Seleucid	

Appendix E: A Synoptic Table of *Enūma eliš* and Genesis[1054]

Enūma eliš I 1-5	Gen 1:1-2
When on high no name was given to the **heavens**, / Nor below was the **earth** called by name, / Apsû was the first (***rēštû***), their progenitor, / And **Tiamat** (i.e. the **sea**), (*endowed with*) *creative* ***spirit*** (*mummu*), was she who bore them all, / They were mingling their **waters** together.	In the beginning (***b^e-rēšīt***) (**when**) God created the **heavens** and the **earth**, (but) the earth was (still) a formless void and darkness covered the face of the **sea**/the deep (***T^{e}hôm***), while God's **spirit** (or: a wind from god) swept over the face of the **waters** …
Enūma eliš VI 59-73	Gen 11:1-9
The Anunna gods set to with hoes, / One (full) year they made its **bricks**, / When the second year came, / They **raised the head of Esagil** (i.e., "house which raises (its) head"), the counterpart to Apsû, / They built the upper Ziggurat of Apsû … /After they had done the work of Esagil … / The Lord, on the Exalted Dais, which they built as his dwelling, / Seated the gods his fathers for a banquet, / "This is **Babylon** (***Bāb-ilī***, i.e., "gate of the gods"), your place of dwelling. / Take your pleasure there, *seat yourself* in its delights!"	Now the whole earth had one language and the same works. … And they came upon a plain in the land of Shinar (Babylonia) and settled there. And they said to one another, "Come let us make **bricks** and burn them thoroughly." … Then they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, and **a tower with its tops in the heaven**." … (But) the Lord scattered them abroad from there over the face of all the earth, and they left off building the city. Therefore, it was called **Babel**, because there the Lord confused (Heb. ***Bālal***) the language of all the earth; and from there, the Lord scattered them abroad over the face of the earth.

[1054] Extracted from Frahm, *Babylonian*, 365–366. The highlights in bold are given by Frahm.

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